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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FIRST,

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting: Whereas Our Truſty and Well-beloved *William Innys*, *William Meadows*, *John Walthoe*, *Thomas Cox*, *John* and *Paul Knapton*, *Samuel Birt*, *Daniel Browne*, *Thomas Longman* and *Thomas Shewell*, *Henry Whitridge*, *Richard Hett*, *Charles Hitch*, *Thomas Aſtley*, *Stephen Auſten*, *Charles Davis*, *Richard Manby* and *Henry Shute Cox*, *Jacob* and *Richard Tonſon*, *John Rivington*, and *Mary Cooper*, Citizens and Bookſellers of *London*, have, by their Petition, humbly repreſented unto Us, that they have for ſeveral Years paſt been at great Pains, and a very large Expence, in procuring and furniſhing Books, and other Materials, to Gentlemen of Learning and Character, who have employed their utmoſt Attention and Diligence in compiling a very uſeful and extenſive Work, intituled,

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA:

Or, The LIVES *of the moſt Eminent* PERSONS *who have flouriſhed in* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the earlieſt Ages down to the preſent Times.*

Which as it will not only prove of the higheſt Service to the learned World, but, as the Petitioners humbly conceive, is particularly calculated to extend and ſupport the Reputation of the Britiſh People, by preſerving the Memories of the moſt ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS of all Ranks, and tranſmitting to Poſterity the juſt Characters of

STATESMEN, PRELATES, PATRIOTS, LAWYERS, DIVINES,

and whoever elſe have been eminent among us, for Wiſdom, Learning, Valour, and other laudable Accompliſhments. The Undertakers therefore being deſirous of ſecuring to themſelves the Fruit of ſo much Labour, and ſo great an Expence, as muſt neceſſarily attend the Publication of this beneficial Work, without any other Perſon interfering in their juſt Property, which they cannot procure without Our Royal Licence and Protection, for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Caſes of the like Nature. We, taking the Premiſes into Our Princely Conſideration, and being graciouſly inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of

Publick USE and BENEFIT,

are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt; and do, by theſe Preſents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Caſe made and provided) grant to the ſaid *William Innys*, &c their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns,

Our Royal PRIVILEGE and LICENCE,

for the ſole Printing, Publiſhing, and Vending the ſaid Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; ſtrictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the ſame, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatſoever, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Diſtribute, any Copy thereof, reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforeſaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Conſent or Approbation of them the ſaid *William Innys*, &c. their Heirs Executors, Adminiſtrators, or Aſſigns, by Writing under their Hands and Seals firſt had and obtained, as they will anſwer the Contrary at their Peril. Whereof the Commiſſioners, and other Officers of Our Cuſtoms, the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of *Stationers* of *London* and all other Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that ſtrict Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified.

Given at Our Court at *Kenſington*, the 26th Day of *September*, 1744, in the Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majeſty's Command,

CARTERET

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

Literary Society OF THE of Bombay

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times:

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

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XX a 4 Vol 1

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

Printed for W. INNYS, W. MEADOWS, J. WALTHOE, T. COX, A. WARD, J. and P. KNAPTON, T. OSBORNE, S. BIRT, D. BROWNE, T. LONGMAN and T. SHEWELL, H. WHITRIDGE, R. HETT, C. HITCH, T. ASTLEY, S. AUSTEN, C. DAVIS, R. MANBY and H. S. COX, C. BATHURST, J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER, J. ROBINSON, J. HINTON, J. and J. RIVINGTON, and M. COOPER.

M DCC XLVII.

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ſhould not eaſily get them out again (g). He was a man of good ſenſe and great learning, and therefore this deciſion of his has been greatly applauded; but might not one aſk without offence, How he came to know there were abundance of faults in the book without reading it? or whether he could have acquired a tenth part of his learning, if he had conſtantly adhered to this rule, and read no books that were ſaid to have faults in them. M. le Clerc (*b*) was a fairer judge, he aſſerted that there were a great many faults in Moreri's Dictionary, he owned that it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, he pointed out the principle ſources of thoſe errors, and afterwards, according to thoſe rules, he corrected the book.

(*g*) Menagiana, p. 27, 28. Tom. I. Amſterdam, 1713.

(*b*) Parrhaſiana, Vol. I. p. 396, *& ſeq.*

But when the judgments of the learned and unlearned had been ſufficiently exerciſed upon this ſubject, a great genius undertook to examine it, and promiſed to place it in it's true light, by compiling a Dictionary of faults, in which all the miſtakes in Moreri's great work ſhould be corrected as well as expoſed. The publick however thought, and that very juſtly, it was much too mean an employment for Mr Bayle, to compoſe a kind of table of the errata in Moreri's Dictionary; and therefore expreſſed a deſire, that he would rather give them ſomething of that kind which was entirely his own. He acquieſced in this deciſion, and in 1697, publiſhed his *Hiſtorical* and *Critical* Dictionary, which was received with general approbation by the beſt judges. In the execution of this work, he judged it requiſite to give a plain, clear, ſuccinct detail of facts in the text, and to illuſtrate this by a body of notes, which might ſerve by way of commentary, and give the reader ſatisfaction in thoſe points, that in the text were but barely mentioned, and yet deſerved a particular diſcuſſion.

This method of Bayle's was indubitably a great advantage, and this advantage in the hands of a man of extenſive learning, lively imagination, and happy expreſſion, appeared with all it's luſtre. Our language was ſoon enriched with this treaſure, and though the verſion had no very high reputation, yet the excellence of the original gave it ſuch weight, that in a ſhort time the price became exceſſive, and we have ſince ſeen the greateſt eagerneſs in it's favour expreſſed by the publick, when that work was again tranſlated. By this we may learn with certainty, that the method and expreſſion of MrBayle were as much calculated to inſtruct and to pleaſe, as the deſign of Moreri, and that, by joining theſe, an author might hope to render an Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary perfect; provided ſuch a plan was laid down, as there was a reaſonable proſpect of filling up from authentick materials. This was the rock that Moreri and moſt of his editors ſplit upon. They were for augmenting the number of their articles at all events, though the publick complained that many of their articles already were too ſhort, void of authorities, unintereſting, and from theſe faults, altogether inſipid and unpleaſant: whereas Mr Bayle, confining himſelf to ſuch articles only as he knew were either in themſelves, or could be made by him, entertaining to every reader, left it in the power of none to charge him with haſte, want of judgment, or inaccuracy.

It is not at all difficult, from the conſideration of theſe particulars, to diſcern the cauſes, why notwithſtanding all the pains taken about theſe noble and valuable works, they are both incomplete, and, which is worſe, are like to remain ſo; every new edition of MORERI, with an increaſe of articles bringing an augmentation of errors, which, as M. LE CLERC long ago very judiciouſly obſerved, is an evil not to be cured, but by the joint labours of learned and induſtrious men in ſeveral countries, ſupported by a royal purſe. The Dutch bookſellers, after the deceaſe of Mr Bayle, had a project for augmenting his performance, by procuring from the learned in different parts of Europe, ſelect articles for that purpoſe, but it does not appear they have met with ſucceſs, or if they had, we have reaſon to believe, it would have turned rather to their profit than the advantage of the publick, by ſwelling the bulk of that work, and leaving it ſtill incomplete, which, though ſatisfactory enough to them, would ſcarce pleaſe any body elſe.

But after all, may not ſome method be found, without having recourſe to theſe direct Supplements to MORERI or BAYLE, of compaſſing by degrees, what, by the univerſal voice of the learned world, is declared to be ſo much wanting? Is it not both very poſſible and very practicable, to compile, in the method of Mr BAYLE, in the ſeveral countries of Europe, complete Bodies of the *Perſonal Hiſtories* of the great and eminent perſons that have flouriſhed in them? Would not ſuch DICTIONARIES as theſe be, from the nature of this plan, in a great meaſure exempt from thoſe inconveniences, which made both M. LE CLERC,

and

and Mr BAYLE, deſpair of ſeeing any thing of this kind perfect? Would not the BRITISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, GERMAN, and DUTCH BIOGRAPHIES, compoſe a body of this ſort of Hiſtory, abundantly more correct, and infinitely more uſeful, than any thing that hitherto has, or is hereafter likely to appear, under the form of SUPPLEMENTS to this or that DICTIONARY, undertaken either by one or more learned men in the ſame country, where they muſt be under inſuperable difficulties, both as to the procuring and judging of their materials? And will not ſome honour ariſe, ſome proportion of glory be due to the country, where this deſign, ſo uſeful to learning in general, as well as ſo beneficial to that country itſelf, ſhall be firſt ſet on foot?

II. It was with this view, that the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA was undertaken; it was in order to collect into one Body, without any reſtriction of time or place, profeſſion or condition, the memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deſerve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a moſt uſeful ſervice to the publick, a kind of general MONUMENT erected to the moſt deſerving of all ages, an expreſſion of gratitude due to their ſervices, and the moſt probable means of exciting, in ſucceeding times, a ſpirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues. This was the firſt and great motive to the attempting ſuch a collection, towards which, indeed, we ſaw there were conſiderable materials ready prepared, though no ſign of any ſuch building's being ever traced, or that there had ever been a thought, either as to the expediency or poſſibility of erecting ſuch a ſtructure; a BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR, ſacred to the piety, learning, valour, publick-ſpirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our anceſtors, and ready alſo for the reception of the WORTHIES of our OWN TIME, and the HEROES of POSTERITY.

We very ſoon ſaw and were apprized of the difficulty of our taſk, and of the ſkill as well as labour neceſſary towards performing it with any degree of elegance and exactneſs. We ſaw that multitudes of Lives were already written, in different manners and from different motives, which varied widely as to almoſt all the facts that are common to them, and which would not admit of any reconciliation. We ſaw that general characters, high-flown panegyricks, or outrageous ſatires, had very frequently appeared under the appellation of Lives, without any regular ſeries of facts, with little or no reſpect to dates, and digeſted rather according to the whim and fancy of the writer, than in obedience to the laws which reaſon, and the practice of the beſt authors have eſtabliſhed, in reference to this kind of writing. We ſaw that moſt general Collections were too ſhort, and that many particular Lives were too prolix, that ſome were trifling, others tedious, and very many ſo careleſſly and incorrectly written, as to be of very little, if of any, ſervice, towards ſuch a work as we propoſed.

But inſtead of diſmaying, the conſideration of theſe obſtacles made us the more reſolute, we were far from being inſenſible of the pains we were to take, but at the ſame time, the neceſſity of undertaking them grew more and more apparent; we foreſaw that patience and induſtry were requiſite to ſecure ſucceſs in ſuch a deſign; but we ſaw too, that if this work was long delayed, neither patience nor induſtry would be able to accompliſh it. In this ſituation, the firſt thing to be conſidered was METHOD, and in reſpect to this we were determined to that of BAYLE, not from a blind and ſuperſtitious regard to the veneration the learned world have for his memory, and the high eſteem they profeſs for his excellent performance in this way, but becauſe it appeared to us the moſt natural, eaſy, and comprehenſive, the beſt adapted to our purpoſe, and the moſt likely to give our readers ſatisfaction, and not at all the worſe for his having invented, uſed, and thereby recommended it to the approbation of the learned.

The next thing that claimed our attention was the materials ready prepared, that is to ſay, the Collections already in the hands of the publick. Of the true value of which, it was neceſſary to form a right idea, to ſelect from them whatever was conducive to our deſign, and carefully to avoid their errors, at the ſame time that we preſerved their excellencies. We were thoroughly ſatisfied, that if we failed in theſe particulars, the publick would not heſitate at doing them juſtice at our expence; and therefore we were extremely nice in our ſcrutiny, and, as the general remarks we made on this ſubject, in the advertiſement prefixed to this volume, have been very well received by the ableſt judges, we flatter ourſelves, that what we now offer more at large upon the ſame head, will not be diſagreeable, as it leads to ſhew,

as well the uſes and value of each of theſe Collections, as the reaſonableneſs, and even the neceſſity of embodying, as we have done, the ſubſtance of theſe ſeparate Collections, with many new Lives, which entered into none of them, in the performance now offered to the world.

We muſt begin (though the work was never publiſhed, and there are but very few MS copies extant) with the Catalogue compoſed by JOHN BOSTON (*i*), a Benedictine Monk of the famous monaſtery of St Edmond's-Bury in Suffolk, in the reign of Henry IV (not Henry VI, as by the miſtake of the Printer it ſtands in the learned Dr Gale's (*k*) Preface) who viſited all the abbies in England, examined their libraries, made an Alphabetical Catalogue of the books they contained, noted the firſt lines, gave a ſuccinct account of the authors, and a ſhort cenſure of their writings, grounded on other mens judgments as well as his own, and very accurately marked in what libraries they were to be met with (*l*). He it was who gave the firſt example of that method, which ſucceeding writers purſued; but if we may venture to judge from another work of his, not altogether unlike this in it's kind (*m*), he was a more exact, and more conſiderate author, than moſt who have followed him, and therefore we have the more reaſon to complain, that ſo uſeful and curious a treatiſe is ſtill with-held from the Publick.

(*i*) The title of this treatiſe was, *Catalogus Scriptorum Eccleſiæ.*

(*k*) In Præfat ad XV. Script.

(*l*) Bal. de Script. p. 341. Pits, p. 595.

(*m*) His *Speculum Cœnobitarum*, publiſhed by Anthony Hall, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Trivet's Annals.

Upon his plan, the celebrated JOHN LELAND, one of the moſt able, and, beyond compariſon, the moſt induſtrious of our Antiquaries, compoſed his admirable *Commentaries of Britiſh Writers*, in four books, which of all the numerous, I had almoſt ſaid numberleſs works, which for his country's honour he undertook, was by him left moſt perfect. As it now appears, we do not diſcern the diſtinction of books mentioned by various writers, but undoubtedly it is the ſame work they mention, and one of the moſt valuable extant (*n*). In it our author gives us a Literary Hiſtory of Britain, from the times of the Druids, to the cloſe of the XVth century, with his cenſure of the authors, and ſhort catalogues, written with much learning, and no leſs modeſty. He was Library-Keeper to King Henry VIII, and had from him a licence to examine the libraries of all religious houſes in England, for which purpoſe he took many long and weary journies, purely to collect matter for this, and ſeveral other pieces relating to our Hiſtory and Antiquities, which, had he lived to finiſh, he would have left little for others. But alas! he was firſt prevented by a phrenſy, and before he was perfectly reſtored to his ſenſes, was taken off by death, April 18, 1552 (*o*), to the irreparable loſs of his country, and of the learned world.

(*n*) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Auctore J. Leland, Londinate.* Oxon. 1709, 8*vo.* 2 Vol.

(*o*) Bal. de Script. p 672.

JOHN BALE, a native of Suffolk, and ſome time Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, was the next who undertook a work of this nature; the firſt edition, printed moſt part of it at Ipſwich, he publiſhed in 1549 (*p*), ſome years before Leland died, whoſe work he mentions in his Preface, and tells his readers that it was earneſtly expected, but it does not appear he had then ſeen it, and from ſome other of his writings, it is evident he had not (*q*). But in his exile on account of religion, he had leiſure to review and augment this work, which came out at Baſil, A. D. 1557, and again, A. D. 1559, in folio, and therein he acknowledges his having borrowed largely from Leland. It would have done great honour to his book, if he had either copied his author exactly, or had imitated his manner, and ſpoken of the authors he mentions with like decency and temper. But from being a bigotted Papiſt, he became as violent a Proteſtant, and with great bitterneſs reflects upon moſt of thoſe from whom he differed in opinion, and ſuffers his paſſions to tranſport him frequently; not only beyond the bounds of modeſty, but truth. He goes above fifty years lower than Leland, and takes in a great many more authors, even within the compaſs of time common to them both; but he is not either ſo good a judge, or ſo exact a writer as the former. He is very apt to multiply books, and frequently converts the chapters of a book, into diſtinct treatiſes. He had many great helps and opportunities towards compleating his performance, and kept a very extenſive correſpondence for that purpoſe, which enabled him to add abundance of Scots and Iriſh Lives. He had in his own poſſeſſion a large treaſure of MSS. relating to our Hiſtory, and it muſt be owned, there are many things in his book that are not to be found elſewhere; but then he is hardly to be relied on, eſpecially where there is the leaſt room to ſuſpect he might be prejudiced, for there, as we ſhall in many inſtances ſhew, he had little or no command of himſelf, but allowed more to his temper than authorities; for he very ſeldom produces any voucher for what he ſays, though ſometimes he could hardly expect to be believed without it. The very bad uſage he met with from Papiſts,

(*p*) This firſt edition in 4*to*, bears *Weſel* in the title page, but that, and ſome additions, were only printed there, for the book was printed the year before at *Ipſwich*, by *John Overton.*

(*q*) In his additions to the ſecond edition of a poem of Leland's publiſhed by him.

(as the reader may ſee at large in his article) in ſome meaſure may excuſe the man, but cannot at all operate in giving his book credit.

The next author of this ſort in point of time is JOHN PITS, in every reſpect the oppoſite of JOHN BALE beforementioned (*r*). He was a Hampſhire man, deſcended from parents in no great circumſtances, his mother being ſiſter to the famous Dr SANDERS, bred while a boy at Wincheſter ſchool, removed from thence to Oxford, where, after ſtudying two years, he imbibed Popiſh opinions, fled over to Flanders, reſumed his ſtudies at Douay, travelled from thence to Rome, and after receiving Prieſt's orders there, went to France, but troubles ariſing there, he withdrew into Lorrain, thence he went to Ingoldſtadt in Bavaria, where he received his Doctor's degree, after this he returned a ſecond time into Lorrain, and ſoon after left it, to go in quality of Confeſſor to the court of the Ducheſs of Cleves, and, upon her deceaſe, he returned a third time into Lorrain, where he obtained a deanery, in poſſeſſion of which he died about 1616 (*s*). It is evident from this account of his life, that he could not be very well qualified for the work he undertook, and indeed he has executed it very indifferently. He commends LELAND's performance highly, which, except as it is involved in BALE's book, he never ſaw, in the judgment of friends and foes (*t*). He abuſes BALE plentifully, whoſe work with all it's imperfections he copies, and has added to them a multitude of faults of his own making. He brings down his account to 1614, when he finiſhed his book, which however was not publiſhed till 1619, after the author's death, and one reaſon, we are told, for making it publick, was to bring BALE's book into diſuſe, by ſupplying the Romaniſts with another work of the ſame nature; and very probably, the preſerving the memories of the exiles of that Church, might be another motive to the rendering it publick, which, for it's merits in other reſpects, it could ſcarce have deſerved.

(*r*) His title-page repreſents this Work as a firſt volume only, but nothing farther was ever publiſhed.

(*s*) De Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 816, 817.

(*t*) See Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 156.

We have a very comprehenſive Catalogue of the SCOTS writers, drawn up by THOMAS DEMPSTER of Mureſk (*u*), an itinerant Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres*, who, after viſiting different parts of Europe, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth at Paris and other places, retired at laſt into Italy, where he compoſed his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of the *Scots Nation*, which however is really no more than a haſty Catalogue of Authors, a very ſuperficial account of their lives, and a very imperfect and incorrect detail of their writings. He was undoubtedly very zealous for the honour of his country, which prompted him to give a place in his Catalogue, to many that had no title thereto from their writings; he alſo made no ſcruple of borrowing great men from other countries, to make his Collection the more illuſtrious; thus, St ALBAN, Venerable BEDE, and Pope ADRIAN IV, were all *Scots* (*w*), if we truſt to his book. It is this vain humour of his, that has contributed more than any thing elſe to ſink the credit of his performance, which, in other reſpects, is little inferior to BALE's, and much ſuperior to PITS's, for DEMPSTER was truly a man of learning, and, with regard to the Lives of his contemporaries, it ſeems to be a faithful, though not a judicious, Collection. He was a furious Papiſt, lived an exile for his religion, and therefore we may be ſure, beſtows no very good character on Proteſtant authors. Yet his love for his country ſomewhat qualifies this, and perhaps his book might have been more perfect, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to it, or if it had been ſo much as publiſhed by one of his countrymen; but it had not this good fortune, it was printed at Bononia in 1627, about two years after DEMPSTER's death, by one very affectionate to his memory, but an indifferent editor for all that.

(*u*) His title is *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum*, 4to.

(*w*) Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. p. 23, 69, 34.

The learned in *Ireland* have been more fortunate in an Hiſtorian, than either thoſe of England or Scotland, for Sir JAMES WARE (*x*), a man of ſolid abilities, extenſive knowledge, and indefatigable induſtry, one who had taken vaſt pains in other reſpects, in preſerving and putting into order their Hiſtory, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo their Antiquities, reſolved to extend his care likewiſe to their writers, of whom he publiſhed a very accurate account in 1639, divided into *two* parts, the *firſt* containing the natives, the *ſecond* ſuch learned perſons as though born in other countries, were beneficed and paſſed their days in that iſland. This work has no imperfections, but ſuch as were unavoidable at the time in which it was compoſed, and the worthy author ſpared no labour to correct moſt of theſe in a ſecond edition, which he was actually preparing for the preſs at the time of his deceaſe, in 1666. The world, however, has not been deprived of the great improvements made by him on this ſubject, the contents of which appear to advantage, in the third volume of the *Engliſh* tranſlation of his Works, very lately publiſhed,

(*x*) *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, lib. ii. Prior continet Scriptores in Hibernia natos; Poſterior Scriptores alios, qui in Hibernia Munera aliqua obierunt*, Dublinii 1639, 4to.

publiſhed *(y)*, and which altogether, fully juſtify the compliment paid him by Biſhop NICHOLSON, who ſtiles him the CAMDEN *of Ireland* (*z*). Had the works hitherto mentioned (LELAND's excepted) been penned like this, they would have been far more uſeful, and we ſhould have been better able to have relied upon them, which now we cannot do, where any other materials lie within our reach. But had theſe books been ever ſo well executed, it is evident they could have ſupplied us only with the Memoirs of Men of Letters, ſo that how uſeful ſoever they might have been in that reſpect, they could not be ſaid to bear any proportion to the advantages propoſed from a book of this kind, which not only comprehends the ſubſtance of all theſe performances, and continues their ſubjects, upon a more extenſive plan, down to our own times, but alſo takes in many other heads equally curious and uſeful, and much more agreeable and entertaining. But to proceed at preſent with the view of our materials.

(y) This Hiſtory of the Iriſh Writers makes the entire *third* volume of the Tranſlation of Sir *James Ware's* Writings, by *Walter Harris*, Eſq; who has continued the Hiſtory to the preſent time.

(*z*) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 20

We have no Collection, which, from it's title and plan, promiſes ſo much as FULLER's, who undertook to give us the *Worthies of England*, but he is far from performing this; his Lives are in effect no more than ſhort characters, interſperſed now and then with remarkable ſtories, which are not always to be depended upon, and there is very little new in him: BALE, FOX, and STOWE, are his principal authors, from whom he takes plentifully in this, as well as in his *Church Hiſtory*. There are others who have paſſed harſher ſentences than this on his labours; but our buſineſs is not to decry thoſe who have gone before us, but barely to repreſent how far they are, or are not, helpful towards the filling up this deſign. Dr FULLER's foundation was broad, but the ſuperſtructure is not anſwerable; we may ſay the ſame of his *Church Hiſtory*, and of his ABEL *Redivivus*, all of them proving him to be a fanciful, rather than a faithful, writer, very little concerned about dates or circumſtances, and, if one might be indulged for once in his manner of ſpeaking, rather deſirous of making his readers *merry* than *wiſe*. It may be alledged however, that this was the humour of thoſe times, and that he erred with numbers, which, though an indifferent, is yet ſome excuſe.

As the taſte for this kind of knowledge improved, ſome abler, and more accurate writers began to appear; among whom we may reckon the *Oxford Antiquary* ANTHONY WOOD, who, after penning with great care and induſtry the *Hiſtory* and *Antiquities* of that famous *Univerſity*, undertook to give us the *Writers* alſo, for two centuries before, and the *Prelates* likewiſe who had been bred at *Oxford* within the ſame ſpace. Some have cenſured this work in very coarſe terms, and without queſtion it is far enough from being perfect; the ſpleen of the author diſcovers itſelf frequently, the compoſition is by no means elegant, and there is an unuſual bluntneſs and aſperity in the language. Yet, with all theſe defects, it is out of compariſon more uſeful and inſtructive than any thing that had appeared before. Authorities are here cited, which are abſolutely wanting in FULLER and LLOYD, (another writer of Worthies) and though, from the Tranſcriber or Printer's faults, there are many miſtakes, yet here are dates, and the Lives are ranged in an eaſy and intelligible method; ſo that we may truly affirm, one half of the learned men of this part of the iſland, have their names, the capital particulars of their lives, and a tolerable catalogue of their writings preſerved, for that period to which his Collections relate. It was once hoped, we ſhould have ſeen like attention ſhewn towards the learned men educated at *Cambridge*, and had the work been executed as it was deſigned, by the late reverend and excellent Mr BAKER, it muſt have been a maſterly performance, ſince, with all the care and induſtry of WOOD, he had a fine genius, a piercing underſtanding, and wrote a moſt correct ſtile, equally removed from the ſtarched ſetneſs of a ſententious writer, and from that luxuriancy of language that produces long and languid periods. But beſides all theſe, he had ſtill greater qualities, ſuch as calmneſs of mind, candour of heart, and a moſt unſuſpected integrity. We may juſtly therefore regret the loſs of ſuch a work, from ſuch a man, but as his Collections are ſtill preſerved, we may yet hope to ſee their contents by ſome lucky accident or other. In the mean time Mr WARD's Lives of the *Profeſſors* in *Greſham-College*, may ſerve as a ſpecimen, how ſuch Collections ought to be formed, ſo as to ſtand out of the reach of cenſure.

We might extend theſe remarks much farther, but that in ſome reſpects it would be a needleſs, in others an unpleaſant taſk. The Lives of our POETS have been often, but never well, written; LANGBAIN is too conciſe, and his

follower, who pretends to have improved him, has much miſtaken his talent, and done very little honour to thoſe he has attempted to celebrate. We have very few memorials of PHYSICIANS, though ſcarce any nation has produced better; and as to DIVINES, the greateſt part of their memoirs are rather funeral orations or panegyricks than narratives. Yet ſome ſingle Lives we have, of a moderate compaſs, admirably well written; as for inſtance, WALTON's Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON, SPRAT's inimitable Life of COWLEY, and the Life of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE by an intimate friend. Some great men have alſo left excellent materials, for repreſenting their own actions in a fair and true light, ſuch as the great Lord-Treaſurer CECIL, the famous Chancellor CLARENDON, and the celebrated Earl of STRAFFORD, whoſe Letters do the higheſt honour to his memory, and ſhew him as much above the praiſes of his friends, as the malice of his enemies.

Upon the whole it is very apparent, that hitherto there has nothing appeared of the ſame nature with our deſign. Some plans have been *too narrow*, as ſhutting out all Lives of action except by accident; others *too extended*, by taking in the remarkable perſons of other nations as well as our own; ſo that we have built upon no body's foundation, and are at liberty to make the moſt we can of the ſcheme we have choſen. In the next place we readily confeſs, and have ſpent ſome time in giving evidence againſt ourſelves, that there is no want of materials, and that the blame muſt fall upon us, if they are not well put together. But granting we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to ſucceed, it may very well be demanded, of what ſingular uſe and advantage will this work be? What will it afford beyond our former helps? Why ſhould we add this to the many Dictionaries already publiſhed? To which we anſwer, that it will be of general advantage, that it will contribute vaſtly to facilitate the attainment of the moſt uſeful kind of knowledge, and that to make this more plainly appear, will deſerve ſome farther obſervations.

III. It is very evident from this view of the work, that the title of it will be exactly fulfilled, that is to ſay, it will be a compleat *Body* of *Britiſh Biography*, and contain a much larger, and more methodical Collection of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than hitherto has ever appeared. In it the reader will find, not only our moſt famous Divines, and moſt eminent Scholars, with a clear and rational account of their works, but alſo the memoirs of our ableſt Stateſmen, our great Captains, our moſt illuſtrious Sea-men, and our worthieſt Patriots. In ſhort, all who have rendered themſelves remarkable in publick poſts, or deſerve to be remembered for their private virtues, and theſe too in all ages, from the earlieſt accounts our Hiſtories contain, down to the preſent times, ſo that it will equally ſerve, to give us juſt notions of the merit of our remoteſt anceſtors, and of their poſterity. It will be of uſe alſo to ſucceeding times, for this Body of Lives being once in the hands of the Publick, improvements will be continually made, and every man of genius, every perſon endowed with a generous and liberal ſpirit, will become more ſteady and more aſſiduous, as well as more eager in purſuit of knowledge and virtue, when he is ſenſible that his labours will not be buried in oblivion, but that whatever he gloriouſly atchieves will be faithfully recorded.

But the bare ſetting down of facts and dates, though in itſelf highly uſeful, and of great importance to Hiſtory, is but half the merit of this work. For at the ſame time that the text is to the full as copious, and, by the exactneſs of the authorities, much more correct than the articles of MORERI, the notes make a perpetual commentary, in the manner of BAYLE, in which all doubtful points are examined, diſagreeing relations compared, and the truth, from thence, ſet in a clear light. By this means, abundance of hiſtorical paſſages that are ſcattered in works upon other ſubjects, in prefaces to books, or in looſe pamphlets, are ſecured from being overlooked, and brought into their proper places, of which many inſtances might be given, if their number did not, in ſome meaſure, render it unneceſſary. Thus, in the Life of Archbiſhop ABBOT, the reader will find many facts that relate to him, taken from authors very difficult to be met with, and extracts from ſome that are ſcarce to be had at all, by which all our General Hiſtorians are corrected, and the whole of that Prelate's life and adminiſtration, is fairly and fully ſet forth to publick view. In the article of Pope ADRIAN IV, our own and foreign writers are compared, and thereby ſeveral circumſtances rectified, as to which our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians were very widely miſtaken. The article of ALLEYN the Player is very curious, and contains a multitude of circumſtances, that, if they had not been drawn together for the uſe of this work, would never have appeared. Beſides, in ſeveral articles there have been

inſerted papers from the cloſets of the curious, that hitherto had not ſeen the light; as in the article of Dr ANTHONY, the proceſs of his *Aurum Potabile* at large, which was formerly reputed a medicine of great value; and, in the article of BALES the Writing-Maſter, there is the famous Lineal Cypher, invented by the Marquis of Worceſter, which though mentioned by him in a work lately reprinted, yet the ſecret itſelf was firſt made publick here.

We may from hence perceive, that it enables us to ſee the moſt material points in our Hiſtory, in all the ſeveral lights in which they have been placed by different authors, accompanied frequently with obſervations and remarks, that ſerve to explain and illuſtrate them, ſo as to clear up truth more effectually, than it was poſſible to do by any other method. As for inſtance; ARDEN's treaſon, of which our Hiſtorians ſpeak ſo variouſly and ſo doubtfully, is, under his article, ſhewn to have been a ſtate artifice of a great Miniſter, to whom this gentleman had given offence. The caſe of Archbiſhop ABBOT's killing the Keeper, is ſhewn in a different light from that in which it has been repreſented, either by friends or enemies, and it is plainly demonſtrated, that it had nothing to do with his laſt ſuſpenſion, though mentioned as the pretence for it, by ſome of our beſt Hiſtorians. The character of Lord-Chancellor BACON is vindicated from many calumnies, and his corruption as fairly ſtated from the beſt authorities. Many other inſtances might be given, even in the compaſs of this volume, but theſe are abundantly ſufficient to prove the truth of this aſſertion, and to let the reader ſee, that never any work was better calculated to render our Hiſtory perfectly intelligible, to throw light even on the obſcureſt paſſages, and to ſet matters of fact, as well as the characters of particular perſons, in that point of view in which they ought to be conſidered, independent of the prejudices of times, and the prepoſſeſſions of many of our Hiſtorical Writers, who, from their being miſled by paſſion, or for want of proper lights, have either fallen ſhort of, or exceeded the truth.

By this means, the work before us becomes both a Supplement and a Key, not only to our General Hiſtories, but to particular Memoirs, ſo that by comparing the characters of great men, as drawn by particular pens, with their articles in this *Biographical Dictionary*, we ſee how far they are conſiſtent with, or repugnant to, truth. By it alſo we are enabled, where characters are omitted, to ſupply them, and to find diſtinct and particular relations of remarkable facts, which are barely mentioned, or but ſlightly deſcribed in other books; by it alſo we are enabled to recover or rectify dates, which are either omitted or miſtaken, if they have any relation to conſiderable perſons, as almoſt all memorable actions have; and whereas moſt Hiſtories drop even the greateſt men when no longer concerned in great affairs, we can here follow them in their retreats, and ſee how their private life agreed or diſagreed, with the maxims owned by them in their more active ſcenes of life. We can alſo trace, by this means, the beginnings of their greatneſs, and learn the ſteps by which they roſe to thoſe high poſts and employments, which gave them place in Hiſtory, and be thereby enabled to apprehend more fully, and underſtand more clearly, what is ſaid of them. We may add to this, that we have an opportunity likewiſe of ſeeing the families from which they roſe, or which are deſcended from them, ſo that we are able to connect our Antient with our Modern Hiſtory, and from thence diſcover an infinite number of curious and uſeful circumſtances, which otherwiſe might eſcape our notice.

If, inſtead of conſidering it in this general manner, and in reſpect to the bulk of our Hiſtory, we examine it more cloſely, and reflect on the relation it bears to the particular branches of that ſtudy, we ſhall find it of no leſs utility. For example, as to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; Biſhop GODWIN has given us a very ſuccinct detail of the ſucceſſion of our Prelates in their reſpective Sees, and his work has been very accurately continued down to the preſent time. Yet even with reſpect to the moſt eminent men, theſe accounts are very ſhort, and in all other Catalogues they are ſtill ſhorter and leſs correct, ſo that frequently they raiſe our curioſity without ſatisfying it. But here we can immediately turn to the Lives of moſt of theſe Prelates, and take a view of their moſt conſiderable actions both before and after they were honoured with the mitre. We may ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to the Law, of which we have a like ſeries of ſucceſſions, but nothing more, whereas, in this work, almoſt all our Chancellors, our moſt diſtinguiſhed Judges, and many other eminent men of that honourable and learned profeſſion, have their memories preſerved, and their principal actions recorded. We may affirm the like of our Miniſters of State, the Generals of our armies, and

our Sea-officers, to which we may add, thoſe Orators who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in either Houſe of Parliament, where liberty of ſpeech, as it is an excellence in our Conſtitution, contributes alſo to render this work particularly valuable, by introducing into *Britiſh Biography*, characters that will ſcarce be found in any foreign work of the ſame kind.

With reſpect to Men of Letters, we have been as careful as it was poſſible, and though we have not, as in ſome other Collections, preferred them to men who have paſſed their days in action, yet we have made it our ſtudy to repreſent their characters fairly and fully, and to gratify the reader with correct catalogues of their works. This we have done with reſpect to polite as well as grave writers, and have endeavoured to retrieve, as far as lay in our power, the memoirs of Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Mathematicians, Chemiſts, *&c.* that have not been hitherto taken notice of in this manner. We have likewiſe given a ſuccinct account of any diſputes or controverſies in which they were engaged, and where any opportunity offered, we have not failed to mention the ſubſtance of ſcarce treatiſes, and, where the ſubject required it, extracts from them, referring, at the ſame time, to the books, where farther ſatisfaction might be had on thoſe heads. Where works have been publiſhed without a name, or where authors have thought fit to make uſe of diſguiſed or fictitious appellations, we have given what light we could, and have ſupported what we ſay by proper authorities, agreeable to the deſign of making this a Critical as well as an Hiſtorical Dictionary. And with the ſame view we have ſometimes corrected the miſtakes of other writers, with as little prejudice as was poſſible to their reputation, being thoroughly ſenſible, that in many caſes thoſe miſtakes were involuntary, and, at the time they wrote, perhaps not to be avoided.

As to the Lives of the remarkable perſons that have flouriſhed in Scotland and Ireland, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that due care has been taken to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with the learned in both thoſe countries, which we hope will ſufficiently appear in the articles included in this work. We have alſo been very diligent in comparing, where it was practicable, hiſtorical facts with records, which is the only means of recovering and aſcertaining dates. We have likewiſe conſulted thoſe large collections of letters and papers publiſhed for fifty years paſt, and have alſo had recourſe to ſeveral Collections that are not yet printed, by which means a multitude of uſeful and curious particulars have been brought to light, and very large chaſms, in Collections of this kind formerly made, have been filled up, to a degree even beyond our expectations. The mention of this, leads us to make our acknowledgments to ſuch as have favoured us with theſe communications, and whoſe names are mentioned in the courſe of this work where it is requiſite, and where we were permitted to uſe that freedom. We likewiſe preſume to deſire the continuance of theſe favours, and that gentlemen will be pleaſed to be as early in their informations as poſſible, that they may come time enough to be uſeful.

The memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen, as, either on account of their good or ill fortune, have ſpent the greateſt part of their days in foreign parts, have been collected with all the care and circumſpection poſſible, and no diligence has been wanting, to procure the beſt intelligence that could be had in ſuch caſes; and we hope it will appear, that many errors committed by foreign writers, in reſpect to ſuch perſons eſpecially, have been rectified. With the view of doing the greater juſtice in this particular, we have conſulted, as the reader will perceive by frequent citations from them, moſt of the Hiſtories of Popes, Cardinals, and Religious Orders, publiſhed abroad; as well as the memoirs of foreigners who have reſided in England, and ſuch as have inſerted particular parts of our Hiſtory in their works, not to mention the ſeveral foreign Dictionaries, in which, for the moſt part, Engliſh Lives are remarkably defective, and perſons of the ſame name are frequently confounded, which ſhews how much preferable our Plan is to one that might appear more general, but which, at the ſame time, muſt ſubject us unavoidably to the like miſtakes. Theſe obſervations ariſe naturally from the ſubject, and are moſt of them requiſite to do juſtice to our readers and to ourſelves, and to make it appear that a work of this importance, has been conducted throughout with mature deliberation, and that, being apprized of the many and great difficulties that lay in our way, we have not failed to uſe all the induſtry, and to employ all the ſkill that was in our power, to overcome and ſurmount them, not that we have the vanity to ſuppoſe we have been always ſucceſsful, but there is

reaſon to hope for ſome indulgence from the publick, when men have ſpared no pains or aſſiduity in it's ſervice, which is all the excuſe we have or deſire to plead.

There are many other points relative to the ſeveral heads into which we have divided this Preface, that might have been examined, and would have contributed to prove the neceſſity as well as utility of a work like this, but we choſe rather to leave theſe to the reflection of the learned and judicious peruſer, than to expatiate too much on a ſubject, which we hope is already ſufficiently clear. For the principal motives to an undertaking right in itſelf, being once placed in a true light, ſuch as are well acquainted with the ſubject which they concern, eaſily enter into all their branches, and often penetrate farther than thoſe who laid them down, and we are willing to leave this in the reader's power, rather than fatigue him with a multitude of obſervations and remarks, which, however juſt, however pertinent in themſelves, become tedious and troubleſome when carried beyond their proper bounds. This we thought neceſſary to mention, that thoſe, who, in peruſing this diſcourſe, or the book to which it belongs, perceive many more advantages than are here pointed out, may not conceive they were wholly unknown or unattended to by us, but may rather be ſatisfied that we paſſed them by, to leave no room for the diſagreeable imputation, of having exhauſted a ſubject all lovers of Britiſh Hiſtory are ſo well verſed in, that with the greateſt eaſe they are capable of reaching it's utmoſt receſſes, without the aſſiſtance of a guide. Something, on the appearance of a Collection like this, after ſo many which at firſt ſight ſeem of the ſame nature, it was abſolutely requiſite to ſay, in juſtice to ourſelves and to the publick, which is enough to account for our prefixing this Preface, and the fear of diſpleaſing our judges by ſaying too much, and detaining them too long, is the proper apology for not extending it farther, and will, in the eyes of equitable Criticks, excuſe us for not inſerting many things, that might otherwiſe be thought conſiderable omiſſions. In an age leſs learned, a longer Preface would have been not only tolerable but agreeable, but in this, when almoſt every reader enters into the method as well as matter of the books that come before him, it is enough to touch the principal heads of enquiry, and it would be too much to dwell on them for any time.

One thing however we muſt be permitted to mention before we can conclude, and that is, the care taken to bring all remarkable articles into our BIOGRAPHY at once, and under the ſame alphabet, ſo that the memorable facts throughout our whole Hiſtory, the diſputable points relating to Chronology, the circumſtances attending every event of importance, as well as the characters and actions of the perſons principally concerned in them, may be all readily found and repreſented to the reader, ſupported by proper evidence, and explained, by the compariſon of what has been advanced concerning them by different writers. To have left out articles of note, would have been unpardonable in an HISTORICAL, and to have treated ſuch articles ſuperficially, unworthy a CRITICAL DICTIONARY; the fulfilling our Plan, after we were ſatisfied of it's being approved by the PUBLICK, became our indiſpenſible duty, and to that we have conſtantly attended in the choice, and in the manner of treating our articles. If, therefore, they appear more numerous than might be expected, or the doing them juſtice requires a little more room than at firſt might be conceived requiſite, let it be conſidered, how far the reputation of our country, the honour of our anceſtors, the reſpect due to the memories of great men, and the vaſt importance of ſetting worthy examples before the eyes of poſterity, are concerned. When we reflect ſeriouſly upon this, and on the cruelty, we might even ſay impiety, of ſacrificing the glory of great characters to trivial circumſtances, and mere conveniency, it might be juſtly apprehended, that the world would rather reſent our timidity, if we ſhould diſtruſt their approbation of the liberty neceſſary to be taken in this reſpect, than cenſure us for doing at once, and in the eaſieſt and moſt effectual manner, what, ſome time or other, muſt have been done, if we had been too ſcrupulous in the performance of what we undertook. Architects are ſeldom cenſured for ſmall miſtakes in their eſtimates, if the ſtructure they propoſed to erect, be but uniform and complete; beſides, a palace finiſhed at once, is always cheaper, as well as more beautiful, than when helped out by additional buildings, made neceſſary from the cramping of the firſt deſign.

We have now executed, in as narrow a compaſs as it is poſſible, what we propoſed at the entrance of this Diſcourſe, and therefore have nothing to do more than to conclude it. We have ſhewn how theſe kind of *Dictionaries* came firſt into uſe, and why they were received with ſuch univerſal eagerneſs and avidity; in giving the Hiſtory of MORERI's performance, we have explained the cauſes which hindered that work from being carried to perfection, even by the moſt able and learned men in *Europe*; in our account of Mr BAYLE's deſign, we have deſcribed the manner in which he gave that ſuperior value to an undertaking of this ſort, and ſhewed how, inſtead of a *Library* for the *Ignorant*, it might be made the *Treaſure* of the *Learned*; we have pointed out the reaſons why it ſeems to be impoſſible, or at leaſt impracticable, ever to carry either of theſe works to the higheſt degree of perfection, by a meer addition of *Supplement* after *Supplement*; we have propoſed a new method of attaining this, and of giving the extent of MORERI's plan, and the accuracy of BAYLE's deſign, to one and the ſame work; laſtly, we offer to the Publick this ſpecimen of the poſſibility of ſuch a performance, and ſhould they honour the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA with their approbation, it will very probably prove the means of exciting, in other countries, a deſire to erect the ſame kind of general monument, to the memory of deſerving perſons, which would effectually juſtify what we have laid down on that head, and furniſh a more complete *Body* of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than, as yet, the world has ſeen, or ſo much as expected.

THE

THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

A.

AARON and JULIUS (*Saints*) ſuffered martyrdom together, during the perſecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the year 303 [*A*], about the ſame time with St Alban (*a*), the protomartyr of Britain (*b*) [*B*]. What their Britiſh names were, we are no where told; it being uſual with the Chriſtian Britons, at the time of baptiſm, to take new names from the Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Nor have we any certainty as to the particulars of their death; only that they ſuffered the cruelſt torments. They had each a church erected to his memory [*C*]; and their feſtival is placed, in the Roman Martyrology, on the firſt of July. They are here joined together in one article, becauſe, like Saul and Jonathan, *in their death they were not divided* (*c*).

(*a*) *See the Article* St ALBAN.

(*b*) Beda, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7. & Galfr. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. v. c. 5.

(*c*) 2 Sam. i. 23.

[*A*] AARON *and* JULIUS ——— *ſuffered martyrdom together, in the year* 303.] Venerable Bede, who mentions the martyrdom of theſe two ſaints (and of many others of both ſexes, in different places, who were put to death with the cruelſt torments) calls them *Citizens* of *Urbs Legionum*. *Paſſi ſunt ea tempeſtate* Aaron & Julius, Legionum Urbis Cives, *aliique utriuſque ſexus diverſis in locis perplures, qui diverſis cruciatibus torti, & inaudita membrorum diſcerptione lacerati, animas ad ſupernæ civitatis gaudia perfecto agone miſerunt* (1). *Urbs Legionum*, or the City of Legions, was a name given by the Romans to ſeveral cities of Britain; as Leiceſter, Exeter, and Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales: which laſt muſt here be meant, becauſe the churches, dedicated to St Aaron and St Julius, were built in that city, and the bodies of the ſaints themſelves interred there (2).

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(2) See Remark [*C*].

[*B*] ——— *About the ſame time with St Alban.*] That St Alban, nevertheleſs, claims the honour of the protomartyrdom, appears from the teſtimony of Matthew of Weſtminſter; who, mentioning the martyrdom of St Alban under the year 303, adds, by way of corollary, that Aaron and Julius, and many others, both men and women, ſuffered at the ſame time in Britain; St Alban, however, being the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or *the firſt who impurpled Britain with his blood*. *Eodem tempore paſſi ſunt in Britannia Aaron & Julius, cum aliis pluribus viris & fœminis, qui ad deſiderabile cœleſtis Hieruſalem gaudium per martyrium convolarunt; exiſtente tamen beato Albano protomartyre, qui Britanniam primitivo ſanguine purpuravit* (3).

(3) Flor. Hiſtor. *ad* Ann. 303.

[*C*] *They had each a church erected to his memory.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, deſcribing the city of Caer-Leon (4), tells us, the bodies of Aaron and Julius lie buried in that city, each of whom has a church dedicated to him; that of Julius graced with a choir of nuns, and that of Aaron with a famous order of canons. And Biſhop Godwin tells us (5), that the remains of theſe churches, or chapels, were viſible not very long ſince; the one ſituated on the eaſt ſide, the other on the weſt ſide of the town, about two miles diſtant from each other.

(4) *In* Itinerar. l. v.

(5) Comment. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Landav. *n.* 21.

T

ABBADIE (JAMES) was born at Nay in Berne, in the year 1658 (*a*), as there is good reaſon to believe, tho' ſome indeed ſay, that he was born in 1654 (*b*). He ſtudied at Puy Laurent, at Saumur, at Paris, and at Sedan; at which laſt place, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He intended to have dedicated himſelf very early to the miniſtry, but the circumſtances of the Proteſtants in France, rendered it impracticable there, for which reaſon, he readily accepted the offer of the Count d'Eſpenſe, who had a conſiderable poſt in the ſervice of the Elector of Brandenburgh, who deſired

(*a*) Niceron. Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres. Tom. xxxiii. p. 381.

(*b*) *See this Article, in the General Dictionary.*

to carry him with him to Berlin, where the Elector intended to ſettle a French miniſter (*c*). It is not very clear, at what time he arrived in that city, but it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it might be either in 1680, or 1681. He reſided there for many years with great reputation, and in high favour with the Elector Frederick William; making now and then a trip to Holland, on account of publiſhing his writings, which were received with great applauſe (*d*). At firſt, the congregation of French Refugees at Berlin was but thin, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numbers retired into Brandenburgh, and were received with the utmoſt compaſſion; ſo that Dr Abbadie had a great charge, of which he took all imaginable care, and, by his intereſt, rendered them many ſervices at court (*e*). In the ſpring of the year 1688, the Elector died, and our author then accepted of the propoſal made him by the Marſhal Schomberg, to go with him firſt to Holland, and then into England, with the Prince of Orange. In the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1689, he followed that great man into Ireland, where he remained 'till after the battle of the Boyne, which happened in July 1690, wherein his patron was killed, which occaſioned his return to England (*f*): He became quickly afterwards, miniſter of the French church at the Savoy, but the air diſagreeing with him, he went over again to Ireland, where he was promoted to the deanery of Killaloo, which he enjoyed for many years (*g*). His occaſions, and eſpecially the printing of his books, called him frequently into England, and Holland, in both places he was extremely beloved. He was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of his Royal Maſter, as appears by his elaborate defence of the Revolution, and his hiſtory of the Aſſaſſination Plot (*h*). He gave alſo very high proofs of his loyalty to King George the firſt, and would doubtleſs have ſhewn the like reſpect to his Son and ſucceſſor, early in whoſe reign, *viz.* on the 25th of September, 1727, he departed this life at Mary-le-bon, near London, aged, according to ſome accounts, ſixty-nine (*i*), according to others, ſeventy-three (*k*). He had great natural abilities, improved by a large ſtock of ſolid and uſeful learning; was a moſt zealous Proteſtant, and, without flattery, one of the moſt eloquent men of the age, in which he lived. His works, of which the reader will find an account in a note [*A*], bore

(*c*) Niceron. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) *See this Article in the Supplement to Moreri, printed at Paris in* 1734.

(*e*) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43.

(*f*) Niceron. p. 382.

(*g*) *See the General Dictionary, and the Supplement to Moreri.*

(*h*) See the Note [*A*].

(*i*) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

(*k*) *General Dictionary.*

[*A*] *Will find an account in a note.*] In order to give the reader as diſtinct a detail of this author's writings as poſſible, we will mention them in the order in which they were publiſhed. 1. *Sermons ſur divers textes de l'Ecriture*, Leiden 1680. *i. e.* Sermons on ſeveral texts of ſcripture, 8*vo.* this volume contains four ſermons, and was the firſt work Monſieur Abbadie publiſhed.

2. *Panegyrique de Monſeigneur l'Electeur de Brandebourg*, Roterdam 1684, in 4*to. i. e.* A panegyrick on the Elector of Brandenburgh. This treatiſe Gregorio Leti tranſlating into Italian, inſerted in his hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenburgh. The book was publiſhed pretty early in that year, and was ſpoken of by M. Bayle, not only with great condeſcenſion but alſo with ſuch marks of approbation as are not uſual with that author (1).

3. *Traité de la Verité de la Religion Chrétienne*, Roterdam 1684, in 8*vo.* Two Volumes. *It. Seconde edition revüe & augmentée*, Roterdam 1688, in 12*mo.* Two Tomes. It. Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo.* Two Tomes. *It. Quatriéme edition*, Roterdam 1701, in 12*mo*, Three Volumes. *It. Cinquiéme edition*, ibid. 1715, in 12*mo.* *It. Sixiéme edition*, ibid. 1719, in 12*mo.* *It. Septiéme edit.* Amſterdam in 1729, 3 Vols. 12*mo. i. e.* A treatiſe on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

Mr Bayle commends this piece alſo, as one of the moſt perfect in its kind (2), and indeed, it has been always ſo eſteemed as well by the Roman Catholick as the reformed divines. The Abbé Houteville, a late writer, ſpeaks of it in theſe terms. 'The moſt ſhining 'of thoſe treatiſes for defence of the Chriſtian Reli'gion, which were publiſhed by the Proteſtants, is 'that written by Mr Abbadie. The favourable recep'tion it met with, the praiſes it received almoſt with'out example immediately after its publication, the 'univerſal approbation it ſtill meets with, renders it 'unneceſſary for me to join my commendations, which 'would add ſo little to the merit of ſo great an au'thor. He has united in this book, all our contro'verſies with the infidels. In the firſt part, he com'bats the Atheiſts; the Deiſts in the ſecond; and the 'Socinians in the third: philoſophy and theology, 'enter happily into his manner of compoſing, which 'is in the true method, lively, pure, and elegant, 'eſpecially in the firſt books; for towards the end, he 'ſeems to have leſs fire. I ſee methinks there, a dry'neſs which looks like the ſhore left by the ebb of 'the full tide of eloquence (3).' This work was tranſlated into Engliſh, and into High Dutch, in which language it hath bore two editions with notes (4).

4. *Reflexions ſur le Préſence réelle du Corps de Jeſus Chriſt dans l'Euchariſtie, compriſe en diverſes Lettres.* La Haye 1685, in 12*mo. i. e.* Reflexions on the real preſence in the Sacrament. There was a ſecond edition at Roterdam in 1713, but the author diſowned both, as being full of errors, which in many places deſtroyed the ſenſe (5).

5. *L'Art de ſe connoitre ſoi-méme, ou la Recherche des Sources de la Morale*, Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo. i. e.* The art of knowing one's ſelf. This excellent ſyſtem of morality, was printed again at Lyons in 1693, in 12*mo.* But therein all the paſſages which favour the Proteſtant Religion are left out. A Flemiſh tranſlation followed, printed at Roterdam, in 8*vo.* in 1700. And a High Dutch tranſlation at Augſburg, in 1712, in 8*vo.* (6).

6. *Défenſe de la Nation Britannique; où les droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Societé ſont clairement établis au ſujet de la Révolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Autheur de l'Avis important aux Refugies.* A Londres 1692, in 8*vo. i. e.* A defence of the Revolution in England (7).

7. *Panegyrique de Marie Reine d'Angleterre décedée le* 28 *Decembre* 1694, la Haye 1695, in 4*to. i. e.* A panegyrick on Mary Queen of England.

8. *Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration derniere d'Angleterre, avec le detail des diverſes entrepriſes contre le Roi, & la Nation, qui ont precedé ce dernier attentat.* Londres 1696, in 8*vo.* An account of the late conſpiracy in England. This book was written by order of King William the third, and the original papers neceſſary for compiling it, were furniſhed to the author by the Earl of Portland, and Sir William Trumball, Secretary of State. It was reprinted in Holland, and was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh, but is at preſent ſo ſcarce, that it is known to very few. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to take notice, that this conſpiracy was that deſign, commonly called the Aſſaſſination Plot (8).

9. *La Vérité de la Religion Reformée*, Roterdam 1718, in 8*vo.* Deux Volumes. The truth of the reformed Religion. At the entrance of this work, ſtands the following addreſs, *Dedicated to the true God, whoſe great Name, Holy and Terrible, be exalted of all, by all, and over all, for ever, Amen. Humbly offered to his anointed George* I, *King of Great-Britain*, &c. It was this book, that Dr Henry Lambert, Biſhop of Dromore, cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and afterwards diſliking that verſion, tranſlated it himſelf, for the inſtruction of the Roman Catholicks in his dioceſe. It is written in a very warm pathetick ſtile, but

(1) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 43, Niceron. T. xxxiii. p. 384.

(2) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 156, 172. Tom. iv. p. 618, 619.

(3) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique, ſur la methode des principaux auteurs, &c. p. clxxxvii.

(4) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 383.

(5) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 384. Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. i. p. 272.

(6) Niceron, p. 385.

(7) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iv. p. 254. Niceron. p. 385. This Treatiſe of our Author's was in anſwer to Mr Bayle, but without taking notice that the *Avis important* was his.

(8) Niceron. p. 387. General Dictionary, in the article ABBADIE. See alſo our article of BERNARDI.

bore many editions in his life-time, and are ſtill in great eſteem (*l*).

(*l*) Niceron. Tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

but not without a tincture of enthuſiaſm, which appeared ſtill more ſtrongly in the ſubſequent piece (9). The year following, he reviſed the French tranſlation of the Common Prayer Book, which he likewiſe dedicated to his majeſty King George I, (10).

(9) Niceron. p. 386.

(10) Nouvelles Litteraires, Vol. X. p. 475.

10. *Le Triomphe de la Providence & de la Religion, ou l'ouverture des ſept ſceaux par le Fils de Dieu; ou l'on trouvera la premiere partie de l'Apocalypſe clairement expliquée par ce qu'il y a de plus connu dans l'hiſtoire & de moins conteſté dans la parole de Dieu. Avec une nouvelle & très ſenſible demonſtration de la verité de la Religion Chrêtienne*, Amſterdam 1723, in four vols. 12*mo*. The triumph of Providence and Religion, or the opening the Seven Seals by the Son of God, &c. This is one of the boldeſt Commentaries on the Revelations, that ever was publiſhed; it muſt however, be allowed, that there are in it abundance of ſurprizing things, and the ſtrongeſt proofs, that the fire of the author's imagination, was not at all damped by his years (11). Beſides theſe, he publiſhed ſeveral ſingle ſermons, and other little tracts, which it is not neceſſary to mention. In 1727, he ſent abroad propoſals for printing all his works, as well thoſe already publiſhed, as many that he had by him ready for the preſs, in four volumes 4*to*. But before he could bring his deſign to bear, he was taken away by death (12).

(11) Niceron, ubi ſupra, p. 386.

(12) Id. p. 387.

E

ABBOT (GEORGE) Archbiſhop of Canterbury: A man, whoſe extraordinary abilities, high rank in the church, and influence in publick affairs, deſerve that the circumſtances of his life ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with the greateſt accuracy and impartiality poſſible. He was born October 29, 1562, at Guilford, in Surrey, of very worthy parents (*a*); remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their ſteady zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; for their living long, and happily together, and for their ſingular felicity in their children [*A*]. While his mother was pregnant with this ſon, ſhe is ſaid to have had a dream which proved at once an omen, and an inſtrument of his future fortunes. Her dream was this. She fancied ſhe was told in her ſleep that if ſhe could eat a Jack, or Pike, the child ſhe went with would prove a ſon, and riſe to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their houſe, ſhe accidentally caught a Jack, and had thus, an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This ſtory being much talked of, and coming to the ears of ſome perſons of diſtinction, they offered to become ſponſors for the child, which was kindly accepted, and they had the goodneſs to afford many teſtimonies of their affection to their godſon while at ſchool, and after he was ſent to the univerſity (*b*). Such were the good effects of his mother's dream [*B*]. When he was grown up to an age proper for receiving the firſt tincture of learning, he was ſent with his elder brother Robert (of whom in a ſubſequent article) to the free-ſchool, erected in their native town of Guilford, by King Edward VI; and having paſſed thro' the rudiments of literature, under the care of Mr Francis Taylor, who had then the direction of that ſchool (*c*); he was in 1578 removed to the univerſity of Oxford, and entered a ſtudent in Baliol College (*d*). On November 29, 1583, being then bachelor of arts, he was elected probationer fellow of his college; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of arts, he entered into holy orders, and became a celebrated preacher in the univerſity (*e*). He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1593, and proceeded doctor in that faculty, in May 1597: and in the month of September, of the ſame year, he was elected maſter of Univerſity College (*f*). About this time it was, that the firſt differences began between him and Dr Laud, which ſubſiſted as long as they lived, and was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to both (*g*). In the year following, which was 1598, he publiſhed a Latin work which did him great honour; and which was afterwards reprinted in Germany (*h*). On March 6, 1599, he was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, in the room of Dr Martin Heton, who was preferred to the biſhoprick of Ely: Dr Abbot being then about thirty-ſeven years of age (*i*). Some writers ſay that he was alſo dean of Glouceſter (*k*), but this is abſolutely a miſtake [*C*]. In 1600, he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*l*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf while in that high office, by the opinion

(*a*) Thomas Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to* 1651, p. 539. Ant. Wood, in his Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. c. 583. See alſo the inſcription on the archbiſhop's tomb, at Guilford, in the Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of the county of Surrey, by John Aubrey, Eſq; 8*vo*. 1719, Vol. III. p. 285.

(*b*) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 583.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 584.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Dr Peter Heylyn's life of archbiſhop Laud, fol. 1668, p. 53.

(*b*) See Note [*Y*].

(*i*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. fol. 1716. p. 289.

(*k*) Dr John Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, fol. 1719. p. 574, and J. Dart's Hiſt. of Canterbury Cathed. fol. 1726, p. 173.

(*l*) Ant. Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 157.

[*A*] *For their ſingular felicity in their children.*] Mr Maurice Abbot, was by trade a Clothworker, and ſettled at the town of Guilford, in Surrey, where he married his wife Alice March, and ſuffered for his ſtedfaſtneſs in the Proteſtant religion, through the means of Dr Story, who was a great perſecuter of ſuch perſons in the reign of Queen Mary (1). But theſe ſtorms being blown over, they paſſed the remainder of their days quietly, living together fifty-eight years. She deceaſed September 15, 1606, and he September 25, the ſame year, the former being eighty, and the latter eighty-ſix years of age (2). They left behind them ſix ſons, of whom Robert the eldeſt, was then one of the King's chaplains, our author, George, had been thrice vice-chancellor of Oxford, and their youngeſt ſon Maurice, was at this time an eminent merchant of the city of London (3).

(1) Abel redivivus, p. 540.

(2) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 298.

(3) Abel redivivus, p. 539.

[*B*] *Such were the good effects of his mother's dream.*] The ſtory of this dream was firſt publiſhed by Mr Aubrey, in the year 1696 (4): he ſeems, from what he ſays in another work of his, to have enquired afterwards very carefully into the truth of it; which was atteſted to him by the miniſter, and ſeveral of the moſt ſober inhabitants of Guilford (5); yet it muſt be owned, that it is not a little ſtrange this dream ſhould never be taken notice of before, eſpecially conſidering the humour of the times in which the archbiſhop lived, and the proneneſs of Fuller and Lloyd, who have both written accounts of this biſhop, to ſet down whatever carried in it any thing of the wonderful.

(4) In his Miſcellanies, 8*vo*. p. 50.

(5) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 281.

[*C*] *That he was dean of Glouceſter, is abſolutely a miſtake.*] This is very evident, from conſulting the ſucceſſion of the deans of Wincheſter, and Glouceſter; Dr Abbot was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, March 6, 1599, as appears by the regiſter (6), and on June 3, 1609, Dr Thomas Moreton, was inſtalled on the promotion of Dr Abbot, to the ſee of Litchfield and Coventry (7); ſo that the latter plainly held this deanery nine years. As for that of Glouceſter, Dr Griffith Lewis was ſucceeded therein, after he had held it ſeven years, by Dr Thomas Moreton, in 1607 (8), who was removed to Wincheſter, upon the promotion of Dr Abbot; from whence, I imagine, the miſtake muſt have proceeded: Mr Bayle, in his article, has heightned this error, for he makes Dr Abbot ſucceed Dr Moreton, in the deanery of Glouceſter (9), which was excuſable in him, as a foreigner; but it is ſurprizing, to find ſuch as write Engliſh hiſtories, ſetting down falſe facts of this nature, merely through want of attention.

(6) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 289.

(7) Idem ibid. p. 103.

(8) Idem ibid. Athen. Oxon. c. 584.

(9) *See his article of* ABBOT.

opinion he gave with reſpect to the ſetting up again the croſs in Cheapſide, about which there were great diſputes, but in the end he carried his point againſt Dr Bancroft, then Biſhop of London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; which gained him great reputation as appears by a tract publiſhed on that ſubject (*m*) [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed the ſame year his ſermons on the prophet Jonah, which were received with great applauſe (*n*). In 1603, he was again choſen vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and diſcharged that office a ſecond time with general approbation (*o*). In the ſucceeding year 1604, that tranſlation of the Bible which is now in uſe was made by the direction of King James, and Dr Abbot was the ſecond of eight learned divines in the univerſity of Oxford, to whom the care of tranſlating the whole New Teſtament (excepting the Epiſtles) was committed (*p*). He likewiſe publiſhed this year an anſwer to Dr Hill's Reaſons for upholding Popery (*q*). In 1605, he was a third time vice-chancellor (*r*). In the ſucceeding year, he is ſaid to have had a great ſhare in the troubles of Laud, who was called to an account by the vice-chancellor, Dr Ayry, for a ſermon of his preached before the univerſity (*s*); and that year likewiſe, he loſt his father and mother (*t*). In 1608, died his great patron Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, ſuddenly at the council table, at whoſe funeral, Dr Abbot preached a ſermon, which was afterwards printed, and generally commended (*u*). After his deceaſe, Dr Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and Treaſurer of Scotland, one of King James's early favourites, and who had all along had a very high ſhare in his eſteem, and with him he went this year into Scotland, in order to aſſiſt in the execution of a very important deſign, for eſtabliſhing an union between the Churches in that kingdom, and this, wherein he behaved with ſo much prudence and moderation as gained him a very high character, and is thought to have been the firſt ſtep to all his future preferment (*w*) [*E*]. While he was at Edinburgh upon this occaſion, a proſecution was commenced againſt one George Sprot, Notary of Aymouth, for having been concerned in Gowry's conſpiracy eight years before, for which he was tried before Sir William Hart, Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, condemned and executed. A large account of this affair was drawn up by the judge, and a narrative prefixed thereto, by Dr Abbot, who had been eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, and this was publiſhed at London, in order to ſettle the minds of the people, with regard to that

(*m*) See Note [*D*].

(*n*) See Note [*Y*].

(*o*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 165.

(*p*) See Fuller's Church Hiſt. lib. x. fol. 46, 57. J. Lewis's Compl. Hiſt. of the Tranſlations of the Bible and Teſtament, 8vo. 1739, p. 311.

(*q*) See Note [*Y*].

(*r*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 168.

(*s*) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 54.

(*t*) See Note [*A*].

(*u*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 584.

(*w*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, fol. 1672, p. 383.

[*D*] *A tract publiſhed on that ſubject.*] The croſs at Cheapſide was taken down in the year 1600, in order to be repaired, and upon this occaſion, the citizens of London deſired the advice of both univerſities on this queſtion; Whether the ſaid croſs ſhould be reerected or not? and Dr Abbot, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, gave it as his opinion, that the crucifix with the dove upon it ſhould not be again ſet up, but approved rather of a pyramid, or ſome other matter of mere ornament, for the reaſons aſſigned in his letter. In this determination he acted conſiſtently with his own practice, when in his ſaid office he cauſed ſeveral ſuperſtitious pictures to be burnt at the market-place of Oxford, and among the reſt, one in which was the figure of God the Father, over a crucifix, ready to receive the Soul of Chriſt; and he profeſſes in this letter, that he was moved to ſuch proceedings by his own obſervation and experience. 'I remember, ſays he, in 'that college (Baliol) where I firſt lived, a young man 'was taken praying, and beating his breaſt, before a 'crucifix in a window; which cauſed the maſter and 'fellows, to pull it down, and ſet up other glaſs. 'Which example, makes me nothing doubt, but that 'the croſs in Cheapſide hath many, in the twilight 'and morning early, who do reverence before it, beſides Campian, whoſe act is famous, or rather infamous, for it. And, I am informed, that ſo much 'hath been ſignified by the neighbours, or inqueſt, 'making preſentments concerning the circumſtances of 'this cauſe. By all which, I do conclude, that it is a 'monument of their ſuperſtition; a great inducement, 'and may be a ready way to idolatry; and that there 'can be no tolerable uſe of this matter, which may 'be able to countervail the dangers and obloquy ariſing upon the retaining of it; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is perceived that many evil affected 'men do make their advantage from hence, to inſinuate into the minds of their credulous hearers, 'that it is a token of the return of their faith again 'into this land, ſince their monuments are not extinguiſhed in the chief ſtreet of our greateſt city.' He afterwards deſires, that the reader would obſerve, he ſays, the magiſtrates are to redreſs ſuch enormities: 'For, continues he, I do not permit inferior men to 'run headlong about ſuch matters; and to rend, 'break, and tear, as well within, as without the 'churches; which was that which Luther reprehended, but the advice and conſent of ſuperior powers is 'to be had herein, that all things may be done de'cently and in order.' He held it therefore neceſſary, that they ſhould apply to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Whitgift) and to the Biſhop of London (Bancroft) for inſtructions (10). The iſſue of the matter was, that the croſs only was erected again, without either the body, or the dove, which was agreeable in the main to the ſentiments of the vice-chancellor, and heads of houſes at Oxford.

(10) Cheapſide Croſs cenſured and condemned, by a *letter* ſent from the Vice-chancellor, &c. of Oxford; in anſwer to a queſtion propounded by the citizens of London, &c. 4*to*, London, 1641.

[*E*] *The firſt ſtep to all his future preferments.*] There is no point in which all the writers who mention this Prelate, more clearly agree, than in this, that his journey to Scotland, brought him into that height of favour with the King, which ſo ſuddenly raiſed him in little more than three years, from Dean of Wincheſter, to Archbiſhop of Canterbury; yet it has ſo fallen out, that hitherto, his tranſactions in Scotland have lain ſo much in the dark, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcern how he merited by them, ſo high a ſhare of the Royal favour. To explain therefore this hitherto untouched point, and ſet this matter in a clear light, ſhall be the buſineſs of this note, the rather becauſe it will ſhew how unjuſtly this great man has been charged with unfriendlineſs to the eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, and coldneſs in regard to the Hierarchy. King James had ſuffered ſo much before his acceſſion to the Crown of England, from the ſpirit and power of the Preſbyterians in Scotland, that he was greatly ſet on reſtoring the ancient form of government by Biſhops, in that kingdom; the care of which was principally entruſted to the Earl of Dunbar, to whom Dr Abbot was now chaplain (11). That noble Lord, who is by all writers allowed to have been both the wiſeſt and beſt man of all the favourites of that nation, had proceeded ſo far in this matter two years before, as to obtain an act for the reſtitution of the eſtates of Biſhops, but the Preſbyterians made ſo ſteady a reſiſtance, that the conſequences which were hoped from the reſtoring of that order, were in the utmoſt danger of being diſappointed. But by the ſkill and prudence, the ſound ſenſe, and great moderation of Dr Abbot, theſe difficulties were removed, and the clergy of Scotland, who had refuſed to admit the Biſhops for their moderators in their church ſynods, were brought to a better temper, and things put into ſuch a train, as afterwards produced the entire eſtabliſhment of the Epiſcopal Order in Scotland; for which the King had been ſo long ſtruggling,

(11) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

that conſpiracy; which had been hitherto looked upon as a very myſterious affair, and about the reality of which there had been very great doubts (x) [F]. The King knew ſo

(x) A Compendious Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, ſhewing her Deformation and Reformation, by Alexander Petrie, fol. Hague, 1662, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

ſtruggling, and to ſo little purpoſe. The account given by the famous hiſtorian of the Church of Scotland, ſufficiently proves the truth of what has been aſſerted. 'About the end of June (1608) ſays he, the Earl of 'Dunbar came from court, and with him two En-'gliſh Doctors, Abbot and Higgins. Dr Maxy, one of 'the King's chaplains came by ſea. It was reported 'that no ſmall ſums of money were ſent down with 'him, to be diſtributed among the miniſters and ſome 'others. The Engliſh doctor ſeemed to have no other 'direction, but to perſwade the Scots that there was 'no ſubſtantial difference in religion, between the 'two realms, but only in things indifferent, concern-'ing government and ceremonies: and to report, 'that it was his majeſty's will, that England ſhould 'ſtand as he found it, and Scotland as he left it. But 'when he came to St Andrews, Mr Robert Howie, a 'man of a ſeditious and turbulent ſpirit, declaimed 'againſt the diſcipline and government of our Kirk; 'and then they uttered their mind in plain terms: 'no order was taken with ſo manifeſt a breach, after 'the laſt conference. This was the policy of the af-'piring Biſhops, to cry peace, peace, and to crave 'ſilence of their oppoſites; when, in the mean time, 'they minded not to be ſilent themſelves, when they 'found occaſion (12).' This very clearly proves, that it was by a kind and moderate, not a haughty and ſevere, behaviour, that the Engliſh doctor, as he calls Dean Abbot, won ſo much upon the Scots miniſters, as to bring them into a compliance with the King's deſires; ſo that in two years afterwards, the Lord High Treaſurer, Dunbar, who was entirely governed in this matter by the advice of his able chaplain, procured an act in the General Aſſembly, by which it was provided, 'That the King ſhould have the indiction '(or calling) of all General Aſſemblies. That the 'Biſhops, or their deputies ſhould be perpetual Mo-'derators of the dioceſan ſynods. That no excom-'munication, or abſolution, ſhould be pronounced 'without their approbation. That all preſentations of 'benefices ſhould be made by them; and that the de-'privation or ſuſpenſion of miniſters, ſhould belong to 'them. That every miniſter at his admiſſion to a 'benefice, ſhould take the oath of ſupremacy, and 'canonical obedience. That the viſitation of the 'dioceſe, ſhall be performed by the Biſhop or his 'deputy only. And finally, that the Biſhop ſhould 'be moderator of all conventions, for exerciſings or 'propheſyings, which ſhould be held within their 'bounds (13).' All which were afterwards ratified and confirmed by authority of the parliament of that kingdom. Such were the merits of Dr Abbot in this reſpect, and ſo great juſtice was there done to them by his noble patron, the Treaſurer, in the report he made to his majeſty, of the Dean's behaviour in this reſpect, that, in conjunction with the ſervice rendered his majeſty, by giving his unqueſtioned teſtimony in the affair of Gowry's conſpiracy, (of which a full account ſhall be given in the ſucceeding note) he was raiſed ſo high, and ſo firmly fixed in the eſteem of his royal maſter, as that no oppoſition could prevent his arriving at the ſupreme dignity in his profeſſion (14). As a proof of his advancing his fortune by this means, and not otherwiſe, it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe the obſervation of a con-temporary hiſtorian, after Dr Abbot was raiſed to the archiepiſcopal dignity, who tells us, 'That the firſt preacher, and the firſt in that 'embaſſage, which King James ſent into Scotland, to 'eſtabliſh thoſe neighbouring Churches, was he, whoſe 'eminency both for place and piety, is now worthily 'foremoſt in guiding our own; and whoſe bleſſed 'travels in that ſervice, as they were acceptable to 'God, his majeſty, and that nation; ſo are they a 'document to others, how powerful and admirably 'ſucceſsful true learning is, where it is guided with 'true prudence; and where piety and the love of 'God's glory, is linked with charity and zeal of 'man's good (15).'

(12) The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, by Mr David Calderwood, fol. 1680, p. 588, 589.

(13) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 381, 382.

(14) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 64.

(15) J. Speed's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Book x. fol. 1227.

[F] *There had been very great doubts.*] It is a difficult thing to give a clear account of this matter, within the ſhort compaſs of a note; and yet the importance, as well as curioſity of the ſubject, very obſcurely treated by moſt of our hiſtorians, as well as it's cloſe connection with the hiſtory of Dean Abbot's life, render it abſolutely neceſſary This conſpiracy was framed by John, Earl of Gowry, ſon to that Earl of Gowry, who had been executed for ſurprizing the King's perſon at Ruthen Caſtle, in 1584 (16); and carried on with great diligence and ſecrecy. The ſcheme was to invite the King, upon ſome pretence or other, to the Earl's houſe at Perth, and there to make ſure of him. This deſign was executed on Tueſday Auguſt 5, 1600, when the King was brought thither by Mr Alexander Ruthen, brother to the Earl, accompanied by ſome perſons of quality, under pretence of ſeeing ſome chymical experiment; and for this purpoſe after dinner, being brought to a chamber at the top of the houſe, Mr Alexander Ruthen ſhut the door, and ſuddenly fell to upbraiding the King with the death of his father, for which he was now to make ſatisfaction; and, after this ſpeech, left him for ſome time to the mercy of the executioner, who refuſed to do that office, though Alexander returning had, if this man had not hindered him; but the King with much ſtruggling got at laſt to a window, and cried out ſo loud, that the lords and gentlemen of his retinue heard him, and came to his aſſiſtance; the Earl himſelf was killed by Sir Thomas Ereſkine, the captain of the King's guard, as he was going to help his brother, and Alexander Ruthen, was diſpatched by Ramſay, one of the King's pages, who being well acquainted with the houſe, came by the back-ſtairs time enough to preſerve his maſter (17). When the miniſters of Edinburgh were deſired to aſſemble the people, and give God thanks for this deliverance, they excuſed themſelves, as not acquainted with the particulars; and when they were preſſed only to make known to the people, that the King had eſcaped a great danger, and to excite them to thankſgiving: —— they anſwered, that they were not very well ſatisfied, as to the truth of the matter; and that nothing was to be uttered in the pulpit, but that which might be ſpoke in faith (18). Upon this, the council ordered the Biſhop of Roſs to aſſemble the people, to declare the whole affair, and to make a prayer of thankſgiving, which was done accordingly (19). In November following, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which the eſtate of Gowry was confiſcated, the whole family attainted; and the 5th of Auguſt eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, for a day of thankſgiving in all ſucceeding times (20). After King James's acceſſion to the throne of England, he appointed a weekly commemoration, by a Tueſday's ſermon at court (21): and now, on the execution of this Sprot, an account of his ſhare in the conſpiracy was publiſhed, with a preface to the reader, ſubſcribed by Dr Abbot, and full as large as the account itſelf (22). As this little tract is become very ſcarce, it may not be amiſs to give ſome paſſages from it, in order to ſet this matter in a clearer light. 'There 'are few in this iſland, ſays he, of any underſtand-'ing, but have heard of the traiterous, and bloody 'attempt of the Earl Gowrie and his brother, againſt 'the perſon, and life, of our moſt bleſſed Sovereign. 'Wherein albeit there were ſuch evidences, and ar-'guments, as that any man who would have taken 'notice thereof, might have been ſufficiently informed 'therein, even at the very firſt, and afterward, by the 'clear depoſitions (for moſt pregnant circumſtances) 'and ample atteſtations of many perſons of honour, 'and quality; the parliament of that kingdom took 'full knowledge thereof, and accordingly proceeded 'to the forfeiting of the whole eſtate of that Earl, 'and of his heirs for ever: yet ſome humorous men, 'whom in that reſpect, I may juſtly term unthank-'ful

(16) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 360.

(17) A Complete Hiſtory of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her Son and Succeſſor, King James, by W. Sanderſon, Eſq; fol. 1656, p. 225.

(18) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 362.

(19) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of Mary and James, p. 231.

(20) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 362.

(21) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

(22) The Title of this Pamphlet runs thus, The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction, of George Sprot, Notary in Aymouth. Together with his conſtant and extraordinary Behaviour at his death, in Edinburgh, Auguſt 12, 1608. Written and ſet forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Juſtice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the treaſonable device betwixt John, Earl of Gowry, and Robert Logane, of Reſtalrig (commonly called Leſterig) plotted by them for the cruel murthering of our moſt gracious Sovereign. Before which treatiſe, is prefixed alſo a Preface, written by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester; who was preſent at the ſaid Sprot's execution. London, printed by Melch. Bradwood, for William Aſpley, 1608, 4to. Containing 60 Pages, of which, the Preface makes 38.

ſo well the difficulties that were to be encountered in this northern nation, that it gave him very high ideas of the abilities of the man, who was able to overcome them; and therefore, when another ſet of men filled the King's head and heart with apprehenſions, he had recourſe to Dr Abbot, as the fitteſt perſon, to put things again into the right channel. The caſe was this, his majeſty being engaged in the mediation of peace between the crown of Spain, and the United Provinces; by which the ſovereignty of the latter, was to be acknowledged by the former: he demanded the advice of the convocation then ſitting, as to the lawfulneſs of eſpouſing the cauſe of the States (*y*). Upon this opening, they launched at once into the wide ſea of politicks, and inſtead of ſatisfying the King's ſcruples, excited new jealouſies and apprehenſions, as appears by a very ſingular

Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 37. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 561. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. ſub Anno 1609.

' ful unto God, and undutiful to their King, out of ' fond imaginations, or rather, if you will, ſeditious ' ſuppoſitions of their own, did both at home and ' abroad, by whiſperings and ſecret buzzings into the ' ears of the people, (who were better perſuaded of ' them than indeed there was cauſe) employ their ' wits and tongues, to obſcure the truth of that matter, ' and to caſt an imputation where it was leaſt de- ' ſerved. Which, when God had permitted, for the ' ſpace of ſome years to ranckle and feſter in the ' bowels of thoſe who were the authors of it; the ' ſame God, in his wiſdom, at laſt meaning to cure ' them, if they would be cured, of that malady, diſ- ' covered that in the ſame treaſon, although carried ' never ſo ſecretly, there were other confederates, of ' whom hitherto the world had taken no kind of ' knowledge. And albeit two of the perſons inte- ' reſted in that buſineſs, were lately dead, and de- ' parted unto far greater torment, than all the earth ' could lay upon them, (unleſs they died repentant) yet ' it was apprehended, that a third party remained, ' who had foreknowledge of that conſpiracy, and ' was able to utter much of the ſecrets of it: one ' George Sprot, a notary, inhabiting at Ayemouth, a ' place well known in that county. Which matter, ' or ſome part thereof, being made known to an ' honourable perſon, a moſt faithful ſervant to His ' Majeſty (23): firſt, by ſome words that fell from ' Sprot himſelf, and afterwards, by ſome papers found ' upon him; it was ſo wiſely carried, and ſo pru- ' dently brought about, by the great care and dili- ' gence of that nobleman (God Almighty bleſſing the ' buſineſs) that ſo much was revealed, as followeth in ' this treatiſe, upon the acts to be ſeen, which are ' here ſet down at large, word for word, as they ' agree with the proceſs original, and other examina- ' tions, that ſuch as have been averſe, may at laſt re- ' ceive ſatisfaction. Touching all which I ſhall ſay ' nothing, but only report that which befel upon the ' day of his death, when he ſuffered for that treaſon. ' Having then the ſentence paſſed on him, upon Fri- ' day, Auguſt 12, 1608, in the forenoon, and pub- ' lickly being warned to prepare himſelf to his end, ' which muſt be that after dinner, he moſt willingly ' ſubmitted himſelf unto that puniſhment, which (as ' he then acknowledged) he had juſtly deſerved And ' being left to himſelf, till dinner time was expired, ' then came to him into that private place where he ' remained, ſome of the reverend biſhops, diverſe ' lords of the Seſſion (24), two of the Engliſh mi- ' niſters, there employed by his majeſty, with diverſe ' other miniſters of the town of Edinburgh. Before ' whom he firſt acknowledged and avouched his for- ' mer confeſſion to be true, and that he would die in ' the ſame; and then falling on his knees, in a corner ' of that room where he and they then were, in a ' prayer to God uttered aloud, he ſo paſſionately de- ' plored his former wickedneſſes, but eſpecially that ' ſin of his, for which he was to die, that a man may ' juſtly ſay, he did in a ſort, deject and caſt down ' himſelf to the gates of Hell, as if he ſhould there ' have been ſwallowed up in the gulph of deſperation: ' yet, preſently laying hold upon the mercies of God ' in Chriſt, he raiſed himſelf, and ſtrangely lifted up ' his ſoul unto the throne of grace, applying joy and ' comfort to his own heart ſo effectually, as cannot ' well be deſcribed. In the admitting of this conſo- ' lation into his inward man, he burſt out into tears, ' ſo plentifully flowing from him, that for a time they ' ſtopped his voice. The ſight, and hearing whereof, ' wrought ſo forcible an impreſſion in thoſe perſons of ' honour, and learned men, who beheld him, that ' there was ſcarce any one of them, who could re- ' frain tears in the place, as diverſe of themſelves ' that day did witneſs unto me (25). ——— After- ' ward being brought to the ſcaffold where he was to ' die, he uttered many things, among which, I ob- ' ſerved theſe: He acknowledged to the people, that ' he was come thither to ſuffer moſt deſervedly; that ' he had been an offender againſt Almighty God, in ' very many reſpects; but that none of his ſins was ' ſo grievous unto him, as that, for which he muſt ' die; wherein, notwithſtanding he was not an actor, ' but a concealer only. That he was ingyred (in- ' volved) in it by the Laird of Raſtalrig, and his ſer- ' vant, the Laird of Bour, both which, he ſaid, were ' men that profeſſed not religion. Whereupon, he ' exhorted men to take heed, how they accompanied ' with ſuch as are not religious; becauſe, ſaid he, ' with ſuch as make not profeſſion of religion, there is ' no faith, no truth, no holding of their word, as ' himſelf had tried and found. But touching the ' treaſon, for the concealing whereof he was condem- ' ned, he added, that he was preſerved alive to open ' that ſecret myſtery which ſo long had lain hid. ' That God had kept him ſince that attempt of the ' Earl Gowrie, from very many dangers, but notedly ' from one, when being in apparent hazard of drown- ' ing, he was ſtrangely delivered; which, ſaid he, ' was God's work, that I might remain alive unto this ' happy and bleſſed day, that the truth might be ' made known. And now I confeſs my fault, to the ' ſhame of myſelf, and to the ſhame of the devil; but ' to the glory of God. And I do it not either for ' fear of death, or for any hope of life (for I have de- ' ſerved to die, and am unworthy to live) but becauſe ' it is the truth, which I ſhall ſeal with my blood. ' My fault, ſaith he, is ſo great, that if I had a thou- ' ſand lives, and could die ten thouſand deaths, yet I ' might not make ſatisfaction, that I ſhould conceal ' ſuch a treaſon againſt ſo gracious a King. Theſe, ' and the like words, when he had ſpoken upon one ' ſide of the ſcaffold, he turned him to the ſecond ſide, ' and afterward to the third (that all the people might ' hear) where he ſpake to the ſame purpoſe as former- ' ly he had done (26). ——— And here, being told ' by the ſaid miniſters, and other perſons of quality, ' that being ſo near his departure out of the world, it ' concerned him to ſpeak nothing but the truth, and ' that upon the peril of his ſoul: he anſwered, that ' to the end that they ſhould know that he had ' ſpoken nothing but the verity, and that his confeſ- ' ſion was true in every reſpect, he would (at the laſt ' gaſp) give them ſome apparent token for the confir- ' mation of the ſame. Then fitting himſelf to the ' ladder, the executioner cometh to him, and as the ' manner is, aſking forgiveneſs of him; with all my ' heart, ſaith he, for you do but your office, and it is ' the thing I deſire; becauſe, ſuffering in my body, I ' ſhall in my ſoul be joyned to my Saviour. Aſcend- ' ing up to the ladder, he deſired the people to ſing a ' pſalm with him, which they did with many a weep- ' ing eye. He named the 6th pſalm, and beginning, ' or taking it up himſelf, in every verſe or line there- ' of, he went before the people, ſinging both loud ' and tunably unto the very end. Then once again ' confirming and avowing his former confeſſion, he ' covered his own face, and, commending his ſoul to ' God, he was turned off the ladder; where hanging ' by the neck ſome little while, he three ſeveral ' times, gave a loud clap with his hands, that all the ' ſtanders-by might hear, which was the ſign or token ' (as it ſeemeth) which he a little before had ſaid, that ' he would give at his laſt gaſp, for the ratification ' and avowing of thoſe things, which by his confeſ- ' ſion he had ſo many times declared and delivered. ' Theſe things were done in the open ſight of the ' ſun, in the King's capital town, at the market-croſs ' in Edinburgh, in the preſence of diverſe thouſands ' of all ſorts; of the nobility, of the clergy, of the ' gentry,

(23) The Earl of Dunbar.

(24) Archbiſhop Glaſcow, Bp Brichen, Ld Halyrudehouſe, Collector, Regiſter, Juſtice Clerk, D. Maxwell, M. Hodſon, M. P. Galloway, M. J. Hall, Ch. Lumſden, and others.

(25) Dean Abbot's Preface, p. 18---22.

(26) Ibid. p. 24---26.

ſingular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this ſubject [G]. It does not appear what effect this letter of the King's produced, but in all probability it anſwered his majeſty's end in writing it, as it is an inconteſtable proof of the confidence he had in the perſon it was written to. At leaſt thus much is certain, that Dean Abbot, ſtood ſo high in the King's favour, that on the death of Dr Overton, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, which happened the latter end of April, 1609, his majeſty thought of Dr Abbot for his ſucceſſor, and he was accordingly conſecrated Biſhop of thoſe united ſees, on December 3, in the ſame year (z). But this, it ſeems, did not appear in the King's eyes a ſufficient recompence, for the ſervices rendered him by ſo able a man; and therefore, before he had ſat a month in this biſhoprick, he was tranſlated to London, that ſee becoming void by the death of Dr Thomas Ravis, and he was accordingly removed thither on the 20th of January following (a). It was but a ſhort time that he poſſeſſed both theſe biſhopricks, and yet in that ſhort time, he ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the diligent performance of his function, by conſtant preaching, and by expreſſing the utmoſt readineſs to promote learning, and learned men, that he obtained a general good character, as appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times (b) [H]. While the good Biſhop was thus employed, a new opportunity offered of the King's teſtifying his eſteem of, and confidence in, this worthy perſon, by the Archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury's becoming vacant as it did, on the 2d of November, 1610, by the death of Dr Richard

(z) Reliſt. Bancroft, fol. 96. Wood's Athen. Oxon Vol. I. col. 684, 735. Godwin de Præſulib. Angliæ, Lond. 4to 1616, p. 225.

(a) Ibid. fol. 103. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 735.

(b) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

' gentry, of the burgeſſes, of women and children, ' myſelf, with the reſt of the Engliſh miniſters, ſtanding by, and looking on, and giving God the glory, ' that after ſo long a ſpace as eight years and eight ' days (for ſo it was by juſt computation, after the attempt of Gowrie) he was pleaſed to give ſo noble a ' teſtimony unto that, which by ſome maligners, had ' been ſecretly called in queſtion, without any ground ' or reaſon I have reported at length, thoſe particulars, which I heard and ſaw; which that honourable perſonage who wrote this treatiſe following, ' doth ſomewhat more briefly deliver, but yet both of ' us very truly, as thouſands can witneſs (27).'

(27) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

[G] *A very ſingular letter written by him to Dr Abbot, upon this ſubject.*] This letter from the King, to Dr Abbot, was firſt publiſhed on occaſion of the famous diſpute between Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, and his adverſaries, on his taking the oaths to King William III, after ſome heſitation, and grounding the defence of his conduct on (Biſhop) Overall's Convocation Book (28). It is not neceſſary here, to enter at all into the merits of that diſpute; but as the letter has a cloſe connection with the hiſtory of the Archbiſhop's life, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (29).

(28) A Vindication of the Caſe of Allegiance, due to Sovereign Powers; in Reply to an Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, Obedience and Submiſſion to the preſent Government demonſtrated from Biſhop Overall's Convocation Book; with a Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to Dr Sherlock's Caſe of Allegiance, &c. by William Sherlock, Maſter of the Temple, 4to. 1691. p. 4.

(29) New Obſervator, Vol. III. No. xii. the Author of which tells us, the Original is in the hands of an eminent perſon; the four laſt lines in the King's own hand, and the reſt in the ſecretary's.

' Good Dr Abbot,

' I Cannot abſtain to give you my judgment of the ' proceedings in the convocation, as you will call it; ' and both as *rex in ſolio*, and *unus gregis in eccleſia*, ' I am doubly concerned. My title to the crown, nobody calls in queſtion, but they that neither love ' you nor me; and you may gueſs whom I mean; all ' that you, and your brethren, have ſaid of a king in poſſeſſion (for that word, I tell you, is no more, ' than that you make uſe of in your canon) concerns ' not me at all: I am the next heir, and the crown ' is mine by all rights you can name, but that of ' conqueſt; and Mr Sollicitor, has ſufficiently expreſſed my own thoughts, concerning the nature of kingſhip; and concerning the nature of it, *ut in mea perſona*, and, I believe, you were all of his opinion, ' at leaſt none of you ſaid any thing contrary to it, at ' the time he ſpoke to you from me: but you know ' all of you, as I think, that my reaſon of calling you ' together, was to give your judgments; how far a chriſtian, and a proteſtant King, may concur to aſſiſt his neighbours to ſhake off their obedience to ' their own ſovereign? Upon the account of oppreſſion, tyranny, or what elſe you like to name it. In ' the late Queen's time, this kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the Hollanders, both with arms and advice, ' and none of your coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from ſome of ' your ſelves, to raiſe ſcruples about this matter; and albeit, I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in ſubditos*, as in *May* laſt, in the ſtar chamber, ' upon the occaſion of Hales's pamphlet; yet I never ' took any notice of theſe ſcruples, till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours call on me to concur in the treaty between ' Holland and Spain, and the honour of the nation ' will not ſuffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, eſpecially after ſo much money and men ſpent in their ' quarrel; therefore, I was of the mind to call my ' clergy together, to ſatisfy not ſo much me, as the ' world about us, of the juſtneſs of my owning the ' Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have ' done, and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had ' not; you have dipped too deep, in what all kings ' reſerve among the *arcana imperii*; and whatever averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the author of ſin, you have ſtumbled upon the threſhold ' of that opinion, in ſaying, upon the matter, that ' even tyranny is God's authority, and ſhould be remembered as ſuch. If the King of Spain ſhould return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, ' you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it, for ' you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority, if he prevail.

' Mr Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my mind further on this theory buſineſs; I ſhall give you my ' orders about it by Mr Sollicitor, and *until* then, ' meddle no more *in* it, for they are edge tools; or rather like that weapon *that is* ſaid to cut with one ' edge, and cure with the other: I commit you to ' God's protection, good Dr Abbot, and reſt

Your good friend,

JAMES R.

[H] *As appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times.*] While he was Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, it appears that he ſollicited Archbiſhop Bancroft, to beſtow a prebend upon Dr Thomas James, who was Sir Thomas Bodley's Librarian at Oxford (30). In the year 1610, Thomas Tiſdale, of Glimpton, in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; bequeathed five thouſand pounds to Dr George Abbot, then Biſhop of London, Sir John Bennet, and Dr Aray, to purchaſe lands for the maintainance of ſeven fellows, and ſix ſcholars; which money was laid out in the purchaſe of two hundred and fifty pounds a year. Afterwards, Richard Wightwick, B. D. rector of Eaſt-Iſle, in Berkſhire, gave lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three fellows, and four ſcholars; upon which, the truſtees before-mentioned, having repaired, and, in a manner, rebuilt Broad-Gate-Hall, in Oxford, procured in the reign of King James, upon their petition ſetting forth theſe facts, a charter of Mortmain, for ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, to this new foundation, which was called Pembroke College (31), in reſpect to William, Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the Univerſity; and for our Prelate's activity in accompliſhing this affair, Dr Thomas Clayton, who was the firſt maſter of the new college, wrote him a very handſome letter of acknowledgment, which is ſtill extant (32). In Auguſt, 1610, he conſecrated the new church-yard on the weſt ſide of Fleet-Ditch, the ground of which had been given to the inhabitants of St Bride's pariſh, by the Earl of Dorſet (33). His zeal, and indefatigable diligence, in the publick exerciſe of his function, were ſo remarkable, and the conduct of his private life ſo exemplary, as well as irreproachable,

(30) Reliq. Bodleian. 8vo. 1703. p. 228.

(31) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. lib. xi. p. 125. See his Worthies alſo in Oxfordſhire.

(32) The Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, by Mr John Ward, fol. 1740. p. 210.

(33) Newcourt's Dioceſe of London, Vol. I. fol. 316.

Dr Richard Bancroft (*c*). The court Biſhops immediately caſt their eyes upon the celebrated Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Biſhop of Ely, and pointed him out to the King, as one ſufficiently qualified to take upon him the government of the Church; and they thought this recommendation joined to the King's known regard for the parts and piety of this eminent man, enough to ſecure his promotion to the Primacy (*d*); but either the King himſelf thought of the Biſhop of London, or he was propoſed to him by his old friend and patron, the Earl of Dunbar; and therefore, without taking the advice of thoſe prelates, his majeſty preferred Biſhop Abbot to the throne of Canterbury, in which he was ſeated on the 9th of April, 1611 (*e*); and on the 23d of June following, was ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council (*f*). Thus we ſee him, before he had arrived at the age of fifty, exalted to the higheſt dignity in the Church, and celebrated by one of his con-temporaries, and a biſhop too, for his learning, eloquence, and indefatigable diligence in preaching and writing, notwithſtanding the great burthen that lay upon him, from the neceſſary attendance on the duties of his high office; eſpecially preſiding in the high commiſſion court, which ſat weekly at his palace, and his regular aſſiſting at council, which, while his health permitted, he never failed (*g*). At this time, he was in the higheſt favour both with Prince and people; and appears to have had a principal hand in all the great tranſactions in Church and State; he was never eſteemed exceſſively fond of power, or deſirous of carrying his prerogative, as Primate of England, to an extraordinary height; yet as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick, he ſhewed a ſteady reſolution in the maintainance of the rights of the high commiſſion court, and would not ſubmit to Lord Coke's prohibitions (*h*). He likewiſe ſhewed his concern for the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion abroad, by procuring his majeſty's application to the States General, againſt Conrade Vorſtius, whom they called to the Profeſſorſhip of Leyden (*i*); in which affair Sir Ralph Winwood was employed; and when it was found difficult to obtain from the States that ſatisfaction which the King deſired, his Grace, in conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer, Saliſbury, framed an expedient for contenting both parties (*k*). In all probability this alarmed ſome of the warm churchmen at home, who were by no means pleaſed with the King's diſcountenancing abroad, thoſe opinions which themſelves favoured in both univerſities; but, whatever their ſentiments upon this matter might be, Archbiſhop Abbot ſeems to have had as great concern for the Church, as any of them, when he thought it really in danger, as appears by a ſhort and plain letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, about one Mr Amias, who had been appointed preacher in the Engliſh congregation at the Hague, of whom the Biſhop ſays, that he was a fit perſon to breed up the captains and ſoldiers there in mutiny and faction, and, conſequently, very unfit for his office (*l*). His great concern for the true intereſt of religion, made him a zealous promoter of the match between the Elector Palatine, and the Princeſs Elizabeth; and that Prince being here in the beginning of the year 1612 (*m*), his Grace thought fit to invite the nobility that attended him to an entertainment, at his archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth, where, though uninvited and unexpected, the Elector himſelf reſorted, to ſhew his great reſpect for the Archbiſhop, and was ſo well pleaſed with his welcome, that when he feaſted the members of the privy council at Eſſex Houſe, he ſhewed particular reſpect to the Archbiſhop, and thoſe who attended him. On the fourteenth of February following, the marriage was ſolemnized with great ſplendor, the Archbiſhop performing the ceremony on a ſtage erected in the middle of the royal chapel; and on the tenth of April, his Electoral Highneſs returned to Germany (*o*); but before his departure, he made a preſent of plate to the Archbiſhop, of the value of a thouſand pounds, as a mark of the juſt ſenſe he had of the pains his Grace had taken in the accompliſhing his marriage; and as an additional mark of his confidence, he wrote to him from Canterbury, in relation to the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England (*p*) [*I*]. The concern his majeſty had ſhewn for removing Arminius firſt, and then Vorſtius, had given their favourers in Holland ſo much uneaſineſs, that the famous Hugo Grotius, the great champion of their cauſe, was ſent over to England, to endeavour to mitigate the King's diſpleaſure, and, if

(*c*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 365. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 584.

(*d*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

(*e*) Regiſt. ipſius, fol. 1.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. Jacobi I.

(*g*) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

(*h*) Memorials of Affairs of State, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. Collected from the Original Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, fol. 1725, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*i*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 384.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 294, 317. Heylyn, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 346.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*n*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 428, 430.

(*o*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 65. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 380. Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 454.

irreproachable, that we find him celebrated by an eminent poet, for uniting the wiſdom of the ſerpent, with the innocency of the dove (34); which was not only true of him then, but in the whole ſucceeding courſe of his life; wherein it may be truly ſaid, that as his abilities raiſed him to preferment, ſo nothing but his rigid virtue and incorruptible probity, expoſed him to thoſe ſtorms of envy and malice, which, however they might affect his fortune, could never ſhake his conſtancy, or prejudice his reputation.

[*I*] *To the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England.*] The Prince Elector Palatine, a little before he left England, addreſſed himſelf to the King, in hopes of obtaining the enlargement of the Lord Gray, who had been a long time a priſoner in the tower; but this application ſo little pleaſed the King, that he told him roundly in anſwer, he marvelled, how he ſhould become ſuitor for a man whom he neither knew, or ever ſaw; to which the Prince Elector anſwered, that this was true, but that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke de Boüillon, Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and Count Henry, who were well acquainted with him. In all probability, this, inſtead of giving the King ſatisfaction, filled him with new apprehenſions; for his reply was in a very quick ſtile, Son, ſaid he, when I come into Germany, I promiſe you not to importune you for any of your priſoners. This was ſo far from operating favourably in behalf of Lord Gray, that he was ſoon after more cloſely reſtrained, upon pretence of ſome private converſation he had with one of Lady Arabella's women, which proved after all to be no more than an amorous intrigue. Theſe particulars we learn from a letter written by Mr Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated May 6, 1613, and he adds, 'It is thought the 'Prince Palatine, went not away ſo well ſatisfied, be-'ing refuſed in diverſe ſuits and requeſts; and I hear 'that from Canterbury he wrote to the Archbiſhop, 'complaining, *That the King did not uſe him like a 'ſon, but rather like a youngling, or childiſh youth, not 'to be regarded* (35).

(34) See the Scourge of Folly, conſiſting of Satyrical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy Perſons, &c. by John Davis, of Hereford, 8*vo. ſine Anno*, p. 187.

(35) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 454.

if poſſible, to give him a better opinion of the Remonſtrants, as they began then to be called; and we have a very ſingular account of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop (*q*) [*K*]. In the ſpring of the year 1613, the affair of the Charterhouſe was ſettled, and at the cloſe of the month of June, his Grace, and the reſt of the truſtees, took poſſeſſion of that place, purſuant to the will of Mr Sutton (*r*); and if this gave the Archbiſhop, as no doubt it did, great ſatisfaction, an affair that happened about the ſame time, diſturbed him not a little. This was the famous caſe of divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, and Robert, Earl of Eſſex, her huſband; which has been always conſidered as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of King James's reign, though the part acted therein by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, added much to the reputation he had already acquired, for unſhaken and incorruptible integrity [*L*]. The circumſtances that attended this affair, might poſſibly leſſen the King's favour to him in ſome reſpects, but he ſtill retained a great ſhare of it, as appears by the raiſing his brother to the ſee of Saliſbury, in the year 1615 (*s*); but with Queen Anne, he ſtood always on the beſt terms poſſible (*t*). He made uſe of his intereſt with her majeſty, when all other applications had failed, to engage her to recommend Mr George Villiers, ſo well known afterwards in the world, to his majeſty's favour, for which at that time, the young man was ſo grateful as to call him father (*u*), and to deſire his advice as to his behaviour, which the Archbiſhop very freely gave him; and it had been very

(*q*) See that letter in the Note.

(*r*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 367.

(*s*) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 63.

(*t*) As we learn from himſelf, in a paſſage of a work of his, tranſcribed in Note [*M*].

(*u*) See the Article of VILLIERS (GEORGE Duke of Buckingham.

[*K*] *Of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop*] This is contained in a letter from his Grace to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 1, 1613, from Lambeth; it contains a great variety of curious particulars, ſome of which follow (37). 'You 'muſt take heed, how you truſt Dr Grotius too far, 'for I perceive him to be ſo addicted to ſome partia- 'lities in thoſe parts, that he feareth not to laſh, ſo 'it may ſerve a turn At his firſt coming to the King, 'by reaſon of his good Latin tongue, he was ſo te- 'dious, and full of tittle-tattle, that the King's judg- 'ment was of him, that he was ſome pedant, full of 'words, and of no great judgment. And I myſelf, 'diſcovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine 'that every man was bound to hear him, ſo long as 'he would talk, (which is a great burthen to men re- 'plete with buſineſs) did privately give him notice 'thereof, that he ſhould plainly, and directly, deliver 'his mind, or elſe he would make the King weary of 'him. This did not ſo take place, but that after- 'wards he fell to it again, as was eſpecially obſerved 'one night at ſupper at the Lord Biſhop of Ely's, 'whither being brought by Mr Caſaubon, (as I think) 'my Lord intreated him to ſtay to ſupper, which he 'did. There was preſent Dr Steward, and another 'Civilian, unto whom he flings out ſome queſtion of 'that profeſſion, and was ſo full of words, that Dr 'Steward afterwards told my Lord, that he did per- 'ceive by him, that, like a ſmatterer, he had ſtudied 'ſome two or three queſtions, whereof when he came 'in company he muſt be talking to vindicate his ſkill; 'but if he were put from thoſe, he would ſhew him- 'ſelf but a ſimple fellow. There was preſent alſo, 'Dr Richardſon, the King's profeſſor of divinity in 'Cambridge, and another Doctor in that faculty, with 'whom he falleth in alſo about ſome of thoſe queſtions, 'which are now controverted among the miniſters in 'Holland. And being matters wherein he was ſtudied, 'he uttered all his ſkill concerning them: my Lord of 'Ely ſitting ſtill at the ſupper all the while, and won- 'dering what a man he had there, who never being 'in the place or company before, could over-whelm 'them ſo with talk for ſo long a time. I write this 'unto you ſo largely, that you may know the diſpo- 'ſition of the man, and how kindly he uſed my Lord 'of Ely, for his good entertainment. —— You will 'aſk me what is this to you? I muſt tell you there- 'fore, that you ſhall not be without your part. At 'the ſame time that Sir Noel Caron was together with 'Grotius, being now to take his leave of the King, 'it was deſired of his majeſty, that he would not 'haſtily give his judgment concerning points of re- 'ligion, now in difference in Holland, for that his 'majeſty had information but of one ſide, and that 'his Ambaſſador did deal partially, making all re- 'ports in favour of the one ſide, and ſaying nothing 'at all for the other. For he might have let his 'majeſty know, how factious a generation theſe con- 'tradicters are; how they are like to our puritans in 'England; how refractory they are to the authority of 'the civil magiſtrate, and other things of like nature, 'as I wrote you in my former letter. I doubt not but 'Grotius had his part in this information, whereout I 'conceive you will make ſome uſe, keeping theſe 'things privately to your ſelf, as becometh a man of 'your employment. When his majeſty told me this, 'I gave ſuch an anſwer as was fit; and now upon 'the receipt of your letters, ſhall upon the firſt oc- 'caſion give further ſatisfaction. All things reſt there 'as they did, and I, as ready to do you all good of- 'fices, remain, *&c.*'

(37) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 459.

GEORGE Cant.

[*L*] *Unſhaken and incorruptible integrity*] This affair of the divorce, was by the King referred to a court of delegates, conſiſting of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, and Rocheſter, Sir Julius Cæſar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn, Dr John Bennet, Dr Francis James, and Dr Thomas Edwards. This affair was drawn out into a great length, and many accidents happened in the courſe of it, which gave the Archbiſhop infinite diſquiet. He ſaw plainly, that the King was very deſirous the Lady ſhould be divorced, and, on the other hand, he was in his judgment directly againſt the divorce. He laboured all he could to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, by having an end put to the cauſe ſome other way than by ſentence, but it was to no purpoſe; for thoſe who drove on this affair, had got too great power to be reſtrained from bringing it to the concluſion they deſired. The Archbiſhop was told, that a predeceſſor of his, which was Archbiſhop Grindall, had ſuffered about Dr Julio's divorce, and ſo might he; but this, however, did not at all move him; on the contrary, he prepared a ſpeech againſt the nullity of the marriage, which he intended to have ſpoken in the court at Lambeth, September 25, 1613, but he did not make uſe of that ſpeech, becauſe the King ordered them to deliver their opinions in few words. He continued, however, inflexible, with regard to his opinion, and therefore, when ſentence was pronounced, the court was divided in the following manner (38).

The commiſſioners who gave ſentence in the Lady Eſſex's behalf, were,

Wincheſter, Ely, Litchfield and Coventry, Rocheſter, } Biſhops.

Sir Julius Cæſar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn, } Doctors of Law.

The commiſſioners diſſenting.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
Biſhop of London.

Sir John Bennet, Francis James, Thomas Edwards, } Doctors of Law.

(38) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 390, 391.

very happy for him if he had always followed thoſe councils [*M*]. Towards the cloſe of the next year, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato (*w*), took ſhelter here, from the perſecution with which he was threatened by the Pope, for diſcovering his diſlike both of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of Rome, and was very kindly received by his majeſty, who was pleaſed to order the Archbiſhop to entertain him (*x*), which he did with generous hoſpitality, till he was otherways provided for by the King. His Grace however thought himſelf ſufficiently recompenced for the trouble given him in this affair, by this ſtranger's procuring for him the manuſcript of Father Paul's excellent hiſtory of the council of Trent (*y*). In the ſpring of the year 1618, *viz.* on the ſecond of March, our good Archbiſhop loſt his brother the Biſhop of Saliſbury (*z*), and before his grief was well over for ſo near a relation, he met with freſh diſturbance from the King's declaration for permitting ſports and paſtimes on the Lord's day, which was dated at Greenwich, May 4, 1618 (*a*). This declaration was ordered to be read in churches, and the Archbiſhop being accidentally at Croydon in Surrey when it came thither, had the courage to forbid it's being read, which however the King winked at, notwithſtanding there were ſome about him, who let no opportunity ſlip of irritating him againſt this prelate (*b*). The council of Dort ſat

(*w*) Camd. Annal. Jacob. I. Dec. 16, 1616.

(*x*) Id. ibid.

(*y*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 707.

(*z*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 431. Heylyn's Hiſt. of Abp. Laud, p. 75.

(*a*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Sabath, p. 493.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 709.

To juſtify his conduct in this matter, the Archbiſhop drew up the reaſons which induced him to be againſt the ſentence, which King James thought fit to anſwer himſelf, and wrote alſo a letter to him upon that ſubject, in which there are ſome things that are very ſingular, and therefore worthy the reader's notice. 'After that I had fully peruſed and rightly conſidered 'of all your papers, I found your principles ſo ſtrange, 'and your doubts ſo far ſought, that I thought it 'neceſſary, as I have already ſaid, to ſet down unto 'you my obſervations upon them. But to conclude 'my letter with that plainneſs that becometh one of 'my quality; I muſt freely confeſs, that I find the 'grounds of your oppoſition ſo weak, as I have reaſon 'to apprehend, that the prejudice you have of the 'perſons, is the greateſt motive of breeding theſe 'doubts into you; which prejudice is the moſt dan-'gerous thing that can fall in a Judge, for miſleading 'of his mind. And the reaſon moving me to this 'apprehenſion, is partly grounded upon your laſt 'words to me at your parting from Windſor, and 'partly upon a line ſcraped out in your paper of 'doubts, for I am ſure you think me not ſo blunt a 'ſecretary, but that I can read a line ſo ſcraped out. 'In your laſt ſpeeches with me, you remember you 'told me, what aſſurance you had of the Earl's abi-'lity out of his own mouth, which you ſaid you 'could not but truſt, becauſe he was ſo religious a 'nobleman. But when I told you of the other 'party's contrary affirmation, you remember how you 'uſed the word of iniquity, and how far your inter-'lined line ſeems to have a harmony with this word, 'yourſelf can beſt judge. Now then if I would aſk 'you what proof you have of the one's religion more 'than the other's, you muſt anſwer me by judging 'upon the exterior; and how deceivable that gueſs is, 'daily experience teaches us: but with a holy prote-'ſtation, that I never knew any thing but good in 'the young Earl. Was not this the ground of maſter '*Robert Bruſe*'s incredulity, becauſe he knew the 'Earl of *Gowry* to be truly religious, &c. (39)' This letter might and probably did trouble the Archbiſhop, however he perſiſted in the ſame conduct, and never could be brought to do any thing, that might appear ſo much as a tacit approbation of that ſentence, as is moſt evident in the account given of this matter, and all the circumſtances attending it, (at leaſt in relation to the Archbiſhop) written by himſelf, and publiſhed within theſe few years (40).

(39) Caſe of the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard, p. 129.

(40) See a further account of this treatiſe in note [*Y*].

[*M*] *If he had always followed thoſe councils.*] We have this very remarkable paſſage from the Archbiſhop's own pen, in the diſcourſe he wrote upon his diſgrace, under the reign of King Charles. In that diſcourſe he obſerves, that it was one of King James's maxims, to take no favourite but what was recommended to him by his Queen, that if ſhe afterwards complained of this Dear One, he might anſwer, it is long of yourſelf, for you were the party that commended him unto me. Our old maſter, ſays the Archbiſhop, took delight ſtrangely in things of this nature. He ſays that Queen Anne was graciouſly pleaſed to give him more credit than ordinary, and therefore when others had ſollicited her in vain, he was applied to; but for ſome time her majeſty would not liſten to his perſuaſions, or think of recommending Villiers, for which ſhe often gave him theſe reaſons. My Lord, you and the reſt of your friends know not what you do, I know your maſter better than you all, for if this youg man be once brought in, the firſt perſons that he will plague muſt be you that labour for him, yea, I ſhall have my part alſo; the King will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may ſeem to beholden to none but himſelf. Noble Queen (cries out the Archbiſhop after reporting this fact) how like a propheteſs did you ſpeak! The reſt of the ſtory being but ſhort will appear beſt in the Archbiſhop's own words. 'In the end, ſays he, upon importunity, Queen Anne 'condeſcended, and ſo preſſed it with the King, 'that he aſſented thereunto; which was ſo ſtricken 'while the iron was hot, that in the Queen's bed-'chamber, the King knighted him with the rapier 'which the Prince did wear. And when the King 'gave order to ſwear him of the bed-chamber, So-'merſet, who was near, importuned the King with 'a meſſage, that he might only be ſworn a Groom; '——— but myſelf and others that were at the 'door, ſent to her majeſty that ſhe would perfect 'her work, and cauſe him to be ſworn a Gentleman 'of the chamber. There is a lord or two living 'that had a hand in this atchievement; I diminiſh 'nothing of their praiſe for ſo happy a work, but 'I know my own part beſt; and on the Word of 'an honeſt man, I have reported nothing but truth. 'George went in with the King, but no ſooner he 'got looſe, but he came forth unto me in the privy-'gallery, and there embraced me: he profeſſed that 'he was ſo infinitely bound unto me, that all his 'life long he muſt honour me as his father. And 'now he did beſeech me that I would give ſome 'leſſons how he ſhould carry himſelf. When he 'earneſtly followed this chace, I told him I would 'give him three ſhort leſſons, if he would learn 'them. The firſt was, that daily upon his knees 'he ſhould pray to God to bleſs the King his maſter, 'and to give him (George) grace ſtudiouſly to ſerve 'and pleaſe him. The ſecond was, that he ſhould 'do all good offices between the King and the 'Queen, and between the King and the Prince. 'The third was, that he ſhould fill his maſter's ears 'with nothing but truth. I made him repeat theſe 'three things unto me, and then I would have 'him to acquaint the King with them, and to tell 'me when I met him again, what the King ſaid 'unto him. He promiſed me he would; and the 'morrow after, Mr Thomas Murrey, the Prince's 'tutor, and I ſtanding together in the gallery at 'Whitehall, Sir George Villiers coming forth and 'drawing to us, he told Mr Murrey how much he 'was beholden unto me, and that I had given him 'certain inſtructions, which I prayed him to rehearſe, 'as indifferently well he did before us; yea, and 'that he had acquainted the King with them, who 'ſaid, they were inſtructions worthy of an Arch-'biſhop to give to a young man. His countenance 'of thankfulneſs for a few days continued, but 'not long, either to me or any other of his well-'wiſhers. The Roman hiſtorian Tacitus hath ſome-'where a note, That benefits while they may be 'requited ſeem courteſies, but when they are ſo 'high that they cannot be repaid, they prove matters 'of hatred (41).'

(41) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 460, 461.

[*N*] *His*

ſat this year, to which were ſent from hence in the beginning of the month of October four commiſſioners, and amongſt them Dr Hall, Dean of Wincheſter, with whoſe health the climate of Holland diſagreeing, he returned, and Dr Goad, the Archbiſhop's chaplain, was ſent in his place (*c*). The end of this year proved as diſagreeable to the Biſhop as it's beginning; in Autumn, the Queen, his gracious miſtreſs, falling ill of that diſtemper, which, after a tedious ſickneſs, brought her to her end on the firſt of March following (*d*). The Archbiſhop himſelf began alſo to grow infirm, and finding himſelf leſs fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, reſolved, while he had ſtill ſtrength, to enter upon a great and good deſign, which he had long meditated as a teſtimony of affection to his native town of Guilford, where, on the fifth of April 1619, he was preſent when Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the firſt ſtone of his hoſpital, which the Archbiſhop afterwards nobly endowed (*e*) [*N*]. It was towards the end of this year, that the Elector Palatine accepted of the crown of Bohemia (*f*), which occaſioned great diſputes in King James's councils, ſome deſiring that his majeſty ſhould not interfere in this matter at all, from a foreſight that it would produce a war in Germany; others again, believing that both natural affection to his ſon and daughter, and a juſt concern for the Proteſtant intereſt, ought to have engaged his majeſty warmly to ſupport the new election (*g*). The Archbiſhop agreed in ſentiment with the laſt mentioned party, and not being able at that time to attend the privy council, he wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State [*O*]. The next year was in a great meaſure ſpent in debates and negotiations

(*c*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. of Britain, Cent. XVII. lib. x. p. 80.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. April 5, 1619. Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 283. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 199.

(*f*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James I. p. 481.

(*g*) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 83.

[*N*] *His hoſpital which he afterwards nobly endowed.*] This hoſpital ſtands almoſt over-againſt Trinity Church, built of brick in a quadrangular form, with a noble tower at it's entrance, and four ſmall turrets over the gate. His Grace endowed it with lands to the value of three hundred pounds *per annum*, one hundred pound of which was to be employed towards ſetting the poor to work, and the other two hundred pounds, for the maintenance of a maſter, twelve brethren, and eight ſiſters, who have blue cloaths, and gowns of the ſame colour, and two ſhillings and ſix pence a week, each. In the chapel, which is ſpacious and high roofed, there are two windows of painted glaſs, very well ſtained, repreſenting the ſtory of the patriarch Jacob and his family, and amongſt the figures there are three angels holding ſcrolls, in which are theſe words,

Do pauperibus. Reddo Deo. Quid retribuam Domino? hic vota reſolvam.

I give to the poor. I reſtore to God. What ſhall I return unto the Lord? here will I pay my vows.

On ſcrolls in ſeveral places of the windows are theſe words;

Clamat ad Abba Pater (42).

(42) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 282.

This I take to be a kind of alluſion to the Archbiſhop's name, which was ſometimes written Abbat, as appears by the picture before his brother's life, in Dr Fuller's collection (43); but however, the alluſion will hold in the Latin without this ſuppoſition. The twenty-ninth of October being the anniverſary of the Biſhop's birth is commemorated here, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being, is the viſitor of this hoſpital (44).

(43) Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 538. and his name is likewiſe ſpelt Abbat in the index.

(44) Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

[*O*] *He wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State.*] This letter ſhall be here tranſcribed, not ſo much in proof of the matter of fact aſſerted in the text, as in reſpect to the work itſelf, for ſo it may be ſtiled, tho' no more than a letter, ſince it contains a compendious ſyſtem of the Archbiſhop's ſentiments in religion and politicks; ſo that if we were to ſpend ever ſo much time in the enquiry after theſe points, we ſhould never be able to point them out ſo clearly, fully, and in a manner ſo much to the reader's ſatisfaction, as they are here (and in another letter hereafter cited) repreſented by the Archbiſhop's own pen (45).

(45) Cabala, third edit. p. 102.

To Secretary NAUNTON.

'Good Mr Secretary,

'I HAVE never more deſired to be preſent at 'any conſultation, than that which is this day to 'be handled, for my heart and all my heart goeth 'with it; but my foot is worſe than it was on Fri-'day, ſo that by advice of my phyſician I have 'ſweat this whole night paſt, and am directed to 'to keep my bed this day.

'But for the matter; my humble advice is, that 'there is no going back, but a countenancing of it 'againſt all the world; yea ſo far as with ringing of 'bells and making of bonfires in London, ſo ſoon 'as it ſhall be certainly underſtood, that the coro-'nation is paſt. I am ſatisfied in my conſcience 'that the cauſe is juſt, wherefore they have rejected 'that proud and bloody man; and ſo much the rather, 'becauſe he hath taken a courſe to make that king-'dom not elective, but to take it from the donation 'of another man. And when God hath ſet up the 'Prince that is choſen to be a mark of honour thro' 'all Chriſtendom, to propagate his goſpel, and to 'protect the oppreſſed, I dare not for my part give 'advice, but to follow where God leads.

'It is a great honour to the King our maſter, that 'he hath ſuch a ſon, whoſe virtues have made him 'thought fit to be made a King. And methinks I 'do in this and that of *Hungary*, foreſee the work of 'God, that by piece and piece the kings of the 'earth that gave their power unto the beaſt (all the 'word of God muſt be fulfilled) ſhall now tear the 'whore and make her deſolate, as St John in his 'Revelation has foretold. I pray you therefore, with 'all the ſpirits you have, to put life into this bu-'ſineſs; and let a return be made into *Germany* with 'ſpeed, and with comfort, and let it be really pro-'ſecuted, that it may appear to the world, that we 'are awake when God in this ſort calleth us.

'If I had time to expreſs it, I could be very angry at 'the ſhuffling which was uſed towards my Lord Don-'caſter, and the ſlighting of his embaſſage ſo, which 'cannot but touch upon our great maſter who did ſend 'him; and therefore I would never have a noble ſon 'forſaken for reſpect of them, who truly aim at no-'thing but their own purpoſes.

'Our ſtriking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will 'honour the *Palſgrave*, will ſtrengthen the union, 'will bring on the States of the Low-Countries, will 'ſtir up the King of *Denmark*, and move his own 'uncles, the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Bou-'villon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in '*France*) to caſt in their ſhares; and *Hungary*, as I 'hope, (being in that ſame cauſe) will run the ſame 'fortune. For the means to ſupport the war I hope '*providebit Deus:* the parliament is the old and 'honourable way, but how aſſured at this time I 'know not; yet I will hope the beſt: certainly if 'countenance be given to the action, many brave 'ſpirits will voluntarily go. Our great maſter, in ſuf-'ficient want of money, gave ſome aid to the Duke 'of *Savoy*, and furniſhed out a pretty army in the 'cauſe of *Cleve*. We muſt try once again what can 'be done in this buſineſs of a higher nature, and all the 'money that may be ſpared is to be turned that way. 'And perhaps God provided the jewels that were 'laid up in the Tower, to be gathered by the mother 'for the preſervation of her daughter; who, like a 'noble Princeſs, hath profeſſed to her huſband, not to 'leave herſelf one jewel, rather than not to maintain 'ſo religious and righteous a cauſe. You ſee that 'lying on my bed I have gone too far; but if I

'were

negotiations upon this ſubject, in which the King took a great deal of pains with little effect (*b*). The Archbiſhop's declining ſtate of health, making exerciſe a thing not only convenient but neceſſary for him, he was wont in the ſummer to make a tour into Hampſhire for the ſake of recreation, and being invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramzil upon the edge of Berkſhire, and not far from Hartford Bridge, his grace met there with the greateſt misfortune that befel him in the whole courſe of his life; for hunting in this park on the twenty-fourth of July, he let fly a barbed arrow from a croſs-bow at one of the deer, which unfortunately ſtruck one Peter Hawkins, my Lord Zouch's keeper, who was quite out of the Biſhop's ſight, and had been warned more than once to keep out of the way, in the left arm, by which wound a large blood-veſſel being pierced, he bled to death in an hour's time (*i*). This unforeſeen accident threw the Archbiſhop into a deep melancholy, tho' he was not conſcious to himſelf of the leaſt inadvertency or indiſcretion, neither did this wear off in time, but throughout his whole life he obſerved a monthly faſt on a Tueſday, the day on which this fatal miſchance fell out, and ſettled an annuity of twenty pounds on the widow, which ſoon procured her another huſband (*k*). This affair made a very great noiſe, and there wanted not ſome to repreſent it in a ſiniſter light to King James, but his majeſty gave his judgment of the matter in a ſhort and clear ſentence, *An angel*, ſaid he, *might have miſcarried in this ſort* (*l*). When he was afterwards informed of the legal penalties which his grace had incurred by this accident, he wrote him a conſolatory letter with his own hand, in which amongſt other things he told him, that *he would not add affliction to his ſorrow, or take one farthing from his chattels or moveables which were forfeited by law* (*m*). The Archbiſhop immediately on this misfortune retired to his own hoſpital at Guilford, there to wait the deciſion of the great point as to the irregularity, which ſome imagined he had incurred, for it happened very unluckily that at this juncture, there were four Biſhops elected but not conſecrated, *viz.* Dr John Williams, lord keeper of the great ſeal, to the ſee of Lincoln; Dr John Davenant, to that of Saliſbury; Dr Valentine Cary, to that of Exeter; and his old antagoniſt Dr William Laud, whoſe preferment, on this occaſion, he had warmly oppoſed, to that of St Davids; and all, except Dr Davenant, ſcrupled the Archbiſhop's capacity to lay hands on them till he was cleared from all imputation as to this fact (*n*). The King being informed of this, directed, in the beginning of October following, a commiſſion to the ten following perſons, *viz.* the Lord Keeper; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Rocheſter; the Elects of Exeter and St Davids; Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Juſtice of the common pleas; Sir John Dodderidge, one of the juſtices of the King's bench; Sir Henry Martin, Dean of the Arches; and Dr Steward; to conſider and reſolve the three following queſtions (*o*). 1. *Whether the Archbiſhop was irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the two Judges, and the two Civilians, were very clear that he was not irregular; but the other five thought he was (*p*). 2. *Whether that act might tend to ſcandal in a churchman?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart, and Dr Steward, doubted; all the reſt agreed, that a ſcandal might be taken tho' not given (*q*). 3. *How his Grace ſhould be reſtored, in caſe the King ſhould follow the deciſion of thoſe commiſſioners, who had found him irregular?* All agreed that it could not be otherwiſe done than by reſtitution from the King, but they varied in the manner. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Dr Steward, thought it ſhould be done by the King, and by him alone, in the ſame patent with the pardon. The Lord Keeper, and the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Exeter, and St David's, were for a commiſſion from the King directed to ſome Biſhops. Judge Dodderidge, and Sir Henry Martin, were deſirous it ſhould be done both ways, for abundant caution (*r*). This return was made to his majeſty on the tenth of November 1621 (*s*), and accordingly a pardon and a diſpenſation both bearing date at Weſtminſter, the twenty-ſecond of November, paſſed the great ſeal, by which his majeſty aſſoiled the Archbiſhop from all irregularity, ſcandal, or infamation, (if any was incurred) and declared him capable of all metropolitical authority, as if this accident had never happened (*t*). Such was the cloſe of this buſineſs, after a great variety of proceedings, and many arguments publiſhed on both ſides [*P*]. Yet all this could not ſatisfy the minds of

(*b*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 485. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 137.

(*i*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory of Britain, Cent. XVII. Book x. p. 87. Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle. 1674. p. 521. Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Archbiſhops, p. 68.

(*k*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 88. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 65.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*n*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 531.

(*o*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 121.

(*p*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 67.

(*q*) Idem, ibid.

(*r*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 122, 123. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.

(*s*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Sanderſon's continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 337,---340.

'were with you this ſhould be my language, which 'I pray you humbly and heartily to repreſent to the 'King, my maſter, telling him, that when I can 'ſtand, I hope to do his majeſty ſome ſervice herein. 'So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

* Sept. 12, 1619.

GEORGE Cant.

* This date wanting in the Cabala, is ſupplied from Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 42.

[*P*] *And many arguments publiſhed on both ſides.*] As the caſe was abſolutely new, and ſuch a one as naturally afforded room for talkative and buſy men to diſplay their abilities; there was nothing ſurprizing in the noiſe this accident made, or the various conſtructions put upon it by different people, according as their notions or their prejudices led them. The Archbiſhop being ſenſible of all this, either wrote himſelf, which is moſt probable, or cauſed to be written, a very ſhort piece, under the title of an apology (46), which, on the eighth of October 1621, was ſent to Sir Henry Spelman, who, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, returned an anſwer to it, which diſcovers full as much ſeverity as learning. It is not very clear to whom this apology was addreſſed, or for whoſe ſatisfaction the anſwer to it was written; but it is very probable, that both were intended for the uſe of the Commiſſioners, appointed by the King, to inquire into the ſuppoſed irregularity of the Archbiſhop, of which his Grace had notice on the fifth of October, and the Commiſſioners applied themſelves very cloſely to their buſineſs, from that time. Both theſe pieces are extant, in the poſthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, but theſe do not ſeem to have been the only pieces that were penned on this occaſion; for we are told

(46) The whole title is, An Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, the Keeper, wounded in the park at Bramzil, July 24, 1621, by an unknown hand, but from the ſtile it ſeems to be the Archbiſhop's. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ. p. 107.

of thoſe who had ſcrupled his power of laying on hands, and therefore they petitioned the King, that they might not be compelled to wound their conſciences by ſubmitting to ſuch a conſecration; and, in compliance with their deſire, the Biſhop of Lincoln was conſecrated in King Henry VIIth's chapel, on the eleventh of November, by the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Ely, Oxford, and Landaff; and the Biſhops of Sarum, Exeter, and St David's, in the chapel of the Biſhop of London's palace, on the eighteenth of November, by the ſame reverend Prelates (*u*). It does not appear, that his Grace was at all leſſened, by the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, in the King's favour, or his courage in any degree abated, by the troubles he had met with (*w*). On the contrary, we find him, in the year 1622, oppoſing the Spaniſh match, which was a thing the King had ſet his heart upon, with the greateſt firmneſs and ſpirit, and even venturing, under his hand, to give his ſentiments on that ſubject in terms ſo vigorous and pathetick, that no pen can properly repreſent them but his own (*x*) [Q]. The King however remained fixed in his reſolution, and the articles agreed on for the ſaid marriage, were ſworn to, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, and other great officers of ſtate, notwithſtanding which they never took effect (*y*). The Archbiſhop thenceforward aſſiſted but ſeldom at council, being hindered chiefly by his infirmities (*z*), but in the King's laſt ſickneſs he was called for, and attended with great conſtancy, and received the higheſt marks of the King's confidence, to the very laſt moment of his life, and was near him when he expired, on the twenty-ſeventh of March 1625 (*a*). At the coronation of King Charles I, the Archbiſhop, as his office required, ſet the crown upon his majeſty's head, tho' he was extreamly weak, and much troubled with the gout (*b*), but thenceforward he viſibly declined in the King's favour, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched for an opportunity to make the Archbiſhop feel the weight of his diſpleaſure. This was at laſt taken, for his refuſing to licence a ſermon, preached by one Dr Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonſhire, to juſtify and promote

(*u*) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 68.

(*w*) Bp Hacket, in the place before cited, ſays, the Archbiſhop was wont to diſſent from the King as often as any at the council board, and that his Majeſty loved him the better for his courage and ſincerity.

(*x*) Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 80. Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(*y*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. I. p. 88.

(*z*) See his own narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.

(*a*) Sir A. W's Court and Character of King James, p. 175.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 204.

told by a reverend Prelate, that the fact was much diſcourſed of in foreign univerſities, eſpecially amongſt our neighbours the Sorbonniſts, who diſputed it three ſeveral times in their ſchools, and concluded the accident to have amounted to a full irregularity, which is an incapacity to exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical act of order or juriſdiction (48).

[Q] *No pen can properly repreſent them but his own.*] This letter from the Archbiſhop to King James is without date, but the ſubject points out plainly enough the time when it was written; and it is inſerted here, to ſhew the Archbiſhop's principles in religion, in regard to which there cannot be a fuller teſtimony.

(48) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 65, 66.

'May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

'I HAVE been too long ſilent, and am afraid, 'by my ſilence, I have neglected the duty of the 'place it hath pleaſed God to call me unto, and your 'Majeſty to place me in: but now I humbly crave 'leave, I may diſcharge my conſcience towards God, 'and my duty to your Majeſty; and therefore I be'ſeech you freely to give me leave to deliver myſelf, 'and then let your Majeſty do with me what you 'pleaſe. Your Majeſty hath propounded a Toleration 'of religion, I beſeech you to take into your conſi'deration what your act is, what the conſequence 'may be; by your act, you labour to ſet up the moſt 'damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of '*Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful it will 'be to God, and grievous to your good ſubjects, the 'profeſſors of the Goſpel, that your Majeſty who hath 'often diſputed, and learnedly written againſt thoſe 'hereſies, ſhould now ſhew yourſelf a Patron of thoſe 'wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the 'world, and your conſcience tells yourſelf, are ſu'perſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable. And here'unto I add what you have done, in ſending the 'Prince into Spain, without conſent of your coun'cil, the privity and approbation of your people; 'and although you have a charge and intereſt in the 'Prince, as ſon of your fleſh, yet have the people a 'greater, as ſon of this kingdom, upon whom, (next 'after your Majeſty) are their eyes fixed, and welfare 'depends; and ſo tenderly is his going apprehended, 'as (believe it) however his return may be ſafe, yet 'the drawers of him into this action, ſo dangerous to 'himſelf, ſo deſperate to the kingdom, will not paſs 'away unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. Beſides, this To'leration which you endeavour to ſet up by your 'proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament; 'unleſs your Majeſty will let your ſubjects ſee, that 'you will take unto yourſelf, ability to throw down 'the laws of your land at your pleaſure. What dread'ful conſequences theſe things may draw afterward, I 'beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, and above all, 'leſt by this Toleration, and diſcountenancing of the 'true profeſſion of the Goſpel, wherewith God hath 'bleſſed us, and this kingdom hath ſo long flouriſhed 'under it, your Majeſty do not draw upon this king'dom in general, and yourſelf in particular, God's 'heavy wrath and indignation.

'Thus in diſcharge of my duty towards God, to 'to your Majeſty, and the place of my calling, I 'have taken humble leave to deliver my conſcience. 'Now, Sir, do what you pleaſe with me (49).'

(49) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 85.

This letter is likewiſe printed by Arthur Willſon in his hiſtory, with this reflection, both on the King and the Archbiſhop. 'Thus did our Solomon in his 'latter time, (though he had fought with beaſts at 'Epheſus, as one ſaith of him) incline a little too 'much to the Beaſt: yet he made his tale ſo good to 'the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (what reſervations 'ſoever he had) that he wrought upon the good old 'man, (afterwards) in the concluſion of the work, to 'ſet his hand as a witneſs to the articles (50).' Upon this, another hiſtorian of the ſame reign takes upon him to inſinuate, that this long letter to the King, was penned to pleaſe his diſciples, and copies given to publiſh in print after his deceaſe; for, ſays he, we never heard tidings of it till now, in our laſt days; 'for Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of 'all England, was the firſt man that ſigned to the 'poſtſcript, which atteſted thoſe articles of the mar'riage, and ſo did all the privy council.' Then ſpeaking of the excuſe made by Mr Willſon, for the Archbiſhop, this writer adds, *I can tell him there were two other Biſhops, John, Biſhop of Lincoln, and Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, men of far greater merit, and high eſteem, and evener conſcience, that ſubſigned with him* (51). But in this fact he is miſtaken, for Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, did not ſign, more willingly than the Archbiſhop. The apology of the other hiſtorian alſo was unneceſſary, for the articles which the Archbiſhop apprehended, and wrote againſt, were private articles, as appears plainly from the whole tranſaction printed in Ruſhworth (52). But another great writer, gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he owns that the letter came abroad, not in theſe laſt times, as Sanderſon calls them, but at the very time when it was ſuppoſed to be written, yet he denies that the Archbiſhop was the author of it, and ſuggeſts, that it was only fathered upon him, that it might make the greater impreſſion upon the people (53).

(50) Life and Reign of King James, p. 236.

(51) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(52) See his Collections. Vol. I. p. 85, ---- 101.

(53) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111.

promote a loan, which the King had demanded. This ſermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent aſſizes 1627, before the Judges at Northampton (*c*), and it was tranſmitted to the Biſhop, with the King's direction, to licenſe it, which he refuſed to do, and gave his reaſons for it; notwithſtanding which, the ſermon was licenſed by the Biſhop of London, (Dr Mountaigne) after many things had been corrected therein, from the lights given by the Archbiſhop's objections, for which however it was reſolved that he ſhould ſuffer (*d*). Diſcourſes of this nature were ſo loud at court, that ſome of his Grace's friends overheard and reported them to him, upon which he thought fit to retire to his palace at Croydon, a month before his uſual time. On the fifth of July, Lord Conway, who was then Secretary of State, made him a viſit, and intimated to him, that the King expected he ſhould withdraw to Canterbury, which the Archbiſhop declined, becauſe he had a law-ſuit at that time with that city, and deſired he might rather have leave to go to his houſe at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was yielded to (*e*); and on the ninth of October following, the King granted a commiſſion to the Biſhops of London, Durham, Rocheſter, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute archiepiſcopal authority, the cauſe aſſigned being no more than this, *That the Archbiſhop could not at that time, in his own perſon, attend thoſe ſervices, which were otherwiſe proper for his cognizance and juriſdiction* (*f*). Some writers have pretended, that his ſuppoſed irregularity, occaſioned by the death of Peter Hawkins, was revived; but the commiſſion which is extant on record ſhews the contrary, nor indeed was that affair ever thought of afterwards (*g*); but the Archbiſhop did not remain long in this ſituation, for the neceſſities of the times rendering a parliament neceſſary, his Grace was ſent for about Chriſtmas, and not only reſtored to his authority and juriſdiction, but, on his coming to court from his palace at Lambeth, was received when he quitted his barge, by the Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Dorſet, who conducted him to his majeſty, where, having kiſſed the King's hand, he was deſired not to fail the council table twice a week (*h*). His Grace ſat in that parliament which began on the ſeventeenth of March following, and continued in the full exerciſe of his office ever after, of which it may not be amiſs to take notice in this ſingular inſtance. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 1628, he conſecrated Richard Montagu, to the ſee of Chicheſter, a man who had been remarkably buſy in ſupporting the pretence of his irregularity, and at this conſecration Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, aſſiſted, which is the cleareſt proof that can be, that no doubts ſtuck longer as to his irregularity, even with thoſe who loved him leaſt (*i*). In parliament, the Archbiſhop maintained his credit in as high a degree as any of his predeceſſors, and it is more than probable, that the knowledge of this procured him ſuch marks of reſpect, as were at this time afforded him by the court. When the Petition of Right, that great pillar of the Engliſh liberty, was under conſideration, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury delivered the ſenſe of the houſe of Lords thereupon, at a conference with the houſe of Commons, and at the ſame time, laid before them ſuch propoſitions as their Lordſhips had agreed upon, for which, thanks were returned, in a ſet ſpeech, by Sir Dudley Diggs (*k*). The intereſt of Biſhop Laud was now ſo great at court, that he drew up a ſcheme of inſtructions, which having the King's name at the head of them, were, in the month of December 1629, tranſmitted to his Grace, under the pompous title, *His Majeſty's inſtructions to the moſt reverend father in God, George, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be obſerved and put in execution, by him and ſeveral Biſhops in his province.* Theſe inſtructions his Grace communicated to his ſuffragan Biſhops, in which, as Heylyn obſerves, he acted *miniſterially*; but to ſhew that he ſtill meant to exerciſe his own authority in his own dioceſe, he reſtored Mr Palmer and Mr Udnay to their lectureſhips, after the Dean and Archdeacon of Canterbury had ſuſpended them, and, in other reſpects, ſoftned the rigour of thoſe inſtructions, which were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the Church, which the Archbiſhop thought a burden too hard to be borne by the tender conſciences of thoſe who made the fundamentals of religion their ſtudy, and were not ſo zealous for forms (*l*). His conduct in this and other reſpects, is ſaid to have made his preſence unwelcome at court, and ſo indeed it ſeems to have been, for upon the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles II,) which happened on the twenty-ninth of May 1630, Laud, then Biſhop of London, had the honour to baptize him as Dean of the chapel, notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury is the Ordinary of the court, and the King's houſhold, wherever it is, are regarded as his pariſhioners; ſo that this was viſibly as much a ſlight upon the Archbiſhop, as an act of favour towards his antagoniſt (*m*). The Archbiſhop however was proof againſt all ſuch accidents as theſe, and went on doing his duty without fear or favour, and yet one of the laſt acts of his life plainly ſhews, that he was very far from being ſo indifferent towards the diſcipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, as ſome have repreſented him. This act of his was an order dated the third of July 1633, requiring the pariſhioners of Crayford in Kent, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, on their knees, at the ſteps aſcending to the communion table (*n*). We may well ſtile this one of his laſt acts, ſince a month afterwards, *viz.* on the fourth of Auguſt in the ſame year, he deceaſed at his palace of Croydon, worn out with cares and infirmities, at the age of ſeventy-one. He was buried according to his own expreſs direction, in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the holy Trinity, in his native town of Guilford in Surrey (*o*) Soon after his deceaſe, a noble monument was erected

(*c*) This ſermon was intitled, *Apoſtolical Obedience, &c.* 4*to*, 1627.

(*d*) See his narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 439.

(*e*) Idem, ibid.

(*f*) Ruſhworth, Collections, Vol. I. p. 435. Frankland's Annals, p. 211. In both places the commiſſion is printed at large.

(*g*) The reign of King Charles by Hammond L'Eſtrange, Eſq; p. 71, 72. Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, by H. L. Eſq; written by Dr Heylyn, p. 54.

(*h*) Heylyn's Life of Abp Laud, p. 195.

(*i*) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp Williams, p. 68.

(*k*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 552, 553. Frankland, ubi ſupra. p. 282.

(*l*) Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

(*m*) Sanderſon's compleat Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, p. 141. Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 209.

(*n*) Regiſt. Abbot, III. fol. 143.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

erected over his grave, with the effigies of the Archbiſhop in his robes, ſupported by ſix black marble pillars of the Dorick Order, raiſed on pedeſtals of books piled up (*p*). On this tomb there is a large Latin inſcription in honour of the Archbiſhop, which having been already more than once in print, need only be referred to here (*q*). The facts related in this article, ſufficiently prove that he was a man of great natural parts, and thoſe ſufficiently improved, for the worthy performance of whatever his high ſtation in the Church required. He ſhewed himſelf in many circumſtances of his life, a man of great moderation towards all parties, a ſteady friend to the Proteſtant religion, an honeſt though perhaps not an humble courtier, and one who was deſirous that the clergy ſhould have attracted the reverence and eſteem of the laity, by the ſanctity of their manners, and the uprightneſs of their behaviour, rather than have claimed them as neceſſarily annexed to their function. Theſe notions of his, ſquaring little with the humour of ſome writers, has drawn upon him many reflections that he did not deſerve [*R*]. The general hiſtorians of thoſe times ran much into writing of characters, and that which Hammond l'Eſtrange beſtowed upon the Archbiſhop, has been copied into various works. Dr Heylyn makes uſe of it to expreſs what he did not care ſhould fall from his own pen (*r*), though upon other occaſions, he has treated that writer in his hiſtory very freely. Lloyd has copied that character without naming his author (*s*), and to ſay the truth, it is from thence, that moſt of the ſtrokes of ſatire beſtowed upon the memory of this great man have been ſtolen (*t*); and yet how little ſuitable that character is to the perſon for whom it was drawn, the reader will eaſily perceive from the piece itſelf, inſerted for that reaſon at the bottom of the page [*S*]. He has not met with much better

(*p*) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285.

(*q*) Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Biſhops, p. 112. Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 285, 287.

(*r*) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 243, 244.

(*s*) State Worthies, p 749.

(*t*) See the Notes [*R*] and [*S*].

[*R*] *Reflections that he did not deſerve.*] Our old church hiſtorian tell us, 'That he forſook the birds of 'his own feather to fly with others, generally favour-'ing the laity, more than the clergy, in cauſes that 'were brought before him (54).' One would imagine from hence, that this Archbiſhop had been a man of great ſeverity in his government; whereas, another writer cenſures his Grace for his remiſſneſs in viſitations (55): and as it is impoſſible that a man ſhould be guilty of oppoſite offences at the ſame time, it may fairly be preſumed, that he was guilty of neither; but that the bearing hard upon immoral clergymen in the high commiſſion court, and his tenderneſs for good men, who were ſcrupulous about ceremonies, expoſed the Archbiſhop to ſuch cenſures from thoſe who loved the former too well, and had too little pity for the latter. Mr Sanderſon ſtrikes much deeper at the Archbiſhop's character, for in his hiſtory he tells us, 'That his Grace grew ſo much out of humour with 'the court, on the queſtioning his regularity, upon 'the accident of Peter Hawkins's death, that he re-'fuſed, becauſe he was not permitted to go to the 'altar, to attend the ſervice of the council-table; 'ſaying to our author, *Since they will have it ſo, that 'I am incapable of the one, I ſhall ſpare myſelf the 'trouble of the other* (56).' He adds to this charge a much higher. He ſays, 'That the Archbiſhop fell 'upon downright Puritan principles, and had ſo 'many church and ſtate male-contents viſited him, 'that it produced a new ſect, who were ſtiled *Nico-'demites*, and his diſciples; for which he gives this 'wiſe reaſon, *That the Archbiſhop had conſtantly 'candle light in his chamber and ſtudy, making it mid-'night at noon-day* (57).' The concluſion of his charge is the bittereſt of all, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe his own words. 'Here he began to be the 'firſt man of eminency in our Church, a ringleader of 'that faction, for I can name thoſe then his private 'diſciples, which lately appeared deſperate proſe-'lytes (58).' Theſe paſſages were firſt printed in another book, word for word (59), from whence it evidently appears, that Sanderſon wrote them both. Yet with reſpect to the charge, Fuller aſſures us, that Dr Barnard, the Archbiſhop's houſhold chaplain, and near relation, knew nothing of this burning candle in his chamber and ſtudy (60); and as to the male-contents that reſorted to him, the Archbiſhop has fully purged himſelf of that accuſation, in the narrative of his troubles (61). This humour of inveighing againſt the Archbiſhop, was not confined to his own times, but has prevailed even amongſt later writers. Mr John Aubrey having tranſcribed what is ſaid of this Prelate on his monument, adds immediately; 'Notwithſtanding this moſt noble character, 'tranſmitted to poſterity on this Archbiſhop's monu-'ment, he was, though a benefactor to this place, 'no friend to the Church of England, whereof he 'was head, but ſcandalouſly permitted that poiſonous 'ſpirit of Puritaniſm to ſpread all over the whole na-'tion, by his indolence at leaſt, if not connivance 'and encouragement; which ſome years after broke 'out, and laid a flouriſhing Church and State in the 'moſt miſerable ruins; and which gave birth to thoſe 'principles, which, unleſs rooted out, will ever make 'this nation unhappy (62).' I might eaſily add more inſtances of the ſame ſort, but that I am perſwaded the reader will think theſe ſufficient, and therefore I ſhall conclude this note, with an obſervation of Fuller's. 'The truth is, ſays he, the Archbiſhop's own 'ſtiffneſs and averſeneſs to comply with court deſigns, 'gave advantage to his adverſaries againſt him, and 'made him more obnoxious to the King's diſpleaſure. 'But the blame did moſt light upon Biſhop Laud, 'men accounting this a kind of *filius ante diem*, &c. 'As if not content to ſucceed, he endeavoured to ſup-'plant him, who might well have ſuffered his decayed 'old age to have died in honour: What needs the '*felling* of a tree a *falling*? (63)'

(54) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

(55) L'Eſtrange in his Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

(56) Reign and Death of King James, p. 531.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Aulicus Coquinariæ, or, A Vindication in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Court and Character of King James*, London, 1650, 12*mo*. p. 132.

(60) Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra.

(61) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 438, 462. Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 213, 224.

(62) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. III. p. 287.

(63) Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book xi. p. 128.

[*S*] *At the bottom of the page*] This hiſtorian writes thus. 'Not long after his return from *Scotland*, 'aged and ſelf-fear, *George Abbot* the titular Arch-'biſhop of *Canterbury*, went to his everlaſting home, '*Auguſt* 4. A very learned man he was, his eru-'dition all of the old ſtamp, ſtiffly principled in the 'doctrine of St *Auguſtine*; which they who under-'ſtand it not, call *Calviniſm*, therefore diſreliſhed by thoſe who inclined to the *Maſſilian* and *Arme-'nian* tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his 'converſation. But ſome think a better *Man* than 'Archbiſhop, and that he was better qualified with 'merit for the dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering 'the function, in the exerciſe whereof he was con-'ceived too facile and yielding; his extraordinary 'remiſſneſs in not exacting ſtrict conformity to the 'preſcribed orders of the Church in point of cere-'mony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal determinations 'to their firſt principle of indifferency, and led in 'ſuch an habit of inconformity, as the future reduc-'tion of thoſe tender conſcienced men to long diſ-'continued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. 'This was the height of what I dare report his fail-'ings reached to: that he was a ringleader of that 'ſect which lately appeared deſperate proſelytes, loth 'I am with a late author to affirm (64), warrant I 'have none, to leave ſo ill a ſavour upon his fame, 'nor can it be infallibly inferred from theſe men, 'their being then in favour with him. Their prin-'ciples perhaps were entertained ſince his death, or 'if before, not then declared, and until ſuch ſecrets 'be diſcovered, men may be miſtaken in thoſe they 'favour; the greateſt ſufferer of theſe times was 'ſo (65).' As injurious as this character is in ſome points, yet it is plain, that the author did not credit what Mr Sanderſon had aſſerted, and indeed, it is happy for this Archbiſhop's memory, that almoſt all his cenſurers have contradicted each other, and thereby afforded juſt room to poſterity, to queſtion the truth of what they have all advanced, eſpecially when

(64) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 530, 531.

(65) L'Eſtrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

better quarter from the noble hiſtorian, tho' there is more of decency preſerved in his animadverſions, as the reader will perceive from the picture of our Archbiſhop drawn by his pen [*T*]. A later writer juſtly eſteemed for his perfect knowledge of the Engliſh hiſtory, and not ſo much addicted to party, has done much more juſtice to the virtues and abilities of this great Prelate, and therefore we held it reaſonable to annex his teſtimony to theſe memoirs [*U*]. His charity and publick ſpirit ought certainly to have been ſet in a clearer light, than hitherto they have been, by the friends to the Church; the rather, becauſe a writer, remarkable for his keenneſs, has been pleaſed to aſſert (*u*), that *marks of his benefaction we find none, in places of his breeding and preferment*; which is at once an unjuſt and unchriſtian aſperſion, as will appear in the notes [*X*]. In regard to his learning, ſucceeding ages may judge thereof,

(*u*) Heylyn's Life of Abp Laud, p. 245.

when it is conſidered, that in all their cenſures, they enter into the ſecrets of this Prelate's heart, and take upon them to publiſh to the world, what, if true, could be known only to God and himſelf.

[*T*] *Drawn by his pen.*] The Earl of Clarendon ſpeaks of him thus. 'It was about the end of *Auguſt* in the year '1633, when the King (*Charles* I) returned from *Scot-*'*land* to *Greenwich*, where the Queen kept her court; 'and the firſt accident of moment that happened after 'his coming thither, was the death of *Abbot*, Arch-'biſhop of Canterbury, who had ſat too many years 'in that ſee, and had too great a juriſdiction over the 'Church, tho' he was without any credit in the court 'from the death of King *James*, and had not much 'in many years before. He had been maſter of one 'of the pooreſt colleges (*Baliol*) in *Oxford*, and had 'learning ſufficient for that province. He was a man 'of very moroſe manners, and a very ſour aſpect, 'which in that time was called gravity; and under the 'opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation 'of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's firſt *Scotch* fa-'vourite, he was preferred by King *James* to the 'biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and pre-'ſently after to *London*, before he had been Parſon, 'Vicar, or Curate, of any pariſh-church in *England*, 'or Dean or Prebendary of any cathedral church; 'and was in truth, totally ignorant of the true con-'ſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the ſtate 'and intereſt of the clergy; as ſufficiently appeared 'throughout the whole courſe of his life afterward.

'He had ſcarce performed any part of the office of 'Biſhop in the dioceſe of *London*, when he was 'ſnatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, 'upon the never-enough to be lamented death of 'Dr *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who underſtood the 'Church excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of 'the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the 'unruly ſpirit of the *Nonconformiſts*, by and after the 'conference at *Hampton Court*, countenanced men of 'the greateſt parts in learning, and diſpoſed the clergy 'to a more ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had 'been accuſtomed to; and if he had lived, would 'quickly have extinguiſhed all that fire in *England*, 'which had been kindled at *Geneva*, or if he had 'been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, 'or any man who underſtood and loved the Church, 'that infection would eaſily have been kept out, 'which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.

'But *Abbot* brought none of this antidote with him, 'and conſidered the Chriſtian religion no otherwiſe, 'than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued 'thoſe men moſt, who did that moſt furiouſly. For 'the ſtrict obſervation of the diſcipline of the Church, 'or the conformity of the articles or canons eſta-'bliſhed, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; 'and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the 'antient and ſolid ſtudy of divinity, he adhered only 'to the doctrine of *Calvin*, and for his ſake, did not 'think ſo ill of the diſcipline as he ought to have 'done. But if men prudently forbore a publick 'reviling and railing at the hierarchy and eccle-'ſiaſtical government, let their opinions and private 'judgment be what it would, they were not only 'ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to 'him, and at leaſt equally preferred by him: and tho' 'many other Biſhops plainly diſcerned the miſchiefs 'which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, 'by his defects and remiſſneſs, and prevented it in 'their own dioceſes as much as they could, and gave 'all their countenance to men of other parts and 'other principles; and tho' the Biſhop of *London*, '(Dr *Laud*) from the time of his authority and credit 'with the King, had applied all the remedies he 'could to thoſe defections, and from the time of his 'being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much diſcounte-'nanced and almoſt ſuppreſſed that ſpirit, by en-'couraging another kind of learning and practice in 'that univerſity, which was indeed according to the 'doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper 'in the Archbiſhop, whoſe houſe was a ſanctuary to 'the moſt eminent of that factious party, and who 'licenſed their moſt pernicious writings, left his 'ſucceſſor a very difficult work to do, to reform and 'reduce a Church into order, that had been ſo long 'neglected, and that was ſo ill filled, by many weak, 'and more wilful churchmen (66).'

(66) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxon. 1707. 8vo. p. 88, 89.

[*U*] *Teſtimony to theſe memoirs.*] 'Archbiſhop '*Abbot*, ſays he, was a perſon of wonderful temper 'and moderation; and in all his conduct, ſhewed an 'unwillingneſs to ſtretch the act of *uniformity*, beyond 'what was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the '*Church*; or the *prerogative* of the crown, any farther 'than conduced to the good of the *ſtate*. Being not 'well turned for a court, tho' otherwiſe of conſiderable 'learning, and genteel education, he either could not, 'or would not, ſtoop to the humour of the times; and 'now and then by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave 'occaſion to his enemies to repreſent him, as not 'well inclined to the *prerogative*, or too much 'addicted to a *popular intereſt*; and therefore not fit 'to be employed in matters of government (67).'

(67) Memoirs of the moſt material tranſactions in England, for the laſt 100 years, by Dr Wellwood, 8vo. 1700. p. 38.

[*X*] *As will appear in the notes.*] The Archbiſhop loved hoſpitality, and living as became a man of his rank, he tells us himſelf, that this was recommended to him by King James, and that he never forgot his majeſty's injunctions upon that head (68), neither is it the Archbiſhop alone that mentions this, but even ſome who did not wiſh him very well, and who plainly intimate, that amongſt the reſt of his faults, he was thought to live too high, to have too much com-pany, and to become thereby too popular (69). This hoſpitality of his, together with the troubles he met with, muſt have hindered him from growing rich, and, conſequently, put it in ſome meaſure out of his power to ſhew his publick ſpirit in other reſpects, how much ſo-ever it might be his inclination. Yet ſome inſtances we find of his generoſity in this way, at leaſt enough to falſify Heylyn's reflection; for beſides his noble and well-contrived charity at Guilford, he gave to the ſchools of arts in Oxford, one hundred pounds at one time, and fifty pounds at another (70). In 1619, he beſtowed a large ſum of money on the library of Baliol college, for augmenting the number of books, and repairing the building (71). He built a fair conduit in the city of Canterbury, for the convenience of the inhabitants (72). He likewiſe intended to have left a yearly revenue for the ſuport of that conduit, if he had not been deterred by the ungrateful uſage he met with from the Mayor and corporation (73). In 1624, he contributed to the founding of Pembroke college in Oxford (74). He diſcharged a debt of three hundred pounds owing from Baliol to Pembroke college (75). About the year 1632, he gave one hundred pounds to the library of Univerſity college (76). To the town of Guilford he left one hundred pounds, to be lent without intereſt to four poor tradeſmen of that town, for two or three years. To the poor of that town, twenty pounds; to the poor of Lambeth, thirty pounds; to forty of his inferior ſervants, ten pounds each; beſides forty pounds, to ſupply any forgetfulneſs towards ſuch as had ſerved him. All the books in his great ſtudy, marked with his name, to his ſucceſſors for ever; beſides ſome from his ſtudy at Croydon, to the Dean and Chapter at Wincheſter, and others to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (77).

(68) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 454.

(69) Heylyn, ubi. ſupra, p. 244.

(70) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 23, 24.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Batteley's edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 138.

(73) See Archbiſhop Abbot's Will in the prerogative office, Ruſſel, 85.

(74) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon, lib. ii. p. 333. Balioforgus, p. 91. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham college, p. 210.

(75) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 334.

(76) Ibid. p. 60.

(77) See the Archbiſhop's Will, as above cited.

[*Y*] *Added*

thereof, from his writings upon various ſubjects, of the moſt remarkable of which, we have, for the reader's ſatisfaction, added a ſuccinct account [*Y*]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that there was another writer of both his names, who flouriſhed ſomewhat later. This George Abbot wrote *a paraphraſe on Job*, *a vindication of the Sabbath*, and *a paraphraſe on the Pſalms*. This laſt was printed in 1650, and it appears from thence, that the author was lately dead, and had been, while living, a member of the parliament then ſitting (*w*). Another George Abbot, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, in 1622, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*x*), was our Prelate's nephew, and the ſon of Sir Maurice Abbot, but it does not appear that he was a writer (*y*).

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Ibid.

[*Y*] *Added a ſuccinct account.*] As to his works, we ſhall endeavour to give a liſt of them in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Quæſtiones ſex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, diſcuſſæ & diſceptatæ anno* 1597, *in quibus è ſacra Scriptura & Patribus, quid ſtatuendum ſit definitum Oxoniæ* 1598, 4to. It. *Francofurti* 1616, 4to. This ſecond edition was publiſhed by the famous Abraham Scultetus. 2. *Expoſition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain Sermons preached at St Mary's Church in Oxford*, London, 4*to*. 1600. And again 1613. 3. *His Anſwer to the Queſtion of the Citizens of London, in January* 1600, *concerning Cheapſide Croſs*, London 1641. Of this treatiſe we have before given a particular account. 4. *The Reaſons which Dr Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papiſtry, unmaſked and ſhewed to be very weak*, &c. Oxon. 4*to*. 1604. This Thomas Hill quitted the Church of England for that of Rome, and wrote this book to vindicate that change (78). 5. *A Preface to the Examination of George Sprot*, &c. of which we have before given a large account. 6. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter, May* 26, 1608, *at the Funeral of Thomas, Earl of Dorſet, late Lord High Treaſurer of England, on* Iſaiah xl. 6. *by George Abbot, Dr of Divinity, and Dean of Wincheſter, one of his Lordſhip's Chaplains*, London, 4*to*. 1608. 7. *Tranſlation of a Part of the New Teſtament, with the reſt of the Oxford Divines*, printed in 1611. 8. *Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Eſſex and his Lady, pronounced September* 25, 1613, *at Lambeth, and the Difficulties endured in the ſame.* This treatiſe makes fifty-ſix pages in twelves, and has the following remarkable atteſtation at the end of it. 'This narration is wholly written with mine own 'hand, and was finiſhed October 2, 1613, being the 'eighth day after giving the ſentence. And I proteſt 'before Almighty God, that I have not willingly 'wrote any untruth therein; but have delivered all 'things fairly to the beſt of my underſtanding, help-'ing myſelf with ſuch memorials and notes, as I took 'from time to time, that if there was occaſion, I 'might thus ſet down at large the truth to poſterity; 'when this caſe ſhall be rung from *Rome* gates, or 'the fact hereafter be queſtioned.'

(78) The title of it was, *A Quarſtron of Reaſons of Catholick Religion, with as many brief Anſwers of Refuſal.* Antw. 4*to*. 1600. which was anſwered alſo by F. Dallingham.

GEORGE *Cant.*

To this is added, *Some obſervable things ſince September* 25, 1613, *when the ſentence was given in the cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex, continued unto the day of the marriage, December* 26, 1613, which appears alſo to have been penned by his Grace, or by his direction, and to it is annexed, *The ſpeech intended to be ſpoken at Lambeth, September* 25, 1613, *by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when it came to his turn to declare his mind concerning the nullity of marriage between the Earl of Eſſex and the Lady Frances Howard* (79). 9. *A brief Deſcription of the whole World; wherein is particularly deſcribed all the Monarchies, Empires, and Kingdoms of the ſame, with their Academies*, &c. *by the Moſt Reverend Father in God, George, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, London, 8*vo*. 1634. Of which work there have been many editions. 10. *A ſhort Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins, dated October* 8, 1621; of which we have already given an account. 11. *Treatiſe of perpetual Viſibility and Succeſſion of the true Church in all Ages.* London, 4*to*. 1624. His name is not to this book, only his arms impaled by thoſe belonging to the ſee of Canterbury, are put before it. Dr Heylyn acquaints us with the reaſon of his writing it, but does not tell us why he did not own it (80). 12. *A Narrative containing the true Cauſe of his Sequeſtration, and Diſgrace at Court. In two Parts. Written at Ford in Kent* 1627, (81). Biſhop Hacket (82) aſſures us, that he had ſeen this manuſcript in the Biſhop's own writing, and had ſeveral of the facts contained in it from the Archbiſhop's own mouth. 13. *Hiſtory of the Maſſacre in the Valtoline* (83). 14. *His Judgment of bowing at the Name of Jeſus.* Hamburgh 1632. 8*vo*. Beſides many inſtructions to the Biſhops of his dioceſe, ſpeeches in parliament, letters, and other occaſional compoſitions, too numerous to be mentioned here. G

(79) Theſe were printed all together under the title of, *The Caſe of Impotency as debated in England*, &c. Lond. 12*mo*. 1719. In the preface it is ſaid, that the original manuſcript, in Archbiſhop Abbot's own hand writing, is ſtill in the hands of an eminent Lawyer.

(80) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 53.

(81) Printed in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 438----461, and in the Annals of K. Charles, from p. 213, to 224.

(82) Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.

(83) Printed in the third volume of Fox's *Acts* and Monuments of the Church, edit. 1631.

ABBOT (ROBERT) brother to the former; was alſo born in the ſame town of Guilford, *anno* 1560 (*a*), and bred up under the ſame ſchool-maſter there; till being ſufficiently qualified for the univerſity he was ſent to Baliol College in Oxford, *anno* 1575. He took his Maſter of Arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, alſo a conſtant lecturer at St Martin's Church, in the Quadrivium, and ſometimes at Abingdon in Berkſhire (*b*). His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithſtanding the diſtinction which ſome have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of theſe two brothers; 'That George was the more 'plauſible preacher, Robert the greater ſcholar; George the abler ſtateſman, Robert 'the deeper divine: gravity did frown in George, and ſmile in Robert (*c*):" ſuch the qualities of this Robert evidently were; that upon the firſt ſermon he preached at Worceſter, he was made lecturer in that city, and ſoon after rector of All-Saints there; and upon a ſermon he preached at Paul's Croſs, he was preſented to the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamſhire, by one of his auditors, John Stanhope, Eſq; as Dr Featley has obſerved in his life (*d*). In 1594 he became no leſs eminent for ſome of his writings; particularly, againſt a certain Papiſt, on the Sacrament. He then took his degrees in divinity; that of Doctor being completed in 1597 (*e*). In the beginning of the reign of King James I, he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this King ſo well eſteemed of his writings, that, with the ſecond edition of Dr Abbot's book *de Antichriſto*, in 1608, his majeſty ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypſe to be printed: an honour, which that King did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the Doctor's pen had now brought him alſo into general eſteem, for what he had hitherto publiſhed in Defence of William Perkins's *Reformed Catholic*, againſt Dr William Biſhop, now a ſecular prieſt, but afterwards, in the Pope's ſtile, a titular Biſhop, of the Aërial Dioceſe of Chalcedon. It is my author's aſ-

(*a*) Samuel Clark's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, &c. 4*to*, 1650, p. 458.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. 1721. Vol. I. col. 430.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*d*) In Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to*. 1650, p. 540.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ſertion, that Dr Abbot has herein given that William Biſhop as great an overthrow, as Jewell to Harding, Bilſon to Allen, or Reynolds to Hart (*f*). At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatiſe, he ſoon after writ, intitled, *The true ancient Roman Catholick*; which he dedicated to Prince Henry; to whom it was ſo acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand (*g*), and promiſed his aſſiſtance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the Church. And though by that Prince's untimely death the Doctor loſt ſome hopes, yet, in courſe of time, his deſerts found other friends to do him that juſtice. In 1609, he was unanimouſly elected maſter of Baliol College (*h*). Here it is obſerved of him, that he was careful and ſkilful, to ſet in this nurſery the beſt plants; and then took ſuch care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the Univerſity of Oxford, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew ſweeter fruit, than in Baliol College, while he was maſter (*i*). His diligent reading to his ſcholars, and his continual preſence at publick exerciſes, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. Theſe regulations and improvements, he further wrought, by eſtabliſhing piety, which had been much neglected; reſtoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a ſtranger in that ſociety (*k*). In May 1610, we find him nominated by the King, among the firſt fellows of his majeſty's Royal College at Chelſea, then newly founded, and deſigned as a kind of fortreſs for controverſial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarriſoned, with the moſt able and ſelect champions for the Proteſtant cauſe, againſt all aſſaults of Popery (*l*). In November the ſame year, he was made prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell (*m*). Upon his preaching a ſermon before the King, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of Dr Thomas Holland's death was brought from Oxford, his majeſty named him ſucceſſor in the Theological Chair, uſually called the King's Profeſſor of Divinity; but he modeſtly refuſed the ſame, till his brother procured a mandate from the King for him to hold it. Some notable circumſtances we meet with of him in this ſtation [*A*]; and herein, he has had the character given him of a profound divine; moſt admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen; and a more moderate Calvinian, than either of his two predeceſſors in the divinity-chair, Holland and Humphrey, were; which he expreſſed by countenancing the Sublapſarian way of predeſtination (*n*). Laſtly, upon the King's peruſal of his *Antilogia*, againſt the *Apology* for Garnet, and the ſame of his incomparable lectures in the univerſity, upon the King's ſupreme power, againſt Bellarmine and Suarez, (printed after his death) his majeſty, when the ſee of Saliſbury fell void, ſent his *Conge d'Elire* for him to the Dean and Chapter. Thus, as he ſet forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other, ſtill advanced in the temple of honour (*o*), though indeed, but leiſurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obſtruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan, (though cordial to the doctrine of the Church of England) and the unwillingneſs of ſome friends to adorn the Church with the ſpoil of the Univerſity, and mar a Profeſſor to make a Biſhop (*p*). He was conſecrated by his own brother the Archbiſhop, on December 3, 1615, in his chapel at Lambeth (*q*). Herein equalizing the felicity of Seffridus, ſome time Biſhop of Chicheſter, who being a Biſhop himſelf, alſo ſaw his brother, at the ſame Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*r*). Other biſhopricks were voiced upon him; but the buſineſs of the nullity (before-mentioned, in his brother's life) made a nullity for a time, ſays my author, in his Grace's good intentions; inſomuch, that King James, when the Doctor, newly conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum, came to do his homage, ſaid pleaſantly to him, Abbot, *I have had very much to do to make thee a Biſhop; but I know no reaſon for it, unleſs it were, becauſe thou haſt written againſt one*; alluding to the name of the Popiſh prieſt before-mentioned (*s*). In his way to Sarum, he made a farewel oration at the univerſity, with great applauſe. We have ſome fragments of it preſerved, in the original Latin, by two authors (*t*); and a tranſlation thereof, or epitome in Engliſh, by a third (*u*). His brethren, the heads of houſes, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his dioceſe with tears for grief; and the gentry of Sarum received

(*f*) Dr Daniel Featley's Life of Biſhop Abbot, ubi ſupra, p. 539.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 545.

(*h*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*i*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 543.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 544.

(*l*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. x. fol. 52.

(*m*) Athen. Oxen. ut ſupra.

(*n*) Idem.

(*o*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 541.

(*p*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*q*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops ſince the Reformation, 8*vo*. 1720, p. 94.

(*r*) H. Hollandi Hermologia Anglica, fol. Arnhem, 1620, p. 186.

(*s*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 548.

(*t*) Holland, ut ſupra, & Featley, p. 546.

(*u*) Donald Lupton's Hiſtory of modern Proteſtant Divines, 8*vo*. London 1637, p. 314.

[*A*] *Some notable circumſtances, &c. in this ſtation.*] Among the reſt, while he was Profeſſor in the chair at Oxford, was, his preaching a ſermon before the univerſity; in which, he ſo ſignificantly laid open the oblique methods then uſed by thoſe who ſecretly favoured Popery, to undermine the Reformation; and Dr Laud, then preſent, was ſo notoriouſly ſuſpected to be one who uſed thoſe methods, as to have the ſaid reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, Dr Neal, then Biſhop of Lincoln, (therefore about the year 1614) to know whether he ſhould not make a direct reply to it. The paſſage Laud objected to, was, that Abbot ſhould ſay, 'There were men, who, 'under pretence of truth, and preaching againſt the 'Puritans, ſtruck at the heart and root of that faith 'and religion now eſtabliſhed among us; which was 'the very practice of Parſons and Campian's counſel, 'when they came hither to ſeduce young ſtudents; 'who, afraid to be expelled, if they ſhould openly 'profeſs their converſion, were directed to ſpeak freely againſt the Puritans, as what would ſuffice: ſo 'theſe do not expect to be accounted Papiſts, becauſe 'they ſpeak only againſt Puritans; but becauſe they 'are indeed Papiſts, they ſpeak nothing againſt them: 'or if they do, they beat about the buſh, and that 'ſoftly too, for fear of diſquieting the birds that are 'in it.' Hereupon, Laud, in his letter to the ſaid Biſhop of Lincoln, complains, 'That he was fain to 'ſit patiently at the rehearſal of this ſermon, though 'abuſed almoſt an hour together, being pointed at as 'he ſat; yet would have taken no notice of it, but 'that the whole univerſity applied it to him; and his 'friends told him, he ſhould ſink in his credit, if he 'anſwered not Dr Abbot in his own: nevertheleſs, he 'would be patient; and deſired his Lordſhip to vouch-'ſafe him ſome direction (1).' But, as we hear not that Laud did anſwer it, the Biſhop might perhaps vouchſafe him rather directions to be quiet.

(1) See Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 62.

[*B*] *Enumeration*

ceived him with thoſe of joy. He ſoon obſerved the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetouſneſs of thoſe who filled their purſes, with that which ſhould have ſtopped the chinks (*x*). Therefore he uſed ſuch means with the prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church (*y*); and then laboured to repair the congregation, both by doctrine and diſcipline; viſiting his whole dioceſe in perſon, and preaching every Sabbath-day, whilſt his health would permit, which was not long; for that ſedentary courſe, to which he had accuſtomed himſelf, by his cloſe application to ſtudy, brought upon him the gravel and ſtone; with which, his hour-glaſs, contrary to others, the *ſooner ran out, by being ſtopped* (*z*). But in all the bodily tortures of his laſt fit, his ſoul was at eaſe; and his heavenly hopes diſpoſed him contentedly to reſign all earthly enjoyments. He was ſo far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life ſupportable, that he gave it others. Even to the Judges, who in their circuit came to viſit him on his death-bed, he ſpared not his chriſtian admonitions; and beſides his precepts, gave them his example, of the comforts that flowed from a clear conſcience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned leſs to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had ſo much endeared himſelf to them, by diligence in his paſtoral charge, by his hoſpitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all (*a*). Having ſummoned his domeſticks, with deſire to declare his faith, he was perſuaded to refrain, it being manifeſt in his writings. Thus, with exhortations, benedictions, and the pains of his diſeaſe quite worn out, he lay a while ſlumbering; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for ſome ſpace, gave up the ghoſt, on March 2, 1617, (and not, as ſome have miſtaken, the year after) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this ſee two years and three months; being one of the five Biſhops which Saliſbury ſaw in ſix years (*b*). He was buried over-againſt the Biſhop's ſeat in the cathedral: having been twice married; the laſt time, with ſome diſpleaſure to the Archbiſhop, about half a year after his promotion to the ſaid ſee. He left one ſon, or more, and alſo one daughter named Martha (*c*), who was married to Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College in Oxford; and their daughter Margaret, married Dr Edward Corbet, Rector of Haſeley in Oxfordſhire; who gave ſome of the Biſhop's MSS to the Bodleian Library, as may appear in the article ſet apart for the enumeration of his writings [*B*]. There was another Robert Abbot, a miniſter, and author alſo of ſeveral devout pieces; who though he was ſcarcely a writer before Biſhop Abbot died, is yet here mentioned, that ſome readers may not confound him with this Biſhop of Saliſbury, as others have divided him into three diſtinct perſons (*d*); becauſe ſo many different livings

(*x*) Dr Featley, ubi ſupra. p. 549.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Idem.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 550.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 431.

(*d*) The Bodleian Catalogue, both editions.

[*B*] *Enumeration of his writings.*] And firſt, thoſe in print are, *The Mirror of Popiſh Subtilties: diſcovering the Shifts which a cavelling Papiſt, in behalf of Paul Spence a Prieſt, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine*, &c. *concerning the Sacraments*, &c. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Whitgift, London, 4*to.* 1594. 2. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Prieſthood of Chriſt.* Sermon on the 110th Pſalm. Dedicated to Biſhop Babington, 4*to.* London 1601. 3. *Antichriſti Demonſtratio; contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptam Belarmini*, &c. Dedicated to King James, London, 4*to.* 1603, and in 8*vo.* 1608. This is much commended by Scaliger (2). 4. *Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins, againſt the Baſtard Counter-Catholic of Dr William Biſhop, Seminary Prieſt.* Dedicated to King James: the firſt part, 4*to.* 1606. the ſecond part, 4*to.* 1607. third part 4*to.* 1609. A moſt elaborate work, as one calls it (3); and another wiſhes, that W. Biſhop had anſwered all the ſaid Reformed Catholic; then we ſhould have had in Abbot's encounter, a whole ſyſtem of controverſies exactly diſcuſſed; and the truth of the Reformed Religion, in all points ſolidly confirmed, by ſcripture, fathers, and reaſon (4). From a ſmall typographical error in one author, there is another alſo, who has made a great blunder about this book: for the former, mentioning 'Dr *Abbot*'s two volumes againſt *Biſhop*'s (5),' (next to another book, which was written by his brother, the Archbiſhop) has, by not obliterating the laſt letter of the laſt word, and by neglecting to diſtinguiſh it as a proper name, in *Italicks*, given a foreigner occaſion to make his ſaid brother the Archbiſhop, author of a *Treatiſe againſt Biſhop*'s (6); which, as hath been truly obſerved, would be ſomewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. *The old Way; a Sermon, at St Mary's, Oxon.* 4*to.* London 1610. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Bancroft, and tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Drax. 6. *The true ancient Roman Catholic: being an Apology againſt Dr Biſhop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholick.* 4*to.* 1611. Dedicated to Prince Henry, as was before obſerved. 7. *Antilogia: Adverſus Apologiam, Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jeſuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jeſuitâ procuratore.* London, 4*to.* 1613. Dedicated to King James. The ſaid apology was printed three years before (7); and further thereof, with the true name of its jeſuitical author, may be ſeen elſewhere (8). 8. *De gratiâ & perſeverentiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi.* Lond. 4*to.* 1618. & Francf. 8*vo.* 1619. Dedicated to Prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomſoni, Angli-Belgici Diatribam, de amiſſione & interceſſione Juſtificationis & Gratiæ, animadverſio brevis.* Alſo printed after his death; London, 4*to.* 1618: for he finiſhed this book the laſt day of his life; and then, his brother the Archbiſhop, directed Dr Featley, the Biſhop's domeſtic chaplain, to draw up, from his Grace's notes, the atteſtation which is affixed thereto. 10. *De ſuprema Poteſtate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Francf. Suarez. Lond.* 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his ſon, to George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He alſo left behind, many compoſitions in manuſcript, as his Sermon at St Mary's *In Vindication of the Geneva Bible from Judaiſm and Arianiſm* (9); which Dr Howſon oppoſed, till King James turned his edge from Geneva to Rome; and then, he as fiercely declared againſt the Pope; *That he'd looſen him from his chair, though he were faſtned thereto with a tenpenny nail* (10). Our author alſo left other Sermons, which he had preached at Paul's Croſs, and at Worceſter; and ſome in Latin, at Oxford, &c. Lectures on St Matthew. *Examination of Mr Biſhop's Reproof of his Dedication*, &c. *to the Anſwer of his Epiſtle to the King.* Preface to be inſerted after the dedication of his book *De Antichriſto:* beſides Commentaries on ſome parts of the Old Teſtament. And a Commentary in Latin, *upon the whole Epiſtle to the Romans*; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; wherein he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and encloſed the whole magazine of his learning (11): and it is regretted, that the Church ſhould be deprived of ſuch a treaſure, particularly that of Worceſter; to which he ſeems to have bequeathed it, in his epiſtle to the ſermons he dedicated to Biſhop Babington: this work, in four

(2) Scaligerana, p. 1.

(3) Hermologia Angl. p. 189.

(4) Dr Featley in Abel Redivivus, p. 545.

(5) See William London's Catalogue of the moſt vendible Books in England, 4*to.* 1658, in the Divinity Books.

(6) Henning. Witte in Diar. Biographicum, 4*to.* 1691.

(7) *Andr Eudæm. Joannis Cydonii, è ſoc. Jeſu act. prodit. Ed. Coqui, Apologia pro H. Garneto. Colon. Agrip.* 8vo. 1610.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, (before the laſt Edition of his Hiſtory) p. 179.

(9) Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 551.

(10) Ibid. p. 546.

(11) Idem, p. 542.

livings are mentioned to his name in his books: never conſidering that one man might, by removal, or ſucceſſively, enjoy them all, as was the caſe here: that Robert Abbot being firſt beneficed in Kent, afterwards in Hantſhire, and laſtly in London.

four volumes folio, was given by Dr *Corbet* beforementioned, to the *Bodleian* library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our laſt quoted author; 'If all he wrote on the hiſtory 'of *Chriſt's paſſion*, the prophet *Eſay*, and the '*Epiſtle to the Romans*, had ſeen the light; he 'had come near unto, if not overtaken, the three 'prime worthies of our univerſity, *Jewell*, *Bilſon*, 'and *Reynolds* (12).' G

(12) Dr Featley in Abel Red. p. 539.

ABBOT (MAURICE) or rather MORRIS, the youngeſt of ſix ſons, born to Mr Maurice Abbot, of Guilford, by his wife Alice March, and brother to Robert and George beforementioned. He was bred up to trade, and became an eminent merchant in the city of London, but was more remarkably diſtinguiſhed, by his applying himſelf to the direction of the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, and his earneſt attention to whatever might promote the extenſive commerce of this nation, or ſtrengthen her foreign colonies. In this quality, we find him one of the commiſſioners employed in the negotiation and concluſion of a treaty with the Dutch Eaſt-India company, by which the Molucca Iſlands, and the commerce to them, is declared to be two thirds belonging to the Dutch Eaſt-India company, and one to the Engliſh. This treaty was concluded at London, on the ſeventh of July, 1619, and ratified by the King, the ſixteenth of the ſame month, and is as remarkable a (*a*) tranſaction as any in that reign [*A*]. It was in conſequence of this treaty, and in order to recover the goods of ſome Engliſh merchants, that Sir Dudley Diggs, and Maurice Abbot, were ſent over into (*b*) Holland, in the ſucceeding year, 1620, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. He was afterwards one of the farmers of the cuſtoms, as appears from a commiſſion granted in 1623, to him and to many other perſons, for adminiſtering the oaths to ſuch perſons, as ſhould either deſire to paſs the ſeas from this kingdom, or to enter it from foreign countries (*c*). In the ſucceeding year, 1624, he was appointed one of the council, for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the colony of Virginia, with very full powers for the government of that colony, as by that commiſſion (*d*) appears [*B*]. On the acceſſion of King Charles I, to the throne, Mr Abbot was the firſt perſon upon whom he conferred the honour of knighthood (*e*), and ſo great was his intereſt at that time in the city, that we find him choſen to the firſt parliament called in that King's reign, *viz.* in 1625, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Heneage Finch, and Mr Robert Bateman (*f*). In 1627, he was one of the Sheriffs of London, with Henry Garway; Sir Cuthbert Hacket, being then Mayor (*g*). About the year 1635, he erected a noble monument to memory of his brother, George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his native town of Guilford (*b*). In 1638 he was Lord-Mayor of the city of London (*i*), and deceaſed on the tenth of January, 1640 (*k*), but as to any farther particulars, we have not been able to diſcover them, except that he was a great lover and encourager of trade, as well as very fortunate therein [*C*]. He had a ſon whoſe name was George, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*l*).

(*a*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, by R. Sanderſon, Tom. xvii. p. 171.

(*b*) Camden, An. November, 1620.

(*c*) Continuation of Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 467.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 609.

(*e*) Tho. Walkeley's catalogue of Dukes, Marquiſſes, &c. 8*vo* 1639, p. 85.

(*f*) Maitland's Hiſt. of London, p. 565.

(*g*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 597.

(*b*) As appears by the monumental inſcription.

(*i*) See Thomas Heywood's Porta Pietatis, or ſolemn entry of Sir Maurice Abbot, Lord-Mayor, 4*to* 1638.

(*k*) Smith's Obituary apud Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II, lib. xiv. p. 18.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

[*A*] *As any in that reign.*] The preamble of this treaty recites, That whereas there had been long and great diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India Companies, and that commiſſioners had met at London, in the year 1613, and at the Hague in 1615, for the accommodating theſe diſputes, without effect, his Majeſty and the States General had been pleaſed to grant full powers to certain commiſſioners on the part of his Majeſty, and the States, as alſo the like full powers to ſeveral perſons on the behalf of each of the companies, by whom a treaty was framed and concluded, in which the right of both parties to the trade of the Indies is freely acknowledged, free acceſs is allowed to the ſervants of one company in all the forts and factories of the other; it is farther agreed that each company ſhould furniſh ten men of war, for the joint defence of their commerce, each from ſix to eight hundred tons, carrying 150 men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The fortreſſes on the iſlands of Banda and Amboyna, are therein ſettled, for the mutual benefit of both nations; and it is agreed, that their garriſons ſhall be maintained out of the cuſtoms and duties levied both on the Engliſh and Dutch: in a word, this appears to have been a kind of treaty of Coalition, which one would have imagined muſt have prevented for the future, any diſputes in that part of the world, and ſecured the trade thereof to the Maritime Powers. In the ratification, his Majeſty promiſes, that during the time for which this treaty was concluded, which was twenty years, he would not erect any other company, for carrying on the trade to the Eaſt Indies, than that with which this agreement was made (1).

[*B*] *As by that commiſſion appears*] This commiſſion, which was iſſued in virtue of two acts of parliament, one in the firſt year of the King, for preventing perſons from going out of the kingdom without licence, and another in the third, for the better diſcovering and repreſſing Popiſh recuſants, is directed to the Recorder of the City of London, the Receivers, and Collectors of the Cuſtoms, the General Surviſor and Comptrollers of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, the head Searcher of the ſame Port, and to Sir John Wolſtenholme, Abraham Jacob, Henry Garway, and Morris Abbot, (and thus he wrote his name himſelf) and to ſeveral other perſons, impowering them to examine all perſons going from or coming to this kingdom, and for granting them letters teſtimonial, as alſo for ſtaying ſuch as they ſhould ſuſpect, as well as for adminiſtering the oaths and other purpoſes (2).

[*C*] *As well as very fortunate therein.*] This is particularly aſſerted in a dedication to Sir Maurice, when Governor of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies, by Mr Robert Aſhley, the author of a tranſlation mentioned in the margin (3). E

(1) Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xvii. p. 171---- 174.

(2) Ibidem, p. 467----470.

(3) Cochin-China: containing many admirable rarieties and ſingularities in that country; extracted out of an Italian relation, lately preſented to the Pope, by Chriſt. Borri, who lived there certain years; publiſhed by R. A. London, 4*to* 1633.

ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS) Chaplain to Queen Catherine, conſort of King Henry VIII (*a*), diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in oppoſing the proceedings of that king, and in particular the divorce of his royal miſtreſs. To this end he wrote a piece intitled, *Tractatus de non diſſolvendo Henrici & Catharinæ matrimonio*, i. e. 'A Treatiſe 'proving

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol I. col. 54.

'proving that the marriage of King Henry and Queen Catherine ought not to be dif-
'ſolved.' He took his degree of bachelor of arts at Oxford, on the fourth of July, 1513 (b); and that of maſter of arts, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1516 (c). In the year 1534, he fell under a proſecution for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, called *the Holy Maid of Kent* [A]. He was alſo one of thoſe, who denied the King's ſupremacy over the Church; for which he was apprehended and impriſoned, and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered in Smithfield, on the thirtieth of July, 1540. During his impriſonment, he was ſo cloſely confined, that the keeper of Newgate was committed to the Marſhalſea priſon, for ſuffering him to go out upon bail (d). Bouchier gives him the character of a very learned man, and tells us, he uſed to teach the queen muſic and the languages (e).

(b) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 19.

(c) Id. ib. col. 24.

(d) Stow's Annals, *an.* 1534.

(e) *Vir longè doctiſſimus, qui reginæ aliquando in muſicarum tactu & linguis operam ſuam navarat.* T. Bouchier, Hiſt. Eccl. de martyrio fratr. Ord. Minor. D. Franciſci. Ingolſ. 1583.

[A] *He was proſecuted for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent.*] Lord Herbert of Cherbury (f) gives us the following account of that impoſtor. 'Elizabeth Barton — 'had almoſt ſtirred up more than one tragedy: for 'being ſuborned by the Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange 'geſticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned miracles, 'accompanied with ſome wizardly unſoothſayings, 'ſhe drew much credit and concourſe to her; inſo-'much that no mean perſons, and, among others, 'Warham late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Fiſher, 'Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, gave 'ſome belief to her: ſo that notwithſtanding the 'danger that was to give ear to a prediction of her's, 'that Henry VIII ſhould not live one month after 'his marriage with Mrs Bolen, ſhe was cried up with 'many voices; Silveſter, Darius, and Antonio Pol-'lioni, the Pope's agents here, giving credit and 'countenance thereunto. But the plot being at laſt 'diſcovered, ſhe was attainted of treaſon in the 'parliament, and executed with her chief accomplices 'ſhortly after; at which time ſhe confeſſed their 'names, who had inſtigated her to theſe prac-'tices, and whom ſhe had acquainted with her 'revelations.' T

(f) Life & Reign of Henry VIIIth, *apud* Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. *ad an.* 1534.

ACCA (St) (a) Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northumberland [A], ſucceeded Wilfrid in that ſee, in the year 709. He was a Monk of the order of St Benedict, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and had his education under the moſt holy prelate Boſa, Biſhop of York; and from thence was taken under the patronage of Wilfrid, whom he accompanied in a journey to Rome. Here he improved himſelf in ſeveral things, relating to eccleſiaſtical uſage and diſcipline; which (his hiſtorian tells us) it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country (b) [B]. This prelate ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence [C], furniſhed it with plate and holy veſtments, procured a large collection of the lives of the ſaints, and erected a noble library conſiſting chiefly of eccleſiaſtical learning (c). About the year 732, Acca was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown [D]. He was eſteemed a very able divine,

(a) Brompton *calls him* Atta. *Chronic.* apud Decem Scriptor. col. 795.

(b) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 20.

(c) Id. ibid.

[A] *Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northumberland.*] As this epiſcopal ſee has been now a long time extinct, the curious reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee here a ſhort account of it, as extracted from our old Engliſh hiſtorians by Mr Cambden. 'And now 'the whole *Tine*, being well grown, and ſtill increaſ-'ing, preſſes forward in one channel for the Ocean, 'by *Hexam*, which Bede calls Haguſtald. This was 'the *Axelodunum* of the Romans, where the firſt 'cohort of the Spaniards were in garriſon, as the 'name implies, as alſo it's ſituation on a riſing hill; 'for the Britons called ſuch a mount *Dunum*. But 'take an account of this place from Richard it's 'Prior (‡). *Not far from the ſouthern bank of the 'river* Tine, *ſtands a town, of ſmall extent indeed 'at preſent, and but thinly inhabited; but (as the 'remaining marks of it's antient ſtate will teſtify) 'heretofore very large and magnificent. This place is 'called* Hextoldeſham, *from the little rivulet of* Hex-'told, *which runs by, and ſometimes ſuddenly overflows 'it. In the year* 675, *Etheldreda, wife of King Eg-'frid, aſſigned it for an epiſcopal ſee to St Wilfrid; 'who built here a church, which, for the curiouſneſs 'and beauty of the fabric, ſurpaſſed all the monaſteries 'in England.* ——— But the honour [of being an 'epiſcopal ſee] after the twelfth Biſhop, was wholly 'loſt, the Daniſh wars prevailing. Afterwards it was 'only reckoned a manour of the Archbiſhops of 'York, till they parted with their right in an exchange 'made with Henry VIII (1).

(‡) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. *de ſtatu & epiſcopis Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. i.

(1) Camden's *Britannia*, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. II. col. 1083.

[B] ——*Which*——*it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country.*] *Cum quo etiam Romam veniens* (ſays Bede) *multa illic quæ in patria nequiverat eccleſiæ ſanctæ inſtitutioni utilia didicit, & ſuis ſubjectis tradidit* (2). From this aſſertion of Bede's it appears, that the Engliſh and Roman churches were not yet brought to an uniformity in all points.

(2) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. v. c. 20.

[C] *He ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence.*] The author of a catalogue of the Biſhops of Hexam, publiſhed by Wharton (3), has the following remark upon this prelate's benefactions, which it may not be improper to ſet down. *Lubens hæc commemoro, ut priſcam gentis noſtræ devotionem, & in ſacris magnificentiam, Lectores intueantur: neve ornamenta eccleſiarum pretioſa a primævæ (inter nos) fidei ſimplicitate aliena habeantur.* —— 'I wil-'lingly mention theſe benefactions, that the readers 'may ſee the antient devotion of our nation, and it's 'magnificence in ſacred matters; and that rich orna-'ments of churches may not be thought foreign to 'the ſimplicity of faith among us.'

(3) Anglia Sacra. Pars I. p. 696.

[D] *He was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown.*] We learn this particular of the life of Biſhop Acca from Richard, Prior of Haguſtald (4). That author's words are: 'Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis 732 & regni Ceol-'vulfi IV, & epiſcopatus ſui 24, de ſede ſua fugatus 'eſt ——— Qua autem urgente neceſſitate pulſus ſit, 'vel quo diverterit, ſcriptum non reperi. Sunt tamen 'qui dicunt quod eo tempore epiſcopalem ſedem in '*Candida* inceperit & preparaverit. ——— *In the 'year of Chriſt* 732, *the fourth of the reign of 'Ceolwolf, and the twenty-fourth of his promotion to 'the epiſcopacy, he was driven from his ſee* ——— 'But, *what urgent neceſſity obliged him to withdraw, 'or to what place he retired, we are no where told. 'Some indeed pretend, he then laid the foundation of 'an epiſcopal ſee at* Candida Caſa *or* Withern.' The ſuppoſition (here mentioned) of Acca's founding the ſee of *Candida Caſa*, during the time of his exile, cannot be true, ſince that biſhopric was founded (or rather reſtored) before Bede finiſhed his Hiſtory, that is, before the year 731: as appears from Bede himſelf. 'At 'vero Provinciæ Northan-hymbrorum, cui rex Ceol-'vulf præeſt, quatuor nunc epiſcopi præſulatum te-'nent: Wilfrid in Eboracenſi Eccleſia, Æthiwald in 'Lindisfaronenſi, Acca in Haguſtaldenſi, Pecthelm in 'ea quæ *Candida Caſa* vocatur; quæ nuper, multipli-'catis fidelium plebibus, in ſedem pontificatûs addita, 'ipſum primum habet antiſtitem (5). ——— *In the 'province of Northumberland, over which King 'Ceolwolf reigns, there are now four Biſhops govern-'ing their reſpective ſees; Wilfrid in the Church of 'York, Æthiwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in 'that of Haguſtald, and Pecthelm in that called* Candida Caſa; *of which he is the firſt Biſhop, it hav-'ing been lately taken into the number of epiſcopal ſees, 'on account of the great increaſe of the faithful.'*

(4) *De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. 15.

(5) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 24.

divine, and was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſick [*E*]. He wrote the following pieces: 1. *Paſſiones Sanctorum*, i. e. 'The Sufferings of the Saints.' 2. *Officia ſuæ Eccleſiæ*, i. e. 'The Offices of his own Church.' 3. *Epiſtolæ ad Amicos*, i. e. 'Letters to his friends.' 4. *Pro illuſtrandis ſcripturis ad Bedam*, i. e. 'For explaining the ſcriptures, addreſſed to Bede (*c*).' He died in 740 [*F*], having governed the church of Hexam twenty-four years, under Egbert King of the Northumbrians (*d*). Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St Acca [*G*].

(c) Bideus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 90.

(d) Rog. Hoved. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Frantof. 1601. p. 403.

[*E*] *He was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſick.*] Bede informs us, that Acca retained in his ſervice, during twelve years, an excellent ſinger named Maban; by the help of whoſe inſtructions, he revived the uſe of church-muſick, and ſinging of anthems. This Maban, it ſeems, had been taught to ſing by the ſucceſſors of the diſciples of St Gregory the Pope in Kent. *Cantatorem quoque egregium, vocabulo Maban, qui à ſucceſſoribus diſcipulorum beati Papæ Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi ſonos edoctus, ad ſe ſuoſque inſtituendos acceſſit, ac per annos duodecim tenuit: quatenus & quæ illi non noverant, carmina eccleſiaſtica doceret; & ea quæ quondam cognita longo uſu vel negligentia inveterare cæperunt, hujus doctrina priſcum renovaret in ſtatum* (6).

(6) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 20.

[*F*] *He died in* 740.] His body was buried with great ſolemnity in the church of Haguſtald; and two ſtone croſſes of exquiſite workmanſhip were placed, the one at his head and the other at his feet. Three hundred years after, his ſepulchre being opened, the burial-cloths, in which his body was wrapt, were found entire, and not in the leaſt decayed; an argument (ſays an hiſtorian) of his great ſanctity, and a proof of his never fading glory. *In argumentum magnæ ſanctitatis, & teſtimonium incommutabilis gloriæ ejus* (7). There was found upon his breaſt a ſmall wooden tablet in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood joined together with ſilver nails; on which was this inſcription: *Alme Trinitati. agie. ſophie. Sanctæ Mariæ* (8).

(7) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. ubi ſupra, c. 15.

(8) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. *ad an.* 740.

[*G*] *Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St Acca.*] For the reader's amuſement I ſhall ſelect one or two. A certain brother in the church of Haguſtald, whoſe name was Aldred, reſolved one day to ſeparate the bones of St Acca, which had hitherto lain mixed with his aſhes, and depoſit them in a cheſt prepared for that purpoſe. Accordingly having brought out the relics, and laid them on St Michael's altar, he picked out the bones, and wrapping them in a linen napkin placed them in the cheſt. This done, he took up the cheſt, and went with it into the choir, where he intended it ſhould ſtand, leaving a brother of his to watch the relics. This brother, being left alone, and having a ſtrong deſire to get into his poſſeſſion a relic of ſo great a ſaint, reſolved to ſearch amidſt the aſhes, in hopes ſome little bone might inadvertently have been left behind. But firſt, that he might not proceed irreverently, he kneeled down, and repeated the ſeven penitential pſalms; then approaching the altar, he began to ſtir the aſhes; when ſuddenly a flame burſting forth, as from the mouth of an oven, drove him back, and obliged him to deſiſt from his attempt; convincing him at the ſame time, that it was not the will of God, that he ſhould take away the minuteſt particle of ſuch precious relics (9). Another miracle is as follows. One Edric, a preſbyter, coming to the church of Haguſtald, perceived a heap of earth lying near one of the altars; into which beginning to dig, he diſcovered a wooden box, and in it a leaden caſket with an inſcription, importing that ſome of the relics of St Acca were contained therein. The prieſt, having broke open the caſket, found in it a little parcel of duſt reſembling aſhes, and intermixed with a few bones; which he took away with him. It happened at that time he was acquainted with a pious but poor old woman of the town, who had been a long time blind; and it came into his thoughts to try the virtue of his relics in effecting her cure. Accordingly he ſteeped one of the Saint's bones in a little holy water; and having waſhed her eyes therewith, in about two hours time, *through the merits and interceſſion of St Acca*, ſhe was reſtored to ſight (10).

(9) Simeon Dunelm. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

T

ADAMS (THOMAS) citizen and Lord-Mayor of London: a man of great eminence in his time, for his prudence and piety, his loyalty and ſufferings, and his acts of munificence both in town and country. He was born at Wem in Shropſhire, anno 1586, educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, and bred a Draper in London (*a*). He was choſen, in the year 1639, Sheriff of that city (*b*); and was of ſo publick a ſpirit, that when his ſon-in-law brought him the firſt news of the ſaid election, he immediately diſmiſſed his particular buſineſs, and never afterwards perſonally followed his trade, but gave himſelf up to the city concerns (*c*). By his genius, he made himſelf ſuch a maſter of the cuſtoms and uſages, the rights and privileges of the city; and by his nature, was found to be a man of that wiſdom and integrity, in the exertion of his knowledge, that there was no honour in the city whereof he was capable, to which he was not preferred (*d*). He was made Maſter of the Drapers company, Alderman of a ward, and Preſident of St Thomas's hoſpital, which probably had been ruined, but for his ſagacity and induſtry in diſcovering the frauds of an unjuſt ſteward (*e*). He was often returned a Burgeſs in parliament, tho' the iniquity of the times would not permit him to ſit there: and in the year 1645, was choſen Lord-Mayor of London (*f*), in which office he was ſo far from ſelf-ſeeking, that he made not thoſe advantages which are uſually made, by ſelling the vacant places (*g*). On account of his incorruptible loyalty to King Charles I, his houſe, while he was Lord-Mayor, was ſearched by the party then getting into power, with expectation of finding the ſaid King. The year after he was caſt into the Tower, there kept a priſoner, and, for ſeveral years, excluded from all publick offices and employments; they finding him a man who would not be mou'ded into their forms, nor make ſhipwreck of his conſcience, to ſerve their intereſt (*h*). This conſtancy brought upon him, beſides theſe troubles, the publick ſcoffs and detractions of the levelling faction, which yet others have cleared him of [*A*], and many writers, in verſe as well as proſe, have applauded his adminiſtration in this office. At length he became, and ſo continued for ſome years, the firſt among the twenty-ſix, the eldeſt Alderman upon the bench, that had ſerved in the office of Lord-Mayor, to whom is given that

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Shropſhire, p. 10. And the Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II, 8*vo* 1727, p. 21.

(b) Delaune's *Angliæ Metropolis*: or Preſent State of London, 8*vo* 1690, p. 237.

(c) Dr Nath. Hardy's Royal Commonwealths Man; or David's Picture: repreſented in a Sermon at the Funeral of Sir THO. ADAMS, &c. 4*to* 1668. p. 36.

(d) Idem, p. 32.

(e) Ibid. p. 37.

(f) Delaune, ubi ſupra.

(g) Hardy, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(h) Dr Hardy, &c. p. 35, 36.

(1) John Lilburn, in his London's Liberties, &c. 4*to* 1646.

[*A*] *Publick ſcoffs and detractions, &c. which yet others have cleared him of*] One calls him *the prerogative Lord-Mayor* (1); others of the Independants and Sectaries, are for reſembling him to wicked *Ahaz*, for breaking his promiſe (2); 'whereas, ſays 'Mr Tho. Edwards, he performed it moſt punctually 'and conſcientiouſly; conſidering himſelf as a Chriſtian, 'and a Magiſtrate, in ſuch an eminent place (3).'

(2) The Lord-Mayor's Farewel from his office, &c. 4*to* 1646.

(3) See his *Gangræna*, 4*to* 1646. Part III. p. 179. 228.

that honourable title, of *FATHER of the CITY* (*i*). Nor received he only all his honours from the city, but his Prince alſo, with the greateſt reaſon, conferred upon him the greateſt whereof his ſtation was capable. For ſuch was his generous loyalty and affection to the ſaid Prince, Charles II, that having in thoſe perilous times remitted ten thouſand pounds to him in his exile (*k*), and being deputed, at his majeſty's joyful return to theſe realms, by the city, to go, tho' in the ſeventy-third year of his age, as their Commiſſioner, to Breda in Holland with General Monk (*l*), to congratulate and attend him home; he was, in conſideration of his ſignal ſervices, knighted at the Hague by the ſaid King, and, a few days after his majeſty's reſtauration, advanced to the dignity of a Baronet of England, on the thirteenth of June 1660 (*m*). His merit is ſtill more extenſive in the character of a benefactor to the publick, than that of having been one to his Prince; particularly at Wem, where he not only gave the houſe of his nativity for a free-ſchool (*n*), that others might have their breeding where he had his birth; but did alſo liberally endow the ſame. He likewiſe founded an Arabic profeſſorſhip at Cambridge, on condition that it were frequented with a competency of auditors (*o*); and notwithſtanding the general jealouſy, that this new *Arabia* (the *happy*, as all novelties, at firſt) would ſoon become *deſert*; yet it thrived ſo well, that the ſalary of forty pounds *per annum* (*p*), was ſettled upon Mr Abraham Wheelock, fellow of Clare Hall, a man of great learning and induſtry, whoſe longer life would have probably much improved the Polyglott Bible. Nor were theſe munificent acts to bear the date of their commencement from that of his death; but the one began twenty, and the other above thirty years before it (*q*). Neither was their maintenance only ſettled for ſome term of years, but, as we uſually ſay, for ever. By which means, he not only ſerved his own, but ſucceeding generations. Nay, in that Arabic lecture, he ſerved thoſe remote eaſtern parts of the world; upon which account, at the deſire of the ſaid Mr Wheelock, he was at the charge of printing the Perſian Goſpels, and tranſmitting them into thoſe parts. Thus he endeavoured to promote the Chriſtian religion, *by throwing a ſtone at the forehead of Mahomet*, as himſelf was wont to expreſs it (*r*). And thus was he ſerviceable in his generation, to the honour of God, the welfare of the city, and the benefit both of country and univerſity. In private as well as publick charities he was alſo a conſpicuous example. His hands being frequently open in his life-time, to objects of want and deſert upon all occaſions; and notwithſtanding many great damages to his eſtate, he gave conſiderable legacies to the poor of ſeveral pariſhes, to hoſpitals, and miniſters widows. Though he was a man of a fine and graceful preſence, the virtues of his mind, exceeded the elegancy of his form [*B*]. But one of the moſt ſhining virtues in his character was, his Chriſtian courage, his fortitude and patience, under ſeveral years of bodily pain, many doleful loſſes he met with in his worldly goods, and ſome diſaſtrous croſſes in his near relations; ſuch, as himſelf acknowledged, *He could not have borne, were it not for the ſtrength he received from thoſe divine examples, wherewith he had been ſo converſant.* In the loſſes and croſſes here mentioned, my author laſt quoted is no further particular: but the diſeaſe, which, in his later years ſo much afflicted him, was the ſtone in his bladder. This, by a fall as he was ſtepping out of his coach (*s*), haſtened his death, which happened on the (*t*) twenty-fourth of February, 1667, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age. That ſtone was of ſuch extraordinary magnitude, that it was found, when taken from him, to exceed twenty-five ounces in weight (*u*): and it is therefore preſerved in the Laboratory at Cambridge (*x*). The worldly affairs in which his life had been ſo much engaged, left no reluctance in him to part with it: ſo truly had he learnt the principal part that can be acted by the wiſeſt men, of familiarizing his thoughts in ſuch manner to that diſſolution allotted us all, as neither to be ſurprized at it's approach, nor unprepared for his reſignation; of which he was ſo mindful many years before his death, that it was his frequent language, upon ſeveral occaſions, *Solum mihi ſupereſt ſepulchrum. All my buſineſs now, is to fit me for the grave.* Dr Hardy preached his funeral ſermon in St Catherine Creechurch on the tenth of March following, before a numerous audience of the principal magiſtrates in the city, his children [*C*], and many relations; to all whom he concludes with excellent advice. The characteriſtical part thereof is lately reprinted (*y*), in which it appears, the death of Sir *THOMAS ADAMS*, was not accounted a ſingle loſs; but that it was, in this one perſon, manifold: for, paſſing by private loſers, the King loſt a loyal ſubject; the Church, a faithful ſon; the City, a prudent ſenator; and the whole publick, a common

(*i*) Dr Hardy, p. 32.

(*k*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Ib. and Dr Hardy, p. 36.

(*m*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Fuller, in Shropſhire.

(*o*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Camb. ſince the conqueſt, fol. 1655, p. 166. *ſub ann.* 1631-2.

(*p*) Dr Hardy, p. 37.

(*q*) Idem.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 38.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronets.

(*t*) J. Le. Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. III.

(*u*) Dr Hardy, p. 39.

(*x*) Engliſh Baronets.

(*y*) Memorials & Characters of eminent and worthy perſons, fol. 1739. No. iii. p. 86.

[*B*] *Exceeded the elegancy of his form.*] Dr Hardy, who was acquainted with him above twenty years, tells us, 'His very outward aſpect was amiable, nay 'venerable; his preſence, as the appearance of ſome 'benign ſtar, having a pleaſing influence upon all 'that looked upon him: but could you have viewed 'his inſide, behold that virtuous ſoul which inhabited 'his comely body, how would it have raviſhed you! 'and yet tho' we could not directly we might reflex-'ively, and that, both from his words and works.' And a little further, 'Such was his tongue! fre-'quently tipped with ſilver, nay golden ſayings; which 'he brought forth out of the treaſure of his memory: 'ſuch were his lips! with which (as well, nay better, 'than with his bountiful table) he fed not only his 'children and ſervants, but all who converſed with 'him; among whom I can truly ſay, *I never went to 'him, but I did, or might, come away from him, bettered 'by his gracious and prudent diſcourſe.* Nor was he 'only, as I doubt too many are, a man of words; his 'goodneſs was not only at his tongue's, but his fingers 'ends. So that he was not only in reſpect of his 'words, a ſweet and pleaſing voice; but of his works, 'a burning and ſhining light (4).

(4) His funeral ſermon, p. 30, 31.

[*C*] *His children.*] Whereof he had nine, tho' four only ſurvived him; three daughters, and one ſon, named William, who ſucceeded in dignity and eſtate. This Sir William Adams, Bart. married Anne, ſiſter to

common father. He was buried at Sprowſton church in Norfolk, and has a handſome monument over him, with a long Latin inſcription thereon, written by W. Faldo of Grey's-Inn, Eſq; which has been printed elſewhere (z).

(z) In Monum. Anglic. prædict. ab an. 1667.

to Sir James Ruſhout of Northwick, in Worceſterſhire, Bart. by whom he had nine ſons, and one daughter; but by his ſecond wife, the widow of Alderman Allington, he had no iſſue: he died *anno* 1687, and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; who died unmarried in 1690. Whereupon Sir Charles Adams, Bart, late of Sprowſton-hall in Norfolk, the ſixth ſon of Sir William, became ſucceſſor. He married Frances, one of the ſix daughters of Sir Francis Rolle, ſon of Lord Chief Juſtice Rolle; but dying without iſſue, in Auguſt 1726, was buried at Ealing in Middleſex, and ſucceeded by his only brother living, Sir Robert Adams; who married the daughter and one of the coheireſſes of Peircy Wiſeman, Eſq; a branch of the antient family of Wiſeman in Eſſex. *He beareth*, ermin, *three cats paſſant in pale*, azure. *CREST: on a wreath, a greyhound's neck, &c.* (5).

(5) The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 22.

G

ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St Andrews. He was born March 15, 1563, in the town of Perth, deſcended of mean, but very honeſt and indulgent parents (*a*), who willingly afforded him all the learning that they were able. As a proof of this, they ſent him to the grammar-ſchool in the place where they dwelt, thence he went to the univerſity of St Andrews, where he paſſed through a courſe of philoſophy, and attained the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). Their circumſtances not allowing them to maintain him any longer there, he was conſtrained to return home, and think of ſome way of getting his bread. In order to this, he removed to a little village in Fife, where he taught ſchool, and in a ſhort time gained ſuch a reputation, that many gentlemen in the neighbourhood ſent their ſons to be educated under him (*c*). In this condition he continued about four years, till Mr James McGill, of Rankellor, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice, intending to ſend his eldeſt ſon into France to ſtudy the Civil Law, made choice of Mr Adamſon, to be his tutor or preceptor (*d*). With this young gentleman he ſet out for Paris in the year 1566, which is the firſt date we meet with in the memoirs of his life. In the month of June, in the ſame year, Mr Adamſon's loyalty involved him very unluckily [*A*]. Neither had he eſcaped ſo eaſily as he did, had not Queen Mary, Dowager of France, and Soveraign of Scotland, with ſome of the principal nobility in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves in his behalf (*e*). As ſoon as he recovered his liberty, he retired with his pupil to Bourges, where he and young Mr McGill both entered ſtudents of Law. He was in that city during the maſſacre at Paris, and the ſame humour prevailing there, he narrowly eſcaped ſuffering martyrdom for the Proteſtant Religion, living concealed no leſs than ſeven months in a certain publick houſe, the maſter of which, for his charity to hereticks, was thrown from the top thereof and beat to pieces, though upwards of ſeventy years old (*f*). While Mr Adamſon lay thus in his ſepulchre, as he juſtly called it, he wrote two excellent pieces in Latin verſe, which are ſtill extant [*B*]. In the year 1573, he returned into Scotland, where he married a Lawyer's daughter, probably with an intent to have furthered his progreſs in that ſcience; but finding no encouragement, and ſtanding in need of a preſent proviſion, he entered into holy orders, and became miniſter of Paiſley (*g*). In the year 1575, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to confer on ſettling the juriſdiction and policy of the Church, by the General Aſſembly (*h*). In a General Aſſembly held the ſucceeding year at Edinburgh, he, together with Mr David Lindſay, was appointed to report their proceedings to the Earl of Moreton, then Regent (*i*). The ſame year, that great nobleman appointed

(a) Vit. Pat. Adamſon, a Thoma Voluſeno conſcript.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholick Church, fol. Hague 1662, Part iii. p. 392.

(e) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(f) Præfat. in Job.

(g) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, fol. 1680, p. 55. but more largely in the MS Hiſt. ſtill preſerved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

(h) Petrie ad ann. Calderwood, ad ann.

(i) Calderwood and Petrie.

[*A*] *Mr Adamſon's loyalty involved him very unluckily*] The occaſion was this, Mary Queen of Scots, being delivered on the 19th of June, 1566, of a Prince, afterwards James VI of Scotland, and Firſt of England (1); Mr Adamſon, to ſhew his loyalty, and it may be alſo to ſhew his genius for Latin poetry, wrote a very fine copy of verſes, which he procured to be immediately printed and publiſhed. The title of this poem ran thus, *Sereniſſimi & Nobiliſſimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illuſtriſſimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ ampliſſimæ Filii Genethliacum* (2). i. e. *A Poem on the Birth of the moſt Serene, and moſt noble Prince of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Son of the moſt illuſtrious Hero Henry Stuart, and of the moſt potent Queen Mary.* This poem was publiſhed on the 25th of June, but ſix days after the birth of the Prince, who was the ſubject of it; and therefore we may be ſure, that it was both written and printed in ſome hurry; however, the giving the titles of France, and England, to his own Prince, ſo much alarmed the French court, that they inſtantly cauſed him to be arreſted, and might perhaps have proceeded to greater ſeverities, if immediate applications and all poſſible excuſes had not been made to the miniſtry (3), which, however, did not hinder Mr Adamſon's being cloſely confined for ſix months. The Engliſh court alſo were not leſs angry, but at length, with much ado, the matter was made up. Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed at being put in mind, that this was a ſort of prophecy, which afterwards was verified; ſince he whom he then ſtiled Prince, was actually acknowledged as King by that very ſtile, though our author never lived to ſee it.

(1) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. *ad fin.* lib. xvii.

(2) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(3) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

[*B*] *In Latin verſe which are ſtill extant.*] Dr Mackenzie calls the French univerſity, at which Mr Adamſon ſtudied, Bruges (4), I cannot tell why, ſince the Latin writer of the Archbiſhop's life, from whom he had his materials, tells us expreſsly that it was Bourges, which is indeed a French univerſity, and capital of the dutchy of Berry. The poems mentioned in the text, were, a Poetical Verſion of the Book of Job, and the Tragedy of Herod, who was ſmote by an Angel. Of both theſe he immediately ſent copies to Lyons and Paris, to be printed. That which he ſent to Lyons was directed to Bouillius, and that which he ſent to Paris was addreſſed to Lambinus, but the civil wars which quickly enſued hindered their being committed to the preſs; and it was not till long after, that the author recovered one of the copies, and that by the greateſt accident that could be. For on the death of Lambinus, his papers falling into the hands of Dr Henry Blackwood, he diſcovered amongſt them both theſe pieces, and immediately tranſmitted them to our author, who committed them to the preſs in 1572, and they were received with univerſal applauſe (5).

(4) Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. III. p. 365.

(5) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

[*C*] *Inconſi-*

appointed him one of his chaplains, and on the death of Biſhop Douglas, raiſed him to the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews (*k*), a dignity which brought him nothing but trouble and uneaſineſs. On October 24, 1576, the General Aſſembly ſat at Edinburgh, and, in their ſeventh ſeſſion, required Mr Adamſon to ſubmit himſelf to the tryal and examination of the Aſſembly, and to receive the office of a Biſhop with ſuch limitations as they thought fit, which he refuſed to do, whereupon they forbad the chapter of St Andrews to proceed to any election. However, after the Aſſembly roſe, the chapter met, and elected Mr Patrick Adamſon, Archbiſhop. The next year, the General Aſſembly appointed commiſſioners to ſummon the Archbiſhop before them, to examine into the validity of his election, and to take cognizance of various charges brought againſt him (*l*). The clamour of the Preſbyterian party ran very high againſt him, and now they began to vent thoſe ſtories firſt, which afterwards their authors inſerted in their hiſtories, not only contrary to truth and juſtice, but even to probability, and inconſiſtent with each other [*C*]. The unfortunate Prelate vainly imagining, that by diſplaying his zeal for Religion, his great ſkill in the Scriptures, and his excellent vein in Latin Poeſy, he ſhould be able to ſooth the paſſions of theſe angry men; compoſed a Catechiſm in Latin verſe (*m*). This they ſaw and approved, but went on perſecuting him for all that [*D*]. In 1578, he ſubmitted himſelf to the General Aſſembly, which procured him a little quiet, and but a little, for in 1579 a new commiſſion was iſſued out to enquire into freſh charges againſt him, whereupon the Archbiſhop retired to St Andrews, and for ſome years they continued diſputing, the Archbiſhop being conſtantly treated as an enemy to the Church, and preſerved from deſtruction only by the power of the court (*n*). In 1582, the Archbiſhop was ſeized with a grievous diſeaſe, and kept himſelf in the caſtle of St Andrews, which the author of the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland calls decently, *living like a fox in a hole* (*o*). The phyſicians were at a loſs what to call his diſtemper, and could afford him little or no relief. In his diſtreſs he took ſome ſimple medicine from an old woman, whoſe name was Aliſon Pearſone, which did him good (*p*). One would have thought ſuch a circumſtance as this, could ſcarce have been rendered worthy the ears of poſterity; yet ſuch was the malice of the Archbiſhop's enemies, that they charged the old woman with witchcraft, and the poor Prelate with ſeeking to the devil to ſave his life. On this ſtrange charge, the woman was committed to priſon, but by the Archbiſhop's means, as they gave out, made her eſcape. However, four years afterwards, ſhe was met with again at Edinburgh, and, at the inſtance of the Preſbyterian miniſters, was fairly burnt for ſaving the Archbiſhop's life (*q*) [*E*]. In 1583, King

(*k*) Calderwood, p. 74. and Petrie, p. 387. Vit. Pat. Adamſon, Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, *ann.* 1575.

(*l*) Calderwood, Petrie, and Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1577.

(*m*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*n*) Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1578. Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*o*) Calderwood, p. 140. and much more at large in the MS Hiſtory.

(*p*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*q*) Calderwood, *ad ann.* 1583, and Petrie, p. 441.

[*C*] *Inconſiſtent with each other.*] We have a good deal on this ſubject in Dr Mackenzie's account of our author, but the doctor does not take any great pains, to ſhow that the ſcandalous things ſaid of the Archbiſhop are inconſiſtent, and therefore cannot be true, neither is he at all particular in citing authorities. To readers well acquainted with Scottiſh hiſtory, this might not be neceſſary, but to other perſons it makes his account very obſcure. The groſs of what was alledged againſt him, when he became Archbiſhop, was what follows. 'That his father's name was Conſtance, a baker in Perth, and under the name of Conſtance, he aſſiſted as a miniſter in the firſt General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in the year 1560. After this, having deſerted his miniſtry, he went over to France to ſtudy the laws; but upon his return, he betook himſelf again to the miniſtry, and being baulked of the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews, in the month of February, 1572, he preached at St Andrews; and in his ſermon told the people, that there were *Three ſorts of Biſhops, my Lord Biſhop, my Lord's Biſhop, and the Lord's Biſhop. My Lord Biſhop was in the time of Popery. My Lord's Biſhop is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Biſhop ſweweth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right ſure; and the Lord's Biſhop is the true miniſter of the goſpel* (6).' For theſe particulars we are referred to Petrie and Calderwood, but very probably Dr Mackenzie never conſulted thoſe authors, ſince Petrie expreſsly cites (7) another writer, for what he ſays of the Archbiſhop, who ought therefore to be reputed the author of the firſt part of the ſtory at leaſt (8). That the Archbiſhop's name was really Conſtance, is not a ſuggeſtion of late date, for we find in the continuation of Hollinſhed's Chronicle (9), that he is ſtiled Patrick Adamſon, alias Conſtance, in his life-time, for that book was printed in 1587. But that he became a miniſter before he went to France, is expreſsly contrary to the Archbiſhop's own teſtimony in his prefaces, and it can ſcarce be believed, that he would dare to affirm a falſhood in the face of the whole Church. The ſtory of his preaching, is likewiſe inconſiſtent with his own account of his return into Scotland, which he places in 1573, nay, which is worſe, it is not to be reconciled to their own account of the matter; for if what one of their writers ſays be true, that out of mere pity to his neceſſity, Mr Andrew Haye procured him the church of Paiſley; it is impoſſible that he ſhould immediately after pretend to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferment in the kingdom, and this too, againſt ſuch a perſon as Mr John Douglas, Rector of the univerſity, and a man of extraordinary intereſt. But to put this matter out of diſpute, it muſt be obſerved, that Mr Douglas was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick in 1571 (10), when, without all queſtion, Mr Adamſon was out of the kingdom, ſo that he could not be piqued at miſſing the Archbiſhoprick. How ſuch ſtories came to be broached, is no hard matter to diſcover, ſince we find Calderwood telling us expreſsly, and with triumph, that when he oppoſed the Kirk, certain writers ſet him forth in his colours, which is neither better nor worſe, than countenancing men of great ſpleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invectives. The Engliſh hiſtories at the ſame time, diſcover this to have been too much practiſed here, as the reader may find by conſulting the article of AILMER, or of ARTHINGTON.

(6) Calderwood, p. 55.

(7) Part iii. p. 392.

(8) Vindiciæ Philadelph. p. 53.

(9) Vol. II. p. 455.

(10) Calderwood, p. 48.

[*D*] *Went on perſecuting him for all that.*] The title of this work was, *Catechiſmus Latino Carmine redditus, & in Libros quatuor digeſtus* 1577 (11), i. e. *The Catechiſm rendered into Latin Verſe, and digeſted into four Books.* This was written for the uſe of the young King, and was received with ſuch univerſal applauſe, that Mr Robert Pont, who was both a miniſter and a Judge, and Mr James Lawſon, both warm in the proſecution of our author, could not forbear publiſhing two very fine Latin poems in praiſe of that performance (12). It was alſo much admired in England, in France, and in the Low-Countries, where the author was already well known by his Latin tranſlation of the Confeſſion of Faith, which he procured to be printed, while he reſided in France, at the hazard of his life.

(11) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(12) Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 367.

[*E*] *Fairly burnt for ſaving the Archbiſhop's life.*] Petrie mentions this ſtory of the witch twice (13), once from the books of the General Aſſembly, and a

(13) Part iii. p. 441.

King James VI, coming to St Andrews, our Prelate, who was now pretty well recovered, preached before him, and maintained the dignity of his order with great ſpirit and eloquence, and alſo diſputed with Mr Andrew Melvin before the King, with great reputation (*r*). This drew upon him new calumnies, and freſh perſcutions [*F*]. The King, however, was ſo well ſatisfied of the Archbiſhop's wiſdom and loyalty, that he ſent him his Embaſſador to Queen Elizabeth, in which quality he reſided for ſome years, at London. As to his conduct there, nothing can be more different, than the reports thereof by ſeveral authors. Thus much however is certain, that by his eloquent preaching, he drew after him ſuch a concourſe of people, and raiſed in their minds ſuch a high idea of the young King his maſter, that Queen Elizabeth forbad him to enter the pulpit, during his ſtay in her dominions (*s*). But ſtill the Biſhops, and ſuch Noblemen as were zealous for the intereſt of the Church, received our Biſhop kindly, and treated him very reſpectfully, doing all that in their power lay to make the difficulties he laboured under, which were not a few, ſome way tolerable to him (*t*). There ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that the two things he principally laboured, were the recommending the King his maſter, to the nobility and gentry of England, and the procuring ſome ſupport for himſelf, and the Epiſcopal party in Scotland, which was then in a very low ſtate. In each of theſe deſigns, he had as much ſucceſs as the ſituation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumſtances, would allow: his revenues were far from being large, and his ſkill in managing them was very indifferent. His enemies took occaſion from thence, to repreſent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends, with more humanity and truth, ſaid, that he had ſpent too much time about other ſciences, to be well ſkilled in œconomy. As to his intriguing with the Spaniſh Embaſſador, or having any concern in that which was called Throgmorton's conſpiracy, though they are charged upon him with great confidence (*u*) by ſome writers, yet it ſeems to be without any foundation; ſince it can ſcarce be imagined that the Spaniſh Embaſſador, Mendoza, who was himſelf a zealot, or any of the violent Papiſts, who were dipped in thoſe dark deſigns, ſhould have any confidence in a Proteſtant Prelate, who had written with great force and freedom againſt their religion, and who was withal, a perſon needy in circumſtances, and of a timorous diſpoſition [*G*]. Soon after the execution of the firſt Earl of Gowry, *viz.* In the year 1584, the Archbiſhop was recalled, and ſat in the Parliament, which was held about the end of Auguſt at Edinburgh. In that Parliament, ſeveral acts were made for ſettling the peace of the kingdom, and for eſtabliſhing the King's authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs (*w*). Yet this produced little effect, the miniſters refuſed abſolutely to pay obedience, and becauſe the Archbiſhop preached often before the King, perſons were encouraged to beat at the church doors in order to diſturb him; and moſt outrageous

(*r*) Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1583, Calderwood and Petrie, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon. Vid. etiam. Dedicat. Oper. P. A. A. S. A. ad Jacob. I. per T. Wilſon.

(*t*) Calderwood and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1584.

(*u*) Calderwood, p. 161, and more at large in the MS Hiſtory.

(*w*) Spotſwood, Calderwood, Petrie, ubi ſupra.

ſecond time, from a piece called the Hiſtorical Narration, but Calderwood tells us the ſtory more plainly (14). 'Mr Patrick Adamſon, called commonly 'Biſhop of St Andrews, had keeped his caſtle, like a 'fox in a hole, a long time, diſeaſed of a great Fe- 'ditie, as he himſelf called his diſeaſe. He ſought 'cure of women ſuſpected of witchcraft, namely of 'one who was apprehended, tried by the Preſbyterie, 'and committed to the caſtle to be kept to farther 'trial, but ſuffered by him to eſcape: yet was ſhe 'apprehended within three or four years after, and 'was executed in Edinburgh. He keeped his caſtle 'ſince the aſſembly holden in April, 1582.' This is but one, out of many paſſages, wherein this heavy charge of applying to a witch, is over and over repeated, though the reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that it was then very cuſtomary, nor is it yet uncommon, for women in that part of the world, to pretend to great ſkill in curing chronic diſtempers, ſuch as this of the Archbiſhop's ſeems to have been, ſince he was afterwards adviſed to go to the Spaw for cure.

(14) True Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 140.

[*F*] *New calumnies and freſh perſecutions.*] Let the reader take it in Mr Calderwood's own words. 'When the King cometh to St Andrews, he becometh 'a whole man, occupied the pulpit incontinent, de- 'claimed before the King againſt the miniſtry and the 'lords, and their proceeding. He profeſſed before, 'that he had not the gift of application, now he ap- 'plieth, but inſpired with another ſpirit, than faith- 'ful miniſters uſe to be. In his ſermon he affirmed 'for certain, that the Duke of Lennox died a Prote- 'ſtant, having in his hand a ſcroll, which he called 'the Duke's Teſtament. A merchant woman ſitting 'before the pulpit, and ſpying narrowly, affirmed 'that the ſcroll was account of four or five years old 'debt, which a few days before, ſhe had ſent to him. 'It is true, the Duke refuſed to take the ſacrament 'out of a prieſt's hand, when he was dying, but had 'received it before, as was reported, out of the Bi- 'ſhop of Glaſgow's hand (15).'

(15) Ibid. p. 141.

[*G*] *Of a timorous diſpoſition.*] Calderwood having reported the order made by Queen Elizabeth, for the Spaniſh Embaſſador's quitting her kingdom, proceeds thus, 'Let the reader then judge what could move 'Mr Patrick Adamſon to quake and tremble, when 'Francis Throgmortoun was apprehended. What buſi- 'neſs could he have with the Spaniſh Embaſſador? 'And upon what ground did he maintain, that liberty 'of conſcience was expedient? Was it not becauſe he 'was in working, and he was privy to it? And ſee- 'ing the Duke of Guiſe was to be chief ring-leader 'of the invaſion abovementioned, Who will believe 'that the Duke of Lennox was not privy to it? If he 'had ſtayed, by all appearance, this plot had been 'very far advanced (16).' Father Parſons, in one of his books, gives us ſome light into this embaſſy. For having firſt introduced a diſcourſe concerning the exceſſive pride of the Preſbyterian miniſters in Scotland, he then makes the perſon into whoſe mouth he put it, proceed thus, 'And ſo, ſaid I of late, to their moſt 'reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate, the Arch- 'biſhop of St Andrews, with whom it was my luck 'to come acquainted in London, whither he was 'come by his King's appointment (as he ſaid) to treat 'certain affairs with our Queen and council. And 'talking with him of this diſorder of his miniſtry, 'he confeſſed the ſame with much grief of mind, 'and told me, that he had preached thereof before 'the King himſelf, deteſting and accuſing diverſe 'heads thereof, for which cauſe, he was become very 'odious to them, and other of their faction, both in 'Scotland, and England. But he ſaid, that as he 'had given the reaſons of his doings unto our Queen, 'ſo meaneth he ſhortly to do the ſame unto Mr Beza, 'and to the whole Church of Geneva, by ſending 'thither the articles of his and their doings; proteſt- 'ing unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of 'thoſe factious and corrupt men, was moſt ſcanda- 'lous, ſeditious, and perilous, both to the King's per- 'ſon and to the Realm; being ſufficient indeed to 'alienate wholly the young Prince from all affection 'to our Religion, when he ſhall ſee the chief pro- 'feſſors thereof, to behave themſelves ſo undutifully 'towards him (17).

(16) Ibid. p. 161.

(17) Leyceſter's Commonwealth, *ann. dom.* 1641, *etc.* p. 145, 146.

[*H*] *This*

geous libels were every where ſcattered againſt him, in order to ruin his reputation, and make him odious to the people. To abate, if poſſible, this temper in the people, and to ſet things in a true light, the King cauſed a declaration to be made by the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, of the reaſons which induced thoſe laws, and obliged his majeſty and his council to ſee them put in execution. This declaration was publiſhed in the month of January, 1685, and was ſo well received by all wiſe and diſcreet men, that in the month of February, it was reprinted at London with great applauſe, contributing highly to the Archbiſhop's reputation, who ſeemed now to be in a fair way of overcoming all his difficulties, as he certainly would have done, if the court had been more ſteady; this declaration having procured King James many friends in England (*x*) [*H*]. But things did not remain in this ſituation, for the Kirk faction being obſtinate, and indefatigable, ſoon gained ground again, drawing in ſeveral great men to countenance them, and at laſt making uſe of open force, which ſo intimidated the King, that by a new declaration he diſavowed that formerly mentioned (*y*). In the month of April, 1586, a provincial Synod was held at St Andrews, wherein the Archbiſhop was preſent, but he was ſoon accuſed, and, notwithſtanding his defence, excommunicated, whereupon, a day or two after, he excommunicated Mr James Melvin, who was moderator at the Synod; and, in reſpect to his own excommunication, appealed to the King, and the States of the kingdom; however, this did him little good, for the mob being let looſe upon him, he durſt ſcarce appear in publick, in the city of St Andrews (*z*). At the next General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh in the ſame year, a paper containing the Archbiſhop's ſubmiſſion, dated May 20, 1586, was produced, whereupon, the Aſſembly abſolved him from the excommunication, and the King and council directed that he ſhould read a divinity lecture in St Servator's College at St Andrews (*a*). In 1587, complaint was made to the General Aſſembly, that the Biſhop had ſuffered himſelf to be denounced rebel, and put to the Horn, that is, in plain Engliſh, outlawed, becauſe he could not pay his debts, but upon the motion of the King's commiſſioners, all proceedings were ſtayed (*b*). In 1588, the Archbiſhop was again cited before the General Aſſembly, for marrying the Earl of Huntley to his Counteſs, without obliging the Earl to ſubſcribe a confeſſion of his faith, and he not appearing, a commiſſion was granted to try him for that and other crimes objected to him (*c*). In the beginning of 1590, our Prelate publiſhed the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, in Latin verſe, which he dedicated to the King, complaining of the hard uſage he had met with. In the latter end of the ſame year, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the Apocalypſe, in Latin verſe, which he alſo dedicated to the King (*d*), yet neither theſe, nor a moving copy of Latin verſes, written to his majeſty in his deep diſtreſs, procured him any favour (*e*). On the contrary, the King finding the Archbiſhop no longer of uſe to him, granted the revenue of his ſee to the Duke of Lenox, whereby the unfortunate Prelate with his family, came, in a literal ſenſe, to want bread (*f*). At this very time, the Aſſembly intercepted Letters from Dr Bancroft, chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to our Archbiſhop Adamſon, certifying him of the great reſpect the Engliſh clergy had for him, and blaming him for not taking ſanctuary amongſt his friends in that country (*g*). Theſe letters never came to his hands, but the brethren taking advantage of the poor Prelate's miſerable circumſtances, and great weakneſs both in body and mind, procured his ſubſcription to a moſt abject form of ſubmiſſion, and that, by giving him a poor collection for the immediate relief of his family's neceſſities (*b*). Thus he lingered out, till the latter end of the year 1591, his uncomfortable life, dying with very different characters from his countrymen, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*I*]. But as to what his enemies charitably aſſerted, of his being ſenſeleſs

(*x*) Thinn's Continuation of Holliſhed's Chron. Vol. II. P. 438.

(*y*) Calderwood, p. 193.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 199.

(*a*) Calderwood, p. 213. Thinn's Continuation of Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 456.

(*b*) Calderwood, and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1587.

(*c*) Calderwood, p. 226.

(*d*) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon, Lond. apud Joann. Billium, 1619, 4*to*.

(*e*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*f*) Calderwood, p. 259.

(*g*) Calderwood, ibid, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Calderwood, p. 260. Spotſwood, p. 387.

[*H*] *This declaration procured King James many friends in England.*] This declaration is ſtill preſerved at length, in Thinn's continuation of Hollinſhed's hiſtory of Scotland (18), wherein the reader may peruſe it, and therein find the true ground of that inveterate hatred, which was borne to our prelate by the preſbyterian clergy; ſince, to ſay the truth, it is by far the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt picture that was ever drawn, of their haughty behaviour towards their Prince, and towards his people. We need not therefore wonder, at the following account of the matter by Calderwood, which ſhews the ſpirit both of the man and his party. 'The acts of parliament holden the laſt May, were 'ſo toſſed among the ſubjects, and miſliked by good 'men, that the court was forced to ſet Mr Patrick 'Adamſon, that chief deviſor, on work, to make a 'declaration of the meaning, and that in the King's 'name. This declaration came to light in January, 'and was after ſo greedily embraced by the Engliſh 'Biſhops, that after the printing of it here, it was 'reprinted with an odious preface of alledged treaſons 'prefixed unto it, and to preſerve the memory of it, 'inſert in the Chronicle of England, compiled by Hollinſhead, and continued by Francis Thinne. Our Kirk was ever careful, and eſpecially at the ſame time, to entertain the amity between the two nations, and deſerved no ſuch indignity at their 'hands. But let ſuch a lying libel lie there, as a 'blur to blot their Chronicles (19).

(18) Vol. II. p. 438.

(19) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 172.

[*I*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes*] In order to ſupport what we have ſaid in the text, we ſhall here ſet down three characters of him; the firſt by Calderwood, who tells us, that in the month of April 1591, he ſubſcribed a long recantation, which he inſerts in his hiſtory, and deſired aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his family. Afterwards he tells us, he ſent to the Preſbyterie at St Andrews, and deſired to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication. 'The 'brethren doubting whether his deſire proceeded 'from trouble of mind, or if it was a ſhift only to 'get ſome ſupport, directed Mr James Melvill, and 'Mr Andrew Moncrief, to try him. As ſoon as he 'ſaw Mr James, he pulled off his cap, and cried, For-'give me, forgive me, for God's ſake, Mr James, for 'I have many ways offended you. Mr James forgave 'him, and exhorted him to unfeigned repentance. 'When he was aſked, if he acknowledged the validity 'of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced a-'gainſt him. He interrupted Mr James, and cried 'pitifully, and often, Looſe me for Chriſt's ſake. At 'their report, the brethren with prayer and thankſ-'giving abſolved him (20).' Archbiſhop Spotſwood, gives ſomewhat a different account of this tranſaction, and a better character of our author. His words are

(20) Ibid. p. 259----265.

ſenſeleſs in his laſt moments, it is ſo flagrant a falſhood, that we have preſerved an inſtance of his having almoſt in the article of death, the nobleſt and moſt pious ſentiments [*K*]. This certainly joined with the conſideration of the many admirable works he publiſhed, ought to perſwade us that he was one of the moſt learned, and moſt polite Prelates of the age in which he lived [*L*].

(21) Book vi. p. 378.

are theſe (21). 'In this Aſſembly certain articles 'were preſented, ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of 'St Andrews, allowing the preſbyterial diſcipline, and 'condemning the government epiſcopal; which were 'afterwards imprinted, under the title of Mr Patrick 'Adamſon's Recantation. The Biſhop lay bedfaſt at 'the time, and was fallen into great neceſſity by his 'own miſgovernment, whereof his adverſaries taking 'advantage, it was deviſed, that he ſhould be viſited 'by ſome of the brethren, and deſired to leave a 'teſtimony under his hand, of his opinion of matters 'of diſcipline. This being moved unto him, he ſaid, 'that he did not trouble himſelf with ſuch thoughts 'at that time, and had never allowed of any other 'Biſhop in the Church, but St Paul's Biſhop, which 'he would willingly ſet his hand to. Upon this his 'anſwer, were theſe articles drawn up, and ſub-'ſcribed by him; whether he knew what was con-'tained in them, or that he was induced thereto, by 'a poor collection that they gave him in the time, '(for ſo the report went) or otherwiſe, it is uncertain: 'but when it was told him that ſuch a recantation 'was publiſhed in his name, he complained heavily 'of the wrong that was done him, and committing 'his cauſe to God, ended his days in the year 1591. 'A man he was of great learning, and a moſt per-'ſwaſive preacher, but an ill adminiſtrator of the 'Church patrimony, which brought him to the mi-'ſery that is pitiful to think of. Diverſe works he 'left; of which ſome are extant, which ſhew his 'learning: but his Prelections upon the Epiſtle to 'Timothy, which were moſt deſired, falling into the 'hands of his adverſaries were ſuppreſſed.' Mr Wilſon, who publiſhed our Prelate's works, talks of him in much ſtronger terms (22): 'He was, ſays he, a Pre-'late endowed with ſuch excellent qualifications, both 'as to mind and body, that he was a miracle of 'nature; and rather ſeemed to be the immediate pro-'duction of God Almighty, than born of a woman; 'being a profound Theologue, an incomparable Poet, 'an eloquent Orator, well ſeen in the Greek, and 'Latin languages: a Prelate of great prudence, ex-'perience, and wiſdom, in the management of af-'fairs, ſkilful in the civil and canon-law; and of 'ſo happy a memory, that he did not know what it 'was to forget any thing, that he had either heard or 'read; ſo that the death of ſuch a perſon, who was 'the glory of his country, and of the republick of 'letters, can never be too much lamented.'

(22) In præfat. Job. ap. oper. Pat. Adamſon.

[*K*] *The nobleſt and moſt pious ſentiments.*] We are told by the charitable Mr Calderwood, that Mr David Black, a man mighty in doctrine, and of ſingular fidelity and diligence in the calling of the miniſtry, came to Mr Patrick (ſo he calls the Archbiſhop) in February, the year following, (1591) when he was drawing near his end, and found him, as he lived, ſenſeleſs (23). The following Latin verſes written a very little while before he breathed his laſt, will ſhew what frame of mind he was in, and what reaſons Mr David Black had for departing, as Mr Calderwood ſays he did, with a heavy heart.

(23) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 265.

O Anima! aſſiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæſa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, & mundi inviſas contemnere ſordes.
Quippe parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, & verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine ſiſtet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cæleſtis origo
Invitat, fælix perge, æternumque quieſce.
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, ſonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, & totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, & radiantes ſanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capeſſes
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
Alme Deus, Deus alme, & non effabile numen,
Ad te unum & trinum, moribundo pectore anhelo (24).

(24) Mackenzie Vol. III. p. 376.

O Soul! long toſs'd in waves of endleſs ſtrife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life,
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and ſpeed thee from its ſnares.
Lo! the great God, who every good beſtows,
Bids thee forſake thy body, and thy woes.
While the kind author of our happier ſtate,
His ſuffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haſte thee! haſte thee! to thy native ſky,
Leave here thy pains, to endleſs quiet fly.
This breathleſs trunk, this putrid fleſhly caſe
Tho' worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear th' angelick trump; again ariſe,
And, thou reſuming, bear it to the ſkies.
See the bleſs'd day, ſee how the Lamb appears!
Hard by his croſs! O how his bleeding chears!
On theſe depending, ſpeed thee in thy flight,
In thy new friends how much wilt thou delight?
Dear God, in thee, in thee, O God moſt dear,
Whoſe name be mention'd ſtill with holy fear,
My faith firm fix'd for ever ſhall abide,
Living I truſt, and dying I confide.

[*L*] *One of the moſt learned and polite Prelates the age in which he lived.*] Beſides the ſeveral pieces publiſhed together in a quarto volume by Mr Wilſon, our author wrote alſo many things which were never publiſhed, ſuch as ſix books on the Hebrew Republick, various tranſlations of the Prophets into Latin verſe, Prelections on St Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy, various apologetical and funeral orations; and what deſerves moſt to be regretted, a very candid hiſtory of his own times; alſo many other pieces, the titles of which have not been preſerved to poſterity (25). E

(25) Ibid. p. 378, 379.

ADDISON (LANCELOT), the ſon of another Lancelot Addiſon, a clergyman, was born at Mauldiſmeaburne, in the pariſh of Croſby Ravenſworth, in Weſtmorland (*a*), in the year 1632 (*b*), but the day is not certain. He received the firſt tincture of letters, in the grammar-ſchool of Appleby, in the ſame county. Thence, in the year 1650, he was ſent by his relations to Queen's college in Oxford, where he became firſt a poor child on the foundation (*c*), but quickly diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his lively parts, and ſtrict application to learning, he, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1654, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); continuing ſtill in the univerſity, on the fourth of July, 1657, he became Maſter of Arts, and being then much taken notice of for his ſprightly wit, was made choice of to be one of the *Terræ Filii*, for the Act which was celebrated in 1658. But his loyalty getting the better of his prudence, he bore ſo hard in his oration, on the pride, hypocriſy, ignorance, and avarice, of thoſe then in power, that he was compelled to make a recantation, and to ask pardon for the offence given, on his knees. Shortly after he retired from the univerſity, out of diſguſt, in all probability, for the uſage he had received (*e*). He choſe for his retreat a village

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 970.

(*b*) See his Epitaph in Note [*B*].

(*c*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 105.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 115.

a village in the neighbourhood of Petworth, and ſpent his time in viſiting ſuch loyal gentlemen, as had ſeats in the county of Suſſex, where with great zeal and ſteadineſs he promoted amongſt their youth (when it was moſt dangerous) principles of loyalty, and the tenets of the Church of England. On the reſtoration of King Charles II, the gentlemen of that county recommended him to Dr King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, as a man of a ſound head and honeſt heart, one who had ſuffered much, and run the hazard of ſuffering much more, for his attachment to the conſtitution in Church and State. The Biſhop received him kindly, and, in all probability, would have provided for him, if Mr Addiſon had not accepted the poſt of chaplain to the garriſon of Dunkirk, contrary to his lordſhip's inclination (*f*). In 1662, when that place was delivered up to the French, Mr Addiſon returned to England, where he did not remain long, an offer being made him, of going chaplain to the garriſon ſettled at Tangier, with which he cloſed, and went thither the next year. He continued there about ſeven years, during which ſpace he improved, with the utmoſt care and diligence, the great abilities he received from nature, and that large ſtock of acquired knowledge, which he carried from the univerſity. He was in great favour with the famous Earl of Tiviot, who was Governor, and Colonel Norwood, Deputy Governor, of that garriſon, and employed by them in matters of great importance (*g*). In the beginning of the year 1670, having ſettled all things relating to his office in a regular and eaſy ſtate, and taken all imaginable precaution, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion in that garriſon, he thought he might without offence make a voyage into England, in order to look after his private affairs, which he accordingly did, and was well received here by perſons of the firſt diſtinction. He was made chaplain in ordinary to his majeſty Charles II, ſoon after his coming over (*h*), yet his office of chaplain at Tangier, though he had no intent of quitting it, was conferred upon another, whereby Mr Addiſon was not a little ſtreightened for a ſubſiſtence. In this ſituation of affairs, Mr Wood tells us, that a worthy Knight in the county of Wilts, took him under his protection, and beſtowed on him the rectory of Milſton near Ameſbury, in Wilts (*i*), which is ſaid to have been worth about one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He alſo obtained the prebend of minor pars Altaris, in the cathedral church of Sarum, and on the ſixth of July 1675, took the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, at Oxford (*k*). His ſpiritual preferments, though they were not very conſiderable, enabled him to live decently and hoſpitably in the country. He diſcharged his duty in his pariſh with a conſcientious diligence, and employed his ſpare time in ſtudying and in writing for the ſupport of true religion, and of the Church of England, of which he was a moſt dutiful ſon. He lived likewiſe in terms of the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the moſt eminent perſons of his neighbourhood, who were equally edified by the innocence of his life, and charmed with his pleaſing and inſtructive converſation. In 1683, the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, on account of his ſervices at Tangier, and to make good his great loſſes by fire at Milſton, beſtowed upon him the deanery of Litchfield (*l*), in which he was inſtalled the third of July in the ſame year (*m*). Mr Wood ſuppoſes that he was then Archdeacon of Coventry (*n*), but in that he was miſtaken, for Dr Addiſon was collated to that archdeaconry, on the eighth of December 1684 (*o*), and held it with his deanery *in commendam*. In the convocation which met on the fourth of December, 1689, Dean Addiſon was preſent, and was one of the committee appointed by the lower houſe, to acquaint the lords, that they had conſented to a conference on the ſubject of an addreſs to the King (*p*). It is ſaid that he might have been made a Biſhop after the Revolution, if he had not in this convocation, and elſewhere, manifeſted ſuch a zeal for the Church, as gave a handle for miſrepreſenting him to thoſe in power. He enjoyed however a juſt and general reputation grounded on the uprightneſs of his life, and on the many learned and uſeful treatiſes he had publiſhed, a diſtinct account of which, the reader will find in a note [*A*]. He departed this life on

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 970.

(*g*) Weſt Barbary; or a Narrative of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, &c. p. 110.

(*h*) As appears by the title page of Weſt Barbary, &c. wherein he is ſo ſtiled, in 1671.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 198.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) A Survey of the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carliſle, &c. by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 402.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 417.

(*p*) *Vox Cleri*: or, the Senſe of the Clergy, &c. to which is added, an hiſtorical account of the whole proceedings of the preſent Convocation. London, R. Taylor, 1690, 4*to*, p. 61, 72.

[*A*] *A diſtinct account of which the reader will find in a note.*] I. *Weſt Barbary: or, a ſhort narrative of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, with an account of the preſent cuſtoms, ſacred, civil, and domeſtick, by* Lancelot Addiſon, *Chaplain to his majeſty in ordinary.* Printed at the theatre in Oxford, and are to be ſold by John Wilmot, 1671, in octavo, containing in the whole 226 pages, of which the revolutions in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco take up ſeventy-one, and the deſcription of Weſt Barbary, the reſt. This book is dedicated *To the moſt worthy and truly honourable Joſeph Williamſon, Eſq*; who from this and other dedications, appears to have been the author's great patron. The hiſtory is written with great plainneſs and perſpicuity, but in a ſtile viſibly leſs pure than his ſubſequent productions, which, in all probability, might be owing to his long abſence from his native country. Beſides a curious detail of the revolutions in *Barbary*, and a very accurate account both of the country and of the inhabitants, there is in this little piece a multitude of curious particulars, related by the author on his own knowledge, which fully ſupports what he ſays in the preface, that his book was not compoſed from the accounts given him by others, but was the fruit of diligent obſervations, and many years enquiries (1).

II. *The preſent ſtate of the* Jews, *(more particularly relating to thoſe in* Barbary*) wherein is contained an exact account of their cuſtoms, ſecular and religious; to which is annexed, a ſummary diſcourſe of the Miſna, Talmud, and Gemara. By* L. Addiſon, *one of his majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the late revolutions, and preſent cuſtoms, of the kingdoms of* Fez *and* Morocco. London: printed by J. C. for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-Bar, and to be ſold by John Courtney, bookſeller in Sarum, 1675, in octavo, containing 249 pages. This book is alſo dedicated to his former patron, under the title of, the Right Honourable Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Principal Secretary of State, &c. It is dated from *Milſton* near *Ambros-Bury*, in *Wilts*, January 28, 1674-5. This treatiſe contains twenty-ſix chapters, excluſive of ſome conſiderations on the obſtructions which at preſent hinder the converſion of the Jews, and the ſummary diſcourſe mentioned in the title. The author himſelf acknowledges, that he compoſed this as well as

(1) In this treatiſe, wherever our author relates a fact of his own knowledge, he adds ſuch circumſtances of time and place, as ſhew he truſted nothing to memory, which renders his obſervations much more valuable, than thoſe of other travellers in thoſe parts, who write avowedly from hearſay, or at beſt from recollection.

on the twentieth of April, 1703, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He was twice married; firſt to Jane, daughter of Nathaniel Gulſton, Eſq; and ſiſter to Dr William Gulſton, Biſhop of Briſtol, by whom he had three ſons, and as many daughters. His ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter to John Danvers of Shackerſton, in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq; who ſurvived him, and by whom he had no iſſue. As to his offspring by his firſt wife, they were born in the following order. Jane, on the twenty-third of April, 1671, who died in her infancy. Joſeph, on the firſt of May, 1672, of whom in the next article. Gulſton, in April, 1673, who died governor of Fort St George, in the Eaſt-Indies. Dorothy, in May, 1674, who married firſt Dr Sartre, formerly miniſter at Montpellier, afterwards prebendary of Weſtminſter, ſome time after whoſe deceaſe, ſhe became the wife of Daniel Combes, Eſq; Anne, in April, 1676, who died young. Lancelot, in 1680, who was Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and much admired in the univerſity, for his great ſkill in the clafficks (*q*). Dean Addiſon was buried in the church-yard of the cathedral of Litchfield, at the entrance of the weſt door. His epitaph, and an inſcription ſacred to his memory, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*B*].

(*q*) See the note [*B*].

as the former piece, while he was abroad; but without queſtion he reviſed it in England, ſince the diſpoſition of it is perfectly regular, the ſtile natural and eaſy, and the whole interſperſed with many learned remarks, and moral reflections. It is really ſtrange, that this judicious and excellent treatiſe is ſo little known, for it is certainly one of the beſt that was ever compoſed on this ſubject; and tho' many have been written ſince, yet the merit of this is far from being effaced. For according to our author's motto. *Alius alio plura invenire poteſt, nemo omnia.*

III. *The primitive inſtitution: or, a ſeaſonable diſcourſe of catechizing, wherein is ſhewn the antiquity, benefits, and neceſſity thereof; together with its ſuitableneſs to heal the preſent diſtempers of the Church of England, by* L. Addiſon, *one of his majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the preſent ſtate of the Jews* (2).

(2) See the advertiſement in the page fronting the beginning of the preſent ſtate of the Jews, &c. and Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 971.

IV. *A modeſt plea for the Clergy; wherein is briefly conſidered, the original, antiquity, and neceſſity, of that calling, together with the ſpurious and genuine occaſions of their preſent contempt.* London, 1677, *octavo*. In another edition the title ſuffered ſome little alteration, for we find it run thus; *A modeſt plea for the Clergy; wherein is conſidered, the reaſons why the Clergy are ſo contemned and neglected, by* L. A. *D. D. and Dean of* Litchfield. The celebrated Dr *Hickes*, having met with the firſt edition of this book, reprinted it, together with Dr *Heylyn*'s diſcourſe on *tythes*, and a ſermon on the ſacerdotal benediction, by one *Samuel Gibſon*, as proper antidotes to the *Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, by *Tindal*. This piece came out in octavo, in the year 1709, and Dr *Hickes*, in his preface, declares, that he did not know whether the author of the firſt diſcourſe, was a clergyman or a layman, but was inclined to think him a layman, which ſhews how eaſily the moſt learned men may be deceived.

V. *The firſt ſtate of Mahometiſm, or an account of the author and doctrine of that impoſture. London*, 1678, *octavo*. This book was printed the next year, under the title of *The life and death of Mahomet, the author of the Turkiſh religion, &c. containing a hundred and thirty-ſix pages.* The book is divided into twenty-four chapters, and the author's deſign therein, as he himſelf acquaints us, was to give a faithful account of the life and doctrine of *Mahomet*, ſtript of fable and prejudice. In 1687, the bookſeller, *William Crooke*, ſent it forth with a new and much more copious title, but as to the work itſelf, it was without alteration or addition.

VI. *An introduction to the ſacrament; or a ſhort, ſafe, and plain way to the communion table, collected for, and rendered familiar to, every particular communicant, by* L. Addiſon, *D. D.* 1681.

There was a *ſecond* edition of the beforementioned book, in 1686, to which there was then added, *The communicant's aſſiſtant; being a collection of devotions to that purpoſe, in* 12*mo*, containing 153 pages.

VII. *A diſcourſe of Tangier, under the government of the Earl of Tiviot*, London, 4*to* 1685, ſecond edition.

VIII. *The Catechumen; or an account given by the young perſon to the miniſter, of his knowledge in religion, upon his firſt admiſſion to the Lord's table. Recommended to the preſs, by two eminent divines of the Church of England.* London, William Crooke, 1690, 12*mo*, containing one hundred pages. One of theſe eminent divines appears to have been Dean Addiſon himſelf, and the other was Dr Scot, and therefore it hath been preſumed, that this book was not his, though it is aſcribed to him in ſeveral catalogues (3).

(3.) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra. And the catalogue at the end of the Chriſtian Sacrifice.

IX. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ; *or, an hiſtorical account of the hereſy, denying the godhead of Chriſt.* London: for Robert Clavel, at the peacock in St Paul's Church-yard, 1696, 12*mo*, containing 107 pages. This is a moſt excellent book, comprehending in a very narrow compaſs the hiſtory of various hereſies, clearly and fairly ſtated from original authors, for the uſe probably of ſuch as were unable to read thoſe authors in Greek or Latin.

X. *The Chriſtian's daily ſacrifice duly performed; or a practical diſcourſe teaching the right performance of prayer. By L. Addiſon, Dean of Litchfield.* Printed for Robert Clavel, 1698, 12*mo*.

XI. *An account of the Millennium, the genuine uſe of the two ſacraments*, viz. *Baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, with the Chriſtian's obligation frequently to receive the latter.*

[*B*] *The reader will find at the bottom of the page.*] The following epitaph is on his tomb-ſtone in the church-yard.

Hic jacet Lancelotus Addiſon, S. T. P. *hujus eccleſiæ Decanus, nec non Archidiaconus Coventriæ, qui obiit* 20 *die Aprilis, ann. Dom.* 1703. *Ætatis ſuæ* 71.

Many years after his death, there was ſet up within ſide the cathedral, a marble copartment, bearing this inſcription to his memory.

P. M. Lanceloti Addiſon, S. T. P. *Agro* Weſtmoreland *oriundi, in Coll.* Regin. Oxon. *bonarum Litterarum profecti, diutinis per* Europam Africamque *peregrinationibus rerum peritia ſpectabilis; hujus tandem Eccl. Decani &* Coventrienſis *Archidiaconi; in primis nuptiis Duxit* Janam Nathan. Gulſton *Armig. Filiam &* Gulielmi Gulſton *Epiſcopi* Briſtolienſis *Sororem; in ſecundis* Dorothæam, Johan. Danvers *de* Shakerſton *in Agro* Leiceſterienſ. *Arm. Filiam; Funere Mariti de ſe optime meriti nuper plorantem: Ex* Jana *tres Filios totidemque Filias ſuſcepit;* Joſephum, Gulſtonum *arci Sancti* Georgii *Gubernatorem;* Lancelotum *Coll. Magd. Oxon. Socium;* Janam & Annam, *prima juventute defunctas;* & Dorotheam *unicam ex tot liberis ſuperſtitem, Obiit A. D.* 1703. *Ætatis* 71.

Ab eo eximias Naturæ dotes, Morum Innocentiam, Benevolentiam erga Homines; in Deum Pietatem luculentum (ci quod aliud Patrimonium) Filius natu maximus Joſephus *Sæculi ſui Decus, qui in optimi parentis conſortium dum hoc ipſi Marmor adornaret præpropera Morte adſcitus eſt. A. D.* 1719 (4).

(4) A ſurvey of the cathedrals of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 402.

E

ADDISON (Joseph) the ſon of Dean Addiſon, ſpoken of in the laſt article. He was born at Milſton near Ambros Bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then Rector, on the firſt of May, 1672; and being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the ſame day, as appears from the church regiſter.

regiſter [*A*]. When he grew up to an age fit for going to ſchool, he was firſt put under the care of the reverend Mr Naiſh, at Ambros-Bury. He was afterwards removed to a ſchool at Saliſbury, taught by the reverend Mr Taylor, and thence to the Charter-Houſe, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which laſted as long as Mr Addiſon lived (*a*). He was not above fifteen when he went to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had ſtudied (*b*). He addicted himſelf at this time with ſuch diligence to claſſical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin ſtyle, before he arrived at that age in which lads uſually begin to write good Engliſh. A paper of his verſes in that tongue, fell by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr Lancaſter, Dean of Magdalen College, who was ſo pleaſed with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into that houſe (*c*), where he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Maſter of Arts. His Latin poetry in the courſe of a few years was exceedingly admired in both the univerſities, and juſtly gained him the reputation of a great poet [*B*], before his name was ſo much as known in town (*d*). He was twenty-two years of age before he publiſhed any thing in our language, and then came abroad a ſhort copy of verſes addreſſed to Mr Dryden, which procured him immediately, and that very deſervedly, from the beſt judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing, which even himſelf afterwards produced (*e*). Some little ſpace intervening, he ſent into the world a tranſlation of the fourth Georgick of Virgil, (omitting the ſtory of Ariſtæus) exceedingly commended by Mr Dryden (*f*).• He wrote alſo that diſcourſe on the Georgicks, which is prefixed to them by way of preface in Mr Dryden's tranſlation, and is allowed to be one of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm [*C*] in our own or in any other language (*g*). The next year he wrote ſeveral poems of different kinds, amongſt the reſt, one dated the third of April, 1694, directed to Mr H. S. [*D*] that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards ſo famous (*b*). The following year he began to have higher views, which diſcovered themſelves

(*a*) Memoirs des hommes illuſtres, Vol. XXXI. p. 69.

(*b*) Mr Tickell's preface to Mr Addiſon's works, printed for J. Tonſon, 1721, four Vols 4*to*. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(*c*) Tickell's, preface. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Tickell's preface.

(*e*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. III. p. 245, edit. 12*mo*, 1716. Tickell's preface.

(*f*) Dryden's Virgil, printed for J. Tonſon, 1709, 8*vo*, Vol. III, p. 822.

(*g*) Tickell's preface.

(*b*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. IV. p. 317.

[*A*] *From the church regiſter.*] One may juſtly wonder, that in the account given of Mr Addiſon in Wood's hiſtory of the Oxford writers, his true age ſhould be ſet down (1), and yet that it ſhould eſcape Mr Tickell (2). This is of ſome importance, becauſe it changes the whole chronology of the life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of ſeventeen (3). Is not the bare relation of this the higheſt panegyrick on Mr Addiſon? It was here he became acquainted with Mr Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promiſing genius too, ſince we find a tranſlation of part of the firſt Georgick of Virgil, inſerted in the Examen Poeticum, for the year 1693 (4), the ſame volume in which Mr Addiſon's firſt Engliſh verſes appeared; and as Mr Addiſon's verſes were addreſſed to Mr Dryden, ſo Mr Sacheverell's tranſlation was dedicated to him. Thoſe who remember Mr Addiſon at college, affirm, that his temper was the ſame it appeared ever afterwards, that is to ſay, his abilities were exceeded by nothing, but his modeſty.

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1023.

(2) Preface to Addiſon's works.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(4) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. III. p. 145. Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *The reputation of a great poet.*] It is not very certain at what age our author wrote ſome of the Latin poems which have been publiſhed; however, they were certainly written very early, and they ſtill retain that high eſteem which was firſt conceived of them. They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, ſeu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, ſeu hactenus inedita, ſeu ſparſim edita* (5). They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Pax Gulielmi Auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. i. e. Peace under the auſpice of William reſtored to Europe. 2. *Barometri Deſcriptio*, i. e. A deſcription of the Barometer. 3. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΓΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ, *ſive Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commiſſum*, i. e. A battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes. 4. *Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* i. e. A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a deſcription of the painting over the altar in Magdalen College at Oxford. 5. *Sphæriſterium*, i. e. the Bowling-Green. 6. *Ad D. D. Hannes inſigniſſimum Medicum, & Poetam*, i. e. To Dr Hannes, an excellent Phyſician and Poet, an ode. 7. *Machinæ geſticulantes, Anglice*, A Puppet Show. 8. *Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ telluris authorem*, i. e. To the celebrated Dr Thomas Burnet, author of the Theory of the Earth, an ode (6). Theſe poems have been tranſlated into Engliſh, by Dr George Sewell, of Peterhouſe, Cambridge. Mr Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurſt, Eſq; both of Oxford (7).

(5) Printed in two Vols, 8*vo*.

(6) They are inſerted with the dedication to the Lord Halifax, in the firſt volume of Mr Tickell's edition.

(7) See theſe poems collected and publiſhed together in 12*mo*.

[*C*] *One of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm.*] It would be equally tedious, and impertinent, to dwell in theſe notes on every little piece publiſhed by our author. It is a kind of charity to illuſtrate the beauties of an obſcure author, but to us it appears a ſort of detraction, to ſuppoſe that the worth of any of Mr Addiſon's poems, ſhould be unknown to our readers. We will therefore confine ourſelves to ſuch parts of his works, as have any circumſtances relating to them which ought to be preſerved, as a kind of hiſtorical commentary, for the uſe rather of poſterity, than of the preſent times. Mr Tickell, in his preface to the works of Mr Addiſon, expreſſes a kind of ſurprize, that Mr Dryden, who ſo readily owned the verſion of the fourth Georgick ſent him by Mr Addiſon, ſhould not take notice of his having communicated the Eſſay on the Georgicks, ſince it came from the ſame hand. Sir Richard Steele took occaſion to vindicate Mr Dryden (8), by ſhewing, firſt, that the Eſſay upon the Georgicks, is the ſame with the preface prefixed to thoſe poems, in Mr Dryden's tranſlation of Virgil's works; which, (9) ſecondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whoſe name is not mentioned, becauſe he deſired to have it concealed (10). If any one ſhould enquire, why Mr Addiſon was content the world ſhould know he tranſlated one of Virgil's Georgicks, and at the ſame time, deſired to conceal his writing, what Mr Dryden placed as a preface to his tranſlation of the Georgicks, it will be no difficult thing to ſatisfy him. The verſion was what many people had done, and any body might do, but the eſſay was an untryed ſtrain of criticiſm, which bore a little hard on the old profeſſors of that art, and therefore was not ſo fit for a young man to take upon himſelf. In this light Mr Dryden's juſtice, and Mr Addiſon's prudence, are alike conſpicuous. The former was above aſſuming unjuſtly the praiſe of other people's writings, and the latter was remarkable for keeping ſo ſtrict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the ſtart of his wiſdom.

(8) Dedication of the Drummer.

(9) Dryden's Virgil, Vol. III. p. 822.

(10) Ibid.

[*D*] *Directed to Mr H. S.*] Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greateſt Engliſh poets, to Mr Henry Sacheverell, nor will a judicious reader find more pleaſure in reading any of his works, than in peruſing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predeceſſors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he ſpoke more freely than he would have afterwards done, muſt always be conſidered as a curioſity. I ſhould not however have ſtopt at this poem, had it not been to quote ſome lines from it, which, if carefully conſidered, ſeem to carry in them ſome memoirs of our author's life. Towards the concluſion of the poem he ſays (11),

(11) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 36.

Congreve

themſelves in a poem to King William, on one of his campaigns, addreſſed to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Somers). That judicious ſtateſman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity, took Mr Addiſon thenceforward into the number of his friends, and gave him, upon all occaſions, ſignal proofs of a ſincere eſteem (*i*). He had been very preſſingly ſollicited, while at the univerſity, to enter into holy orders [*E*], which he ſeemed once reſolved on, probably in reſpect to his father, but his great modeſty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from this choice (*k*), and having ſhewn an inclination to travel, his beforementioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as reſpect to Mr Addiſon, procured him from the crown an annual penſion of three hundred pounds, which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, the latter end of 1699 (*l*). His Latin poems dedicated to Mr Montagu, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed before his departure in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, and were as much admired abroad, as they could poſſibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau [*F*], who ſpoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge, and one incapable of partiality (*m*). In 1701, Mr Addiſon wrote from Italy an epiſtolary poem (*n*) to (Montagu) Lord Halifax, this was very juſtly admired as a moſt finiſhed piece in it's kind, and indeed ſome have pronounced it the very beſt of Mr Addiſon's performances (*o*) [*G*]. On his return, he publiſhed an account of

(*i*) Tickell's preface.

(*k*) Tickell's preface. Steele's epiſtle to Congreve, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Drummer, in 1722, 4*to*, p. 12.

(*l*) Tickell's preface.

(*m*) See note [*C*].

(*n*) Addiſon's works, Vol. I. P. 43.

(*o*) See the note [*G*].

Congreve whoſe fancy's unexhauſted ſtore
Has given already much, and promis'd more,
Congreve ſhall ſtill preſerve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muſe ſhall in his friend ſurvive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming and wou'd fain give o'er,
But juſtice ſtill demands one labour more:
The noble Montagu remains unnam'd,
For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.
To Dorſet he directs his artful muſe
In numbers, ſuch, as Dorſet's ſelf might uſe.
How negligently graceful he unreins
His verſe, and writes in looſe familiar ſtrains.
How Naſſau's godlike acts adorn his lines,
And all the hero in full glory ſhines.
We ſee his armies ſet in juſt array,
And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the ſea.
Nor Simois choak'd with men, and arms, and blood,
Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
Shall longer be the poet's higheſt themes,
Tho' gods and heroes fought promiſcuous in their ſtreams.
But now to Naſſau's ſecret councils rais'd,
He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on theſe lines; the firſt, that Mr Congreve about this time, had introduced Mr Addiſon to the acquaintance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard Steele informs us (12); the other, that Mr Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the Revolution, otherwiſe his friend would not have writ to him in theſe terms. This is very honourable for our author, ſince it makes it clear, that when he differed afterwards with this gentleman (13), he did not differ from himſelf, but adhered to thoſe principles which Sacheverell had deſerted.

(12) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(13) Addiſon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 346.

[*E*] *To enter into holy orders.*] This conduct of Mr Addiſon, with reſpect to the prieſthood, hath occaſioned ſome diſpute. Let us firſt ſupport what is advanced in the text, *viz.* that he had once made a kind of reſolution to go into orders. His own words will beſt prove this. He concludes the poem to Mr Sacheverell thus:

I've done at length, and now, dear friend, receive
The laſt poor preſent, that my Muſe can give.
I leave the arts of poetry and verſe,
To them that practiſe them with more ſucceſs.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And ſo at once, dear Friend, and Muſe, farewel (14).

(14) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 41.

Mr Tickell, ſpeaking of theſe lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this reſolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that deſign. 'His remarkable ſerioufneſs and modeſty, 'which might have been urged as powerful reaſons 'for his chuſing that life, proved the chief obſtacles 'to it. Theſe qualities by which the prieſthood is 'ſo much adorned, repreſented the duties of it too 'weighty for him, and rendered him ſtill more worthy 'of that honour, which they made him decline (15).' Sir Richard Steele, ſpeaking to Mr Congreve of this paſſage, ſays, 'Theſe, you know very well, were not 'the reaſons which made Mr Addiſon turn his thoughts 'to the civil world; and as you were the inducement 'of his becoming acquainted with my Lord Halifax, 'I doubt not but you remember the warm inſtances 'that noble Lord made to the head of the college, 'not to inſiſt upon Mr Addiſon's going into orders; 'his arguments were founded upon the general pravity 'and corruption of men of buſineſs, who wanted libe-'ral education; and I remember, as if I had read 'the letter yeſterday, that my Lord ended with a 'compliment, that however he might be repreſented 'as no friend to the Church, he would never do it any 'other injury, than keeping Mr Addiſon out of it. The 'contention for this man in his early years, among the 'people of the greateſt power, Mr Secretary Tickell, 'the executor for his fame, is pleaſed to aſcribe to a 'ſerious viſage, and modeſty of behaviour (16).' This laſt remark is equally ill-natured, and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr Addiſon's viſage; but the ſeriouſneſs Mr Tickell ſpoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr Addiſon's quitting his reſolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it (17). Both the accounts might be true, but there was no neceſſity for inſerting either in the text of the life, though it would have been wrong, not to have acquainted the reader with ſo remarkable a paſſage.

(15) Preface to Addiſon's Works.

(16) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(17) The reader will eaſily diſcern the truth of this obſervation, by comparing theſe paſſages.

[*F*] *The great Boileau.*] It is from Mr Tickell that we learn this circumſtance in relation to Boileau, it is proper the reader ſhould ſee his own words. 'His country owes it to him (Mr Addiſon) that the 'famous Monſieur Boileau, firſt conceived an opinion 'of the Engliſh genius for poetry, by peruſing the 'preſent he made him of the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*. It 'has been currently reported, that this famous French 'poet, among the civilities he ſhewed Mr Addiſon on 'that occaſion, affirmed, That he would not have 'written againſt Perrault, had he before ſeen ſuch 'excellent pieces by a modern hand. Such a ſaying 'would have been impertinent and unworthy Boileau, 'whoſe diſpute with Perrault, turned chiefly upon 'ſome paſſages in the Antients, which he reſcued 'from the miſrepreſentations of his adverſary. The 'true and natural compliment made by him, was, 'that thoſe books had given him a very new idea 'of the Engliſh politeneſs; and that he did not 'queſtion, but there were excellent compoſitions in 'the native language of a country, that poſſeſſed the 'Roman genius in ſo eminent a degree (18).'

(18) Tickell's Preface.

[*G*] *The very beſt of Mr Addiſon's performances.*] This poem was tranſlated by the Abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek profeſſor at Florence, into Italian verſe; which tranſlation is printed with the original, in Mr Tickell's quarto edition of Mr Addiſon's works (19). It is not to be wondered that this poem is in the higheſt eſteem in Italy, ſince there are in it the beſt turned compliments on that country, that are perhaps to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians muſt naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourſelves, on account of their familiarity

(19) Vol. I. p. 43.

of his travels, which he dedicated to his firſt patron, the Lord Somers [*H*]. He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper perſon to attend Prince Eugene, who then commanded for the Emperor in Italy, which employment he would have been well pleaſed with; but the death of King William intervening, cauſed a ceſſation of his penſion, and his hopes (*p*). He remained at home a very conſiderable ſpace of time (his friends being then out of the miniſtry) before any occaſion offered, either of his farther diſplaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any ſuitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both. In the year 1704, the Lord Treaſure, Godolphin, happened to complain to the Lord Halifax, that the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, had not been celebrated in verſe in the manner it deſerved; intimating that he would take it kindly, if his Lordſhip, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon ſo elevated a ſubject. Lord Halifax replied with ſome quickneſs, that he was well acquainted with ſuch a perſon, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long ſeen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the publick, while perſons of too much modeſty, with great abilities, languiſhed in obſcurity. The Treaſurer ſaid very coolly, that he was ſorry his Lordſhip had occaſion to make ſuch an obſervation, and that for the future, he would take care to render it leſs juſt than it might be at preſent; but that in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, whoever his Lordſhip ſhould name, might venture upon this theme without fear of loſing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon, named Mr Addiſon, but inſiſted that the Treaſurer himſelf ſhould ſend to him, which he promiſed. Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr Boyle (afterwards Lord Carlton) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to go in his name, to Mr Addiſon, and communicate to him the buſineſs, which he accordingly did in ſo obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the taſk (*q*). The Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, ſaw the poem before it was finiſhed, when the author had written no farther than the famous ſimile of the Angel, and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he immediately made him a Commiſſioner of Appeals,

(*p*) Tickell's Preface.

(*q*) Pudgell's Memoirs of the Family of Boyle, p. 140.

familiarity with the objects therein deſcribed. It may likewiſe be obſerved, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful, and alike honourable, for the writer and the patron.

While you, my Lord, the rural ſhades admire,
And from Britannia's publick poſts retire;
Nor longer her ungrateful ſons to pleaſe,
For their advantage, ſacrifice your eaſe;
Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,
Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;
Where the ſoft ſeaſon, and inviting clime,
Conſpire to trouble your repoſe with rhyme (20).

(20) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 43.

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the Commons in Parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own uſe; and farther charged, with cutting down and waſting the timber in his majeſty's foreſts, and with holding ſeveral offices in the Exchequer, that were inconſiſtent, and deſigned as checks upon each other; the Commons had likewiſe addreſſed the King, to remove him from his counſels and preſence for ever (21). Theſe were the cauſes of his retiring, and Mr Addiſon's addreſs at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a laſting monument of his good ſenſe. In four lines he has handled a topick, the niceſt that could be, and in four more makes a tranſition to his ſubject naturally, and without precipitation.

(21) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 818.

[*H*] *His firſt patron Lord Somers.*] In our author's dedication of his travels, to the Right Honourable John, Lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his Lordſhip one of the fineſt and beſt turned compliments that ever entered a dedication, inaſmuch, as in a ſingle paragraph, the patron, the ſubject, and the client, are all connected with the greateſt propriety in point of thought, and the greateſt beauty in regard to ſtile. 'I had, ſays he, a very early ambition to recommend myſelf to your Lordſhip's patronage, which yet increaſed in me, as I travelled through the countries, of which I here give your Lordſhip ſome account: for whatever great impreſſions an Engliſhman muſt have of your Lordſhip, they who have been converſant abroad, will find them ſtill improved. It cannot but be obvious to the meaneſt man though they ſee your Lordſhip's admirers every where, they meet with very few of your well-wiſhers at Paris, or at Rome. And I could not but obſerve, when I paſſed through moſt of the Proteſtant governments in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, for the common cauſe, roſe or fell with your Lordſhip's intereſt and authority in England (22).' In his preface, Mr Addiſon gave his reader plainly to underſtand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having obſerved, that Burnet had in his travels, maſterly and uncommon obſervations, on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laſſells might be uſeful in giving the names of ſuch writers as had treated of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed; that Mr Ray had publiſhed many valuable remarks in reſpect to Natural Hiſtory; and that Mr Miſſon particularly excelled in the plan of the country, he goes on thus: 'For my own part, as I have taken notice of ſeveral places and antiquities, that nobody elſe has ſpoken of, ſo I think I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either ſet in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care particularly, to conſider the ſeveral paſſages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places and curioſities that I met with; for before I entered upon my voyage, I took care to refreſh my memory among the Claſſick authors, and to make ſuch collections out of them, as I might afterwards have occaſion for. I muſt confeſs, it was not one of the leaſt entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine theſe ſeveral deſcriptions as it were upon the ſpot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the landſkips the poets had given us of it (23).' Notwithſtanding this introduction, this piece was not at firſt underſtood, and conſequently could not ſucceed; but by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became ſo great, that the price roſe at laſt to five times it's original value, before there was a ſecond edition printed (24). It has ever ſince maintained it's reputation, moſt of the virtuoſi who have travelled through Italy ſince, having given it high commendations (25), and which is perhaps a ſincere proof of their approbation, have choſe to tread in the ſame track. It hath been tranſlated into French, and makes uſually the fourth volume of Miſſon's travels in that language. The two great points laboured in theſe travels, are the recommending the Claſſick writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty. Theſe points had been before purſued in the Epiſtle to Lord Halifax, and therefore Mr Tickell has very juſtly and judiciouſly obſerved, that this poem may be conſidered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment (26).

(22) Addiſon's Works, Vol. II.

(23) Mr Addiſon's Preface, ubi ſupra.

(24) Tickell's Preface.

(25) See Breval, in his Preface to his Travels, printed in Two Volumes, folio, 1726; and Mr Wright's Preface to Obſervations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c. 4to. 1730.

(26) In his Preface.

Appeals, in the room of Mr Locke, who was promoted to be one of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade, &c. (r). His poem intituled *The Campaign* (s), was received with loud and general applauſe; however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the Duke of Marlborough reaped from it, ſince, if on the one hand, it ſet his conduct in the faireſt light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for in all probability, the poem will be admired [*I*], as long as the victory is remembered. In 1705, our author attended the Lord Halifax to Hanover (t); and in the ſucceeding year, he was made choice of for Under-Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed Secretary of State. In the month of December in the ſame year, the Earl of Sunderland ſucceeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr Addiſon in the poſt of Under-Secretary (u). Operas being at this time much in vogue, many people of diſtinction and true taſte, importuned Mr Addiſon to make a trial, whether ſenſe and ſound, were really ſo incompatible as ſome admirers of the Italian pieces would repreſent them. He was at laſt prevailed upon to comply with their requeſts, and compoſed his inimitable *Roſamond* (w). This piece was inſcribed to the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, and though it did not ſucceed on the ſtage, it has been, and everlaſtingly will be, applauded in the cloſet. The many, looked upon it as not properly an Opera, and the few joined with them in their opinion; for having conſidered what a number of miſerable things had borne that title, they were ſcarce ſatisfied that ſo excellent a piece ſhould appear by the ſame. About the ſame time, our author aſſiſted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele, in his play called *The Tender Huſband* (x), to which our author wrote a humorous Prologue (y). Sir Richard, whoſe gratitude was full as warm as his wit, ſurprized him with a dedication, which may be conſidered as one of the few monuments of praiſe, not unworthy of him to whoſe honour it was erected. In 1709, the Marquis of Wharton being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr Addiſon into that kingdom, in the quality of his ſecretary. Her majeſty alſo was pleaſed, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the ſalary annexed to the place of Keeper of the Records in that kingdom, and to beſtow it upon him (z). While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr Steele publiſhed the *Tatler* [*K*], which appeared for the firſt time, on the 12th of April, 1709; Mr Addiſon diſcovered the author by an obſervation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This diſcovery led him to afford farther aſſiſtances, inſomuch, that as the author of the Tatlers well expreſſed it, he fared by this means like a diſtreſt prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid (a), that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the ſuperiority of Mr Addiſon's genius, and ſo true a taſte the town then had of correct and fine writing. Upon the change in the miniſtry, our author being more at leiſure engaged oftener in that work, until it's concluſion on the ſecond of January, 1711 (b). Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the *Spectator*, the plan of which he concerted with Mr Addiſon. The firſt paper appeared on the firſt of March, 1711, and in the courſe of that celebrated work, Mr Addiſon furniſhed the greater part of thoſe papers which were moſt admired. It was finiſhed on the 6th of September, 1712; and Mr Addiſon, to prevent any diſputes, or miſtakes, which might have otherwiſe happened, took care to diſtinguiſh his papers throughout the whole, by ſome letter in the name of the Muſe CLIO [*L*].

(r) Tickell's Preface. Budgell as above.

(s) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 65.

(t) Niceron Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres, Vol. XXXI. p. 71.

(u) Tickell's Preface.

(w) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 89.

(x) Sir Richard acknowledges this, Spectator, No. 555.

(y) Addiſon's Works, Vol. I. p. 140.

(z) Tickell's Preface.

(a) Preface to the Fourth Volume of the Tatlers.

(b) Tickell's Preface.

[*I*] *The poem will be admired.*] The Campaign is addreſſed to the Duke of Marlborough, and contains a ſhort view of the military tranſactions in the year 1704, with a very particular as well as poetical deſcription of the two great actions at Schellemberg, and Blenheim. Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the ſame ſubject, particularly Mr J. Phillips, and Mr Euſden, who was afterwards Poet Laureat. However, Mr Addiſon's was by far the moſt admired (27), and ſome of his warmeſt friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the reſt of his works, perhaps this is a partiality to the ſubject, rather than to the piece itſelf, which however fine, could not be the moſt excellent of Mr Addiſon's performances, becauſe of it's natural irregularity. All things conſidered, without queſtion, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to it's ſubject. For though the world allowed Mr Addiſon to exceed others therein, yet no true judge of poetry will admit that he excelled himſelf.

(27) See an excellent Criticiſm thereon, in the Tatlers, No. 43.

[*K*] *Mr Steele publiſhed the Tatler.*] It would be very improper to enter farther into the hiſtory of the Tatler, than as it concerns Mr Addiſon. Mr Tickell obſerves, and Sir Richard Steele confeſſes, that the paper was ſet on foot and dropt without Mr Addiſon's knowledge (28): of courſe the hiſtory of the Tatler belongs properly to another article. The papers written by Mr Addiſon, were not diſtinguiſhed in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the requeſt of Mr Tickell, pointed them out to him (29), and not only ſo, but ſhewed him ſuch as they were jointly concerned in; and theſe, as well as thoſe, are printed in the ſecond volume of Mr Addiſon's works. It muſt be allowed that many of theſe little eſſays are not only exquiſite, but incomparable. It is impoſſible to be ſerious, while we read ſuch of them as are humorous; or not to be grave on the peruſal of ſuch as are of an oppoſite caſt. The images are ſo ſtriking, the language ſo graceful, the turn ſo natural, the ralliery ſo lively, and at the ſame time ſo innocent, that not to be charmed with theſe pieces, and to be abſolutely without taſte, muſt be for ever ſynonymous terms.

(28) Tickell's Preface.

(29) Ibid.

[*L*] *Name of the Muſe CLIO.*] The affinity between the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, makes it unneceſſary to enter minutely into the merit of ſuch papers as Mr Addiſon contributed, in the carrying on the two laſt undertakings (30). In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr Addiſon's affairs, that he was ſo tender of this character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publiſhing a Spectator, wherein he had made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple Cloiſters (31), and would not part with his friend, until he had promiſed to meddle with the old Knight's character no more. However, Mr Addiſon to make ſure, and to prevent any abſurdities, which the authors of ſubſequent Spectators might fall into, reſolved to remove that character out of the way, or as he pleaſantly expreſſed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that nobody elſe might murder him (32). As to the marking of the Spectators, it was our author's own act and deed; but Mr Tickell, in his preface to his works, having expreſſed this in very ſtrong terms, ſaying, that Mr Addiſon had hereby

(30) Ibid.

(31) See Spectator, No. 410, in the Sixth Volume.

(32) The Bee, No. 1. p. 26, 27, by Eu. Budgell.

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared, which though written by men of wit and genius, did not ſucceed, and they had the good ſenſe not to puſh the attempt too far. Without queſtion, the original Spectator will be always eſteemed, not only as excellent in it's nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with ſo much applauſe. Poſterity muſt have a high idea of the manners and good ſenſe of the Britiſh nation, when they are informed that twenty thouſand of theſe papers were ſometimes ſold in a day (*c*). The *Guardian*, a paper in the ſame taſte, and, which is ſaying much more, in the ſame ſpirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714; Mr Addiſon had a large ſhare therein, and his papers were particularly reliſhed (*d*): and he alſo wrote once or twice in the *Lover* (*e*). It was neceſſary to ſpeak of theſe performances together, which has carried us ſomewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return therefore, to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato. He took up the deſign of writing a tragedy on that ſubject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed deſign of bringing it on the ſtage (*f*). But ſome friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cauſe of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the ſtage, which he accordingly did, by adding the greateſt part of the laſt act. When it appeared it was gazed on as a wonder, all parties applauded it, it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the beſt judges declared in it's favour when they had read it, with the ſame paſſion the pit had done when it was firſt ſeen (*g*). Mr Pope wrote the Prologue, which is ſublime. Dr Garth the Epilogue, which is humorous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verſes prefixed to it, among which, the ſincerity of Mr Steele, and the genius of Mr Euſden, deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed. Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed, it is one of thoſe few performances which cannot receive more honour than it deſerves [*M*]. It

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) His Papers are in the Fourth Volume of his Works.

(*e*) No. 10, and No. 39.

(*f*) Tickell's Preface.

(*g*) Steele's Dedication of the Drummer, p. 15. Guardians, No. 33, 43, 64. Lover 49. Pope's Works, 12*mo*. Vol. V. Letters to Sir W. T. p. 7.

by removed the leaſt poſſibility of miſtake in the moſt undiſcerning reader (33); Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that preface, remarked ſeverely on this paſſage, and ſpeaking thereof to Mr Congreve, uſes theſe words. 'I have obſerved, that 'the editor will not let me, or any one elſe, obey 'Mr Addiſon's commands, in hiding any thing he 'deſired ſhould be concealed. I cannot but take fur'ther notice, that the circumſtance of marking his 'Spectators, which I did not know until I had done 'with the work, I made my own act, becauſe I 'thought it too great a ſenſibility in my friend; and 'thought ſince it was done, better to be ſuppoſed 'marked by me, than the author himſelf; the real 'ſtate of which, this zealot raſhly and injudiciouſly 'expoſes. I aſk the reader whether any thing but an 'uneaſineſs to diſparage me, could provoke the edi'tor, in behalf of Mr Addiſon, to ſay that he mark'ed it out of caution againſt me, when I had taken 'upon me to ſay, it was I that did it out of tender'neſs to him (34).' It muſt be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator (35), had ſaid all that could be expected, if not more, with reſpect not only to the diſtinction, but alſo in regard to Mr Addiſon's character particularly; there did not therefore ſeem to be the leaſt occaſion for theſe precautions, with reſpect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wiſhed, and a much warmer than theſe cautious people ſeem to have any idea of.

(33) In his Preface.

(34) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 11.

(35) No. 555.

[*M*] *Cannot receive more honour than it deſerves.*] As to the tragedy of Cato, we ſhall here preſent the reader with ſome circumſtances relating to it's firſt appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope, Eſq; to Sir William Trumbull, dated April 30, 1713. 'As to poetical affairs, I am con'tent at preſent to be a bare looker on, and from a 'practitioner, turn an admirer, which is (as the 'world goes) not very uſual. Cato was not ſo much 'the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Bri'tain in ours; and though all the fooliſh induſtry 'poſſible has been uſed to make it thought a party 'play, yet what the author once ſaid of another, 'may the moſt properly in the world be applied to 'him on this occaſion.

Envy itſelf is dumb, in wonder loſt,
And factions ſtrive who ſhall applaud him moſt.

The numerous and violent claps of the whig-party on the one ſide of the theatre, were ecchoed back by the tories on the other; while the author ſweated behind the ſcenes with concern, to find 'their applauſe proceeding more from the hand than 'the head. This was the caſe too of the Prologue 'writer, who was clapped into a ſtanch whig, at al'moſt every two lines. I believe you have heard that 'after all the applauſes of the oppoſite faction, my 'Lord Bolingbroke ſent for Booth, who played Cato, 'into the box, between one of the acts, and preſented 'him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgment (as he 'expreſſed it) for defending the cauſe of liberty ſo well 'againſt a Perpetual Dictator. The whigs are un'willing to be diſtanced this way, and therefore de'ſign a preſent to the ſame Cato, very ſpeedily; in 'the mean time they are getting ready as good a 'ſentence as the former, on their ſide: ſo betwixt 'them it is probable, that Cato (as Dr Garth expreſt 'it) may have ſomething to live upon after he dies (36).' Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intituled, *Obſervations upon Cato*. This was written by Dr Sewell, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet. The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that the applauſe this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit; it is a very accurate and entertaining criticiſm, and contributed not a little to the ſecuring our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience (37). We are not however to ſuppoſe that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enow, who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it. Amongſt theſe, the formidable Mr Dennis had the courage to attack it. Firſt in a pamphlet (38), and again in a ſubſequent work, wherein he employed no leſs than ſeven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces; and ſaying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable ſhare of wit, might be able to ſay, againſt the beſt written piece in the world (39). Another gentleman, who called himſelf a ſcholar of Oxford, conſidered the play in quite a different light, that is, he conſidered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to ſerve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, *Mr Addiſon turned Tory* (40); and it is written with great ſpirit and vivacity. Dr Fiddes alſo took ſome exception at the following lines.

(36) Pope's Letters in the Fifth Volume of his Works, printed in 12*mo*. for J. Roberts, 1737, p. 8. in the Letters to Sir W. Trumbull.

(37) Obſervations on the Tragedy of Cato, by Mr Addiſon. In a Letter to * * * printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1713, 4*to*.

(38) Printed for B. Lintot, 1713, 8*vo*.

(39) Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, by Mr Dennis, Vol. II. printed for W. Mears, 1721, 8*vo*. p. 303.

In ſpite of all the virtues we can boaſt,
A woman that deliberates is loſt.

(40) In 1713, 4*to*.

The doctor thinks theſe reflect on the fair ſex (41); but this ſeems a very forced conſtruction, the ſentiment is juſt and natural, and all ſtrokes of this ſort ought to be conſidered not as cenſures, but as cautions. The beſt judges, however, declared unanimouſly on the ſide of Mr Addiſon, and, as occaſion offered, vindicated

(41) Prefaratory Epiſtle to ſome Remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad, addreſſed to Dr Swift. London, 1714, 12*mo*. p. 101.

It was tranſlated more than once into French, obtained two Italian verſions, and has been either tranſlated or imitated in the German language (*b*). But the greateſt honour that was ever done thereto, was the putting the ſoliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the nobleſt thing in our language, into a Latin dreſs, which might have been read with admiration, even by the criticks in the the court of Auguſtus. Fame has attributed this to the late Biſhop Atterbury (*i*), and as it was ſuperlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and ſo it proved. This excellent tragedy did not eſcape the minor criticks, as the reader will find in the notes, for we cannot think of perplexing the text with things, of which nothing but the fear of being thought ignorant could tempt us to take notice. Her majeſty Queen Anne, was not the laſt in doing juſtice to our author, and his performance. She was pleaſed to ſignify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author publiſhed it without a dedication, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had propoſed to dedicate it elſewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour (*k*). If in the ſubſequent part of his life his leiſure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, *The Death of Socrates* (*l*). But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived poſterity of this promiſed labour. Upon the death of the Queen, the Lords Juſtices appointed Mr Addiſon their Secretary, which took him off from a deſign he had formed, of compoſing an Engliſh dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one (*m*). There was ſome thoughts of making him Secretary of State at that time, but he was at pains to decline it (*n*), and accepted a ſecond time, under the Earl of Sunderland, the poſt of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for on the Earl's being removed, he was made one of the Lords of Trade (*o*). In 1716, he married the Counteſs of Warwick (*p*); and on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, he publiſhed the Freeholder, which is a kind of political Spectator [*N*]. There were juſt fifty-five papers in all; the firſt was publiſhed on the twenty-third of September, 1715, and the laſt on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. Theſe pieces were exceedingly admired, and, which was more the author's aim, were of great uſe at the time they were written (*q*). He publiſhed alſo about this time, ſome little pieces of poetry, ſuch as verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the King's picture, and another copy to the Princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717 (*r*), his majeſty King George I, was pleaſed to appoint our author one of his Principal Secretaries of State. His health, which had been before impaired by an aſthmatick diſorder, ſuffered exceedingly by an advancement ſo much to his honour, but attended notwithſtanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather ſuſpecting, that it might be prejudicial to the publick buſineſs, he reſigned his office (*s*). Having thus procured for himſelf a vacancy

(*b*) Tickell's preface.

(*i*) Spectator, Vol. III. No. 628.

(*k*) Tickell's preface.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) E. Budgell in his letter to Cleomenes King of Sparta.

(*o*) Tickell's preface.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Addiſon's works, Vol. IV, P. 357,----557.

(*r*) Ibid. Vol. I. P. 385,----388.

(*s*) Tickell's preface.

vindicated the merit of this tragedy, againſt all opponents. Mr Boyer tranſlated it into French, the ſame year it was publiſhed; but very indifferently. Abbe du Bos made an excellent verſion, of which, however, only the three firſt ſcenes were printed (42). Abbot Salvini tranſlated it into Italian, his tranſlation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applauſe, and he afterwards publiſhed it at Florence (43); it is not known whether Signior Valetta's tranſlation was ever printed; he was a young Neopolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amuſement (44). The Jeſuits at St Omer tranſlated it into Latin, and cauſed it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewiſe ſent Mr Addiſon a copy of their tranſlation (45). In France, a poet named Des Champs having ſeen this tragedy, wrote another with the ſame title, and dedicated it to the Duke of Orleans. This was firſt exceſſively cried up in France, then tranſlated into Engliſh blank verſe, and publiſhed with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Mr Addiſon, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be eſtabliſhed (46). Mr Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr Addiſon by turns, and in reſpect to the Cato, he admires and cenſures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows ſuperior to any before brought upon the ſtage; but for all the love ſcenes he will have them abſolutely inſipid; which may be allowed him when he ſhall prove another of his aſſertions, *viz.* that Cato was the firſt regular tragedy, that ever appeared on the Engliſh ſtage (47).

(42) Nouvelles Litteraires October 17, 1716.

(43) In 4*to* 1716.

(44) Tickell's preface.

(45) Memoirs des hommes illuſtres, Tom. xxxi. p. 81.

(46) Parallel between the French Cato and Mr Addiſon's, Lond. 1716, 12*mo*.

(47) Theſe remarks are in his diſcourſe on tragedy addreſſed to Lord Bolingbroke. His Dedication of Zayre, to Mr Falkener; and his eighteenth letter on the Engliſh nation.

[*N*] *A kind of political Spectator.*]. The Freeholder is particularly mentioned in the text, becauſe it was a work written by Mr Addiſon entirely, and upon his own plan (48). Some indeed have ſuppoſed, that he was aſſiſted in this work by Mr Philips (49). But there ſeems to have been no foundation for this report, ſince neither Mr Tickell ſays any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themſelves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the moſt uniform, and, the greateſt part of them, the moſt out of every man's way of writing but Mr Addiſon's, that can be imagined. There is one thing to be ſaid in reſpect to the Freeholder, which, as it will certainly be ſaid by poſterity, I can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be ſaid here; The Freeholder is, without queſtion, the moſt indubitable proof of the uſe a man of true wit, and reaſonable application, may be of to any adminiſtration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, were all calculated either to make the people laugh, or to put them in a paſſion. Dr Welwood's periodical papers were all politicks, and, conſequently, too dry for the generality of readers. During the reign of the Queen, polemick writings were not only ſharp, but bitter, and their authors ſtudied rather to make their adverſaries feel the quickneſs of their reproaches, than to perſuade them by ſound arguments, much leſs to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The Freeholder hath avoided all theſe faults, and, with an inexhauſtible fund of humour, mingles ſometimes the graveſt reaſonings, and at others the kindeſt expoſtulations. Beautiful deſcriptions, exquiſite allegories, viſions almoſt more than human; and, in fine, whatever might pleaſe, whatever could move, whatever ſeemed fitted to attract, is to be found in thoſe inimitable eſſays; and one may ſpeak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the beſt turned papers, with a view for the purpoſe for which they were written, that were ever penned. Mr Addiſon without queſtion wrote them in conſequence of his principles, out of a deſire of removing prejudices, and from a ſtrong inclination to ſettle the government, and make his country happy. The making him Secretary of State therefore, was but doing him juſtice for ſo extraordinary and well-timed a ſervice, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected againſt his own preferment, his being no ſpeaker in the Houſe of Commons.

vacancy from buſineſs, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed. In theſe leiſure moments he applied himſelf ſteadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the firſt part whereof, ſcarce finiſhed, is preſerved and printed in his works (*t*). He likewiſe intended to have paraphraſed ſome of the Pſalms of David (*u*); but a long and painful relapſe broke all his deſigns, and deprived the world of this excellent perſon, on the ſeventeenth of June, 1719, when he was entering the fifty-fourth year of his age. He died at Holland-houſe near Kenſington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the Counteſs of Warwick (*w*). After his deceaſe, Mr Tickell, who had the author's commands and inſtructions, collected and publiſhed his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are ſeveral pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak. The firſt in order of time is the *Diſſertation upon Medals*, which, though publiſhed after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digeſt them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702 (*x*). Theſe dialogues are every way worthy of Mr Addiſon; the deſign is juſt and uſeful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taſte of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good ſenſe and maſculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are diſcoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains in tranſlating the Latin quotations, and the verſes prefixed to it by Mr Pope, are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itſelf is in proſe. In November, 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, *The preſent ſtate of the war, and the neceſſity of an augmentation conſidered.* It is now printed among Mr Addiſon's works (*y*), and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The ſpirit in which it is writ, the weighty obſervations contained therein, on the ſtrength and intereſt of foreign nations, and the comprehenſive knowledge, ſhewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand. The *Whig Examiner*, came out on the fourteenth of September, 1710, for the firſt time (*z*). There were five papers in all attributed to Mr Addiſon. Theſe are by much the ſevereſt things he ever wrote. Dr Sacheverell (*a*), Mr Prior (*b*), and many other perſons are in them very harſhly treated. The Examiner had done the ſame thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed deſign of this paper was to make reprizals. In 1713, there was publiſhed a little pamphlet, intitled, *The late trial and conviction of Count Tariff* (*c*). It was intended to expoſe the Tory miniſtry, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewiſe a very ſevere piece. Theſe are all that are included in Mr Tickell's edition, which were publiſhed in the life-time of Mr Addiſon, without his name; as alſo was the Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe, a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but publiſhed afterwards as Mr Addiſon's by Sir Richard Steele [*O*]. Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following

(*t*) Of the Chriſtian religion, Vol. IV. p. 561.

(*u*) Tickell's preface.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Tickell's preface.

(*y*) Vol. IV. p. 299.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 337.

(*a*) Whig Examiner, No. iv.

(*b*) Ibid. No. i.

(*c*) Vol. IV. p. 323.

pieces

[*O*] *As Mr Addiſon's by Sir Richard Steele.*] The Drummer was firſt publiſhed without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been ſome years in the hands of the author, and falling under his peruſal, he thought ſo well of it, that he perſuaded him to make ſome additions and alterations and let it appear on the ſtage. He owns that it was not well received, or at leaſt, not ſo well received as it deſerved, which he accounts for, by obſerving that the ſtrokes therein are too delicate, for every taſte in a popular aſſembly; and he adds, that his brother ſharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the ſtrokes were not ſtrong enough to appear at a diſtance (50). Mr Tickell publiſhing Mr Addiſon's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele ſo much reſented, that he quickly after publiſhed a ſecond edition of it, with an epiſtle to Mr Congreve thereto prefixed; in this epiſtle he aſſerts, that he recommended the play to the ſtage, and carried it to the preſs; he likewiſe tells us the price it was ſold at, *viz.* fifty guineas. He refers himſelf to his former preface, for a proof of his zeal on that occaſion, which he obſerves could flow from nothing elſe, than his affection for the author. For as to the ſhare that any one elſe had in it, he is poſitive it very little exceeded that of an amanuenſis. 'But 'indeed, continues he, had I not known it, at the time 'of the tranſaction concerning the acting on the 'ſtage and ſale of the copy, I ſhould, I think, have 'ſeen Mr Addiſon in every page of it; for he was 'above all men in that talent called Humour, and 'enjoyed it in ſuch perfection, that I have often 'reflected, after a night ſpent with him apart from all 'the world, that I had had the pleaſure of converſing 'with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and 'Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, height-'ened with humour more exquiſite and delightful, 'than any other man ever poſſeſſed. They who ſhall 'read this play, after being let into the ſecret that 'it was written by Mr Addiſon, or under his direc-'tion, will probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies, 'which they before overlooked, and wonder they 'did not till now obſerve, that there is not an ex-'preſſion in the whole piece, which has not in it 'the moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the character 'which utters it; there is that ſmiling mirth, that 'delicate ſatire, and genteel raillery, which appeared 'in Mr Addiſon when he was free among intimates; 'I ſay when he was free from his remarkable baſh-'fulneſs, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit, 'and his abilities were covered only by modeſty, 'which doubles the beauties which are ſeen, and 'gives credit and eſteem to all that are concealed. 'The Drummer made no great figure on the ſtage, 'though exquiſitely well acted; but when I obſerve 'this, I ſay a much harder thing of the ſtage than 'of the comedy. When I ſay the ſtage in this place, 'I am underſtood to mean in general, the preſent 'taſte of theatrical repreſentations; where nothing 'that is not violent, and, as I may ſay, groſsly 'delightful, can come on without hazard of being 'condemned or ſlighted.' Nothing can be more juſt than Sir Richard's ſentiments on this matter (51). The Drummer may be perhaps eſtabliſhed as a teſt of true taſte, he who likes it, has it, he who diſapproves this piece, hath it not. Experience juſtified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted at Drury-Lane, was, when much worſe performed, loudly applauded at Mr Rich's houſe, merely becauſe it was then known to be Mr Addiſon's. How honourable this for our author! how diſhonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr Addiſon, but if his writings ſhould ever reach an age, ſo ſtupid or ſo barbarous as not to reliſh them, that will not alter their nature, they will ſtill remain as excellent as before, though not in the eyes of thoſe Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpoſe, and yet to what purpoſe do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of taſte, and to preſerve

(50) The firſt edition of the Drummer, was printed for J. Tonſon.

(51) Epiſtle to Mr Congreve, prefixed to the Drummer, the ſecond edition in 4*to*, 1722, p. 4.

pieces have been aſcribed to our author. *Diſſertatio de inſignioribus Romanorum poetis*, i. e. A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman poets (*d*). This is ſuppoſed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many uſeful obſervations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr Addiſon's. *A Diſcourſe on ancient and modern learning* (*e*); the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, being publickly ſold, this little piece came to be printed, in 1739, and was as well received as it deſerved. To theſe we muſt add, *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and 2 [*P*], pamphlets written in defence of the Peerage Bill, 1719. It is not eaſy to account for the not inſerting of theſe papers amongſt his works, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the publication of them following immediately the diſappointment of that deſign, made it improper to diſcover how much our author had it at heart. It would lead us into too long a digreſſion, ſhould we conſider here the occaſion of thoſe papers, which, however, ſhall be done in the Notes. Thus we have run through the hiſtory of this great man's life and writings, who as he was ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries in other things, ſo he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances are equally perfect [*Q*]; nothing puerile in the moſt early, nothing below his genius in the laſt; conſtant to his principles, and to his friendſhips; he died as he lived, eſteemed and revered by the great [*R*], without raiſing

(*d*) Printed in Latin and Eng. in 12*mo*.

(*e*) Printed in 8*vo*, for T. Oſborne, 1739.

preſerve from the inclemency of ſavage times, thoſe wreaths which men of merit have deſerved.

[*P*] *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and No. 2.] In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of the year 1719, the Peerage Bill began firſt to be talked of, and the ſcope of that bill was this. That inſtead of the ſixteen Peers ſitting in Parliament as Repreſentatives of the Peerage of Scotland, there were for the future to be twenty-five hereditary Peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then ſixteen ſitting Peers. That ſix Engliſh Peers ſhould be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the Crown being reſtrained from making any new Lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary ſcheme, is what we have no buſineſs here to inquire into. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great ſpirit were written againſt it; amongſt the reſt, one called the *Plebeian*, ſaid to fall from the pen of a member of the Houſe of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele (51). To this ſeveral anſwers were publiſhed, and abundance of pieces written in ſupport of this project, none of which, however, were very favourably received. At length came forth the *Old Whig*, No. 1. on the ſtate of the Peerage, with remarks on the Plebeian. A 4*to* pamphlet (52), written with great perſpicuity, in a nervous ſtile, not without ſome ſevere reflections on the Plebeian. The author of that paper did not ſuffer it to remain long unanſwered. In his ſecond number he replied to all the arguments therein made uſe of, treating the author with a good deal of aſperity, alledging amongſt other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, ſeeming ſo old as to have forgot his principles (53). There does not appear however, any thing in the firſt Old Whig, which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the ſecond Plebeian, which intimates the writer's having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Old Whig was Mr Addiſon's. Though there was at the latter end of the laſt mentioned paper, an intimation of it's author's ſuperior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the ſecret of this affair. For the Old Whig firſt declared that his majeſty had given his conſent, which he ſtiles an act of unparallelled goodneſs (54); of which fact the Plebeian doubted, or at leaſt affected to doubt (55). The ſecond Old Whig was written in ſupport of the firſt, and in anſwer to the ſecond Plebeian. It is a very judicious, and at the ſame time a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at leaſt was reſolved to conſider Sir Richard, as the writer of the Plebeian (56). He ſtiles him a perfect maſter in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him *little Dicky* in another, tells him, he has made the moſt of a bad cauſe in a third, and adviſes him as a friend in the cloſe, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer. The fourth Plebeian contains an anſwer to the ſecond Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the reſt of the papers; his concluſion is very remarkable. Authors, ſays he, in theſe caſes are named upon ſuſpicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cauſe by compariſon of this performance with his other writings; and I ſhall ſay no more of what is writ in ſupport of vaſſalage, but end this paper by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the tragedian (57),

Remember, O! my friends, &c.

Mr Addison's Cato.

This is ſufficient to ſhew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body queſtioned the truth of his conjecture. The Peerage Bill went off notwithſtanding for that ſeſſions, and Mr Addiſon died before it came on again, in the latter end of the ſame year. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the Houſe of Commons, for committing the Peerage Bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, againſt 177 (58).

[*Q*] *His performances are equally perfect.*] In the text itſelf, we have endeavoured to do ſome juſtice to our author's character, and eſpecially to that diſtinguiſhing part thereof, the eaſe and readineſs with which he wrote, notwithſtanding the accuracy and correctneſs of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought beſt ſupported by proof. Which therefore we ſhall give in this note. The following Epigram (which is not inſerted in his works) was written when he was a member of the *Kit-Cat Club*, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctneſs to recommend it.

On the Lady Manchester.

When haughty Gallia's dames that ſpread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red;
Beheld this beauteous ſtranger there,
In native charms, divinely fair;
Confuſion in their looks they ſhew'd,
And with unborrow'd bluſhes glow'd (59).

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the moſt perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele ſays of his Cato; he tells us, that the laſt act was written in leſs than a week's time. 'For this, 'continues he, was particular in this writer, that 'when he had taken his reſolution, or made his plan 'for what he deſigned to write, he would walk about 'a room and dictate it into language, with as much 'freedom and eaſe as any one could write it down; 'and attend to the coherence and grammar of what 'he dictated (60).'

[*R*] *Eſteemed and revered by the great.*] To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr Addiſon, would be an endleſs labour; and yet, to ſay nothing of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed Mr Addiſon, at the ſame time that they were themſelves perſons of the firſt diſtinction,

(51) Theſe Papers were collected into an 8*vo* Pamphlet, printed for S. Popping at the Raven in Pater-noſter-Row, London, 1719, price 1*s*.

(52) Sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane, price 6*d*, No. 2. the ſame.

(53) Plebeian, p. 23.

(54) Old Whig, No. 1 p. 3.

(55) Plebeian, p. 43.

(56) Old Whig, No. 2. p. 1, 4, 15.

(57) Plebeian, P. 67.

(58) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, P. 391.

(59) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. V. p. 91.

(60) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 16.

raiſing any enemies, except ſuch as were ſo on account of party; and even theſe expreſſed their enmity with reluctance [S], ſuch was their admiration of his virtues.

ſtinction, would be an unpardonable omiſſion. We have already taken notice of Lord Somers, whoſe friendſhip to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewiſe mentioned Mr Addiſon's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels, after that Nobleman had been impeached in the reign of King William; and was actually when he dedicated to him in diſgrace with Queen Anne. We are yet to remark, that as Mr Addiſon out-lived him, ſo in one of his Freeholders he paid ſuch a tribute to his memory, as muſt endear his own to every man of honour (61). The celebrated Earl of Halifax maintained alſo an inviolable friendſhip throughout his whole life for our author; to whoſe reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illuſtrious foreigners who ſubſcribed for his works, which not only does honour to him, but to our nation. They were the Queen of Sweden, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Orleans Regent of France, the Great Duke of Tuſcany, the Great Prince of Tuſcany, the Duke of Modena, the Duke of Parma, the Prince of Modena, the Prince of Parma, the Doge of Genoa, the Duke of Guaſtalla, Prince Eugene, Cardinal del Giudice, Cardinal du Bois, and Marſhal d'Eſtrees (62). To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to tranſcribe the liſts of our nobility, and therefore we ſhall reſt this point here, preſuming that in few other lives it will be carried further.

(61) No. 39.

(62) See the ſhining Liſt of Subſcribers, at the End of the fourth Volume, of the 4to Edition, printed for J. Tonſon, 1721.

[S] *Expreſſed their enmity with reluctance.*] The author of a celebrated poem, intituled *Faction Diſplayed*, who died but lately, and was juſtly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill nature, began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Mountague, there characterized by the name of Bathillo, deſcribe him thus;

On Addiſon we ſafely may depend,
A penſion never fails to gain a friend;
Through Alpine Hills, he ſhall my name reſound,
And make his patron known in claſſick ground (63).

(63) A quarto Poem printed at London in 1704, without the name of Author or Printer. The former however, is ſuppoſed to be Mr Shippen.

Mrs Manley, in her ſequel to the Atlantis, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro, what ſhe ſays of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured Apoſtrophe, on ſeeing him in Sergius's gallery. 'O pity, that politicks and 'ſordid intereſt, ſhould have carried him out of the 'road of Helicon, ſnatched him from the embraces of 'the Muſes, to throw into an old withered ſtateſman's 'arms, *&c.* (64).' This withered ſtateſman, whom ſhe had before called Sergius, is the ſame Lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the ſevereſt attack that ever Mr Addiſon felt, was from the following verſes, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blaſting.

(64) Memoirs of Europe, towards the cloſe of the VIIIth Century, Vol. II. p. 153.

Peace to all ſuch! but were there one whoſe fires,
True genius kindles, and fair fame inſpires:
Bleſt with each talent, and each art to pleaſe,
And born to write, converſe, and live with eaſe:
Shou'd ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with ſcornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts, that caus'd himſelf to riſe;
Damn with faint praiſe, aſſent with civil leer,
And without ſneering teach the reſt to ſneer:
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike,
Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike;
Alike reſerv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a ſuſpicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers beſieg'd,
And ſo obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd:
Like Cato, gives his little ſenate laws,
And ſits attentive to his own applauſe:
While wits and templars ev'ry ſentence raiſe,
And wonder with a fooliſh face of praiſe.
Who but muſt laugh, if ſuch a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he (65).

(65) Theſe Lines have been often printed, but we tranſcribe them from Pope's Works, in 12mo. Vol. II. p. 86. in an Epiſtle to Dr Arbuthnot.

An author in Miſt's Journal, gives the following account of this tranſaction. 'Mr Addiſon raiſed this 'author, *i. e.* Pope, from obſcurity, obtained him 'the acquaintance and friendſhip of the whole body 'of our nobility, and transferred his powerful intereſt 'with thoſe great men to this riſing bard, who frequently levied by that means unuſual contributions 'on the publick. ——— No ſooner was his body 'lifeleſs, but this author, reviving his reſentment, libelled the memory of his departed friend; and, what 'was ſtill more heinous, made the ſcandal publick (66).' In anſwer to this, it is ſaid, that the whole is falſe, that Mr Addiſon never introduced Mr Pope to any nobleman, or procured him the ſubſcription of one gentleman; as to the libel, perſons of integrity are appealed to, who ſaw and approved the foregoing verſes, in no wiſe a libel, but a friendly rebuke, ſent in the author's own hand to Mr Addiſon himſelf, and never made publick by him, until printed by Curll and others (67). There is indeed, a letter of the Biſhop of Rocheſter's extant, wherein theſe verſes are highly commended, but this is ſeven years after Mr Addiſon's death (68); and there is another letter of Mr Pope's to Mr Craggs, written near four years before Mr Addiſon's death, wherein moſt of the ſame thoughts appear in proſe (69).

(66) June 8, 1728.

(67) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. p. 51.

(68) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 197.

(69) Ibid. p. 84.

E

ADRIAN IV (*Pope*) was an Engliſhman, and the only one that ever had the honour of ſitting in St Peter's Chair (*a*). His name was NICOLAS BREKESPERE (*b*), or BREKSPERE (*c*), or BREAKSPEAR (*d*), in Latin *Haſtifragus*. He was the ſon of one *Robert de Camera* (*e*), a man of learning but poor (*f*); and was born at Langley (*g*) near St Alban's in Hertfordſhire. His father having left his family, and taken the habit in the monaſtery of St Alban's, young Nicolas was reduced to the neceſſity of frequenting that houſe, and ſubmitting to the loweſt offices, for his daily ſupport. After ſome time he deſired to take the habit in that monaſtery; but being rejected by the Abbot Richard [A], he reſolved to try his fortune in another country

(a) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britann. Vol. I. p. 220.

(b) Matth. Paris. Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(c) Leland, ibid. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centuſ. II. n. 90.

(d) Pits. de illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1159.

(e) M. Paris. ib.

(f) Guliel. Neubrigenſ. de Reb. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

(g) *The antient ſeat of the family was in Middleſex upon the river Cole.* Cambden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. I. p. 365.

[A] *He was rejected by the Abbot Richard.*] Matthew Paris informs us, that young Breakſpear was refuſed admiſſion into the monaſtery of St Alban's for inſufficiency, or want of learning. 'Qui cum examinatus & inſufficiens inveniretur, dixit ei Abbas ſatis civiliter; *Expecta, fili, & adhuc ſcholam exerce, ut aptior habearis* (1). ——— *Who being examined, and found inſufficient, the abbot, civily enough, ſaid to him*; 'Wait, my ſon, and go to ſchool a little longer, till 'you are better qualified.' Gulielmus Neubrigenſis tells quite another ſtory. 'Ille vero *(ſays that author)* 'adoleſcentiam ingreſſus, cum propter inopiam ſcholis 'vacare non poſſet, idem monaſterium quotidianæ ſtipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbiſque mordacibus ſocordiam ejus increpitans, omni 'ſolatio deſtitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit (2). '——*Being now a youth, and unable, thro' poverty, to 'frequent the ſchools, he went daily to the monaſtery for 'his ſupport. His father grew aſhamed of this idle courſe 'of life; and perpetually chiding his ſon, in the ſevereſt terms, for his want of induſtry, obliged 'him to quit the monaſtery, deſtitute of all aſſiſtance.*' Leland has adopted the narrative of Matthew Paris (3): But Bale will have it, that he was rejected becauſe he was a baſtard (4). Pits aſſigns no reaſon for this repulſe: but if the character he gives of young Breakſpear be a true one, Abbot Richard deſerves blame for rejecting a perſon, who would have done great honour to his houſe. 'Erat adoleſcens corpore pulcher, facie 'venuſtus, inceſſu compoſitus, ingenio acutus, lingua 'promptus,

(1) Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. I. p. 66.

(2) Gulielmus Neubrigenſis, de Rebus Anglicis, l. 2. c. 6.

(3) Comment. de Script. Brit. Vol. I. p. 220.

(4) De Script. Brit. Centur. II. n. 90.

country (*b*). Accordingly he left England, and went to Paris; where, tho' poor and deſtitute, he applied himſelf with great diligence to his ſtudies, and laid in a wonderful ſtock of learning (*i*). But having ſtill a ſtrong propenſity to a religious life, he quitted Paris, and went into Provence, where he became a Regular Clerc in the monaſtery of St Rufus [*B*]. Here he made ſuch a progreſs in literature, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably for his piety, and ſtrict obſervance of the monaſtic diſcipline, that, upon the death of the Abbot, he was unanimouſly choſen ſuperior of that houſe (*k*); and we are told (*l*), that he repaired, or rather re-built, that convent. He did not long enjoy this abbacy: for the monks, growing weary of the government of a foreigner, accuſed him of certain pretended crimes before Pope Eugenius III; who, having examined the matter of their complaint, and heard Nicolas's prudent and modeſt defence of himſelf, declared him innocent. However his Holineſs, being ſenſible of our abbot's great merit, and thinking he might be more ſerviceable to the Church in a higher ſtation, gave the monks leave to chooſe another Head [*C*], and created Nicolas Cardinal-Biſhop of Alba in 1146 (*m*). In the year 1148, Pope Eugenius ſent him into Denmark and Norway, in quality of Apoſtolical Legate; where, by his diligent preaching and inſtructions, he converted thoſe barbarous nations to the Chriſtian faith (*n*). It is ſaid, he erected the church of Upſal into an archiepiſcopal ſee (*o*). The time of his legation being expired, he returned to Rome, and was received with great marks of honour by the Pope and Cardinals. And not many days after his return, Pope Anaſtaſius, who ſucceeded Eugenius, being dead (*p*), our biſhop of Alba was unanimouſly advanced to the papal chair, in November 1154, and took the name of ADRIAN (*q*). The news of this promotion reaching England, King Henry II ſent Robert abbot of St Alban's, and three biſhops, to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election [*D*]; upon which occaſion Adrian granted very

(*b*) G. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) G. Neubr. ib.

(*l*) Leland, ib.

(*m*) G. Neubr. ib. & Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux par Aubery. Vol. I. p. 168.

(*n*) Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Hadriano IV.

(*o*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Waldenſe, *an.* 1154.

(*p*) *Anaſtaſius ſat but one year 4 months, and 24 days.* Platina, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) G. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

(5) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1159.

' promptus, eloquio facundus,' ſermone cautus, judicio ' jam pene maturus, in actionibus prudens & dexter, ' moribus urbanus, comptus, elegans, zelo divinæ gloriæ, idque ſecundum quandam ſcientiam, plenus, omnibus denique tum corporis tum animi melioribus dotibus ita præditus, ut in eo dona Dei naturam, pietas ' educationem, judicii maturitas & aliæ perfectiones ' ſuperarent ætatem (5). —— *He was a beautiful and graceful young man; witty and eloquent; circumſpect in all his words and actions; courteous, neat, and elegant; full of zeal for the glory of God, and that according to ſome degree of knowledge; ſo poſſeſſed of the beſt endowments both of mind and body, that in him the gifts of heaven exceeded nature; his piety, his education; and the ſoundneſs of his judgment, and his other qualifications, the tenderneſs of his years.*'

[*B*] *He became a Regular Clerc in the monaſtery of St Rufus.*] He was not preſently admitted to take the habit, but paſſed ſome time in recommending himſelf to the Monks by a diligent obſervance of all their commands. This obſequious behaviour, joined with the beauty of his perſon, and his prudent converſation, rendered him ſo acceptable to thoſe Religious, that after ſome time they entreated him to take the habit of the Canonical Order. *Eſt autem in illa regione Monaſterium nobile Clericorum Regularium quod dicitur S Rufi. Ad quem locum ille veniens, & ſubſiſtendi occaſionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obſequiis iiſdem fratribus ſe commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jucundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger, placuit omnibus, rogatuſque Canonici Ordinis ſuſcipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem reſedit* (6).

(6) Gul. Neubrig. ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *The Pope gave the Monks leave to chooſe another Abbot*] ' Utrique ergo parti (*ſays* Gulielmus Neubrigenſis) pie & prudenter proſpiciens; Scio, inquit, ' fratres, ubi ſedes ſit Satanæ; ſcio quid in vobis ſuſcitet procellam iſtam. Ite, eligite vobis patrem, ' cum quo pacem habere poſſitis, vel potius velitis: ' iſte enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri (7). —— *The Pope, piouſly and prudently conſulting the good of both parties, ſaid; I know, brethren, where the devil makes his abode: I know what has raiſed this ſtorm among you. Go, chooſe a ſuperior, with whom you* may, *or rather* will, *live in peace: as for this man, he ſhall be no longer a burthen to you.*'

(7) Id. ib.

[*D*] *The King ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election.*] The Embaſſadors, according to Matthew Paris, were expoſed to perils both by ſea and land: for in their voyage they met with a violent ſtorm, from which they narrowly eſcaped by invoking the aſſiſtance of St Margaret; and, after they came aſhore, they were ſeveral times in danger of robbers, before they arrived at Beneventum, where the Pope then was. His Holineſs received them with great marks of reſpect; and, when they had executed their commiſſion, the three Biſhops returned home, leaving Abbot Robert behind them (8). King Henry ſent the Pope a letter by thoſe Embaſſadors, the purport of which is as follows. After ſome compliments upon his advancement, the King proceeded to expreſs his good wiſhes, and how deſirous he was, ' that this ' prelate might anſwer the expectations of his ſtation.' And here, in terms of great deference and reſpect, he chalked out a ſort of plan, together with ſome general directions for his Holineſs's conduct. He ſuggeſted to him, ' that ſince providence had tranſplanted him, as ' it were, into paradiſe, it was expected he ſhould improve in proportion to the richneſs of the ſoil; and ' that, being raiſed to ſo high a ſtation, it was his ' duty to act vigorouſly for the intereſt of Chriſtendom, and ſo to govern the Churches of God, that all ' ſucceeding generations might eſteem him an honour ' to the country, which gave him birth.' He proceeded to expreſs his hopes, ' that that tempeſtuous ' ſpirit, which diſturbs the air, and often beats ſtrongeſt ' upon places of the higheſt ſituation, might never ſhake ' his Holineſs, or make the eminence of his ſtation an ' occaſion of his greater ruin.' And ' ſince the ſuperintendency of the univerſal Church belonged to him,' he entreated him ' to proceed immediately to the promotion of ſuch Cardinals, as were both able and ' willing to ſhare the burthen with him, and aſſiſt him ' in the government.' And here his Highneſs recommended to him ' to avoid being biaſſed by any ſecular regards in his choice; not to be ſwayed by ' the motives of relation, quality, or wealth; but to ' pitch upon ſuch men as feared God, and hated covetouſneſs; ſuch as were remarkable for their integrity, and moſt zealous for the ſalvation of mens ' ſouls.' And, ' ſince the unworthineſs of the clergy ' is the greateſt diſſervice to the church,' he beſought his Holineſs, ' to be very careful in the diſpoſal of ' eccleſiaſtical preferments, that the patrimony of our ' bleſſed Saviour might not be invaded and miſapplied ' by any unqualified perſon.' From hence the King proceeded to mention the calamitous condition of the Holy Land, and how miſerably it was haraſſed by the incurſions of the Infidels; and deſired ' his Holineſs ' would apply his thoughts to find out ſome ſervicable expedient for that part of Chriſtendom.' He put him in mind likewiſe of the declenſion of the Greek Empire, and expreſſed his hopes, ' that the ' univerſal Paſtor would extend his care in proportion ' to his juriſdiction, and that every part of the Chriſtian Church would ſhare the bleſſings of his government; that ſince God had raiſed him to the top of ' ſpiritual grandeur, he would take care to ſhine forth ' in an exemplary conduct; that his government would ' be ſo commendable and juſt, as to become not only ' a general bleſſing in his life-time, but that future ' ages might be the better for his memory, and his ' native country might congratulate her own happineſs in producing ſo glorious a prelate.' The King concluded

(8) Matth. Paris; ubi ſupra, p. 71.

very conſiderable privileges to the monaſtery of St Alban's [*E*]. The next year, King Henry having ſollicited the Pope's conſent that he might undertake the conqueſt of Ireland, Adrian readily complied, and ſent him a Bull for that purpoſe [*F*]. His indulgence to that prince was ſo great, that he even conſented to abſolve him from the oath he had taken not to ſet aſide any part of his father's will [*G*]. This Pontif was ſoon made ſenſible of the cares and diſquietudes attending ſo high a ſtation; and

concluded his letter with deſiring his Holineſs's prayers for himſelf, his court, and his kingdom (9).

(9) Baron. Annal. T. 12. an. 1154.

[*E*] *Pope Adrian granted very conſiderable privileges to the monaſtery of St Alban's.*] It was obſerved in the laſt remark, that, after the diſcharge of the embaſſy, the three biſhops returned home, and abbot Robert ſtaid behind at Beneventum. It ſeems, he thought this a favourable opportunity of recovering ſome dignities and privileges belonging to his abbey, which had been invaded by the Biſhop of Lincoln; and to this end he had brought with him ſeveral valuable preſents for his Holineſs, and among the reſt three rich mitres, and ſome ſandals, the workmanſhip of Chriſtina Prioreſs of Markgate. In a conference he had with the Pope, his Holineſs would only accept of the mitres and ſandals on account of their excellent workmanſhip, but refuſed the other preſents, ſaying in a jeſting way; *I will not accept your gifts, becauſe, when I deſired to take the habit in your monaſtery, you rejected me. Sir*, ſaid the Abbot, *we could by no means receive you, it being repugnant to the will of God, whoſe providence reſerved you for greater things.* The Pope replied; *I thank you for this polite and obliging anſwer*; and added, *Deareſt Abbot, aſk boldly whatever you deſire; I ſhall always be ready to ſerve St Alban, who am myſelf his diſciple* (*). 'Devotionem 'et urbanitatem ipſius commendavit, et jocoſe ait, 'Abnuo recipere munera tua, quia me aliquando ad alas 'religionis domus tuæ confugientem, et habitum monaſti- 'cum charitative poſtulantem, recipere renuiſti. Cui 'Abbas: *Domine, vos nequaquam potuimus recipere, 'voluntas enim Domini repugnavit, cujus prudentia vi- 'tam veſtram direxit ad altiora.* Et reſpondit Domi- 'nus Papa; *Eleganter et civiliter reſpondiſti*, et com- 'placuit ei reſponſionis verbum; et addidit, *Abbas 'chariſſime, audacter pete quod vis, non poterit beato 'Albano deeſſe ſuus Albanenſis* (10).' The Abbot hereupon diſtributed the reſt of his preſents among the Cardinals and the Pope's domeſtics, 'knowing (ſays my 'author) the inſatiable avarice of the Romans.' *Sciens ipſos Romanos eſſe inſatiabiles ſanguiſſugæ filios, pecuniæ ſitibundos.* One day, as he was in private converſation with the Pope, he let fall ſome hints concerning the various oppreſſions of the biſhop of Lincoln, mingling his complaints with tears and ſighs; which ſo moved his Holineſs, that he granted to the church of St Alban's the noble and ſingular privilege of being exempt from all epiſcopal juriſdiction, excepting that of the See of Rome; with many other valuable liberties and immunities (11). Soon after abbot Robert's return, he diſpatched two meſſengers to Rome with a pair of golden candleſticks, which he had promiſed the Pope when he was at Beneventum. Adrian received them very graciouſly, and depoſited them in St Peter's church, in perpetual memory of the Engliſh Protomartyr St Alban. And, in return for this preſent, his Holineſs ſent, by the ſame meſſengers, to the church of St Alban's the relics of the Thebæan Legion, a fine pall given him by the Emperor, ſome ſandals, a ring, and other donations to a conſiderable value (12).

(*) *The quibble in the original* (ſuus Albanenſis) *ariſing from the reſemblance between the names* Alban *and* Alba, *could not be preſerved in the tranſlation.*

(10) Matth. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid. & p. 71.

(12) Ib. p. 73.

[*F*] *He ſent King Henry a Bull for the conqueſt of Ireland.*] That inſtrument is extant in Matthew Paris (13), Giraldus Cambrenſis (14), Radulphus de Diceto (15), and in Rymer's *Fœdera* (16). To ſatisfy the curioſity of the meer Engliſh reader, I ſhall here give a tranſlation of it. *Adrian, biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his moſt dear Son in Chriſt, the illuſtrious King of England, ſends greeting and apoſtolical benediction. Your Magnificence is very careful to ſpread your glorious name in the world, and to merit an immortal crown in heaven; whilſt, as a good catholick prince, you form a deſign of extending the bounds of the Church, of inſtructing ignorant and barbarous people in the Chriſtian Faith, and of reforming the licentious and immoral; and, the more effectually to put this deſign in execution, you deſire the advice and aſſiſtance of the holy ſee. We are confident that, by the bleſſing of God, the ſucceſs will anſwer the wiſdom and diſcretion of the undertaking. You have advertiſed us, dear Son, of your intended expedition into Ireland, to reduce that people to the obedience of the Chriſtian Faith; and that you are willing to pay for every houſe a yearly acknowledgment of one penny to St Peter, promiſing to maintain the rights of thoſe churches in the fulleſt manner. We therefore, being willing to aſſiſt you in this pious and laudable deſign, and conſenting to your petition, do grant you full liberty to make a deſcent upon that iſland, in order to enlarge the borders of the Church, to check the progreſs of immorality, and to promote the ſpiritual happineſs of the natives. And we command the people of that country to receive and acknowledge you as their ſovereign lord; provided the rights of the churches be inviolably preſerved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. For indeed it is certain (and your Highneſs acknowledges it) that all the iſlands, which are enlightened by Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs, and have embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, are unqueſtionably St Peter's right, and belong to the juriſdiction of the holy Roman Church. If therefore you reſolve to put your deſigns in execution, be careful to reform the manners of that people, and commit the government of the churches to able and virtuous perſons; that the Chriſtian Religion may grow and flouriſh, and the honour of God and the ſalvation of ſouls be effectually promoted: ſo ſhall you deſerve an everlaſting reward in heaven, and leave a glorious name to all poſterity.* We may obſerve from the contents of this Bull, how far the Popes of that age ſtretched their pretenſions with reſpect to the dominions of princes. For here we ſee Adrian very freely preſenting King Henry with the crowns of the Iriſh Kings, and commanding their ſubjects to transfer their allegiance from their lawful Sovereigns to a foreign Invader. However King Henry, though encouraged by the Pope's Bull, poſtponed the Iriſh expedition, and made no attempts upon that iſland till about fourteen years after.

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 95. V. I. edit. 1640.

(14) Hibern. Expugn. lib. 11. c. 6. A. D. 1155.

(15) Ymagin. Hiſtor. apud X Scriptores. p. 529.

(16) Tom. I. p. 15. edit. 1727.

[*G*] *He abſolved King Henry from the oath he had taken not to ſet aſide any part of his father's will.*] The caſe was this: Geoffrey Plantagenet, late earl of Anjou, had iſſue, by the empreſs Maud, three ſons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William. This prince, being ſenſible that his own dominions would of courſe deſcend to his eldeſt ſon Henry, and that the kingdom of England, and dutchy of Normandy, would likewiſe fall to him in right of his mother, thought fit to deviſe the earldom of Anjou to his ſecond ſon Geoffrey. And, to make this ſettlement the more firm, he took an oath of the biſhops and nobility, not to ſuffer his corps to be buried, till his ſon Henry had ſworn to fulfil every part of his will. The earl being dead, Henry came to attend his father's funeral. But when the oath was tendered to him, he refuſed for ſome time to ſwear to a writing, the contents of which he was not pre-acquainted with. However being preſſed with the ſcandal of letting his father lie unburied, he took the oath, tho' with great reluctance. After the funeral, the will was broken open and read; and tho' the contents diſpleaſed Henry, he concealed his reſentments for the preſent. But after his acceſſion to the throne, upon his complaint to Pope Adrian that the oath was forced upon him, he received a diſpenſation from his Holineſs, abſolving him from the obligation he had laid himſelf under (17). The author, cited in the margin, would fain juſtify the King and the Pope in this affair, upon that looſe maxim, that oaths extorted are not obligatory. *Et quoniam extorta ſacramenta vel vota non obligant, niſi forte ex ſubſequenti conſenſu convaleſcant, facile (ut dicitur) ab illo ſacramento abſolutionem impetravit* (18). But if King Henry's oath was void of courſe, as this writer ſuppoſes, what occaſion was there for the Pope's diſpenſation? And if it remained in full force, it is hard to imagine which way the Pope could releaſe it. Had the matter of the oath been unlawful, there would have been ſome ſenſe in the abſolution from it. But, in promiſing not to alter the diſpoſition of his father's will, Henry only run the riſque of ſuffering in his right, and ſwore to nothing but what was in his power to make good. This inſtance alone is ſufficient to ſhew, that Adrian, tho' a man of good underſtanding and integrity, was none of the ſafeſt guides in matters of conſcience. It may be proper to tell the reader, that, in conſequence

(17) Guliel. Neubr. De Reb. Angl. l. ii. c. 7.

(18) Id. ibid.

and he made warm complaints thereof to his countryman Johannes Sariſburienſis [*H*]. The reſt of his life and actions, having no connexion with the civil or eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Great Britain, ſhall be briefly thrown together in a note [*I*]. He died [*K*], September 1, 1159, in the fourth year and tenth month of his Pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's church, near the tomb of his predeceſſor Eugenius (*r*). The learned Editor of Cambden's Britannia tells us (*s*), Adrian had been rector of Tydd in Lincolnſhire; and Dr Cave informs us (*t*), that he left his mother to be maintained by the alms of the church of Canterbury. There are extant ſeveral letters written by Pope Adrian (*u*), and ſome homilies (*w*).

(*r*) Platina, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Vol. I. col. 550.

(*t*) Ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Concil. T. x. p. 1143, 1853. Baluz. Miſcell. T. ii. p. 223.

(*w*) Bale, ubi ſupra.

of this diſpenſation, Henry diſpoſſeſſed his brother Geoffrey of the dominions of Anjou, allowing him only a yearly penſion for his maintenance.

[*H*] *He made warm complaints to Johannes Sariſburienſis.*] Baronius informs us (19), that, in the very firſt year of Adrian's reign, his countryman, and old friend, Johannes Sariſburienſis, or John of Saliſbury, afterwards biſhop of Chartres, paid him a viſit; and that his Holineſs complained to him in the ſtrongeſt terms of the uneaſineſs of his ſtation. He aſſured him, 'That all the former hardſhips of his life were mere 'amuſement to the misfortunes of the popedom; that 'he looked upon St Peter's chair to be the moſt un-'eaſy ſeat in the world, and that his crown ſeemed to 'be clapped burning on his head.'

(19) Annal. T. xii. an. 1154.

[*I*] *The reſt of his life and actions ſhall be briefly thrown together.*] In the beginning of his pontificate, he boldly withſtood the attempts of the Roman people to recover their antient liberty under the conſuls, and obliged thoſe magiſtrates to abdicate their authority, and leave the government of the city to the Pope. In 1155, he drove the heretic Arnold of Breſſe, and his followers, out of Rome. The ſame year, he excommunicated William King of Sicily, who ravaged the territories of the Church, and abſolved that prince's ſubjects from their allegiance. About the ſame time, Frederic King of the Romans having entered Italy with a powerful army, Adrian met him near Sutrium, and concluded a peace with him. At this interview, Frederic condeſcended to hold the Pope's ſtirrup whilſt he mounted on horſe-back: After which his Holineſs conducted that Prince to Rome, and in St Peter's church placed the imperial crown on his head, to the great mortification of the Roman people, who aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and killed ſeveral of the Imperialiſts. The next year, a reconciliation was brought about between the Pope and the Sicilian King, that Prince taking an oath to do nothing farther to the prejudice of the Church, and Adrian granting him the title of *King of the Two Sicilies*. This Pope built and fortified ſeveral caſtles, and left the papal dominions in a more powerful and flouriſhing condition than he found them (20).

(20) *Vide* Platinæ, de vit. Pontif. *in* Hadriano IV.

[*K*] *His death.*] Gulielmus Neubrigenſis ſays nothing of the manner of Pope Adrian's death: but Matthew Paris tells us (21), he was poiſoned out of ſpite by the Romans, becauſe he had refuſed to conſecrate a citizen's ſon a biſhop, who was unworthy of that ſtation. *Poſt hos autem paucos dies, idem Papa Adrianus, quia cujuſdam potentis civis Romani filium indignum, in epiſcopum, timore repreſſus divino, creare & conſecrare noluit, preventus inſidiis, potionatus, veneno infectus, & interfectus eſt.* We have another account of his death in Bale, who tells us, upon the authority of Joannes Funcius, that Pope Adrian being one day walking with his attendants, a fly got into his throat, and, the ſurgeons not being able to extract it, he was ſuffocated (22). Fuller tells the ſame ſtory with a ſmall variation. 'As he 'was *drinking* (ſays that author) he was choaked with 'a fly, which, in the large territory of St Peter, had 'no place but his throat to get into: but ſince a fly 'ſtopped his breath, fear ſhall ſtop my mouth, not 'to make uncharitable concluſions from ſuch caſual-'ties (23)' It is remarkable, that Platina is ſilent as to the manner of Pope Adrian's death; which ſurely he would not have been, had it really been attended with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances. And what ſhall we ſay to the ſilence of the learned Antiquarian Leland in this matter, but that he gave no credit to the reports concerning the manner of our Pontif's death?

(21) Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 74.

(22) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. II. n. 64. *in appendice.*

(23) Fuller's Worthies of England, Hertfordſhire, p. 20.

T

ADRIAN (DE CASTELLO,) Biſhop of Bath and Wells in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was deſcended from a mean and obſcure family called by the name of the Caſtelli, and born at Cornetto (*a*), a ſmall town in Tuſcany (*b*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and learning, he obtained ſeveral employments at the court of Rome. In 1488, he was ſent by Pope Innocent VIII, in quality of his Nuntio extraordinary, to appeaſe the troubles in Scotland: but, upon his arrival in England, being informed that his preſence was no longer neceſſary in that kingdom, where the commotions had been ended by a deciſive battle, he ſet himſelf to execute ſome other commiſſions, with which he was charged, particularly that of collecting the Pope's tribute or Peter-pence, his holineſs having appointed him his Quæſtor or Treaſurer for that purpoſe. He ſtayed ſome months in England, and, during that time, had the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who recommended him ſo effectually to the King, that his majeſty thought fit to employ him as his agent for the Engliſh affairs at the court of Rome, and, as a recompence of his faithful ſervices, promoted him firſt to the biſhopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells (*c*). The Pope's bull, in virtue of which he was collated to the ſee of Hereford, is dated Auguſt the ſecond, 1504. Hs received the temporalities of Bath and Wells at Rome, in conſequence of the King's letters dated October the thirteenth, the ſame year: on the twentieth, he received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop by his Proctors; and the ſame day was enthroned at Wells by his proxy, who was the celebrated hiſtorian Polydore Vergil, at that time the Pope's ſub-collector in England, and afterwards appointed, by Adrian, Archdeacon of Wells. Our Prelate let out his biſhopric to Farmers, and afterwards to Cardinal Wolſey, himſelf reſiding at Rome (*d*); where he built a magnificent palace, on the frontiſpiece of which he cauſed to be inſcribed the name of his benefactor Henry VII, leaving it, after his deceaſe, to that Prince, and to the Kings of England his ſucceſſors. In the mean time, Alexander VI, who ſucceeded Innocent VIII, had appointed our Adrian his principal Secretary, and Vicar-General in ſpirituals, and temporals; and, as a farther mark of eſteem and confidence, created him a Cardinal-Prieſt, with the title of St Chryſogonus, the thirty-firſt of May, 1503 (*e*). Two or three months

(*a*) Called by the antients *Caſtrum novum.*

(*b*) Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4*to*, Tom. III, p. 76.

(*c*) Polyd. Vergil. Hiſt. Angl. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, l. xxvi. p. 736, 737. & Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 76, 77.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. de Epiſc. Bathon. & Wellenſ. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 576.

(*e*) Aubery, ibid. p. 77.

months after his creation, he narrowly eſcaped loſing his life by poiſon [*A*], at a feaſt, to which he was invited, with ſome other Cardinals, by the Pope and his ſon Cæſar Borgia (*f*). Under the pontificate of Julius II, who ſucceeded Alexander, Cardinal Adrian, having taken ſome diſguſt, or becauſe he diſtruſted that Pope, who was a declared enemy of his predeceſſor, voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from Rome [*B*], and did not return 'till the holding a conclave for the election of a new Pope; into which, though it was already ſhut, he was admitted, by conſent of the ſacred college, and probably gave his voice for the election of Leo X (*g*). Soon after, he was unhappily privy to a conſpiracy againſt that Pontif [*C*], into which he was the more eaſily led, by too fondly crediting the prediction of a Cunning-woman, or Fortune-teller, who had aſſured him, 'That Leo would be cut off by an unnatural death, and that he would be ſucceeded by 'an elderly man named Adrian, of obſcure birth, but famous for his learning, and whoſe 'virtue and merit alone had raiſed him to the higheſt honours of the Church.' This prophecy, which our Cardinal fooliſhly and raſhly applied to himſelf, was exactly verified in the election of Adrian VI, who ſucceeded Leo X. The conſpiracy being diſcovered [*D*], Cardinal Adrian was condemned to pay twelve thouſand five hundred ducats, and to give a ſolemn promiſe that he would not ſtir out of Rome. But, whether he was unable to diſcharge ſo heavy a fine, or apprehended farther ſeverities, he withdrew privately from that city: whereupon, in a conſiſtory held the ſixth of July, 1518, he was declared excommunicated, and deprived, not only of the cardinalate and all his benefices, but even of his eccleſiaſtical orders (*h*). Near four years before this time, he had been removed from his office of the Pope's Collector in England, at the requeſt of King Henry VIII, and through the inſtigation of Cardinal Wolſey [*E*]. The chief heads

(*f*) Aubery, p. 75.

(*g*) Id. ib. p. 78, 79.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 80. There is extant in Rymer's Fœdera, &c. (Vol. XIII p. 607.) a Letter from the Cardinal de Medicis, acquainting King Henry VIII with Cardinal Adrian's degradation.

[*A*] *He very narrowly eſcaped loſing his life by poiſon.*] Pope Alexander having invited ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the ſacred college to a ſumptuous entertainment; his ſon Cæſar reſolved to take this opportunity to remove out of the way ſuch of the gueſts, whoſe grandeur and riches he chiefly envied; and to this purpoſe he prepared ſome poiſoned wine: but the Cup-bearer, providentially miſtaking one flaggon for another, adminiſtered the poiſoned liquor to the wicked contriver of this black deſign, who drank it off without ſuſpecting the miſtake (1). For the particulars and conſequences of this horrid attempt, which coſt the Pope himſelf his life, the reader is referred to the hiſtorians, who have written the lives of Alexander VI, and his ſon Cæſar Borgia. As to what concerns Cardinal Adrian, who was preſent at this fatal banquet, and one of the deſtined victims of Borgia's inhuman malice, M. Aubery informs us (2), that having inadvertently taſted the poiſoned wine, he was ſeized with moſt excruciating pains in his bowels, which brought on frequent convulſions, and afterwards a kind of lethargy; that he was obliged, for ſome eaſe and refreſhment, to rowl himſelf quite naked in cold water poured on the floor of his chamber; that he eſcaped indeed with life, but not without *caſting his ſkin*, which, through the violence of the poiſon, peeled off from all parts of his body.

(1) Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4*to*, T. III. p. 78.

(2) Ibid.

[*B*] *He voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from Rome.*] This circumſtance of the Cardinal's life, M. Aubery tells us (3), is not agreeable to the opinion of Raphael de Volaterra, who (4) extols his great ſkill and addreſs, in conſtantly ſupporting the credit and reputation he had acquired at the court of Rome, and in always finding the means happily to extricate himſelf from the moſt dangerous conjunctures, and ſuch as had proved fatal to others. But the expreſs teſtimony of Paris de Graſſi, maſter of the ceremonies, and what Guichardin remarks (5) of the King of France, who ordered Cardinal Adrian's name to be inſerted, as having been one of thoſe who had convened the ſynod of Piſa, prove plainly enough, that he met with no better treatment, under the pontificate of Julius II, than the other favourites of Alexander VI, and that he had ſome occaſions given him of diſcontent, or at leaſt that he did not think himſelf ſafe under the power of the new Pope. My author ſays farther, that his Holineſs, not knowing to what he ſhould aſcribe the Cardinal's extreme fear and voluntary exile, began to imagine, that it might be owing to remorſe of conſcience for having made ſome attempt upon his authority or his life.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Anthrop. l. xxii. f. 236.

(5) l. x. p. 538.

[*C*] *He was unhappily privy to a conſpiracy againſt Pope Leo* X.] I call it a Conſpiracy, after M. Aubery, who informs us, that Cardinal Petrucci was the chief of the conſpirators, and Adrian one of thoſe, to whom he imparted the ſecret of his wicked deſigns, and whoſe indiſcrete or malicious ſilence rendered them accomplices of his guilt (6). But, according to Polydore Vergil, this conſpiracy was nothing more than the intemperate rage of an angry Cardinal, who was a perfect maſter of the *Roman freedom of ſpeech* (7). The affair, as that hiſtorian relates it (8), was briefly this. The Pope had taken under his protection the inhabitants of Sienna, and deprived Cardinal Alfonſo Petrucci, and his family, of the principality they had long enjoyed there, in order, as his Holineſs declared, entirely to root out the ſeeds of faction, with which that city was diſturbed. This proceeding highly incenſed the Cardinal againſt the Pope, whom he charged with ingratitude, in thus repaying the aſſiſtance he had lent him, in bringing about his election: he complained openly of the injury done him, publickly expreſſed his deteſtation of that Pontif, and imprecated a thouſand deaths on him. He happened once to vent his rage in the hearing of the Cardinals, Adrian, and Francis Volaterran, who reproved him ſeverely, but did not think they had ſufficient grounds for an information againſt him. However Petrucci, in the heat of his paſſion, went away from Rome, and ſoon after, upon an aſſurance of indemnity, returned; but ſtill continued his reſentment, and abuſive language againſt the Pope; who was ſo exaſperated thereby, that he ordered him to be apprehended, and thrown into priſon, where ſoon after he died.

(6) Aubery, Ibid. p. 79.

(7) Romana loquendi licentia eruditus.

(8) Hiſt. Angl. l. xxvii. p. 45, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 8*vo*.

[*D*] *The conſpiracy being diſcovered.*] Let us hear M. Aubery. His Holineſs, he tells us (9), having cauſed the three principal conſpirators to be arreſted, learned from their depoſitions, that the Cardinals Soderini (10) and de Caſtello were their accomplices, having been preſent at very ſecret conferences with them. A conſiſtory was thereupon held, in which thoſe two Cardinals, after much reluctancy, eſpecially on the part of the latter, were induced to make a public confeſſion of their fault, and Adrian owned, he had heard Petrucci ſay, that he would kill the Pope, but that he paid no regard to what he ſaid on account of his youth.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) The ſame, whom Polydore Vergil (*ſee the preceding remark*) calls Franciſcus Volateranus: for Cardinal Soderini was Biſhop of Volatera.

[*E*] *He was removed from his office of the Pope's Collector at the requeſt of King Henry* VIII, *and through the inſtigation of Cardinal Wolſey.*] Wolſey, aiming at the dignity of a Cardinal, employed Adrian as his Sollicitor at the court of Rome; but finding that he betrayed him, and did him ill offices, he made uſe of his intereſt with the King, to get him turned out of his poſt. There is extant in Mr Rymer's *Fœdera, &c.* (11) a letter from Leo X, dated at Rome, October the thirty-firſt, 1514, in anſwer to one from King Henry to his Holineſs. The Pope therein tells him, 'That 'he had condeſcended to remove the Cardinal from 'the office of Collector, for no other reaſon, but 'becauſe the King had deſired it; and that he would 'do even more for him, if it was not plain that he 'acted only at the inſtigation of another, and not of 'his own accord.'

(11) Vol. XIII, p. 467.

[*F*] *A Latin*

heads of his accuſation, drawn up at Rome, were; 'That he had abſented himſelf from 'that city in the time of Julius II, without the Pope's leave; that he had never reſided, 'as he ought to have done, at the church of St Chryſogonus, from which he had his 'title; that he had again withdrawn from Rome, and had not appeared to a legal 'citation; and that he had engaged in the conſpiracy of Cardinal Petrucci, and had 'ſigned the league of Francis Maria, Duke of Urbino, againſt the Pope (*i*).' He was at Venice, when he received the diſagreeable news of his condemnation (*k*); but what became of him afterwards, or when and where he died, we know not, though it is pretended he took refuge ſome where in Aſia among the Turks (*l*). Cardinal Wolſey ſecured to himſelf the vacant ſee of Bath and Wells, which he had farmed of Adrian (*m*). There is to be ſeen, we are told (*n*), at Riva, a village in the dioceſe of Trent, a Latin inſcription on one Polydorus Caſamicus [*F*], the Pope's Janitor, written by Cardinal Adrian; at the end of which he deplores his own wretched condition, and exalts the happineſs of his friend, whoſe death had put an end to his miſeries. Polydore Vergil and M. Aubery give us a very advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate [*G*].

(*i*) Id. ibid.

(*k*) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, l. xxvii. p. 45.

(*l*) Aubery, ib. p. 81.

(*m*) Polyd. Verg. ibid.

(*n*) Aubery, ib.

[*F*] *A Latin inſcription on Polydorus Caſamicus.*] It is as follows (10).

(10) Aubery, ib. p. 81.

POLYDORO. CASAMICO. ROMANO.
SUMMI. PONTIFICIS. OSTIARIO.
VIXIT. ANN. XXIV.
HADRIANUS. CARDINALIS. S. CHRYSOGONI.
FAMILIARI. CARISS. POS.
Exulat HADRIANUS: *tu jam*, POLYDORE, *quieſcis*,
Æternumque vales; nobis dira omnia reſtant.

[*G*] *An advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate.*] Polydore Vergil highly extols him for his various and uncommon learning, his exquiſite judgment in the choice of the propereſt words, and the truly claſſical ſtyle of his writings, in which he was the firſt, ſince the age of Cicero, who revived the purity of the Latin language, and taught men to draw their knowledge from the ſources of the beſt and learnedeſt authors. *Erant in eo plurimæ literæ, non vulgares, ſed reconditæ, ac ſummum bonorum verborum delectu judicium; qui memoriæ noſtræ primus omnium, poſt illud diſertiſſimum Ciceronis ſæculum, ſuis ſcriptis mortales excitavit ad perfectas literas de doctiſſimorum autorum fontibus hauriendas, docuitque modum purè, nitidè, ac luculenter loquendi, ſic ut, eo doctore, in præſentia ubique gentium Latinitas ab integro renaſcatur* (11). He was of a gay and chearful diſpoſition; and, as if he would imitate Cicero in this point, as well as in purity of ſtyle, he took great pleaſure in rallying or bantering, of which we have the following inſtance. Diſputing one day about precedency with Cardinal Caruajal, who maintained, that, ſince he had been reſtored by the Pope to the Cardinalate, he ought to hold the ſame rank as if he had never been degraded from it; Adrian reſolved at laſt to give him place, but not without one ſtroke of raillery upon his antagoniſt, to whom he ſaid, making a low bow, *Your moſt reverend lordſhip may go before me, if you pleaſe, ſince biſcuit* (*) *has always been preferred to common bread*, reproaching him thereby with his former rebellion, and the diſgrace he was forced to undergo, before he could be promoted a ſecond time to the dignity of a Cardinal (12). T

(11) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, lib. xxvi. p. 737.

(*) Bread twice baked.

(12) Aubery, ibid.

ÆLFRED, ALFRIDE, ALDFRID, or ELDFRID, was the illegitimate ſon of Oſwi, King of Northumberland. He was educated as became the ſon of a King, and, as Beda tells us, ſtudied amongſt the Scots, and acquired a great knowledge in the ſcriptures, and in all ſolid and uſeful learning (*a*). On his return into his father's kingdom, he behaved himſelf with great wiſdom and prudence, and it is particularly related of him, that he perſuaded his brother-in-law, Peada, the ſon of Penda, King of the Mercians, to renounce Heatheniſm, and to embrace the Chriſtian Religion. On the death of his father Oſwi, Egfrid, his brother, who ſucceeded in the throne, perſecuted him with implacable malice, meerly becauſe he was a prince of great parts, and there had been ſome talk of raiſing him to the throne. To avoid his fury, Ælfred retired into Ireland, though ſome ſay into Scotland, where converſing only with the learned, he led a philoſophic kind of life; being diſtinguiſhed from other private men only by the virtues of the mind (*b*). Yet even here, his brother could not let him reſt, but moſt injuriouſly making war on thoſe who had given him refuge, was ſlain in battle (*c*). Hereupon, the nobility of the kingdom of Northumberland unanimouſly invited Ælfred to take poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, which he accordingly did, in the year 686 [*A*]. He found the kingdom in great confuſion, and by his wiſdom and piety ſoon brought it into order; eaſed the people of the oppreſſive taxes his brother had laid upon them, and, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered them perfectly eaſy and happy. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning as much after he became King, as he had done before; for which reaſon, not only ſcholars flocked to his court, but even the learned in other countries paid tribute to his abilities, by dedicating their books to him; as did the famous Scottiſh Abbot Adamanus, and Adelmus, Biſhop of Sherburn (*d*). It is however admitted, that as he was no martial Prince, ſo his dominions were more ſtraitened than they had been in the days of his anceſtors. He is cenſured for perſecuting

(*a*) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 24, 27. lib. v. c. 12. Henr. Hunt. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*b*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra. Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. p. 45.

(*d*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra. Bal. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. fol. 43, 44, 45.

[*A*] *Which he did in the year* 686.] The life of this Prince certainly merits a place in this work, as well on account of his being a King of great fame, a man learned himſelf, and commended as an encourager of learning by venerable Bede, but chiefly, becauſe he is taken notice of by foreign writers. There is an article of him in a late edition of Moreri (1); and ſhall it be ſaid there are any more careful of the fame and credit of Engliſhmen, than we our ſelves are? It is true, this Prince was no King of England, he was King only of a very ſmall part of it. He did honour, however, to the whole, nay, and to Scotland, and Ireland too; in the former country he was educated, in the latter he long reſided, and for his eminent virtues was admired and beloved in both. Some epiſtles to the learned men in both countries he left behind him, but it is not known whether they are ſtill preſerved or not. This however we know, that his learning, wiſdom, and piety, is celebrated by many of our ancient authors, as the margin will ſhew (2).

(1) See this Article in the firſt Volume of the Edition printed at Baſil, 1731.

(2) Leland, Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 88. Balæus Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. Centur. prima, fol. 45. Pitſeus de illuſtr. Angl. Scripto.. p. 116.

[*B*] *Perſe-*

cuting Biſhop Wilfrid [*B*], in whoſe room he cauſed John, of Beverly, a man famous for piety and learning, to be conſecated Biſhop of Hexham, in Northumberland, whom he afterwards exalted to the Archbiſhoprick of York. He governed with great reputation the kingdom of Northumberland, nineteen years, and dying on the 24th of December, in the year 705 (*e*), was buried at Drifeld. He married Cyniburg, or, as ſome call her, Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, by whom he had Oſrede, his ſon and ſucceſſor; but in nothing like his father, the remembrance of whoſe virtues induced the people to make this ſon of his King, though he was at that time a child of eight years old (*f*).

(*e*) Chron. Saxon. p. 52.

(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. p. 91. Bromton. Chron. Regn. Northumb. p. 794.

[*B*] *Perſecuting Biſhop Wilfrid.*] Moſt of our hiſtorians mention the differences between this Prince and Wilfridus, Archbiſhop of York, very conciſely; and thoſe who have written the life of this King, do it ſtill more obſcurely. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, treat it, however, very copiouſly, and from them we ſhall give the reader a ſuccinct account of it. This Wilfridus at the time of Alfred's acceſſion to the throne, was beyond the ſeas, expelled from his archiepiſcopal ſee of York, by the King's brother and predeceſſor. In the ſecond year of this Prince, which was 687, Wilfridus returned with mandatory letters from the Pope, for his reſtoration. With theſe the King in part complied, for he promoted John, of Beverely, who was then Biſhop of Hexham, to the Archbiſhoprick of York, and offered Wilfridus his biſhoprick, which he accepted. There he ſat quietly five years, but, in 692, he was again expelled, not ſo much by the King's will, as on account of diſputes among the clergy. Upon this he went abroad again, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the Pope, and, after thirteen years attendance, obtained a ſentence in his favour; whereupon he returned into England, after Alfred had been dead ſome years (3). E

(3) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 12. lib. v. c. 20. Chronic. Sanct. Crucis Edinburgh. ad ann. 687, 705. Gul. Malmſb. de Pontific. lib. iii. See alſo the Article WILFRIDUS.

ÆLFRED, or ALFRED (*the Great*) by ſome alſo called Elfred, and by others Alured, was the youngeſt ſon of Æthelwolf, King of the Weſt Saxons; he was born at Wannating, or Wanading, which ſome take to be Wantage in Berkſhire, then a royal ſeat, A. D. 849 (*a*). His father, who was a very wiſe and religious Prince, believing that he ſaw in him a brighter and more promiſing genius than in his other children, ſent him, while yet an infant, that is, in the fifth year of his age, to Rome, where Pope Leo IV, adopted him, and anointed him (*b*), which ſome aſſert to have been a regal unction, though others think he was only confirmed (*c*) [*A*]. His father in the decline of his life going to viſit the holy ſee, took this favourite ſon of his along with him, whereby he had an opportunity of ſeeing and hearing many things, which made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions on him, as were not to be worn out during his whole life (*d*). On his return to England, his parents were no leſs tender of him than before, yet this tenderneſs was not of much ſervice to Ælfred (*e*), ſince it eſtranged him from learning, and conſiſted too much in the indulging of idleneſs, and a purſuit of youthful pleaſures. On his father's death, he had an appanage bequeathed to him by will, but his brothers, who ſucceeded in the throne, put him off with fair words, ſo that his poſſeſſions remained narrow enough. However, as he had a very grave philoſophick ſpirit, and began now to think of recovering the time he had loſt in his nonage, he readily admitted theſe excuſes, and would willingly have been content with his books and his eaſe (*f*). But it was not long he enjoyed even theſe ſmall comforts, the Danes invading the

(*a*) Annales rerum geſtarum Ælfredi Magni, Auctore Aſſerio Menevenſi. Oxon. 8*vo*. p. 3. Roger. Hoved. Annal. apud Rerum Anglicarum Script. poſt Bedam. Francf. 1601. p. 414. Alford. Annal. Tom. III. p. 66. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 849.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 7. Chron. Saxon. Oxon. 1692. 4*to*. p. 75. Simeon. Dunelm. ap. X Script. p. 139. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 854.

(*c*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Leland. de Script. p. 145.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 8.

(*e*) Id. p. 12, 15.

(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 141. Ethelred. Reival. de Gen. Reg. Ang'. ap. X Scriptor. p. 352. Aſſer. Meneven. p. 16.

[*A*] *Though others ſay he was only confirmed.*] There are many reaſons why the anointing Ælfred to be King, is ſcrupled (1). 1. He was his father's younger ſon; and had three, at leaſt, if not four, brethren between him and the crown. 2. He was but five years old, and therefore it is not likely that his father ſhould intend him for a Vice-King. 3. Such an unction could have had no other conſequence, than that of making him obnoxious to his brethren. But notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, it ſeems pretty clear, that he was really anointed in order to veſt him with a royal character. Many reaſons have been offered in ſupport of this opinion, but, for the ſake of cutting things as ſhort as poſſible, we will ſhew that the foregoing objections are not very cogent, and that there is indubitable authority on the other ſide. As to his diſtance from the throne, that is no objection at all, if the cuſtom of the times, and his father's will, be conſidered (2); from both which it appears, that great Princes made all their ſons Kings, and that this was what Æthelwolf both deſigned and in part effected. With reſpect to the ſecond point, it is evident that a great part of Wales was conquered that year (3); and it is therefore very probable, his father intended, when he was of an age fit to govern, to make Ælfred King of Demetia, or South Wales (4), as he had before inveſted two of his other ſons with royal titles. The laſt objection really anſwers itſelf, for the fact fell out ſo. The brethren of Ælfred grew jealous of him, and defeated him not only of the kingdom which his father intended him, but likewiſe of the ſmall portion that Prince left him, after he had altered his former purpoſe (5). A multitude of authors ſpeak of Ælfred's journey to Rome, and of his unction, yet there are two whoſe teſtimonies in many reſpects ſeem preferable to the reſt. The firſt of theſe is Aſſer, Biſhop of Sherburn, who was intimate with King Ælfred, and who, in the memoirs he wrote of that Prince, and dedicated to himſelf, hath under the year 853, theſe words (6), *The ſame year King Æthelwolf ſent his ſon Ælfred to Rome, attended by many of the nobility and perſons of lower rank, Leo IV, then poſſeſſed the Apoſtolick See, who anointed the ſaid infant Ælfred as a King, confirmed him, and adopted him as his own ſon.* This author, therefore, plainly affirms he was both crowned and adopted. The other writer is Æthelred, a Monk of the royal family, who lived very near theſe times, who ſays, that after Leo had conſecrated him King, he, from that act, ſtiled him his ſon, as Biſhops at the time of confirmation are wont to call thoſe little ones their children (7). Robert, of Glouceſter (8), ſays expreſsly, that he was crowned King, and that he was the firſt of our Princes who was anointed, which is alſo aſſerted by Thomas Rudborne (9). In this, however, they ſeem to be miſtaken, for not only the Monk of Malmſbury (10), who was well acquainted with theſe things, aſſerts, that in 790, Offa, King of Mercia, cauſed his ſon Egfert to be anointed King in his life-time: But alſo Gildas (11), the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, ſpeaks of unction as a thing common in his time amongſt the Britiſh Princes. Hence it is clear, that he was not the firſt of our Kings, nor even the firſt of our Saxon Kings conſecrated by unction. Sir Henry Spelman (12), after mentioning ſome of theſe authorities, concludes juſtly, that he was anointed King. But Alford (13), the Jeſuit, ſeems to be more in the right, who alledges he was both anointed King, and confirmed by Pope Leo, and that, in reſpect to this ſecond ceremony the Pope was his godfather.

(1) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 145.

(2) See Note [*B*].

(3) Chron. Saxon. p. 75.

(4) Enderbie's Hiſtory of Wales, lib. i. p. 216.

(5) Vid. Teſtament. Ælfred.

(6) De Reb. Geſt. Ælfred. p. 7.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

(8) In his Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne, p. 264.

(9) Hiſt. Maj. Winton. in tit. cap. vi. p. 206.

(10) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. 4. p. 33.

(11) De Excid. Britan. c. 19.

(12) In Conciliis, p. 378. See alſo Sir John Spelman, in his life of Alfred, p. 20.

(13) Annal. Tom. III. p. 66.

the kingdom, he was conſtrained to abandon a contemplative for an active life, ſerving his brethren both with his counſels and in perſon, till at length they being all dead [B]. He in the two and twentieth year of his age, *anno dom.* 871, became King in his own right (g), which dignity, however, he aſſumed with much reluctancy, not only on account of his love to a retired life, but alſo becauſe he knew that the crown was a very heavy burthen, and that though it was adorned with jewels, yet it was at the ſame time lined with cares (h). He had ſcarce leiſure to attend his brother's funeral, when he was forced to fight for the crown he had ſo unwillingly accepted. At Wilton he engaged the Daniſh army, and in the beginning of the battle had the advantage, but, in the purſuit, the Danes diſcovering his weakneſs, rallied, and drove him out of the field (i). We need not wonder at this, ſince beſides their deficiency in numbers, the Saxons muſt have been exceſſively harraſſed, ſince there had been eight or nine battles that year (k). Soon after the engagement at Wilton, there followed a treaty, this, however, they obſerved but indifferently, roaming up and down, and pillaging wherever they came. At laſt they put an end to the kingdom of Mercia, and forced it's monarch not only to leave his dominions, but the iſland (l). The next year after this, they acted in ſuch a manner as gave Ælfred to underſtand, that he had nothing to truſt to but arms; for this reaſon he took pains to fit out a fleet, which was to guard the coaſts, and keep theſe rovers from landing. Some effect this deſign of his produced, for a ſquadron of five Daniſh ſhips coming on the coaſt, one of them was taken (m). However, a great army of Danes, commanded by ſeveral of their Kings, marched as far as Grantbridge, and quartered thereabouts, the beſt part of the year, and the next ſummer they advanced to Werham; there King Ælfred met them with all the forces he could raiſe, but not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to fight them, he concluded a peace, not without the interpoſition of money, if ſome of our hiſtorians deſerve credit (n). However it was, a peace he made, and the Danes ſwore never to invade his dominions; but, according to their wonted cuſtom, broke their faith in a few months [C]. The next year, being 876, the barbarous Danes committed new and greater hoſtilities, which compelled the

(g) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 24. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 144. Joan. Bromton. p. 809. MS. Chron. Godſtov. p. 72.

(h) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Ælfred. Magn in Teſtam.

(i) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 25. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 145.

(k) Chron. Saxon. p. 82.

(l) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 26. Joan. Bromt. p. 809.

(m) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra. Chron. Saxon. p. 83.

(n) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

[B] *Till at length they being all dead*] It would have taken up too much room in the text, to have entered into the tranſactions of Ælfred in his nonage. However, as the knowledge of them is in ſome meaſure requiſite to the thorough underſtanding of ſeveral circumſtances of this article, we ſhall ſay as much as is neceſſary of them in this note. His father Æthelwolf, according to the beſt accounts we have, had five ſons and a daughter (14). Of theſe Æthelſtan the eldeſt, was King of Kent, in his father's life-time, and died before him. Æthelbald, the ſecond ſon, raiſed a rebellion againſt his father, when he came back from Rome, and that good natured Prince, to avoid any effuſion of blood, conſented to divide with him his dominions (15). He did not long ſurvive this, but, before his death, he, by a full and diſtinct teſtament, endeavoured to ſettle all the claims of his children in ſuch a manner, as might prevent their diſturbing the publick peace. By this will, Æthelbald and Æthelbert, had his kingdoms divided between them; his private eſtate, he left to his younger ſons Æthelred and Ælfred, together with what money was found in his coffers (16). As for his daughter, ſhe married Burthred, King of Mercia, and being with her huſband expelled her country by the Danes, went into Italy, and, after his death, lived a nun at Padua. Æthelwolf deceaſed in 858, when Ælfred was but ten years old (17). Æthelbald ſucceeded him, and governed two years and a half. On his demiſe, Æthelbert ſeized the crown, which he held for five years, during which ſpace he was continually vexed by the Danes, againſt whom he fought with undaunted courage, though with unequal ſucceſs. He died in 866 (18), and was ſucceeded by his brother Æthelred, who having reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the King his brother's conduct, while he was a private man, ſolemnly promiſed his younger brother Ælfred, he would do him that juſtice which had been denied by the two former Kings, in giving him what his father had by will bequeathed him. On his acceſſion, Ælfred demanded a performance of his promiſe, but the King excuſed himſelf on account of the troubleſome times, but aſſured him, that if he kept every thing to himſelf at preſent, yet at his death he would leave him all (19). With this Ælfred was ſatisfied, for being inclined to follow his ſports, fond of domeſtick pleaſures, and extreamly addicted to literature, he inclined rather to have led a retired life; but having given ſome proofs of his courage in the former King's reign, Æthelred would never part with him, but made uſe of him as his firſt miniſter, and general in chief of his armies. In this capacity it was, that he raſhly engaging the Daniſh army, which was very numerous, and then lay near Reading, was in great danger of being totally defeated, had not the King come in to his aſſiſtance with a freſh body of men, which changed the fortune of the day, inſomuch, that the Danes loſt the field, and therein one King, nine of their chiefs, whom the Saxons called Earls, and a prodigious number of common ſoldiers (20). This however, did not hinder the Danes from attacking and defeating the two brothers a fortnight after, followed very ſuddenly by another ſuch diſaſter, wherein King Æthelred (21), received his mortal wound.

(14) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 12. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(15) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 8, 9.

(16) Teſtament. Ælfredi. Aſſer. Meneν. p. 12.

(17) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 13. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(18) Chron. Saxon. p. 78.

(19) Teſtament. Alfredi.

(20) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 22, 23. Chron. Saxon. p. 81, 82. Alured. Beverl. p. 50.

(21) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 24. Chron. Saxon. p. 81. Alured. Beverl. p. 51. Thom. Sprotti. Chron. p. 69. col. 1. Hiſtor. Maj. Wint. p. 206.

[C] *Broke their faith in a few months.*] All our ancient hiſtorians, and eſpecially thoſe who lived in their times, unanimouſly agree in charging the Danes with moſt horrid acts of perfidy (22). Conſidering however, the pains taken by theſe authors, to juſtify their countrymen in all things, and their evident partiality in ſuch points as regard the ancient Britons, we might well enough doubt their ſincerity in this reſpect, if it was not confirmed by facts, and by the authority of foreign writers. To ſay the truth, the perfidy of the Danes was the reſult of their barbariſm, from making it their conſtant practice to burn and deſtroy whatever they could not carry away: they were quickly ſtraitned in their quarters, and thus being obliged to ſhift them often, they ſoon found themſelves in ſuch a ſituation as to have no means of ſubſiſtance, without obtaining it by force, from thoſe with whom they had lately made peace. To theſe wrong ſteps of theirs, was owing the wretched condition in which this whole iſland then was; all it's beſt towns, many of it's fineſt monaſteries, and the far greater part of it's villages, being but ſo many heaps of ruins. The want of cultivation alſo produced dreadful famines, and theſe, as uſual, were followed with conſuming plagues, as we read in Aſſerius, and other ancient writers (23): we need not wonder therefore that Ælfred was deſirous of getting ſome time to breathe, or that being juſt ſeated on the throne, he ſhould be willing to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ſtate both of his dominions and his people. Inſtead therefore of attributing this treaty of his with the Danes, to indolence, or want of ſpirit, we ought to conclude it the effects of his foreſight and great prudence, which inclined him to ſeek ſome means for reſtoring and ſtrengthning his decayed ſtate, before he engaged in freſh wars, with a fierce and barbarous people, who by continual acceſſions of new comers, throve by fighting, and gained ground even by defeats.

(22) Aſſer. Meneν. Chron. Petrib. Hiſtor. Elien. Chron. Malroſs, &c.

(23) Aſſer. Meneν. Chron. Sax. &c.

[D] *Now*

the King to march againſt them, with what forces he could get together. He found them in Exeter, where, for ſome time, he held them beſieged (*o*). While things were in this ſituation, his fleet ſucceſsfully engaged part of the enemy's, though it conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſail, ſunk many, and diſperſed the reſt, which attempting to gain ſome of the Engliſh ports, by a ſtorm were driven on the coaſts, and all miſerably periſhed (*p*). This ſo terrified the Barbarians, that they once more made peace and gave hoſtages. However, in 877, having obtained new aids, they came in ſuch numbers into Wiltſhire, that the Saxons, quite tired out, could not be perſuaded to make head againſt them. Many to avoid them fled out of the kingdom, not a few ſubmitted themſelves, and the reſt ſuffering fear to ſuperſede their duty, fled every man to the place wherein he might be beſt concealed. In this diſtreſs, Ælfred conceiving himſelf no longer a King, laid aſide all ſigns of royalty, and, to ſecure his perſon, took ſhelter in the houſe of one who kept his cattle (*q*). While he remained in this retreat, a little adventure happened, of which ſeveral of our hiſtories take notice. The good woman of the houſe having one day made ſome cakes, put them before the fire to toaſt, and ſeeing Ælfred ſitting by, trimming his bow and arrows, ſhe thought he would of courſe take care of the bread; but he, it ſeems, intent on what he was about, let the cakes burn; which ſo provoked the woman, that ſhe rated him roundly, telling him he would be glad to eat them, and ought therefore to have looked after their toaſting (*r*). The King however did not continue long in this wretched ſituation; for obſerving that a part of Somerſetſhire was ſo encloſed by the waters of the Parett and the Thone, as to form a moraſs, which it was almoſt impracticable to force. He in the centre thereof, where there was about two acres of firm ground, built a fort, for the ſecurity of himſelf, his family, and the few faithful ſervants that repaired thither to him (*s*). This place he named Æthelingey, or rather Æthelinga-ige, that is, the *Iſle of Nobles*, now called Athelney (*t*) [*D*]. There he continued ſome months, ſallying frequently out upon the Danes (eſpecially when they thought themſelves ſecure and lay careleſsly) with incredible ſecrecy and ſucceſs. After almoſt a year ſpent in this manner, underſtanding that ſome of his ſubjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their Chiefs or Kings, and taken their magical ſtandard (*u*) [*E*]; he iſſued his letters to acquaint them with the place where he was, and to invite the nobility to come thither and conſult with him. This they accordingly did, and ſhewed a great alacrity, when the King propoſed taking the field with an army, and no longer acting only by ſtealth as it were, againſt the Enemy (*w*). However,

(*o*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 29. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 175.

(*p*) Aſſer. ibid.

(*q*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Ethelred Rieval. p. 353. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

(*r*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. p. 84. A. 878. Chron. Petriburg. ap. Hiſt. Angl. Scrip. var. Lond. 1723, p. 22.

(*t*) Camden. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4*to*, p. 160.

(*u*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 32. Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Ethelred Rieval. p. 355. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Alured. Beverl. p. 42.

(*w*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811, c.

[*D*] *Now called Athelney.*] The diſtreſs the King was in when he took ſhelter in this iſland, is very ſtrongly painted by Aſſerius Menevenſis, who very probably heard what he relates from the King's own mouth. We are told that St Neolas, his kinſman, predicted to him this misfortune. That wiſe and good man, it ſeems, diſcerning in the two firſt years of Ælfred's reign, a greater inclination to the employments and recreations of a private life, than to attend the affairs of ſtate, and diſcharge the function of a King, took upon him to reprove Ælfred, and in the end, when he found his diſcourſes wrought not much, foretold him, that the time was at hand, when God would ſeverely chaſtize him for his negligence, and when he ſhould have enough of that privacy, which he now ſeemed ſo much to covet (24). Among other ſingular accidents which befel him in this retreat, the following is much inſiſted upon by ſome of our hiſtorians, though not mentioned by Aſſerius. It happened one day in the winter, that the King having ſent all his attendants out to ſearch for fiſh and other things in the iſland, was left alone with his Queen in the fort. This leiſure he employed, as he was wont, in reading, but was quickly diſturbed by the voice of a poor man, who with great earneſtneſs begged for ſomewhat to ſatisfy his hunger. Ælfred thereupon deſired his wife to examine their cupboard, wherein ſhe finding only one ſmall loaf brought it to him, and told him it would ſcarce ſuffice his ſervants when they came home from fiſhing. The King, however, directed her to give half to the poor man, whoſe name was Nider, truſting as he ſaid, that God would ſend more. She did as ſhe was directed, and the King returning to his book, read till he was ſleepy, whereupon he went to his couch to ſlumber away his cares. In his ſleep he had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he ſaw St Cuthbert, the famous Biſhop of Holy Iſland, who told him, that God having puniſhed the ſins of the Saxons by the ſword of the Danes, now pitied their calamities, and looking with an eye of favour on his late act of charity, had determined to reſtore him to his throne; and of the truth of this, the return of his ſervants with a large quantity of fiſh, ſhould ſerve him as a token. The King waking called to the Queen, who was alſo fallen aſleep, and told her his dream, which ſhe no ſooner heard, than ſhe aſſured him ſhe had dreamed the ſame thing. Immediately after his ſervants returned with a vaſt quantity of fiſh, which greatly encouraged the King, and put him upon thoſe great and glorious undertakings, which reſtored the luſtre of the Saxon diadem (25). We have omitted a great many miraculous circumſtances, with which a certain author graces the ſtory we have juſt now recited, and have followed Spelman in calling the lady who was with the King, his Queen, and not his mother, who died long before his father. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Abbot of Rievall ſays, that the King directed his *ſervant* to beſtow this alms, without mentioning any lady at all (26).

(24) Aſſer. Menev. p. 21, 22.

(25) Simeon. Dunelm. in vit. S. Cuthbert. ap. X Scriptor. p. 72. Joan. Bromt. Chron. p. 811. W. Malmſb. l. xi. p. 43.

(26) Ethelred Rieval. col. 353, 354.

[*E*] *Their magical ſtandard.*] It will be proper to make uſe of Sir John Spelman's explication of this dark point. *In this defeat*, ſays he, *there was taken that famous Daniſh ſtandard, called Reafan, or the Raven, the great confidence of thoſe Pagans. It was a banner, with the image of a raven, magically wrought by the three ſiſters of Hinquar and Hubba, on purpoſe for their expedition, in revenge of their father Lodebroch's murder, made they ſay, almoſt in an inſtant, being by them at once begun and finiſhed in a noon tide, and believed by the Danes to have carried great fatality with it, for which it was highly eſteemed of them. It is pretended, that being carried in battle, towards good ſucceſs it would always ſeem to clap the wings, and make as if it would fly; but, towards the approach of miſhap, it would hang down, and not move. Whatſoever it was, the impoſtor was now betrayed; for being taken by ſurprize, they had loſt their oracle, before they had time to conſult with it* (27). That this ſtory, however fabulous, is no invention of of our writer's, is evident from what we meet with in the hiſtory of the northern nations by Olaus Magnus, wherein there are very prolix accounts of the like nature (28), It ſhould ſeem, that either the Danes redeemed this ſtandard, or got another of the ſame ſort wrought, ſince on one of the coins of Anlaff, King of Northumberland, there is a raven, which he bore in his banners (29), and from one of the coins of King Canute, it appears to have given original to a family, one of the Monetarii to that King, being called Refen (30).

(27) Life of Alfred, p. 61.

(28) Hiſt. de gent. ſeptent. l. iii. c. 15, 16, edit. Rom.

(29) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. I. p. 363, Tab. iii. 3.

(30) Ibid. Tab. iv. 12.

[*F*] *Extreamly*

However before they came to a final reſolution, Ælfred, that his ſubjects might not hazard too much, expoſed his own perſon in a moſt extraordinary manner. For putting on the habit of a harper, he went into the enemy's camp, where, without ſuſpicion, he was every where admitted, and had even the honour to play before their Princes. This having furniſhed him with an exact knowledge of their ſituation, he returned with like ſecrecy to his nobility, whom he directed to go to their ſeveral homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could, with which, at a day prefixed, he was to come to the great wood, now called Selwood, in Wiltſhire (*x*). This they punctually performed, and the Danes, with no ſmall ſurprize, heard that King Ælfred, whom they looked upon as a fugitive, was about to attack them with a royal army. The King, taking advantage of the terror they were in, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthendune, now Eddington (*y*). Thoſe who eſcaped from this battle, poſſeſſed themſelves of a neighbouring caſtle or fort, almoſt ruined, which they fortified immediately, and wherein they were quickly beſieged by the victorious Saxons. After a long and cloſe ſiege, the Danes were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. But Ælfred dealt by them like a merciful Prince, giving up to ſuch of them as ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion the whole kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, on condition that they ſhould oblige the reſt of their countrymen to quit the iſland, and prevent, as far as in them lay, the landing of any more foreigners therein (*z*). For the performance of theſe articles he took hoſtages, and when, in purſuance of the treaty, Guthrum, the Daniſh Captain, or as ſome called him King, came with thirty of his chief officers to Ælfred, who lay then encamped at Aalre, now Auler, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, to be baptized, the King anſwered for him at the font, gave him the name of Æthelſtan, and adopted him for his ſon. He then entertained him and his friends twelve days, or, to ſpeak in the ſtile of our Saxon anceſtors, twelve nights, at his houſe at Wedmore or Wetmore, after which he diſmiſſed them with royal preſents (*a*). This certain advantage the Saxons got by the Danes turning Chriſtians, that now they kept their oaths, and removing the next year from Chippenham to Cirenceſter, and about a twelvemonth after into the country aſſigned them, where for the preſent they ſat down, and ſettled themſelves very quietly (*b*). The ſame year a new ſwarm of Danes came up the river Thames, and wintered at Fullouham, now Fulham, but Ælfred was ſo well provided, that they thought proper to go off again, and try their fortunes in France (*c*). The Saxon fleet alſo performed great things at ſea, and the King depending much thereon, ſpared neither pains nor coſt to keep it conſtantly in good order (*d*). In 884, the Danes landed in Kent in great numbers, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter, but the inhabitants made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the King came time enough to their relief, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and return once more to France (*e*). A little after, his fleet had the good luck to beat a very conſiderable one of the Danes, deſtroyed thirteen ſhips, and, according to the King's orders, gave no quarter to any of the men on board (*f*). Yet within a ſhort ſpace after this, they themſelves were defeated, but that defeat turned to their advantage, ſince it made them extreamly vigilant for the future (*g*) [*F*]. Ælfred having now ſome leiſure, reſolved to repair, re-fortify, and re-people the antient city of London, which he had lately recovered from the Danes, and meant to keep as a frontier. Accordingly he re-edified it, placed a garriſon therein, and eſtabliſhed as the Governor thereof, Æthered, whom he had created Earl of Mercia, and to whom he gave his daughter Æthelfleda in marriage (*h*). This Earl was not only an excellent officer, but alſo a great ſtateſman, and a very worthy man, for which reaſon, not only all the Saxons who had ſubmitted to the Danes, but ſuch alſo of the Danes themſelves as began to learn the Saxon manners, ſubmitted to him and ſettled in London, and the other places under his obedience (*i*) [*G*]. After ſome years of reſt, Ælfred was called again into the field; for

(*x*) Ingulph. ap. Rer. Ang. Scrip. Veter. Oxon. 1684, p. 26. W. Malmſb. p. 43.

(*y*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 878. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811. Chron. Petriburg. p. 22. Ingulph. p. 26. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Roger. de Hoved. p. 417, 418. Camd. Brit. p. 179. Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. vii. p. 52.

(*z*) Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Saxon. Ingulph. ubi ſupra. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 72.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(*c*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 86. Joan. Bromt. p. 813.

(*d*) Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Roger. Hoved. p. 418.

(*e*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 36. Chron. Saxon. p. 87.

(*f*) Aſſer. Men. p. 37. Chron. Saxon. p. 87. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Joan. Bromt. p. 812. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350.

(*g*) Chron. Sax. p. 87.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 51. Chron. Saxon. p. 89. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(*i*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150.

[*F*] *Extreamly vigilant for the future.*] It may ſeem ſtrange, that the King having ſo lately made peace with the Danes, and received them for his ſubjects, ſhould be obliged to take ſo much pains to defend his country againſt them; for there is no doubt at all, that theſe very Danes were part of thoſe who had ſubmitted to King Ælfred. In order to clear this difficulty, we muſt enter minutely into the ſituation of the Danes under King Guthrum. We have ſtill extant, two treaties, or articles of capitulation, between King Ælfred, and Guthrum King of the Danes (31). The firſt is very ſhort, and appears to have been the articles agreed on, at the immediate ſurrender of the Danes, when they had not time to be very explicit. The latter is larger, and takes in all that the Danes bound themſelves to, in conſideration of the lands beſtowed upon them by King Ælfred; and from thence it appears, that they had granted them the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, which, however, were ſtill dependent upon Ælfred, who concurred with King Guthrum in his charters (32). But notwithſtanding all theſe engagements, Guthrum was far from being true to the King; on the contrary, he executed what he had promiſed very ſlowly, received many new comers under his protection, and connived at their fitting out ſuch pyratical fleets, as this was, to plunder King Ælfred's dominions; pretending, however, when any complaint was made, that they were a wild lawleſs crew, who for a while indeed had remained under his juriſdiction, but were now revolted, and therefore he was not accountable for their behaviour. This action happened in the dead of the night, ſo that the King's fleet was rather ſurprized than beaten, and all the uſe the enemy made of this little advantage, was to procure a new treaty with the King, who, for his own eaſe, was once again pleaſed to grant them peace (33).

(31) Archaion. Joan. Bromt. col. 828.

(32) Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 170.

(33) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

[*G*] *Under his obedience.*] The Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of London, in the time of his father, and had held it till now as a convenient place for them to land at, and fortify themſelves in, neither was it taken from them but by a cloſe ſiege (34). However, when it came into the King's hands it was in a miſerable condition, ſcarce habitable, and all it's fortifications ruined. The King, moved by the importance of the place, and the deſire of ſtrengthening his frontier againſt the Danes, reſtored it to it's antient ſplendor. The method he took to fill it with inhabitants was altogether worthy of his conſummate prudence. For obſerving that through the confuſion of the

(34) Ibid. p. 88.

for the Danes being heartily beaten in the Weſt of France, came with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail on the Eaſt coaſt of Kent, and landing fixed themſelves at Appletree. Shortly (*l*) after came another fleet up the Thames, conſiſting of eighty veſſels, and having diſcharged the ſoldiers on board them, they built a fort at Middleton. Ælfred, in this ſituation, drew together a conſiderable army, but before he marched towards the enemy, he forced the Danes, ſettled in Northumberland and Eſſex, to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour (*m*). Then he moved towards the invaders, and very prudently choſe a camp between their armies, thereby preventing their junction. A great body, however, moved into Eſſex, and from thence, croſſing the river, came into Surrey, where at Farnham the King's forces met them, and defeated them (*n*). In the midſt of theſe confuſions, the Danes ſettled in Northumberland, in breach of their oaths, and, notwithſtanding the hoſtages they had given the King, equipped two fleets, the one of a hundred, and the other of forty veſſels, and, after plundering both the northern and ſouthern coaſts, ſailing about, came to Exeter and beſieged it (*o*). The King no ſooner received information of their perfidious behaviour, than he reſolved to march directly to Exeter, leaving behind him a great body of Welſh. Before his arrival, the Danes were poſſeſſed of the place, but he ſhut them up therein, and, notwithſtanding they made many deſperate ſallies, kept them effectually blocked up. The body of the Welſh he had left behind him, believing it neither their intereſt nor their duty to be idle, marched to London and joined the citizens, they had not been long at London, before news came that Hæſten, one of the Kings of the Danes, was marched out with the bulk of his forces to forage, and had left his family and his riches at Beamfleet, where he had built a fort, whereupon, they reſolved immediately to attack it in his abſence. In this expedition they had all the ſucceſs they could wiſh, not only taking the place, with the wife and children of the Daniſh King, but alſo all the riches they had collected by many years rapine; Hæſten, when he received the news was ſo much troubled thereat, that he ſent to Ælfred, then before Exeter, to beg a peace, which the good King granted him upon very reaſonable terms, and which he, like a true Dane, broke as ſoon as it was concluded; particularly, he plundered the diſtrict belonging to Earl Æthered, though he had been godfather to one of this Prince's ſons, and, after all, joining the other Daniſh army, he marched with them to Shobury in Eſſex, where they built another caſtle, thence paſſing the Thames with ſuch as joined them from Northumberland, and the territories of the Eaſt Angles, they marched on to Severn, waſting all in their way. On the banks of this river, *viz.* at the Buttington in Montgomeryſhire, Ælfred's generals gave them a check, and encamping on the other ſide of the river, hindered them from paſſing for many weeks (*p*). In the mean time, the King had brought thoſe he beſieged in Exeter to ſuch extremities, that, having eat their horſes, they were ready to devour each other. Deſpair therefore rendering them deſperate, they ſallied on the King's forces, but were beaten, though with great loſs on the King's ſide. The remnant of this body of the Danes fled into Eſſex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ſhips (*q*). But before the King had any leiſure to recruit himſelf, another Daniſh leader, whoſe name was Laf, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and deſtroyed all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the Weſt, which ſome take to be Cheſter; there they remained the reſt of that year, the next they invaded North Wales, which they plundered and deſtroyed, and when there was nothing more to be taken, they divided, one body returning into Northumberland, and another into the territories of the Eaſt Angles; whence proceeding into Eſſex, they ſeized upon a ſmall iſland called Mereſig (*r*). Thence, ſome time after, they parted, ſome ſailing up the river Thames, and others up the Lee Road, where drawing up their ſhips, they built a fort about twenty miles from London, which proved a great curb upon the citizens: the Londoners, unable to bear this reſtraint with any patience, went in a great body and attacked the fort, but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, which obliged the King about harveſt time, to encamp with a body of troops in the neighbourhood of that city, in order to cover the reapers from the excurſions of the Danes. While he was thus employed, Ælfred one day riding by the ſide of the river Lee, began to entertain an opinion, that by cutting certain trenches, the Daniſh ſhips might be laid quite dry; this therefore he attempted, and ſucceeded in it ſo well, that the Danes abandoned their fort, and marched away to the banks of the Severn, where having built a fortreſs, at a place called Quatbrig, they ſat down and wintered. Such of the Daniſh ſhips as could be got off, the Londoners carried in triumph into their own road, and the reſt they burnt and deſtroyed (*s*). During theſe three years, the Engliſh were not only vexed with the continual irruptions of this barbarous

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. p. 91, 92. Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 54. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(*m*) Chron. Saxon. p. 92.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 93.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93-95. Joan. Bromt. col. 812.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Ran. Higden. Polychr. p. 259.

(*r*) Chron. Saxon. col. 96. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 151. Henr. Huntingd. p. 371.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 896. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351. Ran. Higd. Polychr. p. 259.

the times, many, both Saxons and Danes, lived in a looſe diſorderly manner, without owning any government; he, commiſerating their misfortune, neceſſity having firſt driven them to this way of life, offered them now a comfortable eſtabliſhment, if they would ſubmit and become his ſubjects. This propoſition was even better received than he expected, for multitudes growing weary of a vagabond kind of life, joyfully accepted ſo unmerited an offer. Theſe advantages were greatly improved by his ſon-in-law, the new Earl of Mercia, who ſo perfectly anſwered the King's intentions, and by his wiſdom and mildneſs procured the people ſuch advantages, that numbers of the more civilized Danes, made it their choice to retire into his territories, there to live by their induſtry, and enjoy the benefit of thoſe laws, which Ælfred had made for the good of all his ſubjects (35).

(35) Roger. Hoved. p. 429.

barous people [*H*], but ſuffered likewiſe by a dreadful plague, which affected alike, both men and cattle (*t*). The Danes ever unquiet, in a ſhort ſpace, began again to invade the territories of the Weſt Saxons, both by land and ſea, but did more miſchief as pirates, than as robbers; for having learned how to build long and large ſhips, they were in a manner maſters at ſea, and of conſequence depopulated all the coaſt. Ælfred having long thought of the beſt method how to remedy theſe diſorders, contrived to build ſtill larger and better ſhips, than thoſe uſed by the Danes, which having effected, he ſent theſe gallies on the coaſts of the iſle of Wight, and of Devonſhire, which were miſerably infeſted by ſix piratical veſſels. Ælfred's ſquadron performed all that could be expected, driving two of theſe pirate ſhips on ſhore, ſinking three, and ſuffering one only to eſcape. But this was not performed without great loſs on the King's ſide, eſpecially of officers. Such of the Danes as landed when their ſhips ran on ſhore, were taken priſoners, and brought to the King at Wincheſter, where he gave judgment upon them, that they ſhould be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind (*u*). In the ſubſequent part of the King's life, *viz.* in the years 898, and 899, there happened nothing very remarkable [*I*], ſave, that the King employed that peace and leiſure which he then had, in effectually eſtabliſhing that government which with much care and pains he had framed, not more for the ſecurity of himſelf and ſucceſſors, than for the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects in general, of which conſtitutions here, as in their proper place, we think neceſſary to give a ſuccinct account. Before the reign of Ælfred, though there were many Kings who took the title, yet was there none who could with propriety be called monarch of the Engliſh nation. For notwithſtanding there was always after the time of Egbert, a Prince who held a kind of pre-eminence over the reſt, yet had he no direct dominion over their ſubjects, as in the latter part of his reign Ælfred had, for to him, all parts of England, not in the poſſeſſion of the Danes, ſubmitted, and ſo did alſo a great part of Wales; neither was this great power attained by the ſword, or through his ambition of ruling, but rather through the fame of his wiſdom and mildneſs (*w*). We have already ſpoken of the laws he made, of which, though there remain but few [*K*], we have any aſſurance are truly his, yet are we well informed, that to his

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 97.

(*u*) Chron. Saxon. p. 98, 99. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 352. Roger. de Hoved. p. 421.

(*w*) Chron. Saxon. p. 99. Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

[*H*] *Continual irruptions of this barbarous people.*] In order to have a clear idea of theſe diſturbances, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Guthrum, King of the Danes, dying in 890 (36); King Ælfred took all the pains imaginable, to ſecure the obedience of his ſubjects, which they promiſed, and in 894 gave hoſtages (37); but when by the coming of numbers of their countrymen into this iſland, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to eſcape puniſhment for perjury, they broke without ſcruple their agreement, and were as troubleſome and cruel as any of the new comers. The King's contrivance in draining the river Lee, is thought to have produced that noble meadow lying between Hertford and Bow, for at Hertford, was the Danes fort, and thence, we may eaſily conceive, kept the inhabitants of London in continual terror by frequent excurſions (38). Authors are by no means agreed, as to the method the King purſued in laying dry the Daniſh ſhips, one author (39) tells us, that he did it by ſtraitning the channel, which ſeems very improbable; but Henry of Huntington (40), with a greater appearance of truth, alledges, that he cut ſeveral canals, which exhauſted it's water. His indefatigable endeavours not only to defend his kingdom againſt all invaders, but alſo to puniſh thoſe perfidious Danes, who had ſubmitted to him, ſucceeded ſo well, that he appointed Guthred (41) a Saxon, though of Daniſh original, King of Northumberland, and took all Eſſex from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, which had been yielded to the Danes, appointing one Birtheolf (42) to be Earl thereof, who proved a new and great check to his reſtleſs and pilfering neighbours, ſo long as he lived; but he, together with many other of Ælfred's prime nobility, was carried off by the plague, mentioned (43) in the text, and which ſeems to have been chiefly owing to the depopulation made by the Danes.

(36) Chron. Saxon. p. 90. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 891.

(37) Ibid. p. 92. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 894.

(38) Dugdale's Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining, p. 74.

(39) Flor. Wigorn.

(40) Hiſt. lib. v. p. 351.

(41) Ingulph. p. 27.

(42) Chron. Sax. p. 97.

(43) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 897.

[*I*] *There happened nothing remarkable.*] It would be both tedious and troubleſome, to ſet down all that we find in modern writers, concerning Ælfred, and therefore we chuſe to confine ourſelves in this latter part of his life, where we have not the aſſiſtance of Aſſerius, to the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient authors. The ſtories which we have relating to miracles and apparitions, ſeem to be the fabrick of later times, though ſome of them are diſguiſed under the name of antient authors. It looks like debaſing the great actions of this excellent Prince, to intermix with them the dreams of monkiſh writers, who, taking occaſion from lands granted to a monaſtery, or ſome ſuch circumſtance, frame ſuch ſtrange tales, as nothing but the exceſſive blindneſs of ſucceeding ages could render credible. What leſſer exploits were performed in his time againſt the Danes, as they belong rather to the particular articles of thoſe who performed them, or to the general hiſtory of thoſe times, ſo we pretend not to inſert them here, where the perſonal hiſtory of Ælfred is properly concerned; but whoever would ſee things of this nature in the fulleſt light, may conſult Dr Walker's verſion of Sir John Spelman's life of Ælfred, where, in the notes and appendix, he will find matter ſufficient to exerciſe his curioſity.

[*K*] *There are but few.*] There ſeems to be good reaſon to believe, that the compleat body of laws formed by King Ælfred, is either loſt, or elſe not diſtinguiſhable at this day, to which opinion we are led by many reaſons. Several laws are mentioned as made by Ælfred, which are not extant among thoſe laws that we have. In the Mirror of Juſtices, a book written in the reign of Edward I, or rather revived then by Andrew Horne; there is mention made of a body of his laws, and even of a collection of his judgments then in publick uſe, of which we know nothing at this day; though it appears by Harding's chronicle (44), that they were uſed in Weſtminſter-Hall, in the reign of Edward IV. Mr Lambard, who publiſhed the laws we now have, takes notice in his epiſtle to the reader, that other laws of King Ælfred there were, which he was not without hopes of recovering. That all are not loſt is owing in ſome meaſure to the induſtry of John Bromton (45), or whoever penned the chronicle which goes under his name, where we find them with thoſe of other Saxon Kings. They conſiſt of three diſtinct chapters, the firſt of which is entitled, the Laws of King Ælfred, the ſecond is the ſhorter, and the third the longer treaty between him and the Daniſh King of the Eaſt Angles, who is therein called Godrinus. Before thoſe which are ſtiled the laws of Ælfred, and which are in number fifty-one, there is a preface (46), wherein the King recites many things concerning the excellency and uſe of laws, the apoſtolick canons, and the decalogue; in the cloſe the King tells us, that he had collected out of the laws of his anceſtor King Ina, out of thoſe of Offa, King of Mercia, and of Æthelbert, the firſt Chriſtian Saxon King, ſuch as appeared to him moſt juſt and reaſonable, and having communicated them to the learned men of his kingdom, he, with their aſſent, publiſhed them to be the rule of his people's actions. Some think that this is

(44) Fol. 111, b. Dugdal. Mon. Tom. I. p. 32. ſub An. 872. vid. etiam p. 40.

(45) Joan. Bromt. Chron. col. 819.

(46) This preface differs from that publiſhed by Lambard.

his conſtitution we owe many of thoſe advantages, which render our conſtitution dear to us; for inſtance, trials by juries (x) [L]. If we rely on Sir John Spelman's conjecture, his inſtitutions were the foundation of what is called the Common Law, ſo ſtiled, either on account of it's being the common law of all the Saxons, without reſpect to the different kingdoms in which they lived, or becauſe it was common both to the Saxons and the Danes (y). It is indeed a diſputed point, whether he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into ſhires; but it ſeems to admit of no diſpute, that he ſettled thoſe boundaries and leſſer diſtinctions which remain at this day (z) [M]. In conſequence of which he framed

(x) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 57.

(y) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 107.

(z) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. Joan. Bromt. col. 818. Chron. W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1777. W. Malmſb. p. 44.

is a direct confutation of what Harding and others have written concerning King Ælfred's laws, *viz.* that they were collected from thoſe of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Danes, &c. But to this two anſwers may be given, firſt, that theſe are not perhaps the laws to which thoſe writers refer, but rather the compleater code, which, as we have remarked, is not extant that we know of. Secondly, it may be inſiſted on, that theſe very laws were ſo collected, becauſe for this there is direct proof. King Ælfred aſſerts, that he collected from the laws of King Ina, and if we will believe King Ina (47) himſelf, his laws were many of them taken from the Britiſh conſtitutions, and thoſe, if we will believe their authors, were excerpts from the Greek and Trojan laws. Without all queſtion, theſe inſtitutions are very wiſe, and well ſuited to the times and purpoſes they were given for. But Sir John Spelman (48) ſeems to be miſtaken, when he aſſerts, that they were milder than the antient Saxon laws, to which this nation were obedient when in Germany, becauſe the contrary appears by comparing them. What led Sir John into this opinion, was the commutations ſettled by theſe laws for capital offences. For though death was the puniſhment of many crimes, yet in moſt caſes the offender might be redeemed for a certain ſum of money. For the life and limb of every man, from the peaſant to the prince, was valued at a certain rate; ſo that if any killed or maimed him, he was to make recompence according to that valuation. In caſe of ſlaughter, this fine was called wircgild; and, when paid, the King had one part, which was called frithbote, for the breach of his peace and the loſs of his ſubject. The Lord had another ſtiled manbote, for the loſs of his man; and the relations of the party ſlain had the other third, called magbote or cengild, for the injury they had ſuſtained. If this fine was not paid, the kindred of the perſon ſlain, might puniſh him who flew him with death. If the offender fled, then his relations or townſmen paid the wircgild. In caſes of maim, the puniſhment was according to *Lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, unleſs the offender was in a capacity of commuting with money at the ſettled price (49). Amongſt theſe laws there is one only relating to inheritance, and that provides, that if a man left his land to his next relation, under a condition that he ſhould not diſpoſe of it, then he ſhould be incapable of ſelling of it, except to his next relation, even though the limitation was not expreſſed in writing, if proof could be made thereof by a lawful witneſs (50). It is very clear from this ſyſtem of laws, that things were not yet in a very ſettled condition, ſince there are grievous penalties inflicted on ſuch as fought in the King's houſe, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, in the Alderman's court, or in leſſer judicatures (51). We may alſo diſcern that the manners of the people were very corrupt, from all which, as well as from the ſilence of theſe laws with reſpect to hundreds and tythings, we may well enough conclude, that this collection of ordinances was made pretty early in the King's reign, and before he had brought things to that regularity, which he afterwards did (52). The firſt treaty between King Ælfred and Guthrum, or Godrinus, King of the Eaſt Angles, conſiſts of ſeven articles, all which relate to the peace of both their dominions, and conſiſts of articles, for preventing the ſubjects of either Prince, from injuring the ſubjects of the other (53). The ſecond treaty or capitulation, which in Mr Lambard's edition bears the title of *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrum*, is however Ælfred's without all doubt, for Guthrum, or Godrinus, died ten years before Edward came to the crown. In the Saxon edition it conſiſts but of twelve articles, but Bromton in his Latin tranſlation makes them ſeventeen (54). They relate moſt of them to religious matters, and the whole drift of them ſeems to be, the reducing all the Danes ſettled in England, to the belief and practice of the Chriſtian religion. Conſidered in this light they are certainly an excellent ſyſtem, and one thing is very remarkable, that the prieſts were puniſhed by theſe laws in the King's courts, beſides ſuffering ſpiritual penance, according to the canon law (55), which is a plain proof, that the power to which the Pope afterwards pretended, of exempting the clergy from all ſecular juriſdiction, was not, as yet heard of, or at leaſt admitted. It alſo deſerves notice, that by the eleventh law in the Saxon edition, and the ſixteenth in the Latin, fortune-tellers, &c. are puniſhed, and all people are forbid to entertain them (56), the Danes being eſpecially addicted to ſorcery, as all the northern Pagans were, and ſtill are. Alford (57) the Jeſuit hath publiſhed moſt of Ælfred's laws in his Annals, more methodically as he would have us believe, than elſewhere they are to be met with. But this is ſo far from being true, that the manner in which he has publiſhed them is by no means ſatisfactory. For in the firſt place they are divided into laws eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſo that Ælfred's firſt collection is diſtracted, ſo that no connection appears between the laws as they follow. But beſides this, the Jeſuit interpoſes his own commentary at every turn, in order to refute Spelman; ſo that the reader muſt redreſs the inaccuracy of the author, before he can apprehend any thing of the ſenſe of Ælfred's laws. Alford takes the ſame ſtep in relation to the treaties between Ælfred and Guthrum; and it is for this reaſon, that we did not mention his edition, when we ſpoke of thoſe of Lambard and Bromton.

[L] *Trials by juries.*] This is inferred from a law of Ælfred's, which obliged one of the King's Thanes to purge himſelf by twelve of his Peers, as the purgation of another Thane, was by eleven of his Peers, and one of the King's Thanes. He alſo is ſaid to have deviſed the holding men to good behaviour, by obliging them to put in ſureties; as alſo the calling a voucher to prove a property in goods at the time of ſale, which, in the ſale of horſes, is actually revived by the ſtatute of 31 Eliz. which is ſtill in force (58). It certainly deſerves admiration, that the difficulties which Ælfred had to ſtruggle with, ſhould prove the cauſe of ſo much good to this nation. For it was the mighty diſorders occaſioned by the barbarity of the Danes, and the corruption of the Saxons, that put the King upon making theſe laws, as we ſee plainly from the laws themſelves, and yet they were ſo nicely contrived, and had ſuch a connection with each other, that they were received and admired by poſterity, and are the baſis of the beſt laws which we have even at this time. So that even war and confuſion afford good men opportunities of conferring benefits on their country, to which all the favours of providence, cannot invite men of narrow or ambitious ſpirits.

[M] *Remain to this day.*] The curious reader may meet with the principal arguments uſed on both ſides of this controverſy, in Mr Hearne's collection of diſcourſes on Britiſh antiquities (59). What is aſcribed to Ælfred, is not a bare diviſion of the country, but the ſettling a new form of judicature, which he did thus: he divided his whole dominions into ſhires, ſettling their boundaries very exactly, then he divided each ſhire into three parts, called trythings, which, though now grown out of date, yet are there ſome remains of this antient diviſion in the ridings of Yorkſhire, the laths of Kent, and the three parts of Lincolnſhire. Each trything was divided into hundreds, or wapen-takes, and theſe again into tythings, or dwellings of ten houſholders. Each of theſe houſholders ſtood engaged to the King, as pledge for the good behaviour of his family, and all the ten houſholders were mutually pledges for each other; ſo that if any one of the tything was ſuſpected of an offence, if the Head-Boroughs, or Chiefs of the tything, would not be ſecurity for him, he was impriſoned,

(47) See note [D] in the article INA.

(48) Life of Alfred, p. 101. This miſtake will be viſible to any one, who compares the laws of this King and thoſe of the antient Saxons, publiſhed at Francfort, 1613, in folio.

(49) Bromt. col. 827.

(50) L. xlvii. ap. Bromt.

(51) L. viii, xvii. xli. ap. Brompt.

(52) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(53) Bromt. col. 829.

(54) Ubi ſupra.

(55) Fœd. Ælfred. & Godr.

(56) Bromt. col. 831.

(57) Tom. III. p. 171.

(58) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 106, 107.

(59) Pag. 29, 44, 47, 48.

framed a book, called the book of Wincheſter, which contained a ſurvey of the kingdom, and of which the Doomes-day-book ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, is no more than a ſecond edition (*a*). He likewiſe made uſe of this diviſion for the proper diſtribution of juſtice ſo happily, that whereas he found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, and the people therein ſo indigent, and ſo given to rapine, that it was equally difficult to acquire wealth, or to keep it when acquired: yet before his death he brought all things into ſuch order, as that never any kingdom was better governed, and ſo effectually tamed the covetous ſpirit that induces one man to take from another, that money or jewels might be left on the publick roads, and no paſſenger attempt to touch it (*b*). In the management of affairs of ſtate, he, after the cuſtom of his anceſtors the Kings of the Weſt Saxons, made uſe of the great council of the kingdom, conſiſting of Biſhops, Earls, the King's Aldermen, and his Chief Thanes or Barons, theſe in the firſt part of his reign he convoked as occaſion ſerved, but when things were better ſettled, he made a law, that twice in the year at leaſt, an Aſſembly or Parliament, if I may be allowed ſo to call it, ſhould be held at London, there to provide for the well-governing of the commonwealth; from which ordinance his ſucceſſors varied a little, holding ſuch aſſemblies not in any place certain, but wherever they reſided, at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, or Whitſuntide (*c*). As to extraordinary affairs, and ſuch emergencies as would not admit of calling great councils, the King acted therein by the advice of ſuch Biſhops, Earls, and officers in the army, as happened to be about his perſon (*d*). In reſpect to military concerns, there hath been already ſo much ſaid, as makes it unneceſſary to add much here. Let it however be obſerved, that though this nation could never boaſt of a greater ſoldier than he, ſince he fought fifty-ſix ſet battles by ſea and land, and of theſe eight in one year (*e*): Yet was he ſo far from being of a cruel, blood-thirſty, or ambitious temper, that he never willingly made war on any, or refuſed to grant peace whenever it was deſired (*f*). His troops he rendered by degrees invincible, through juſt and regular diſcipline, and appointed ſuch methods of raiſing, recruiting, and diſtributing them in winter quarters, that his ſubjects and his militia were ſynonymous terms, every man who could bear arms being a ſoldier, and no man ſerving but in his turn, and according to law (*g*). His coaſts he ſecured by guard-ſhips, making his navy his peculiar care (*h*) His frontiers were covered by caſtles well fortified, which, before his time, the Saxons had never raiſed. Add to all this, that his inſtructions and example raiſed numbers of able officers, whoſe abilities the King conſtantly cheriſhed by proportionable rewards (*i*). In reſpect to other affairs, Ælfred was no leſs knowing and induſtrious, as appears by his repairing the cities throughout his dominions demoliſhed by the Danes, erecting new ones, and adorning and embelliſhing ſuch as were in a mean and low condition (*k*). One would think that a more diſtinct account might eaſily be given of this matter; but the truth is, that the writers who lived in and near his time, found it ſo difficult to mention them all, that they contented themſelves with general expreſſions, excepting what they ſay of London and Wincheſter, the latter of which was the royal ſeat of the Weſt Saxon Kings. However there is a certain circumſtance preſerved, whereby we may gueſs at the great things he performed in this way; ſince it is affirmed, that one ſixth part of his clear revenues was applied to the payment of his workmens wages, who had beſides meat and drink at the King's coſt (*l*). Lucky accidents, and the painful reſearches of antiquaries, have juſtified this conjecture by various diſcoveries [*N*]. In reſpect to religious foundations, as this prince was exceedingly remarkable for his piety, ſo he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors in his care on this head. For beſides re-edifying and reſtoring almoſt every monaſtery in his dominions, which either

(*a*) Vid. leg. Edv. in Prefat. & cap. viii.

(*b*) W. Malmſb. p. 44.

(*c*) *Mirror aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir E. Coke, in his preface to his ninth Report.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 70.

(*e*) Hardyng's Chronicle, f. 108. b.

(*f*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 44.

(*g*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 5.

(*h*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 897.

(*i*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 69.

(*k*) Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 27.

(*l*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 66.

ſoned, and if he made his eſcape, the tything and hundred were fined to the King. Each ſhire was under the government of an Earl, under whom was the Reive, his Deputy, ſince, from his office, called Shire-reive, or Sheriff; and beſides theſe, there were Wites, or Wiſe-men, who were a kind of Juſtices, who ſat to hear cauſes in the county court, where ſuch things were determined, as came by appeal from the inferior or hundred courts (60). It would draw this note into too great a length, ſhould we inſiſt on the many advantages flowing from theſe regulations; and beſides, if we only conſider, that by this method the King had ſecurity for every one of his ſubjects, for none was accounted a liege-man, or entitled to the protection of the laws, who did not belong to ſome tything or other; we cannot but confeſs, that it is the wiſeſt plan of government, which is perhaps any where extant.

(60) Vid. leg. Edward. Reg. in Præf. Selden. Analect. lib. ii. c. 5.

[*N*] *Juſtified theſe conjectures by various diſcoveries.*] Aſſerius Menevenſis, and Florence of Worceſter (61), treating of this ſubject, break out thus: What can be ſaid of the cities he reſtored, and of thoſe built by him, where there were none before! plainly intimating, that it ſeemed to them an infinite work. Time hath diſcovered, that he was the founder of Shafteſbury, in Dorſetſhire; for as William of Malmſbury informs us, there was dug out of the ruins of old walls, a ſtone with this inſcription:

(61) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. Florent. Wigorn.

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 880,
Ælfredus Rex fecit hanc urbem, regni ſui 8° (62).

That is, *A. D.* 880. *being the eighth of his reign, King Ælfred founded this city.* The ſame author farther tells us, that it was much decayed in his time. He is alſo ſaid to have been the founder of Middleton and Balford, in Kent, as alſo of the Devizes in Wiltſhire, and of Ælfreton in Derbyſhire. Malmſbury alſo being burnt and ruined by the Danes, he reſtored and re-built it (63). There is alſo a coin of his, which ſeems to intimate, that he did as much for the city of Norwich. This coin was firſt publiſhed by Speed (64), and has been ſince inſerted in Sir Andrew Fountain's Tables. On one ſide is a head, which Mr Walker and Sir Andrew ſeem to think belongs to Ælfred, King of Northumberland, though it much reſembles thoſe of Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by Mr Walker himſelf. On the reverſe is a monogram, which Mr Edward Thwaits, who wrote notes on thoſe coins, ingeniouſly gueſſed to ſignify *Civitas Northuicum* (65). Now this ſeems plainly to prove, that this cannot belong to Ælfred of Northumberland, for as Mr Camden well obſerves, Norwich was not a place of great conſideration in his time (66). It is therefore more probable, that Speed was in the right, and that this piece of money belongs to Ælfred the Great, and refers to his reſtoring that city.

(62) De Geſt. Pont. Angl. p. 251. Camd. Britan. p. 151.

(63) Hearne's Notes on Spelman, p. 164.

(64) Chronicle, p. 384.

(65) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. I. p. 368. Tab. I.

(66) Britan. p. 361.

[O] *Though*

either the prevailing poverty of the times, or the ſacrilegious fury of the Danes, had brought to ruin, he built many, and improved more, beſides other acts of munificence towards the Church, which were perhaps as uſeful and honourable to the full, though it would take up too much room to inſiſt on them here (*m*) [*O*]. As to his founding the univerſity of Oxford, it is a matter ſo warmly diſputed, and has employed ſo many learned pens, that it by no means becomes us to decide it. Thus much, however, is certainly due on that head to King Ælfred, that he reſtored and ſettled that univerſity, endowed it with revenues, and ſought out and placed there the moſt famous profeſſors in ſeveral ſciences, as will be ſhewn in a note (*n*) [*P*]. A King who was ſo careful of his people, might well allow ſomething to his royal magnificence, eſpecially ſince in all he did of this ſort, he was ever mindful of his ſubjects honour, as well as careful of their eaſe. He repaired all the royal palaces, which the confuſion of the times before his reign had brought to decay, adorned the houſes of pleaſure in the country, and built many from the ground, in ſuch places as were either tempting by ſituation, or ſtood ſo as that he thought the royal preſence might be ſometimes neceſſary thereabout (*o*). As he had always a very numerous court, and, above all things, took pleaſure in ſeeing his nobility about him, ſo he ſtruck out a method of doing all this without prejudice to the publick; which ought not to be forgotten. He framed three different houſholds, each under a ſeparate Lord-Chamberlain, theſe waited in their turns, a month every quarter, ſo that in the year, each of the King's menial ſervants was four months at court, and eight at home (*p*). In all other reſpects, he was extremely careful to keep up both the dignity

(*m*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 4.

(*n*) Aſſer. Men. p. 52. Annal. Winton. A. D. 886. Ingulph. p. 27.

(*o*) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Aſſer. Men. p. 65. Ingulph. p. 28.

[*O*] *Though it would take up too much room here.*] There never was a Prince more cautious than Ælfred, that no one part of his duty, ſhould withdraw his attention from the reſt. When his misfortunes compelled him to take ſhelter in the iſle of Athelney, he built upon the two acres of firm ground which lay in the midſt of the marſhes, a ſtrong fort, and on the other ſide of the narrow path which led to it, he built a redoubt, to prevent the enemy from making themſelves maſters of it. As ſoon as his victories had delivered him from an apprehenſion of retiring thither again, he demoliſhed the caſtle, and with the materials reſtored an antient monaſtery, which he adorned and beautified, as far as his own and the nation's circumſtances, which ſcarce afforded either materials or workmen, would permit (67). When he had finiſhed it, he was at a loſs for perſons to reſide in it; this forced him to ſend for an Abbot out of Saxony, to invite ſeveral Monks from France, and, to make up the number, he added Engliſh youths, chuſing rather to place there ſuch as might be inſtructed in learning, than old lazy drones, who neither had, nor would acquire any (68). The next religious houſe he founded, was a nunnery in his new city of Shaftſbury, at the Eaſt gate thereof; this houſe he filled with nuns, who were all of them noble by deſcent, and made his daughter Æthelgeof, their Abbeſs (69). In conjunction with his Queen Ælſwith, he founded a nunnery at Wincheſter, and a little before his death, he deſigned, and laid the foundation of a monaſtery, called the New Monaſtery there (70): this houſe was very unluckily ſituated, for abutting on the cathedral, the King was forced to pay the Biſhop a mark of gold, for every foot of land which he took in for the uſe of his monks, neither did this put an end to theſe difficulties, as will be ſeen in another place (71). He was a benefactor to the biſhoprick of Durham, by confirming the grant made by Guthrum, King of Northumberland, of all the country between the Tine and Tiſe, to that church (72). He likewiſe granted much to the abbey of Glaſtenbury (73); and ſent to the cathedral church of Sherburn, ſeveral precious ſtones, which were brought to him from the Indies (74). The abbey of Wilton, was a royal foundation before his time, for an abbeſs and twelve nuns, he increaſed their number to twenty-ſix, on account of a victory he obtained over the Danes, in the neighbourhood of that place (75). There is alſo a charter of his extant, whereby he granted the profits of a wharf in London, to the cathedral church of Worceſter (76). He took care beſides all this, to ſend his alms conſtantly to Rome, as appears from various paſſages of the Saxon chronicle, wherein we find the names of the perſons by him intruſted on ſuch occaſions (77). Yet it does not appear, that he was ſlaviſhly addicted to that court, but, on the contrary, that he ſupported the dignity of his crown and it's ſupremacy; though, according to the reigning opinion of thoſe times, he willingly paid all poſſible marks of reverence and duty to the Biſhops of that See, who, on the other hand, were never wanting in their compliments and addreſſes to him.

(67) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. Alured. Beverl. p. 52. W. Malmeſb. p. 44. M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Th. Rudb. H. W. p. 208.

(68) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. ii.

(69) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. W. Malmeſb. ubi ſupra. Thom. Rudborn. Hiſt. Winton. p. 208. R. High. Polychr. 257.

(70) W. Malm. ubi ſupra. Annal. Winton. p. 289. Thom. Rudborn. Hiſt. Wint. p. 208.

(71) See Note [*U*].

(72) Vita Ælfredi Magni, p. 30.

(73) Johan. Glaſtonien. Chron. p. 112.

(74) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pont. lib. ii.

(75) Leland. Collect. Vol. II. p. 195. Monaſt. Angl. Tom. II. p. 257.

(76) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 170.

(77) A. D. 883, 887, 889.

[*P*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] Whoever deſires to be fully acquainted with this controverſy, may meet with a very ſuccinct account thereof in Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and the very learned notes written thereupon, by the laborious Mr Hearne. There is alſo ſome curious things on this ſubject, in a diſcourſe added by Mr Wiſe, to his edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis. But the author who has inſiſted moſt fully on this, and all other controverſies relating to Oxford, is the celebrated Anthony Wood, to whoſe account of this matter, little can be added. The ſchools erected by Ælfred at Oxford, were the Great Hall, the Leſſer Hall, and the Little Hall. In the Great Hall was taught Divinity only, and on this foundation there were twenty-ſix ſcholars; in the Leſſer Hall they taught Logick, Muſick, Arithmetick, Geometry, and Aſtronomy, on this foundation there were alſo twenty-ſix ſcholars; in the Little Hall there was nothing taught but Grammar, however, there were twenty-ſix ſcholars alſo entertained here, as well as in each of the other foundations. The firſt Divinity profeſſors were St Neotus, and St Grimbald. At the requeſt of the former, it is ſaid Ælfred erected theſe ſchools, and the latter he ſent for from abroad, to preſide in them. The firſt reader in Logick, Muſick, and Arithmetick, was John, a Monk of St Davids, as the reader in Geometry, and Aſtronomy, was another Monk of the ſame name, who was companion to St Grimbald; and Aſſer, the Monk, read in Grammar, and Rhetorick (78). We have ſhewn in the text, how theſe ſchools were endowed, not by any grant of lands, but by an annual income out of the Exchequer, which, as well out of regard to the utility of theſe foundations, as from a deep reſpect for their firſt founder, was punctually paid by all the Saxon Kings, until, as ſome ſay, Harold (79), or, as others affirm, William the Conqueror, ſtopped and took them away (80). As to the time in which theſe ſchools were founded, it is not eaſily determined; very probably they were not all built at once, but rather by degrees, as the King's finances would allow, according to his eſtabliſhed rule of ſo executing his new projects as not to prejudice his former deſigns. It is not however likely, that theſe ſchools were ſettled before he repaired London, and conſtituted his ſon-in-law Æthered, Earl of Mercia, becauſe Oxford lay within his territories. There have alſo been ſome queſtions ſtirred as to theſe profeſſors, the reſolution of which cannot be expected here, but the inquiſitive reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting their ſeveral articles in this Dictionary. We ſhall cloſe this note by obſerving, that Ælfred is univerſally acknowledged the founder of Univerſity College, at Oxford, and there is ſtill a very ancient painting of this Prince in the maſter's lodgings, as there is a very old buſt of him in ſtone over the door of the refectory in Brazen Noſe College, in the ſame univerſity (81).

(78) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 27. Annal. Wint. A. D. 886.

(79) Leland. Collect. ubi ſupra.

(80) MS. in the Treaſury of Univerſity College, Oxford.

(81) There are prints of all theſe in the Reverend Mr Wiſe's edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis.

dignity and the luſtre of his court; but whether he made uſe of an imperial crown enriched with jewels, is a point which may admit of much diſpute. To conclude his character as a King, than which there is not a brighter in the Engliſh, or perhaps in any chronicles, we ſhall take notice of the manner in which he ſettled his revenue, to which he ſtrictly and conſtantly adhered throughout his life. In the firſt place, he divided it equally, aſſigning the firſt to ſacred, the ſecond to civil uſes. The former he divided into four parts, one to be beſtowed in alms upon the poor in general, another he deſtined for the ſupport of the religious houſes of his own foundation, a third was given to the publick ſchools, and the fourth employed in rebuilding or in relieving monaſteries, and other publick foundations at home and abroad. The other moiety of his revenue was divided into three parts, one for the ſupport of his houſhold, another for the payment of his workmen, and a third for the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers (*q*). In his private life he was the moſt worthy, the moſt induſtrious, and the moſt amiable man in his dominions, of ſo equal a temper, that after he had once taken the crown, he never ſuffered either ſadneſs, or unbecoming gaiety, to enter his mind; but appeared always of a calm, yet chearful diſpoſition, familiar to his friends, juſt, even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. And to this account, we ſhould add two things, *viz.* A deſcription of that care with which he watched over his time, as alſo the pains he was at in dividing it, which however, would take up too much room here (*r*) [*Q*]; and the evidences he gave of his great learning, which muſt likewiſe be referred to a note [*R*]. Taking all his qualifications together, remembering the many virtues he had,

(*q*) Aſſer. Men. p. 64.

(*r*) Aſſer. Men. 67, 68, 69. Ingulph. p. 27. Henr. Huntingd.

[*Q*] *Which however, would take up too much room here.*] We have two accounts of this matter, which at firſt ſight ſeem to differ widely, but when ſeriouſly conſidered, agree well enough. The firſt is, that of Aſſerius, who lived with the King, and wrote what he ſaw (82). He aſſerts, that the King dedicated one half of his time to the ſervice of God. Whereas, William of Malmſbury (83) aſſerts, that dividing his time into three parts, he devoted the firſt to God, the ſecond to the affairs of his kingdom, and the third to his natural reſt and refreſhment. But as Aſſerius qualifies his account, by telling us, that the King's vow was with many neceſſary reſtrictions, it brings the matter pretty near the other calculation. This diviſion of his time, was as we have noted, in conſequence of a vow, and that vow was made not in the time of his diſtreſs, but immediately after he had finiſhed his monaſtery at Athelney, when he was in full ſpirits, and in the flower of his age. Aſſerius gives us alſo a very ſingular account of the method he took for dividing his time, and keeping his account of it. He cauſed ſix wax candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight, on theſe candles he cauſed the inches to be regularly marked, and having found that one of them burnt juſt four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who, from time to time, gave him notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were waſted by the impreſſion of the air on the flame, he, to remedy this inconveniency, invented lanthorns, there being then no glaſs to be met with in his dominions (84). That part of his time which he dedicated to ſacred uſes, he ſpent in hearing the publick offices of the Church, reading the ſcriptures and books of devotion, in meditation, and in writing. As to the publick affairs of his kingdom, he aſſiſted regularly at councils, and performed every thing that was incumbent on him to do. At his leiſure hours he conferred with men of learning, and ſuch ſtrangers as reſorted to his court, of whom there were always not a few, or elſe he went to view his buildings, or, as the ſeaſon of the year directed, to partake of thoſe innocent diverſions which were fit to recreate the mind of a man, and were at the ſame time not unworthy of a Prince, ſuch as hunting, hawking, muſick, in all which he was well ſkilled, and delighted much.

(82) Aſſer. Men. p. 68.

(83) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

(84) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

[*R*] *Muſt likewiſe be referred to a note.*] In order to give a full and perfect account of what Ælfred performed as a learned man, and a lover of learning, there would be at leaſt as much room neceſſary, as we have employed in giving the memoirs of his life. If he had not been illuſtrious as a King, he would have been famous as an author; as, on the other hand, if we had no memorials of his writings, he muſt have been ſufficiently remembered to poſterity, as a protector of the Muſes. In all probability, the firſt riſe of his love for letters, was occaſioned by his journey to Rome, for at home he could ſee little that looked this way. He tells us himſelf, in an epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, that in thoſe days there were very few on this ſide Humber, even amongſt the clergy, who underſtood their own ſervice, or could tranſlate out of Latin into Engliſh, ſo much as an epiſtle (85). He was himſelf twelve years old (if there be no miſtake in the MS.) before he could read his mother-tongue, and then he was allured to it by the Queen his mother. She had a book of Saxon poems which ſhe often read to her ſons, and perceiving they were mightily pleaſed therewith, ſhe promiſed to beſtow it on him who ſhould firſt get it by heart; this taſk Ælfred undertook and performed, without inſtructor or aſſiſtant, and gave thereby an early and wonderful proof of his zeal and induſtry in acquiring knowledge (86). As his authority increaſed he made uſe of it to increaſe his ſkill in the ſciences, for he invited to his court not only all the learned men that he could hear of in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, but alſo ſent into France, and other countries, for perſons famous for their ſkill either in the arts, or in languages, with theſe he converſed, argued, heard them interpret authors, and as Aſſerius Menevenſis, who was himſelf one of them, tells us, whenever he had a vacant hour, he employed it in reading to others, or in hearing others read (87). He alſo forbad all men to execute the functions of magiſtrates, if they were not well verſed in learning, and that this might not bear hard upon poſterity, he compelled by a law ſuch as had competent fortunes, to give their children proper education (88). For the furtherance of this, he built and endowed ſchools all over the kingdom, inſpecting himſelf into the conduct as well of thoſe who taught, as of ſuch as were bred up in thoſe places; by theſe methods, before the end of his reign (as we learn from himſelf) he furniſhed every pulpit in the kingdom with a good preacher, and had as learned a ſet of Biſhops and ſuperior Clergy, as any of his predeceſſors, who yet were famous in their time for their felicity in this reſpect. We ſhall the leſs wonder at this, when we conſider the great proficiency to which the King himſelf arrived in all ſorts of learning, for he was a good Grammarian, an excellent Rhetorician, an acute Philoſopher, a judicious Hiſtorian, a ſkilful Muſician, underſtood Geometry, was an able Architect, and the Prince of the Saxon Poets (89). Of all this he left ample teſtimony to poſterity, in a multitude of admirable works, and elegant tranſlations, ſome of which, and the titles of many more, are yet remaining, of which, as it becomes us, we ſhall here give a conciſe account, leſt we ſhould be thought to have been ſparing in our pains, where the fame of ſo great a man, and ſo good a Prince, was concerned. Bale (90), and Pits (91), have each of them a catalogue of this King's works, neither of which are very exact; however, the deficiencies may be ſupplied from other writers. The firſt book mentioned by Bale, is Breviarum quoddam Collectum ex Legibus Trojanorum, &c. lib. i. that is, *A Breviary collected out of the Laws of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, in one Book.* This ſeems to be that collection of

(85) Ap. Aſſer. Men. p. 82.

(86) Aſſer. Men. p. 16.

(87) Ibid. p. 44.

(88) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

(89) M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Marianus, A. D. 884. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. W. Malmeſb. p. 45. Camden. Britan. p. 89.

(90) Edit. Weſal. 1549. 4to. fol. 66.

(91) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 170.

had, and conſidering that he had few or no vices, we need not wonder, that he died univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, as he lived admired and applauded both by them and by foreigners (*s*) [*S*]. This happened after a glorious reign of upwards of twenty-eight

(*s*) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

of laws which is now wanting, and perhaps many who know the credit of Bale and Pits, will think this but an indifferent proof, that ever there was ſuch a work, let us therefore produce a better authority, which is that of Leland (92), who actually ſaw the book now in queſtion, written in the Saxon tongue, at Chriſt's Church in Hampſhire. 2. Viſi-Saxonum Leges, lib. I. that is, *The Laws of the Weſt Saxons, in one Book:* Pits cites the firſt line of it, and tells us, that it is in Bennet College library at Cambridge; it is in truth, that little ſyſtem of laws which is now extant, and of which we have already given an account (93). 3. Inſtituta Quædam, lib. i. that is, *Certain Inſtitutes.* This is not taken notice of in the firſt edition of Bale, but it is mentioned by Pits, who cites the beginning of it, whence it ſhould ſeem to be no other, than the ſecond capitulation with Guthrum (94). 4. Contra Judices Iniquos, lib. i, that is, *An Invective againſt unjuſt Judges, in one Book.* That King Ælfred was very ſevere againſt ſuch offenders is certain, ſince Andrew Horne mentions the names of four, who with forty more were hanged by him in one year, for iniquitous practices in the execution of their office (95). 5. Acta Magiſtratuum ſuorum, lib. i. that is, *Acts of his Magiſtrates, in one Book.* This perhaps is the book of judgments mentioned by Horne, and was, in all probability, a kind of Reports intended for the uſe of ſucceeding ages. 6. Regum Fortunæ variæ, lib. i. that is, *The various Fortunes of Kings, in one Book.* 7. Dicta Sapientum, lib, i. that is, *The Sayings of wiſe Men, in one Book.* 8. Parabolæ & Sales, lib. i. that is, *Parables and pleaſant Sayings, in one Book.* There ſeems to be ſome doubt, whether this ought to be accounted a work of Ælfred's or not, There are various MSS. extant with this title, part of one is publiſhed by Spelman in the life of this King (96), another fragment is to be found in a work of Dr Hickes's (97), among Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS. there is another work of this ſort, intituled, *Ælfred's Proverbs* (98). 9. Collectiones Chronicorum, lib. i. that is, *Collections of Chronicles, in one Book.* 10. Epiſtolæ ad Wulffigium Epiſcopum, lib. i. that is, *Epiſtles to Biſhop Wulffig, in one Book.* This book is mentioned by Pits, yet, in all probability, it is no more than the epiſtle to Wulffig, Biſhop of London, prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, by this King (99). 11. Manuale Meditationum, lib. i. that is, *A Manual of Meditations.* This was no other than a book of memoranda, and we have in another place given an account, how it came into the King's head to collect them. The King called it very ſignificantly in Saxon, Hand-Book, becauſe he had it always in or at hand (110). As to his tranſlations they were theſe, 12. Dialogus D. Gregorii, that is, *A Dialogue of St Gregory's.* Pits ſays that there is ſuch a book extant in Bennet college library in Cambridge, but that it appears to have been written by Werebert, Biſhop of Cheſter, yet ſome, from a paſſage in Aſſerius Menevenſis, think it was tranſlated both by the Biſhop and by the King, for which we ſhall account hereafter. 13. Paſtorale ejuſdem Gregorii, lib. ii. that is, *The Paſtoral of Gregory*, which ſome aſcribed to the aforeſaid Biſhop. In the prefaratory epiſtle before this work, addreſſed to the Biſhop of London, the King himſelf expreſsly ſays, *That amidſt the various and arduous affairs of his kingdom, he undertook this tranſlation, which may in Engliſh be called The Herdman's Book, rendering it ſometimes word for word, at other times more freely, according as he received the ſenſe from Pledgmond his Archbiſhop, Aſſer his Biſhop, and Grimbald, and John, his maſs Prieſts* (101), for they conſtrued, and the King put their ſenſe into a florid dreſs. This explains the whole affair perfectly, and we need be in no manner of doubt, how far theſe pieces belong to this Prince or to other men. 14. Hormeſtam Pauli Oroſii, lib. i. This tranſlation of Oroſius, is alſo attributed to another perſon (102). 15. Boetius de Conſolatione, lib. v. that is, *Boetius's Conſolations of Philoſophy, in five Books.* This ſome aſcribe to the Biſhop of Worceſter, others to Aſſerius Menevenſis. It was publiſhed from Junius's tranſcript by Chriſtopher Robinſon, Eſq; at Oxford, in 1698, in 8*vo.* Dr Plot tells us, King Ælfred tranſlated it at Woodſtock, as he found in a MS. in the Cotton Library (103). 16. Aſſerii Sententiæ, lib. i. that is *The Sayings of Aſſerius, in one Book.* 17. Martianæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Queen Martia, widow of Guithelinus, in one Book.* 18. Molmutinæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Malmutius, in one Book.* Theſe laws were firſt tranſlated out of the Britiſh tongue, by Gildas, into Latin, and from this Latin tranſlation, King Ælfred made his verſion, as we are told by Ralph Higden (104), who alſo obſerves, that Ælfred wrote another piece on the Saxon laws, as alſo a third of Dane law, and out of theſe three collections of laws, Edward the Confeſſor framed his laws, and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we read in Bromton (105). 19. Geſta Anglorum Bedæ, lib. v. that is, *The Deeds of the Engliſh by Beda, in five Books,* a copy of which is in the publick library at Cambridge, with this diſtich thereupon (106).

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

Me Beda firſt in Roman language wrought;
Me to the Saxons firſt King Ælfred brought.

Mr Whelock, in 1644, publiſhed this piece in folio. Whence it appears, that it is not ſo properly a tranſlation as a paraphraſe, as all the King's verſions were. 20. Æſopi Fabulæ, that is, *Æſop's Fables*, which it is ſaid he tranſlated from the Greek, both into Latin and Saxon. 21. Pſalterium Davidicum, lib. i. that is, *David's Pſalter, in one Book.* This was the laſt work the King attempted, death ſurprizing him before he had finiſhed it. It was however compleated by another hand, and publiſhed at London, in 1640, in 4*to*, by Sir John Spelman.. Beſides all theſe, Malmſbury mentions his tranſlating many Latin authors (107), and the old hiſtory of Ely aſſerts, that he tranſlated the Old and New Teſtaments (108). Add to this, that John Fox, who had ſeen ſome memorials of Ælfred which are not now extant, ſpeaks of his Commentaries which he compiled under the title of the *Story of Ælfred* (109), and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we meet with, in the old chronicle called Brute of England.

[*S*] *Admired both by them and by foreigners.*] A bare recapitulation of what our beſt hiſtorians have ſaid, would draw this note into an extravagant length, without exhauſting the praiſes which they have beſtowed upon him. In the margin however we have cited a few authors, that our apology may not be altogether deſtitute of proof (110). To this we ſhall add, as the proper buſineſs of this work, ſome facts which prove what we have advanced in the text, that Ælfred in his life-time, was equally admired and applauded by his own ſubjects and foreigners. As to the former, we are to conſider, that at Ælfred's acceſſion to the throne, he found them ſo dejected that they had no courage to fight, and ſo exhauſted that they had ſcarce any thing to fight for. Yet in a few years he ſo revived their hopes, and ſo fixed their affections to his perſon, that they were ready to attend him in all ſervices, and to ſubmit to whatever laws he thought neceſſary for their government; from being a lazy and barbarous, they became an active and polite people, and, in conſequence of theſe improvements, grew a greater and more potent nation than they had ever been (111). We have ſeen in the text many inſtances of this ſort, and there is one which we have hitherto omitted, and which comes in very properly here. This King made a vow that he would ſend alms to the diſciples of St Thomas, in the Eaſt-Indies, and he performed it (112), to the admiration not only of thoſe who were his contemporaries, and ſaw the precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable effects, brought back by his ſhips from thoſe Eaſtern climates, but alſo ſuch as lived in ſucceeding ages, when both the courage and the conduct neceſſary to the undertaking ſuch expeditions being wanting, the remembrance of it was the more revered. So great was

(92) Comment. de Scrip. p. 150.

(93) Bromt. Chr. col. 819.

(94) Ibid. col. 829.

(95) Mirror aux Juſtices, cap. 20.

(96) Page 127.

(97) Theſaur. Ling. Septent. p. 222.

(98) At Oxford, No. 4, In his collection.

(99) Vid. Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 81.

(100) See the article of ASSERIUS.

(101) Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 87.

(102) See Somner's preface to his Gloſſary.

(103) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, ch. x. §. 118.

(104) Lib. i. c. 50.

(105) Chron. A. D. 1066.

(106) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 211.

(107) De Geſta R. A. p. 45.

(108) Hiſtor. Elienſi, lib. ii.

(109) Acts and Monuments, A. D. 872.

(110) Trithemius in Chron. Hirſaugienſi. Leſleus Hiſt. Scot. lib. c. 74. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. x.

(111) Ingulph. p. 27.

(112) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

eight years, on the twenty-eighth of October, A. D. 900, as ſome writers inform us (t), though there is a great deal of variety in that point, even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians [T]. There is likewiſe ſome diſcord about his place of interment, occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto (u) [U]. This King had to wife Ælſwith, or Æthelwith, daughter to Earl Æthelred, by whom he had two ſons and three daughters. Of theſe Edward, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him in the throne, and is by moſt of our hiſtorians called Edward the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from the Confeſſor. His ſecond ſon was Æthelward, the youngeſt of all his children, and bred a ſcholar. His eldeſt daughter Æthelfleda, as Sir John Spelman well obſerves, was a woman of more than feminine ſpirit, and poſſeſſed ſuch a meaſure of her father's virtues, as enabled her to be very uſeful by her

(t) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 216.

(u) Ingulph. p. 28. W. Malmſb. Thom. Rudborne Hiſt. Maj. Wint. p. 208.

was the fame of this monarch for his knowledge in the art of navigation, and for his generous encouragement of all ſuch as were arrived at any proficiency therein, that Ocher, a Dane or a Norman, who was excellently ſkilled both in the theory and practice of this noble art, repaired to the court of Ælfred, made him a tender of his ſervices, and was actually employed, together with Wolſtan an Engliſhman, in an attempt to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage. Of this voyage there was formerly an authentick account, in a MS. in Sir Thomas Cotton's library (113), which probably was the original of that ſtill extant in Hackluyt's collection (114): but there is ſtill a better account in being, which was given by the King's own pen, in his verſion of Oroſius into Saxon; which account has been tranſlated into Latin, and is to be ſeen in the appendix to Sir John Spelman's life, publiſhed by Mr Walker. The voyage of Abel, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, into Britain, as it was wholly owing to, ſo it is a moſt noble teſtimony of the great virtues and extenſive fame of this Engliſh monarch. Neither are we in any doubt concerning the fact, ſince it is related by Aſſerius, who ſaw and converſed with him, and read his letters credential (115). As for the European Princes, they had all correſpondence with, and ſhewed a great eſteem for Ælfred, particularly the Popes who lived in his time, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, Malmſbury's, and other authentick hiſtories.

(113) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 152.

(114) Vol. I. p. 235.

(115) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.

[T] *Even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians.*] The Saxon Chronicle (116) places his death ſix nights before the feaſt of All Saints, or on the twenty-ſixth of October, A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Peterborough (117), which ſeems remarkably exact, places the death of this King, in A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Mailroſs (118), aſſigns the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 901, for the day of the King's death. Simeon of Durham (119) tells us, he died the fifth of the Calends of November 899. Ralph de Diceto (120) ſays nothing of his death, but he places the acceſſion of his ſon Edward to the throne, in the year 900. Bromton (121) who takes the ſame method, ſays that Edward ſucceeded in 901. Ingulphus (122) fixes his death to the year 900. Ralph Higden (123) hath the ſame date. Alured of Beverly (124) ſeems to place his death in 899, or 900, for he ſays, that he aſcended the throne in 871, and that he reigned twenty-eight years and an half. According to William of Malmſbury (125) he died in 901. Roger Hoveden (126) informs us, that the King deceaſed on the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 899. Florence of Worceſter (127), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (128), agree on the twenty-eighth of October, 901. Robert of Gloceſter (129) tells us, he reigned eight and twenty years, and as he places the beginning of his reign in 872, he muſt conſequently have died in 900. Mr Walker, who is very exact, thinks the moſt certain date to be the feaſt of S. Simon and Jude, A. D. 901, in the fifty-third year of his age.

(116) Chron. Saxon. p. 91.

(117) Hiſt. Angl. var. p. 24.

(118) Chron. Mailr. p. 146.

(119) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(120) Apud X Script. p. 452.

(121) J. Bromt. col. 831.

(122) Ingulph. p. 28.

(123) Polychron. p. 259.

(124) Alured. Bever. p. 53.

(125) De Geſt. R. A. p. 46.

(126) Annal. p. 421.

(127) Florent. Wigorn. A. D. 901.

(128) Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 901.

(129) Chron. p. 267.

[U] *Occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto.*] The very hiſtory of the corps of Ælfred, is not without great ſingularities. One would have thought ſo great, ſo learned, ſo pious a Prince, might have found reſt in his firſt grave, but it happened otherwiſe. He was firſt buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter, but the Canons of that church having a ſpite to his memory, pretended that they were diſturbed by his ghoſt, whereupon his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward, cauſed his body to be removed to the new monaſtery, which was left unfiniſhed at his death. This ſtory we have both in Malmſbury's (130), and in the larger hiſtory of Wincheſter (131). Here it reſted till the diſſolution of monaſteries, when the pious Dr Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, cauſed the bones of all our Saxon King's to be collected, and put into cheſts of lead, with inſcriptions upon each of them, ſhewing whoſe bones it contained, all which cheſts he took care to have placed on the top of a wall of exquiſite workmanſhip, built by him to encloſe the preſbytery of the cathedral (132). Here one would have imagined they ſhould have remained out of the reach of danger, ſo long as the wall ſtood, but it ſeems we have ſince had greater barbarians, than either Danes or Normans, who, for ought we know, never attempted to diſturb the aſhes of the dead, eſpecially of Princes; whereas Sir William Waller, General of the parliament forces, after taking the city of Wincheſter, on the fourteenth of December, 1642, entred the cathedral, broke the glaſs windows, deſtroyed the fine monuments, threw down Biſhop Fox's leaden cheſts, ſcattering moſt of the bones all over the church, and carried ſome of them in triumph to other places. Of theſe as many as could be collected, were brought to Oxford, and lodged in the Repoſitory adjoining to the publick library (133). Henry of Huntington honoured the memory of this excellent Prince, with a copy of Latin verſes (134), that comprize a juſt and elegant character of his many virtues; which induced the famous Leland to tranſcribe them into his account of Ælfred (135), and for this reaſon, we doubt not the reader's being well pleaſed to find them here.

(130) De Geſt. ubi ſupra.

(131) Thom. Rudb. H. M. W. p. 208.

(132) Speed's Chronicle, p. 945.

(133) Hearne's note on Spelman's Life, p. 217.

(134) Hiſt. p. 352.

(135) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 152.

Nobilitas innata tibi, probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Ælfrede, dedit; probitaſque laborem;
Perpetuumque labor nomen; cui mixta dolore
Gaudia ſemper erant, ſemper ſpes mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore jugi, cui ſicca cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt:
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi
Cui tot in adverſis vel reſpirare liceret;
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finiſſe labores.
Jam poſt tranſactos vitæ, regnique dolores
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumque perenne!

Of theſe Latin lines we have a very cloſe, and, conſidering the time in which it was written, a very harmonious verſion by Sir John Spelman, which, for the ſake of the Engliſh reader, we have thought proper to annex (136).

(136) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 288.

Thy true nobility of mind and blood
(O wærlike Ælfred) gave thee to be good.
Goodneſs induſtrious made thee; induſtry
Got thee a name to all poſterity.
'Twixt mixed hopes and fears, 'twixt joy and grief,
Thou ever felt'ſt diſtreſs, and found relief.
Victor this day, next day thou doſt ne'rth'leſs
I'the field diſpute thy former day's ſucceſs.
O'ercome this day, next day for all the blow,
Thou giv'ſt or tak'ſt another overthrow.
Thy brows from ſweat, thy ſword from blood ne'er dry,
What 'twas to reign, ſo to us ſignify.
The world cannot produce ſo much as one
That through the like adverſities has gone.
Yet found'ſt thou not the reſt thou ſoughteſt here,
But with a crown Chriſt gives it thee elſewhere.

[W] *Whil*

her advice to her brother King Edward. She married Æthered, Earl of Mercia, and, together with him, had the care of Æthelſtan her nephew. Ælfred's ſecond daughter was called Æthelgeow, or Æthelgora, who was Abbeſs of her father's new foundation at Athelney. His youngeſt daughter, called by ſome Ælfreda, by others Æthelſwith, married Baldwin, Earl of Flanders (*w*). What care King Ælfred took in providing for theſe, and for all his relations, may be ſeen in an extract from his will, which we have placed in the notes (*x*) [*W*]. His fame and fortune conſidered, we need not wonder, that all our hiſtorians have been particularly careful, in tranſmitting the memory of his great atchievements to poſterity, or that many conſiderable perſons, ſhould compoſe ſpecial memoirs of his life. Amongſt theſe the firſt was Aſſerius Menevenſis, who wrote in the King's life-time, and dedicated his memoirs to Ælfred himſelf, as the reader may ſee in his article. Some would perſwade us that St Neotus wrote alſo a life of Ælfred, the ground of which miſtake we have ſhewn in the article beforementioned (*y*). In later times Sir John Spelman compoſed, in Engliſh, the life of this great Prince, which he depoſited in MS. in the Bodleian library, where it remained a long time, before it was given to the publick in any ſhape; at laſt it came abroad in a Latin tranſlation, by the ingenious Mr Chriſtopher Wiſe, accompanied with a very ample comment, by the very learned and induſtrious Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College (*z*). This ſerved only to raiſe a deſire of ſeeing Sir John Spelman's life, as he left it, which after much expectation was gratified, by the laborious Mr Thomas Hearne, who embelliſhed his edition with learned and curious notes (*a*). Beſides theſe there is a life of Ælfred, or rather a parallel between the life of Ælfred, and that of Charles I, written by one Mr Powell, with great ingenuity and learning (*b*). But after all, it would be doing this nation a very acceptable ſervice, if a perſon equal to the taſk, would, from theſe, and other vaſt helps which might eaſily be met with, compoſe a new life of Ælfred, inſerting his laws and other pieces, in their proper places, and illuſtrating them, as well as whatever paſſages might require it, with copious diſſertations. This would not only place one of the moſt glorious periods of our hiſtory in a proper light, but would alſo give us a very amiable view of our ancient conſtitution, which, the more it is conſidered, and the better it is underſtood, will appear to have been the beſt contrived, for promoting the glory of the Prince, and the good of the ſubject, that ever the world ſaw, or in all probability ever will ſee, unleſs ſome future Ælfred ſhould ariſe, and reform all the errors that time and accidents have brought into our ſyſtem.

(*w*) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 42.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 73.

(*y*) See the article of ASSERIUS (MENEVENSIS).

(*z*) In a thin folio printed at the Theatre in Oxford. A.D. 1678. See alſo WALKER (OBADIAH) in this work.

(*a*) Oxford at the Theatre, 1709, 8vo.

(*b*) London, 1634. 8vo.

[*W*] *Which we have placed in the notes.*] This teſtament was firſt publiſhed by Archbiſhop Parker, and hath been ſince very correctly printed by Mr Wiſe, at the end of *Aſſerius de Rebis Geſtis Ælfredi* (137). It begins thus: I Ælfred, by the divine favour, by the pains and care of Archbiſhop Æthelred, and by the aſſent and conſent of the nobility of Weſt Saxony, King of the Weſt Saxons, *&c.* He firſt recites the will of his father Æthelwolf, whereby the crown was entailed on his brothers Æthelbald, Æthelred, and on himſelf. He then proceeds to ſhow the treaties into which he had entered with the laſt poſſeſſor, and how the crown came to be legally his. Then he diſpoſes of his lands, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, to his eldeſt ſon Edward; afterwards he bequeaths many eſtates therein ſpecified to his younger ſon; he then gives diſtinct eſtates to each of his three daughters. To Athelm, his brother's ſon, he gives certain lands, and the like to Æthelwald, another brother's ſon, and to Offert, his kinſman, ſeveral townſhips. To Alſwith he gives three towns, he bequeaths each of his ſons five hundred pounds, and to Alſwith and his three daughters, four hundred pound, that is, a hundred pounds a piece. He gives to each of his ſquires a hundred marks. The ſame ſum to each of his three relations beforementioned. To Æthelred, General of his forces, he gives a ſword, and two thouſand marks. To the Archbiſhop he gives a hundred marks. To three Biſhops, of whom one is Aſſer, Biſhop of Shireburn, an hundred marks each, to be diſtributed for himſelf and his father. He gives alſo two hundred pounds to fifty prieſts, fifty ſhillings to every religious perſon in his kingdom, fifty ſhillings, to be diſtributed to the poor, and fifty ſhillings to the church where he ſhould be buried. Theſe legacies he ſays would exhauſt, in his opinion, all that he left behind him, but if it did not, he deſires that the remainder might be employed to like uſes. The latter part of his teſtament is ſpent in directing, that none ſhould preſume to hinder his grants from taking place; in entailing the ſeveral eſtates by him bequeathed, firſt to the heirs male of ſuch as he left them to, and in caſe of failure, to his own relations, according to the limitations of his father's will; and many other things of a like nature, with many pious exhortations which conclude it. E

(137) Page 73.

ÆLFREDUS, ALFREDUS, ELFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, ſon to King Æthelred the Unready, by Emma his Queen, daughter to Richard I, Duke of Normandy (*a*). He was half brother to King Edmund, ſirnamed Ironſide, and brother of the whole blood to King Edward the Confeſſor. He muſt have been born in A. D. 1003, and was indubitably elder brother to Edward, though Speed (*b*), and moſt our of hiſtorians, expreſsly ſtile him the younger ſon of King Æthelred, by Emma. His father's misfortunes falling heavy, it was judged proper to ſend the two young Princes, Ælfred and Edward, into Normandy, there to be bred up, in the court of their uncle Duke Richard. Accordingly, in 1013, thither they were ſent, under the care of Biſhop Ælfhun (*c*). The Norman hiſtorians take notice of this, but they tell us, that King Æthelred himſelf fled into Normandy, from the fury of King Suanus the Dane, and returning with large ſuccours, left behind him his ſons Ælfred and Edward (*d*). After the death of Æthelred, Queen Emma marrying King Canutus, her ſons remained ſtill in the Norman court, and were there carefully educated (*e*) [*A*]. Duke Robert was as kind to them, as either his father or brother had

(*a*) Ethelred Ab. Rieval. de geneal. Reg. Angl. int. X Script. p. 362----366.

(*b*) Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1623. p. 424. Stowe's Chronic. by Howe, 1631, p. 91.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1003.

(*d*) W. Gemet. de Duc. Nor. apud Camd. Edit. Fran. 1603, p. 635. Croniques de Normandie, 1435. c. lxvi, lxvii.

(*e*) Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. H. Huntingd. ap. edit. Savil. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Higden in Polychr. ap. edit. Gal. lib. vii. p. 438.

[*A*] *Were there carefully educated.*] There were many prudential reaſons for ſending theſe young Princes into Normandy. Æthelred had by his former Queen, Elgiva, ſix ſons, and four daughters, moſt

had been, and perceiving that they were now grown up and fit to govern, he made ſuch preparations for invading England, as alarmed the Daniſh monarch, and induced him to avoid the ſtorm, by giving them a part of the kingdom of England, rather than run the hazard of letting them land with a Norman army, which might have given them all. But there followed ſmall fruit of this agreement; for their generous protector, Duke Robert, going to the Holy-Land, the Dane thought no farther of his treaty *(f)* [B]. On the death of Canutus, however, Alfred a brave active Prince, reſolved to venture ſomewhat for the recovery of his right (as he apprehended it) the Engliſh crown *(g)*. Accordingly he embarked with a conſiderable body of Norman troops, and arriving in England, had bid fair for diſpoſſeſſing Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot, the ſon of Canutus, of the throne, if the baſeſt treachery had not prevented him. Godwin, Earl of Kent, undertook to King Harold, for his deſtruction, and effected it thus. He pretended to join him, and to aſſiſt him in his deſign, but perfidiouſly drew him and his Normans into an ambuſcade, where, after a ſlight reſiſtance, he and they were made priſoners. This was done in the neighbourhood of Guilford, where the poor Normans were decimated, and the remainder decimated again, exceſſive cruelties being uſed, in putting them to death. As for Alfred, he was carried priſoner to the iſle of Ely. At Gillingham *(h)*, his eyes were put out, by the direction either of Earl Godwin, or of Biſhop Livingus *(i)*, then lately promoted from the Abbey of Taviſtock, to the ſee of Kirton or Crediton, in Devonſhire. This cruelty once executed, he was committed to the monks of the monaſtery at Ely, with a ſtrict charge to be watchful over him *(k)*. He ſoon delivered himſelf and them, from all farther apprehenſions, by yielding to death, which ſome, however, ſuſpect to have been violent *(l)* [C]. Some place this event in

(f) Thom. Walſingh. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, edit. Francf. 1603. p. 432. W. Gemet. p. 647. Croniques de Norman. c. lxxx. Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1031.

(g) J. Bromt. ap. X. Script. p. 934. T. Walſing. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, p. 434. Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(h) Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 241.

(i) Godwin de Præſulib. part. i. F. 455, 505.

(k) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. viii. p. 58. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. R. de Diceto. p. 472.

(l) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne. p. 327.

moſt of them grown up and married (1). The Danes were continually harraſſing this iſland by their invaſions, and the King, though he wanted not either courage or conduct, was ſometimes driven to hard ſhifts (2). Theſe were cauſes ſufficient, to move him to ſecure his youngeſt children, as well from any unkind uſuage from his offspring by his firſt marriage, as from all hazard of their falling into the hands of the Danes. Normandy, again, was the natural retreat of theſe young men, their mother being ſtiled, by way of eulogy, *The flower of Normandy* (3). With the Princes, went Ælfhun, Biſhop of London, and their mother, Queen Emma, as alſo a choice guard of 140 men (4). Godwin in his book *de Præſulibus*, ſplits this Biſhop Ælfhun, into two. In his account of the Biſhops of London, he makes Alhunus, the twenty-ninth, and all he ſays of him, is, *He educated the children of King Ethelred, and went with them into Normandy*, A. D. 1013 (5). This is the truth, and accurate enough. But in the detail of the Biſhops of Durham, he mentions Aldwinus, and tells us of him, that he bred up the Princes Alfred and Edward, and went over with them into Normandy, in *A. D.* 1017 (6). Here therefore is an error in time, as well as in fact. As for Æthelred, he lay with a ſquadron of ſhips at the Iſle of Wight, till he heard of the kind reception Queen Emma met with from her brother, and then he ſailed alſo into Normandy, and remained ſome time there (7).

(1) Speed's Chronicle, p. 422.

(2) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1013. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. R. Higd. Polychr. lib. vi.

(3) Speed, ubi ſupra.

(4) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1013.

(5) De Præſulibus, p. i. p. 231.

(6) Ibid. p. ii. p. 92.

(7) Chron. Saxon. p. 144. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 10. M. Weſtmonaſt.

[B] *Thought no more of his treaty.*] The Norman writers aſſure us, that Duke Robert aſſembled a very great army, embarked his forces, and put to ſea with a very gallant fleet, but being toſſed by the fury of the winds and ſeas, and perceiving that it would be impoſſible to land in England, he, with great grief of mind, put into his own ports, and relanded his forces. However, Canutus, who was a wiſe Prince, ſeeing that by this attempt Duke Robert was in earneſt, that his own ſubjects retained ſtill ſuch an affection for the old line of their Kings, as that it would be unſafe for him to bring an army into the field, reſolved to have recourſe to a negotiation, which he began, by ſending two ambaſſadors into Normandy, with the propoſals mentioned in the text. This muſt have happened ſome time before 1030, becauſe then, Duke Robert went to Jeruſalem (8). It was no difficult thing for Canute, to ſet aſide the agreement made with Prince Ælfred, and to aſſign plauſible reaſons for ſo doing. All the children of Edmund Ironſide, and their deſcendants, were before Ælfred in right, and ſo were all the ſons of Æthelred, by his firſt wife, and their repreſentatives; and as to the right of conqueſt, which was the beſt title Canutus had, the ſucceſſion founded thereon, was limited by his contract with Emma, to the children of that marriage, and, conſequently, belonged to Hardiknute (9). It is not impoſſible, that Queen Emma might influence her ſons after the departure of Duke Robert, and induce them to wait ſome more favourable opportunity. This, however, is conjecture only, hiſtory, in this matter, affording no farther light.

(8) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. lib. v. cap. 12. p. 647. Croniques, &c. de Normand. cap. lxxx. edit. 1435. Hiſtoire d'Angleterre par Rapin. edit. 1733, Vol. I. p. 414, 415, 4to.

(9) Rapin, ubi ſupra.

[C] *To have been violent.*] The ſtory of Ælfred's expedition, defeat, and death, is one of the moſt perplexed points in the Engliſh hiſtory. Moſt of our hiſtorians take as many circumſtances as they have met with, digeſt them into a clear order, place two or three old chronicles in the margin, and then think they have ſaved themſelves and their readers a great deal of trouble —— only at the expence of a little truth. But as truth is all we aim at, we ſhall remark, I. the variations in point of time. 1. It is placed in 1036, by all the ancient abbey chronicles, and by the celebrated hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (10). Hence, we have ventured ſo to put it in the text. Beſides, the Norman hiſtories concur in this date, and the baniſhment of Emma the next year, in which all writers agree, ſeems a full proof that it really happened in that year, ſoon after the aſſembly at Oxford, when Harold was acknowledged King (11). 2. However, William of Malmſbury ſays, that it was immediately on the death of Harold, before Hardiknute, the ſon of Canutus and Emma, had aſſumed the government, and Bromton mentions the ſame time (12). If this date were to be taken, it would fix the fact to 1039. 3. A third date mentioned is the next year 1040, under the reign of Hardiknute, his brother-in-law (13). 4. Some again, place it after his death, in 1041, when the throne was vacant (14). And this variety, obliged honeſt Robert of Glouceſter, to fix, 5. no date at all; though he tells the ſtory at large. He begins thus,

(10) Chron. de Mailros. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. Annal. Mon. Burton. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 179. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Hoved. p. 438. R. de Diceto, inter X. Script. p. 427.

(11) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. p. 647. Croniques de Norm. cap. civ.

Vor Alured, hys eldore brother, was erſt aſlawè here
With treaſon in Engelond, ychylle tell in wuch mannere
Atyme, to ſpeak wid hys moder, to Engelonde he ecom,
An much peple of Normandye myd hym hyder he nome, &c. (15).

(12) W. Malm. lib. ii. p. 57. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(13) R. Higden in Polychr. lib. vi. p. 277.

II. There are as great, or greater, variety in the circumſtances. For inſtance, ſome ſay Edward as well as Ælfred, came to viſit their mother who was at Wincheſter; and that Earl Godwin, under pretence of carrying Ælfred to court, fell upon the Normans who accompanied him, and treated them cruelly (16). Others alledge, that Edward and Ælfred, were invited over by their brother Hardiknute, and that the murder was perpetrated by Godwin, and Biſhop Livingus, without the King's conſent (17). Others affirm, that Emma herſelf, had a hand in it, and that ſhe intended alſo to have poiſoned Edward, in order to ſecure all to her ſon Hardiknute (18). In oppoſition

(14) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(15) Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. by Hearne, p. 326.

(16) Bromt. int. X. Scrip. p. 934.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

in 1036, others 1037. His body was buried in the church of Ely, and his death, in the opinion of the people, ſeverely puniſhed by God, in the ſtrange death of Earl Godwin (*m*). As to the abilities of this young Prince, our hiſtorians agree, that they were very great. He had more fire, and much more grandeur of ſoul, than his brother Edward the Confeſſor, which was the true cauſe of his ruin. For Earl Godwin, having propoſed to him his daughter in marriage, he rejected the motion with ſcorn, (which his brother Edward, afterwards cloſed with) and ſhewed ſuch a confidence in his Normans, as gave the crafty Earl an opportunity of repreſenting to the Engliſh nobility, that if this Prince became their ſoveraign, he would be always ſurrounded by foreigners. This deſtroyed that affection which the nation bore him, and defeated the inquiries afterwards made about his death (*n*). As to which, ſome ſuſpicions fell upon his mother, Queen Emma; in all probability, they were ill-grounded, but it is certain, ſhe was deeply in the Daniſh intereſt, and her ſon, King Edward the Confeſſor, on that account, more readily believed whatever calumnies were raiſed againſt her (*o*). The reaſon why this hiſtory of Ælfred's death is ſo obſcured, and ſo diverſly related, is the partiality of contemporary writers. The Saxon chronicle, otherwiſe the moſt accurate, as well as circumſtantial hiſtory of theſe times, is altogether ſilent about the matter. The reaſon is plainly, becauſe Earl Godwin was ſo deeply concerned, there being manifeſtly a bias, in other places, where facts are not concealed (*p*). In ſome abbey chronicles, there is but one line, which juſt relates the fact (*q*). In others, tranſcribed probably after the conqueſt, it is ſaid, *That thoſe innocent ſouls*, i. e. *the Norman ſoldiers, who ſuffered in his cauſe, went to receive in heaven the juſt reward of their loyalty* (*r*). But what ſeems moſt extraordinary, is that, in the celebrated *Hiſtoria Elienſis*, or Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of Ely, where one might have expected the fulleſt account, there is not ſo much as a word, concerning the matter, doubtleſs, becauſe the facts were no way honourable to the fraternity. Rapin's detail of this affair, is pleaſant, and well contrived (*s*). ——— But the authorities are (very prudently) omitted.

(*m*) See the articles EDWARD, EMMA, and GODWIN.

(*n*) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 934.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1048.

(*q*) Annal. Mon. de Burt. *A. D.* 1036.

(*r*) Simeon. Dunelm. int. X. Script. p. 179.

(*s*) Hiſt. d'Angletterre, 4*to*, 1733, Vol. I. p. 414.

tion to this, we are told, from an ancient book called *Encomium Emmæ* (19), that the traitor Godwin, to get the young Princes into his hands, cauſed forged letters to be ſent them, as from their mother, deſiring them to haſten into England, in order to prevent the uſurper Harold, from ſeating and ſettling himſelf on the throne. Our hiſtorians tranſcribe this epiſtle without ſcruple, and Alford, or Griffith, hath tranſlated it back into Latin, and publiſhed it in his annals (20). Without queſtion, I ought to have tranſcribed it too, had it been genuine, but doubtleſs it is not, many circumſtances contained therein, prove this, but I ſhall quote only the title, *Emma, Queen only in name, to Edward and Alfred, her ſons, ſendeth motherly greetings* (21). It is apparent, that whoever forged this letter, thought Edward the eldeſt ſon, and of conſequence, this trick is of a much later date than it pretends to. All the reſt of the tale, that Edward was gone into Hungary, and ſo Ælfred only came over is of a piece; intended plainly to ſet a gloſs on the character of Queen Emma, who really deſerved it at the hand of the clergy, having been exceeding bountiful to the Church. The Norman chronicles, which could have no bias, ſtate the fact as we ſtate it in the text (22). They ſay, that Edward, with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a conſiderable body of Normans on board, ſailed from Harfleur, landed at Winchelſea, and meeting there with an unexpected reſiſtance, were compelled to reimbark, and return to Normandy. Nay, we are told particularly, that Giffard Count Longueville, and many other men of quality, attended Prince Edward in this expedition, which entirely deſtroys the ſtory in the *Encomium Emmæ*, that Edward was gone into Hungary to ſee his couſins. We have likewiſe in the ſame hiſtory, the names of the Norman chiefs, who came with Prince Ælfred, *viz.* Jean de Harcourt, Almeric de Sez, the Count de Dreux, *&c.* many of theſe made their eſcape, when the wicked Godwin ſeized the innocent Ælfred, and with him, made priſoners about 1000, or 1200, men (23). Theſe he decimated, but in a new manner, for inſtead of deſtroying one out of ten, as that term naturally implies, he ſaved but one of ten, and thinking even them too many, he decimated them again (24). Nor was his putting them to death leſs cruel, for ſome he beheaded, others he flead, and of thoſe he ſaved, he ſold ſome for ſlaves; which would ſeem acts of incredible barbarity, did not ſo many authors atteſt them (25). It is far from being clear from the accounts we have, that Ælfred was ever carried to London; and yet it is reaſonable, to believe he was there ſhipped for Ely, by the command of King Harold. The induſtrious Leland, from an ancient chronicle written by a monk of Perſhor, has preſerved an account of the place where this poor Prince had his eyes torn out, *viz.* Gillingham (26). There are in England ſeveral places of this name (27); but the Gillingham here meant, muſt be Gillingham St Mary, in Clavering Hundred in Norfolk (28). It ſeems thoſe who had Prince Ælfred in cuſtody, landed him at Yarmouth, conveyed him thence to Gillingham, which is nine miles, there put out his eyes, and then carried him to Ely, which is forty miles farther. The paſſage from the chronicle before mentioned, takes notice of the uſuage the Prince met there, which is confirmed by a proſe note on Robert of Glouceſter, and other authority, and it was this, They took part of his gut out at his navel, nailed it to a poſt, and by pricking him forced him to run round it, till his whole bowels were extracted (29). If this were ſo, we need not wonder that the *Liber Elienſis* is ſilent. Yet, as his being buried there is owned, his death ought by thoſe monks to have been better accounted for. It is very remarkable, that Queen Emma, Godwin, and Livingus, then Biſhop of Worceſter, united their intereſts to ſet up Edward the Confeſſor, brother to Ælfred, who yet never loved any of them, or forgot the barbarous uſuage of his brother, as may be ſeen in all our hiſtories. It is not perhaps ſo entertaining to the reader, to have facts laid before him in this broken and doubtful way, as when they are handſomely digeſted, and all difficulties thrown out. Yet that plainly turns true hiſtory into romance, and though it amuſes can never inſtruct us. Whereas, in this method, beſides the pleaſure of ſeeing truth, and not an author's fiction, we have an opportunity of making many juſt and uſeful reflections. As in the preſent caſe, 1. We may diſcern the impoſſibility of ſtifling ſuch facts as theſe, which appears by the accounts given by later writers of the murder of Ælfred, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Saxon chronicle. 2. We gain many lights into other parts of our hiſtory, by tracing this point home. We ſee why the Normans were ſo dear to Edward the Confeſſor, why he was ſo much afraid of Earl Godwin, why he was a little ſuſpicious of his mother, *&c.* In ſhort, this laborious method of comparing all our ancient authors, were it thoroughly purſued, would really make moſt things clear; whereas, the utmoſt the other method can do, is to make all things ſeem ſo. E

(19) Speed's Chron. p. 424.

(20) Vol. III. p. 512.

(21) Hollingſhead, p. 264. Speed, p. 424.

(22) See the authorities in the text.

(23) Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(24) R. Higd. Polychron. p. 277.

(25) Alured Beverl. Chron. Godſtov. Annal. de Burt. R. de Diceto. W. Malmſb. H. Huntingd. R. Hoved.

(26) Collectan. Vol. I. p. 241.

(27) Spelman's Villare Angl.

(28) See Speed's Maps.

(29) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 241. Robert of Glouceſter, p. 328. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 52.

ÆTHELSTAN, ATHELSTAN, or ÆTHESTAN, the ſon of Edward, ſirnamed the Elder, the twenty-fourth King of the Weſt Saxons, and of Edgina, the daughter of a ſhepherd (*a*), who, meerly on account of the lowneſs of her birth, is treated, by many ancient and by moſt modern writers, as a concubine; though the reader will ſee, that there are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary [*A*]. As to the year of his birth, it is not certain, but the circumſtances thereof are curious, and well atteſted. His mother Edgina, when a girl, dreamt, that the moon ſhone out of her belly ſo brightly, that it illuminated all England. This dream, ſhe innocently related to an old woman, who had nurſed Prince Edward, in the court of his father, Alfred the Great. The old woman, ſtruck with the thing, as well as with the extraordinary beauty of the girl, took her home, and kept her as her own daughter. Prince Edward, coming thither one day to ſee his nurſe, took notice of the beautiful Edgina, fell in love with her, and had by her this ſon, whom, on account of his mother's dream, he named Æthelſtan, *i. e. The moſt noble* (*b*). His grandfather Alfred, took extraordinary care of his education, recommending him, in his infancy, to the care of his daughter Ethelfleda; and, when he was grown a boy, to her huſband Ethered, one of the greateſt captains of the age in which he lived. When the young Æthelſtan was grown big enough to be introduced at court, he was brought thither by his tutor, and the wiſe King Alfred was ſo pleaſed with the ſpirit, countenance, and behaviour, of the lad, that to keep my author's words, *He bleſſed him for King, after his ſon Edward, by a kind of prophetic ſpirit* (*c*), and then knighted him, giving him a purple robe, a belt ſet with jewels, and a Saxon ſword, in a golden ſcabbard (*d*). After all this, who can think him a baſtard? It is true, his father married two other wives beſides Edgina, and had children by them both, as by Elfleda the daughter of Earl Ethelin, a ſon called Ethelward, a Prince of great hopes, in temper, and countenance, extremely like his grandfather Alfred, whom many think would have ſucceeded to the throne, had he ſurvived. But he dying a few days after his father, and the reſt of the ſons of this King Edward the Elder, being in their infancy, Æthelſtan, according to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded, *A. D.* 924 [*B*]. He was ſolemnly crowned by Athelum, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *apud Regiam Villam*, that is, *At Kingſton upon Thames*, which place, was before called Moreford, but by reaſon of this, and ſeveral other Princes, making it their place of reſidence, which they did, that they might be nearer at hand to reſiſt the Danes, aſſumed the name of Kingſton, or King's Town (*e*). Æthelſtan was ſcarce ſeated on his throne, before a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him, by a certain nobleman, called Alfred, whoſe intent was to ſeize the perſon of his ſoveraign at Wincheſter, and to put out his eyes: the plot diſcovered, and it's author apprehended, he ſtedfaſtly denyed it, and the King, to ſhew his ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſent him to Rome, there to purge himſelf by oath, before the altar of St Peter. When he came thither, and had by oath proteſted his innocence, he fell down in a miſerable agony, and being carried by his ſervants to the Engliſh ſchool, died there the third day in great torment. Pope John X, denied his body Chriſtian burial, until ſuch time as he had acquainted King Æthelſtan, at whoſe requeſt it was afterwards granted (*f*). To this domeſtick treaſon, ſucceeded a war with Inguald, a Daniſh King, and Sithic, who, after killing his brother Neil, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Davenport, in Cheſhire (*g*). This laſt Prince, who was King of Northumberland, being very powerful, Æthelſtan, on a negotiation, conſented to make an alliance with him, on his renouncing Paganiſm,

(*a*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. Chronicon Johannis Bromton, Abbatis Jornalenſis, apud X. Script. p. 831.

(*b*) Bromt. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſup.

(*d*) Spelman's Life of King Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by T. Hearne, p. 201.

(*e*) Howel's General Hiſtory, P. iv. Sect. 10. p. 216.

(*f*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de geſt. Regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *There are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary.*] The vindicating this lady's honour, at ſuch a diſtance of time, may ſeem a little ſtrange, but as the great deſign of this work is to correct the faults of others, and to prevent, as far as may be, the reader from being impoſed upon; it was thought proper to make this remark, and to juſtify it here in a note by authorities, as in the text we have endeavoured to do by reaſon. Bromton, who tells at large, the ſtory of Æthelſtan's birth, though he calls his mother not Edgina, but Edgiva, yet, ſpeaking of the reſt of the children of Edward the elder, he writes thus. *Et ex alia Uxore ſua genuit Edwinum*, &c. And by another wife, he had Edwin (1), which is a direct teſtimony, that the mother of Ethelſtan was his wife. It is true, that there are ſome other very ancient writers, who do not ſtile her ſo, particularly, Simeon of Durham, whoſe words are theſe, 'Ex muliere 'nobiliſſima Egcuninna, filium ſuum primogenitum 'Ethelſtanum, ex Regina autem ſua Edgiva filios 'tres, &c. i. e. *By a moſt noble lady Egcuninna, he 'had his eldeſt ſon Ethelſtan, but by his Queen Ed-'giva, he had three ſons* (2).' For this manner of writing it is eaſy to account, the mother of Æthelſtan was dead before his father became King, and therefore, though ſhe was *Uxor*, yet ſhe was not *Regina*, nor could ſhe be *mulier nobiliſſima*, any other way, than by *marriage*, ſince her father was a ſhepherd.

(1) Chronicon Johannis Bomt. Abbatis Jornalenſis. p. 831.

(2) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria de geſtis regum Anglor. ad Ann. 899.

[*B*] *According to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded.*] All the ancient writers of our hiſtory agree in fixing this date, excepting only the Saxon chronicle, which places it a year later, *viz.* in 925 (3). However, as there is an apparent confuſion in the MS. in the place where this paſſage occurs, we may well enough ſuppoſe there is a miſtake. In the ſame book, however, we are informed, that Ælfwerdus, the brother of Æthelſtan, died a little after his father, at Oxnaford. It is alſo ſaid, that Æthelſtan was elected King by the Mercians, which is a circumſtance not taken notice of elſewhere: yet it muſt have been true, ſince the ſubſequent conſpiracy was occaſioned by a diſpute at that election, grounded upon his birth, as Malmſbury obſerves (4); at which alſo Rapin hints, though without citing his author (5). However, this election was in conſequence of his father, King Edward's laſt Will and Teſtament; and this is another proof of his being his legitimate ſon, ſince it is hard otherwiſe to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould ſpecially call him to the ſucceſſion, in preference to his other children, by his Queens. This circumſtance, however, reconciles all the writers on this ſubject. For thoſe who ſay he ſucceeded his father Edward, have in view this deſignation; the Saxon annals, Malmſbury, and others, in ſpeaking of his election, have an eye to his confirmation in the regal dignity, by the choice of the nobles at the aſſembly at Kingſton, which choice plainly preceded his coronation.

(3) Chron. Saxonicum ſeu Annales Rerum in Anglia præcipue geſtarum, &c. operâ & ſtudio, E. Gibſon. Oxonii, 1692, 4to. p. iii.

(4) De Geſt. Regum Angl. lib. ii. c. 6.

(5) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, &c. A la Haye, 1733. 4to. Tom. I. p. 332.

[*C*] *The*

Paganiſm, and to give him his ſiſter Edgitha, to wife, which was performed (*b*). In a year's time however, Sithric died, and was ſucceeded by his ſons, Anlaff and Guthfert. Theſe young men, being zealots for their old religion, immediately broke with Æthelſtan, who the next year drove them out of their dominions; whereupon, Anlaff fled into Ireland, and Guthfert to Conſtantine, King of Scots (*i*). This affair created him afterwards a great deal of trouble, for though at firſt he carried it with a high hand, and prepared to invade Scotland, to revenge the protection given to the fugitive Prince, yet he ſaw reaſon to accommodate this quarrel, and to make peace with Conſtantine, though a certain author tells us, that he defeated and took priſoners both that King, and Howel, King of Wales, but out of generous compaſſion ſet them at liberty, and reſtored them to their kingdoms, ſaying, there was more honour in making a King, than in being a King (*k*). If it was ſo, he did not get much by his generoſity: for the King of Scots, burning with a deſire of revenge, or elſe dreading the power of ſo formidable a Prince, concerted a league with many of his neighbours, though hiſtorians are not agreed in what they ſay, concerning the time when, or the Kings who entered into this alliance [*C*]. One of the moſt noted, was Anlaff whom we mentioned before, who returned out of Ireland, and collected an army in order to reſtore himſelf to the kingdom of Northumland; though others alledge, that this Anlaff was not the ſon of Sithric, before mentioned, but another of the ſame name, King of Ireland, and of the Iſles. Whoever he was, his army conſiſted of Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Picts, *&c.* and he was himſelf a brave man, and a ſkilful officer. With him and Conſtantine, joined Eugenius, King of Cumberland, and ſome other petty Princes; and, after four years preparations, they drew together a great army, and marched therewith to (*) Bruneford, in Northumberland, near which place Æthelſtan had pitched his camp. While both armies lay here, Anlaff being deſirous to ſuprize his enemy in his camp, went thither in the diſguiſe of a harper, and having played from tent to tent, was at laſt, for his ſkill in muſick, brought to play before the King, which he did ſo harmoniouſly, that at his departure he had a conſiderable reward given him, which, ſcorning to take away, after he came out of the royal tent, he cut up a piece of turf with his knife, and hid the money under it, which being ſeen by a ſoldier, he obſerved him more narrowly, and diſcovered who he was; when he was gone, the ſoldier went and acquainted King Æthelſtan, who chid him for not ſpeaking ſooner. But the ſoldier excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he formerly ſerved in Anlaff's army, and had ſworn fidelity to him, wherefore had he betrayed him, it might have induced a ſuſpicion, that he would have betrayed alſo his preſent maſter. To prevent the bad effects of this, he adviſed the King to remove his tent, there being reaſon to believe that Anlaff would that night make ſome attempt to ſurprize his quarters. This advice was approved and followed, the event ſhewed with good reaſon; for in the midſt of the night, Anlaff, with a choſen body of forces, broke into the camp, and cut to pieces a Biſhop and his retinue, who had pitched their tents where the King's ſtood. But the confederates did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction reſulting from this ſucceſs. Æthelſtan came down with his forces divided into two bodies, the firſt commanded by himſelf, which charged Anlaff and his troops; the other by Turketul, the King's chancellor, and near kinſman, who fell upon Conſtantine and Eugenius. The Scotch made a gallant defence until their King was ſlain, and then they broke, which ſo intimidated Anlaff's army, that they alſo fled, and left their King to retire as well as he could (*l*). This is ſaid to have been one of the bloodieſt battles ever fought in this iſland; but the circumſtances relating to the loſs of the allies are ſo various, that to avoid

(*b*) Chronicon Saxon. p. 111. Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria ad *A. D.* 925. Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Bromton. p. 838. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Bromton, ubi ſupra. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 272.

(*) New Brumbridge.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon, p. 112. G. Malmſb. lib. xi. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495. Huntingd. lib. v. Hoved. p. i. p. 242. Bromton, p. 839. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 155.

[*C*] *The Kings who entered into this alliance.*] As to the wars of King Æthelſtan, eſpecially againſt the Scots, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of confuſion, in what the ancient writers tell us about them. Simeon of Durham places the reduction of the *Reguli*, or little Kings, in 926, or the third year of this King's reign (6); whereas, Bromton places both that and the viſion of St John of Beverly, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, a year after (7). This is the reaſon that we have expreſſed our ſelves ſo generally in the text. But there ſeems to be greater certainty, with reſpect to the invaſion of Scotland by this Prince, in 934, or the eleventh year of his reign. For with regard to this, the Saxon chronicle and the beſt hiſtorians exactly agree (8). In this expedition the King meeting on the road with many pilgrims who had been at the ſhrine of St John of Beverly, and had there, as they ſaid, been cured of lameneſs, blindneſs, and other diſeaſes, he thereupon, ordering the army to march on, went himſelf in pilgrimage to the ſame ſhrine, and having beſought the ſaint to afford him his aſſiſtance in the war which he had undertaken, he left his knife as a pawn for the due performance of the vows he there made. Some time afterwards, St John appeared to him in a viſion, promiſed his aſſiſtance, and greatly encouraged the King, who having totally defeated the Scots, and obliged Conſtantine their King, to ſubmit to him, thereupon, put up another petition to the ſaint, *viz.* That he would ſhew ſome ſign that might convince the Scots their kingdom depended, *jure divino*, on that of England. In conſequence of this prayer, he, with his ſword, cut an ell deep into a rock, near to his camp at Dunbar, and left that chaſm as an indubitable mark of his ſovereignty over the country (9). Rapin ridicules this miracle, (and to make it more ridiculous ſtill, ſays, he cut three ells inſtead of one) adding, that theſe things are unworthy of repetition (10). But, with ſubmiſſion to this critical author, this ſtory however abſurd, ought not to be forgot, ſince the ſtone at Dunbar is gravely inſiſted on by King Edward I, in his letter to Pope Boniface, wherein he ſtates his right over the King and kingdom of Scotland (11). If at this time, we ſuppoſe he reſtored, under certain conditions, the crown to Conſtantine, King of Scots, then the reſt of the hiſtory will run ſmoothly enough, ſince the great invaſion made by Conſtantine, in conjunction with Anlaff, King of Ireland, happened exactly four years after this; nor can there be a more probable cauſe aſſigned, than this attempt of Ethelſtan, to ſet up a divine right to other peoples countries, for ſo many Princes entering into a league againſt him.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Chronicon, ad ann. 927.

(8) Chron. Sax. p. 111. Florent. Wigorn. Guliel. Malmſb. Ingulph, *&c.*

(9) Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis, de Genealogia Regum Angl. p. 357. Chron. Johan. Bromt. p. 838.

(10) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 338.

(11) Henr. de Knyghton, Canonicus Leyceſtr. de Eventibus Angl. lib. iii. c. 4.

avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into a note [D]. To perfect his favourite deſign, of making himſelf Supreme Lord of the iſland, and to attain the ſole dominion over, not only the Saxon, but all the other nations alſo inhabiting therein: Æthelſtan, with his victorious army, after this glorious victory, prepared to go immediately againſt the Welſh, or rather the ancient Britons. In the mean time however, the fame of his great exploits, induced Henry ſirnamed the Fowler, then Emperor, to demand one of his ſiſters in marriage for his ſon Otho; Hugo, King of the Franks, alſo deſired another for his ſon; and Lewis, Prince of Aquitain, ſent an embaſſy to deſire a third for himſelf. On this occaſion, greater preſents were ſent into England, than had ever been ſeen before, and the glory of Æthelſtan's court, far exceeded that of any of his predeceſſors (*m*). He was no leſs ſucceſsful in his expedition againſt the Welſh; for having beaten them in the field, he cauſed Ludwal, King of Wales, with all his petty Princes, to meet him at Hereford, where they did him homage, and promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute, of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand beeves, with as many hawks and hounds as he ſhould demand. He likewiſe expelled the Britons, who had hitherto dwelt together with the Engliſh in Exceſter (Exeter), and forced them to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamara, the boundary of his dominions on this ſide, as he had fixed the Vaga on the other (*n*). He governed henceforward in peace and glory, made many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects [E], and rendered himſelf the moſt admired Prince of the age in which he lived, on account of his wiſdom, wealth, and the great extent of his dominions, which were much wider than thoſe of Ælfred his grandfather (*o*) [F]. The

(*m*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495.

(*n*) R. Hoved. Part I, p. 242. Huntingd. lib. v.

(*o*) Malmſb. Huntingd. Ingulph. Simeon Dunelm. Bromton, &c.

[D] *We have thrown them into a note*] This great battle is the moſt remarkable thing which happened in King Ethelſtan's reign, and indeed it is of the utmoſt conſequence to the clearing of our hiſtory, to ſet this whole war in a proper light. In the firſt place then, we will unravel the difficulty about Anlaff, whom ſome make King of Northumberland (12), moſt hiſtorians, King of Ireland (13), and Buchanan, without naming him, King of the Danes (14). That he was a great and powerful Prince, may be inferred, not only from the great army he led againſt the Saxons on this occaſion, but alſo from his coins which are ſtill remaining (15), and of which we had a ſight, whilſt we were writing this note. That he was not King of Denmark we are ſatisfied, by inſpecting the catalogue of their Kings, wherein we find, that Harold was at this time Monarch of that country (16). From the Iriſh hiſtorians it is clear, that he was no Prince of theirs (17), yet the authors who ſpeak of him, are not however ſo much miſtaken, as at firſt ſight they may ſeem. Sitric, his father, was not only King of Northumberland, but held alſo, by conqueſt, part of Ireland, and many of the iſlands between it and Scotland (18), which dominions came alſo to his ſon, who came now with the forces he had raiſed in Ireland, and the Iſles, to aſſert his right to Northumberland, which had been yielded by Alfred the Great, to his anceſtors (19). On the whole therefore, Anlaff was King of the Danes in Ireland, and came from thence with his fleet into the Humber, where he debarked his army, and afterwards joined Conſtantine, King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, and his other allies, with whom he offered Ethelſtan battle (20). Simeon of Durham places this battle in 937 (21), but the Saxon Chronicle (22), Bromton (23), and the beſt hiſtorians, in 938 (24). There is a long elaborate deſcription of this fight, in the Chronicle beforementioned, as well as many other ancient authors, all of whom agree, that it was fought from morning till night, and that it was one of the moſt bloody that ever happened in England. They alſo agree, that five Kings and ſeven Dukes were here ſlain; but the Saxon Annals admit, that Conſtantine eſcaped, though he loſt his eldeſt ſon (25); and Bromton ſays expreſsly, that both Anlaff and Conſtantine eſcaped (26). Buchanan's account of this battle is equally obſcure and abſurd, for he does not allow that Conſtantine was preſent, and yet admits, that diſcontent for this loſs, induced him to reſign the crown (27). If we may credit the Monks, another miracle was wrought in this battle in favour of Æthelſtan, who dropping his ſword in the field of battle, another fell from Heaven into his ſcabbard, at the prayer of Otho, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which drawing from thence, he fought with the reſt of the day (28).

(12) Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6.

(13) Simeon. Dunelm. p 155. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Bromton, p. 839.

(14) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(15) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 397.

(16) Petav. Ration. Temp. T. III. p. 201.

(17) O Fleharty Ogyg. p. 434, 435.

(18) Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 466.

(19) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 66.

(20) Ingulph. Malmſb. &c.

(21) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 155.

(22) Page 112.

(23) Chronicon, p. 839.

(24) Ingulph. Malmſb. &c.

(25) Page 113.

(26) Chronicon, p. 839.

(27) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(28) Oſbernus de vita Odonis Archiep. Cant. P. ii. p. 80.

[E] *Many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects.*] The great fame of our Æthelſtan, and indeed that which gave him principally a right in this work, aroſe from his laws, of which we have two editions; one by Lambard, amongſt the reſt of the laws made by the Saxon Kings, and the other by Abbot Bromton in Latin (29). It would take up too much room to give even the heads of theſe laws, for they are very many, and very curious. Mr Selden ſpeaks of them very reſpectfully (30), and indeed the peruſal of them, lets us into the knowledge of the Saxon antiquities, and thereby renders the hiſtory, not only of thoſe times, but alſo the grounds of our conſtitution as it ſtill ſtands, clear and eaſy. For ſuch as are not very well verſed in the matter, or who find it difficult to underſtand the Latin of Bromton, which is indeed not over claſſical, they may have recourſe to Dr Howel, who in this, as in all other things, hath treated the Engliſh hiſtory with great ſkill and impartiality (31). On account of theſe laws, this King is mentioned by all the authors who have written expreſsly of Engliſh writers; and to ſay the truth, Bale is more exact than uſual, in the account he gives us of his writings. He wrote, ſays he, one book of ancient laws corrected, another of new ones, and a third, of conſtitutions for the government of the clergy. He likewiſe mentions his cauſing the Bible to be tranſlated out of the Hebrew into the Saxon tongue, which Bale ſuppoſes to have been done by certain Jews, converted to the Chriſtian faith (62). All the writers of his life, and indeed all the Monks who have written the lives of Biſhops under his reign, commend Ethelſtan not only as a moſt religious, but as a moſt wiſe and learned Prince, favoured by, and a friend to, the Muſes. Leland particularly tells us, that he found in the library of the monaſtery at Bath, ſome books which had been given by this Prince to the Monks. One of which, a treatiſe *De ſynodis Pontificiis*, he brought from thence, and placed in the library of King Henry VIII, with this inſcription (33).

(29) Chronicon. p. 839, *& ſeq.*

(30) Analecton Anglo-Britanicon. lib. ii. c. 5.

(31) Inſtitution of General Hiſtory, P. iv. c. 2. p. 304.

(32) Centuria Secunda, fol. 66.

(33) De Scriptor. Britannicis, p. 160.

Ethelſtanus erat noſtræ pars maxima curæ,
Cujus nota mihi bibliotheca fuit.
Illo ſublato, ſexcentos amplius annos,
Pulvere delitui ſquallidus atque ſitu:
Donec me pietas magni revocavit ad auras
Henrici, digno reſtituitque loco.

On me, great Ethelſtan was wont to look,
And ſtill his mark, declares me once his book.
More than ſix hundred years in wretched ſtate,
With duſt o'erſpread, I mourn'd my change of fate.
'Till mighty Henry, urg'd his pious claim,
And I once more, a Monarch's book became.

[F] *Than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred.*] Buchanan ſpeaking of the dominions of Æthelſtan, ſays, 'Here the Engliſh writers, who are profuſe 'in their own praiſes, do affirm, that Athelſtan 'was the ſole Monarch of all Britain, and that 'the reſt who had the name of Kings in Albion, 'were

The only blemiſh on his reign, is the ſuppoſed murder, or putting wrongfully to death, of his brother Edwin, which is in itſelf ſo improbable, and all things conſidered ſo ſlenderly atteſted, that it does not, as we apprehend, deſerve a place in the text of this life, though for the thorough underſtanding it, we have placed an ample account thereof below (*p*) [G]. As to his perſon, we are told that he was of the ordinary ſize, of

(*p*) See Speed's Chronicle, p. 396.

'were but precariouſly ſo, and his feudatories only, 'as taking an oath of fidelity to him, as the ſupreme 'Lord.' A little after he ſays, 'Theſe men being 'generally unlearned, do not in ſome places ſuffi-'ciently underſtand their own writers, neither do 'they take notice that Beda, William of Malmſbury, 'and Jeffery of Monmouth, do commonly call that 'part of Albion, Britain, over which the Britons ruled, '*viz.* within the wall of Adrian, or when they ſtretch 'their dominions fartheſt, within the wall of Seve-'rus, ſo that the Scots and Picts are treated by them 'as foreigners, and people out of Britain. When 'therefore the Engliſh Hiſtorians read in their old wri-'ters, that the Engliſh reigned over all Britain, they 'underſtand theſe authors ſo as if they included Al-'bion; whereas they, as I ſaid before, circumſcribe 'Britain within narrower limits (34).' It muſt be allowed, that this author gives a very graceful colouring to his own opinion, if indeed it was his opinion, after reading what the old Engliſh Hiſtorians ſay, which, without breach of charity, we may doubt, ſince nothing is clearer, than that the old authors he mentions, eſpecially Jeffrey of Monmouth (35), expreſsly ſay, that the Scotiſh princes, whom they call Kings of Albania, were ſubject to the Britiſh monarchs. As to King Æthelſtan, all the writers of his reign ſpeak of his ſubduing Scotland as far as Dunbar; but Simeon of Durham tells us, that in the year 934, which is the ſame year wherein he made that expedition with a land army, he, with his fleet, waſted all the coaſts as far as Caithneſs (36), ſo that the Engliſh writers were not ſo wretchedly ignorant of the bounds of Albion, as Buchanan would repreſent them. With reſpect to the ſtile of Æthelſtan, it was this: King of the Engliſh, Scots, Cumberlanders, Danes, and Britons, and if we may give credit to charters (37), as well as to what our ancient hiſtorians ſay, he was not nominally only, but effectually ſo. Beſides what was it that Conſtantine ſtruggled for, ſo long and ſo obſtinately? Buchanan himſelf admits, that Æthelſtan formed no pretenſions on his dominions. He fought therefore to avoid owning him for his Sovereign, and the true reaſon for his reſigning the kingdom, and retiring amongſt the Culdees, was probably this, that his reſignation might make void his ſubmiſſion to Æthelſtan, which is the more likely, conſidering he did it with the conſent, perhaps from the direction, of the ſtates, who aſſembled for this purpoſe at Abernethy (38). The impartial reader will obſerve, that we do not pretend to determine any thing, as to the rights of the Britiſh or Saxon Kings over thoſe of Scotland, we only endeavour to ſet ſuch paſſages of hiſtory as have been wilfully obſcured, in their true and natural light, to illuſtrate what is dark in one author, by what is more plainly ſaid in another, and thereby to diſcover truth with certainty. Whereas in the accounts we have hitherto had of theſe ancient monarchs, facts have been placed in ſuch an order, as might render them moſt conſiſtent and pleaſant in reading, with little or no regard to the authenticity of thoſe authorities, whereon they were founded; which how much ſoever it may be for the reader's eaſe, contributes certainly very little to his inſtruction. We have ſaid in the text, that the dominions of Æthelſtan, were much wider than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred. It is neceſſary that according to our own rules, we ſhould eſtabliſh this fact. In the firſt place then, the Scots and Welſh who were but homagers to Ælfred, were tributaries to Æthelſtan. Secondly, he diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh, or Britons, of conſiderable tracts, which they ſtill held in the Weſt. Thirdly, he recovered Northumberland, which had been yielded to the Danes. And, fourthly, he was in full and peaceable poſſeſſion of all theſe acquired advantages, at the time of his deceaſe, and tranſmitted not the ſame only, but the poſſeſſion to his brother and ſucceſſor, Edmund.

(34) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(35) Hiſt. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 6, 9, 18.

(36) Hiſtoria de Geſtis Reg. Angl. p. 154. Chronicon, Sax. p. 111.

(37) G. Malmſb. de vita Aldhelmi Epiſcopis Scireburnenſis, P. ii. p. 32.

(38) Buchan. ubi ſupra.

[G] *We have placed an account thereof below.*] The buſineſs of Edwin's death, is a point the moſt obſcure in the ſtory of this King, and, to ſay the truth, not one even of our beſt hiſtorians, hath written clearly, or with due attention concerning it. The fact as commonly received is this. The King ſuſpecting his younger brother Edwin, of deſigning to deprive him of his crown, cauſed him, notwithſtanding his proteſtations of innocency, to be put on board a leaky ſhip, with his armour-bearer and page. The young Prince, unable to bear the ſeverity of the weather, and want of food, deſperately drowned himſelf; ſome time after, the King's cup-bearer, who had been the chief cauſer of this act of cruelty, happened, as he was ſerving the King at table, to trip with one foot, but recovering himſelf with the other, *See*, ſaid he pleaſantly, *how brothers afford each other help*; which ſtriking the King with the remembrance of what himſelf had done, in taking off Edwin, who might have helped him in his wars, he cauſed that buſineſs to be more thoroughly examined, and finding his brother had been falſly accuſed, cauſed his cup-bearer to be put to a cruel death, endured himſelf ſeven years ſharp penance, and built the two monaſteries of Middleton and Michelneſs, to atone for this baſe and bloody fact (39). Dr Howel, ſpeaking of this ſtory, treats it as if very indifferently founded, and, on that account, unworthy of credit (40). Yet it muſt be owned, that all the ancient writers almoſt ſpeak of it as a thing certain. Simeon of Durham writes, that in the year 933, King Ethelſtan commanded, that his brother Edwin ſhould be drowned in the ſea (41). Abbot Bromton tells the ſtory at large (42), and after him moſt of the later writers as uſual, that is, with an addition of various circumſtances, ſo that it cannot be ſaid, this ſtory is without foundation. Buchanan hath improved it very happily. Thus it runs in his writings. 'They, that is the 'Engliſh writers, make this Athelſtan guilty of 'parricide, in killing his father and his two brothers 'Edred and Edwin, whoſe right it was to ſucceed 'their father in his kingdom. Fame increaſes the 'ſuſpicion, that Edward was violently put to death, 'becauſe it attributes to him the title of martyr (43).' Buchanan cites no authority whatſoever for this, becauſe indeed there could be no authority cited. Whatever he did by Edwin, moſt certainly Ethelſtan did not murder Edred, ſince he not only ſurvived, but ſucceeded him in the kingdom. As for the murder of his father, that is the pure effect of Buchanan's ignorance, he miſtook Edward the Elder, who was really the father of Æthelſtan, for Edward the Martyr, who began his reign in 975, that is, five and thirty years after Æthelſtan was in his grave. Such is the accuracy, ſuch the integrity, of this writer. In like manner Rapin gives us this ſtory, without the leaſt mark of doubt or heſitation (44), and yet we preſume, there are ſome ſtrong reaſons againſt the credit of this whole ſtory, and ſtill ſtronger againſt that part of it, which alledges Edwin to have been unjuſtly put to death. Simeon of Durham, and the Saxon Chronicle, ſay no more, than that Edwin was drowned by his brother's command, in the year 933 (45). Bromton places it in the firſt, or at fartheſt in the ſecond, year of his reign; and he tells us the ſtory of the rotten ſhip, and of his puniſhing the cup-bearer (46). William of Malmſbury, who is very circumſtantial, ſays he only tells us what he has heard (47); but Matthew the Flower-gatherer (48), ſtamps the whole down as an indubitable truth. Yet theſe diſcordant dates are not to be accounted for. If he was drowned in the ſecond, he could not be alive in the tenth year of the King. The firſt is the more probable date, becauſe about that time there certainly was a conſpiracy againſt King Athelſtan, in order to dethrone him, and put out his eyes, yet he did not put the author of it to death; is it likely then that he ſhould order his brother to be thrown into the ſea upon bare ſuſpicion? But the reader muſt remember, that we cite the ſame hiſtorians, who have told us this ſtory, to prove that Æthelſtan was unanimouſly acknowledged King, his brethren being too young to govern; one would think then, they could not be old enough to conſpire. If we take the ſecond date, the whole ſtory is deſtroyed; the King could not do

(39) Speed's Chronicle, Book vii. ch. 38.

(40) General Hiſtory, P. iv. chap. 2. § 10.

(41) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 154.

(42) Chronicon. p. 838.

(43) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(44) Hiſtoire D'Angleterre, Tom. I. p. 336.

(45) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 154. Chron. Saxon. p. 111.

(46) Chronicon, p. 828.

(47) De Geſt. R. A. lib. ii.

(48) Matth. Florileg.

ſeven

of a merry countenance, his hair of a bright yellow, ſtooping a little in the ſhoulders. He was extreamly brave, conſtant in his reſolutions, ſecret in his councils, and courteous to all men, a great encourager of learning, and, if we credit Tindal (*q*), ordered the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon tongue, for the uſe of his ſubjects. It does not appear that he was ever married; and as to the years of his reign, there is ſome diſpute. For on the one hand we are told, that he reigned fifteen years and upwards, and that he died at Glouceſter, the twenty-ſeventh of October, 940 (*r*); and on the other, that he reigned ſixteen years, and deceaſed in 942 (*s*). Though it muſt be allowed, that theſe different accounts may be in ſome meaſure reconciled [*H*]. The fabulous writers of the life of Guy of Warwick, ſpeak of a natural daughter of his, Leonada, who they ſay eſpouſed Reynburne, ſon of the ſaid Guy (*t*).

(*q*) In his Preface to his Treatiſe of Obedience, &c.

(*r*) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Bromton, p. 839.

(*t*) Papulwick in the Life of Guy of Warwick.

ſeven years penance, for he did not live ſo long; and as for the tale of the cup-bearer, and his ſtumbling at the King's table, the ſame ſtory is told of Earl Godwin, who murdered the brother of Edward the Confeſſor. Laſtly, nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that Æthelſtan was remarkably kind to his brethren and ſiſters, for whoſe ſakes he lived ſingle, and therefore one would think his brother had leſs temptation to conſpire againſt him.

[*H*] *May be in ſome meaſure reconciled.*] As to the death of this King, the Saxon Chronicle tells us, that he died on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 941 (49), and that he had then reigned fourteen years and ten weeks, which reckoning muſt neceſſarily place the beginning of his reign, in the month of July, 927, which is inconſiſtent with the account given in theſe Annals themſelves, wherein it is placed in 925 (50), wherefore in this caſe, their authority is of no weight. Simeon of Durham tells us, that he *died on the twenty-ſeventh of October, anno 940, in the ſixteenth year of his reign*, at *Glouceſter*, and was buried at Malmſbury (51): with this account agrees that of Florence of Worceſter, and of the beſt hiſtorians (52), yet Abbot Bromton tells us, he reigned eighteen years (53), if there be not a miſtake either in the MS. or printed copy, which ought the rather to be ſuſpected, becauſe this is utterly inconſiſtent with his other dates. For he places the acceſſion of Æthelſtan, in 924, the acceſſion of his brother Edmund, in 947, he ſays that Edmund reigned after Æthelſtan ſeven years, which plainly ſhews, that Æthelſtan died in 940, and in the ſixteenth year of his reign, as the other hiſtorians ſay. So that theſe diſcordances, are moſt certainly owing to errors committed by tranſcribers, and not to the authors themſelves. E

(49) Chron. Sax. p. 113.

(50) Page 111.

(51) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 150.

(52) Malmſb. Ingulph. R. Hoved. &c.

(53) Chron. p. 839.

AGARD (ARTHUR) a learned and induſtrious Antiquary (*a*), was the ſon of Clement Agard, of Toſton in Derbyſhire, by Eleanor, the daughter of Thomas Middleborough, of Egbaſton in Warwickſhire (*b*). He was born A. D. 1540, and educated in ſuch a manner as to fit him for the practice of the Law, though it does not appear he was at either of our univerſities (*c*). In proceſs of time, he became a clerk in the Exchequer-Office, and in 1570, attained the office of Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer, under Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Knt. which place, under many Chamberlains, he held forty-five years (*d*) [*A*]. The great love he had for Engliſh antiquities, led him to make large and laborious collections, and his office gave him an opportunity to acquire much ſkill in thoſe branches of an Antiquary's ſtudy, which are moſt intricate, and attended with the greateſt want of materials (*e*). A conformity of ſtudies brought him to an acquaintance with the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton (*f*), with whom he held the ſtricteſt intercourſe of friendſhip as long as he lived. Anthony Wood indeed tells us, that (*g*) *while Mr Agard held his place in the Exchequer, he learned and received all his knowledge and learning in antiquities, from his faithful and dear friend Sir Robert Cotton.* Which however is not over probable, becauſe Mr Agard came into his office the ſame year, preciſely, that Sir Robert Cotton was born (*h*). Such ſometimes are the Oxford Antiquary's aſſertions! Beſides Sir Robert Cotton, we find that Mr Agard had the moſt eminent and learned men in the kingdom, for his friends and acquaintance. There was in his days, though the time when it was erected is not clearly ſtated, a moſt illuſtrious aſſembly of learned and able perſons (*i*) ſet on foot, who ſtiled themſelves a *Society of Antiquaries*, and Mr Agard was one of it's moſt conſpicuous members, as appears from diſcourſes read therein, and ſince printed. We owe the publication of theſe very valuable eſſays, to the induſtrious Mr Hearne, who yet has given a very indifferent account of them and their authors in the preface (*k*), as we ſhall ſhew in the notes [*B*]. Beſides the five

(*a*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 9. 208, 213.

(*b*) MS. notes in the hands of the author.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 519.

(*d*) Nicholſon's Library, p. 208.

(*e*) Selden's Titles of Honour. Wood, ubi ſupra. Nicholſon, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Vit. D. Robert Cotton a Thom. Smith. ſcrip. *ap.* Vit. ſelect. quorund. eruditiſ. viror. Vratſlavæ. 1711, 8*vo.* p. 450.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Smith in vit. R. Cot. p. 434.

(*i*) See a liſt of them in note [*B*].

(*k*) Hearne's Collection. Pref. p. 35, 112, 132.

[*A*] *Under many Chamberlains he held forty-five years.*] When he came into it, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton was Chamberlain, *viz.* in 1570, from whence one may conjecture, this gentleman was raiſed thereto by his favour, which is the more likely, ſince Sir Nicholas was a man of great abilities himſelf, and loved to diſtinguiſh merit. He died on the 12th of February 1571 (1), and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Randolph, another learned and worthy Knight, who deceaſed on the eighth of June, 1590 (2). After him Sir Thomas Weſt was Chamberlain. His ſucceſſor, George Young, Eſq; After him Sir Walter Cope, Knt. who had for his ſucceſſor, Sir William Killigrew, Knt, in whoſe place came Sir John Poyntz, to whom our author was Deputy, at the time of his demiſe (3). Wood obſerves, that formerly this was a place of great honour and worth. I find that the fee was fifty-two pounds, three ſhillings, and four-pence, and thirteen pounds (4) for a livery, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and there were two Chamberlains. Thoſe who bear theſe offices at preſent, are Sir William Aſhburnham, and Sir Simeon Stewart, both Baronets, ſo that it ſeems this place ſtill keeps it's credit. Indeed ſo does the Deputy's place, having the cuſtody of many valuable records at this day, thoſe particularly which Mr Agard ſpent ſo much pains about, for which his memory is ſtill had in great honour there (5).

(1) Camd. Eliz. edit. Hearne, Tom. II, p. 221.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I.

(3) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 519.

(4) Queen Elizabeth's Eſtabliſhment, Civil, Military, and Domeſtical, MS.

(5) MS. notes.

[*B*] *As we ſhall ſhew in the notes.*] Mr Hearne publiſhed this book, in 1720, under the title of, *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries, upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities.* Before it is a preface containing 134 pages, dated from Edmund-Hall, Oxon. March 26, 1720. In this preface, after a long account what ſort of an aſſembly a Society of Antiquaries ought to be, he proceeds thus (6): *In the time of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, there was ſuch a Society, made up of right learned Antiquaries, that uſed to meet together, and as they undertook great matters, ſo their performances were anſwerable to their undertakings; and had they went on, there is no doubt but by this time, we had had a compleat account publiſhed, of the moſt material things in*

(6) Page 35.

five diſcourſes in that collection, and another of a much older date (*l*); it is not known that our author Agard, hath more in print, though theſe are ſufficient to juſtify what we have ſaid of him, and to ſhew that in Engliſh antiquities, he had few equals, and perhaps no ſuperior [*C*]. In the particular buſineſs of his office, he was not only expert, but underſtood it to the bottom, as is clear from his diſcovering *Richardus filius Nigelli*, to be the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, which generally goes under the name of *Gervaſius Tilburienſis* (*m*), on which, (each ſuppoſing it his own) two modern antiquaries would have raiſed ſome reputation. But Mr Madox, who had been charged with borrowing it from Mr Anſtis, profeſſed his innocence, and owned, that the ſecret they contended about, had been long before known to our author, Agard, who communicated it to the famous Selden (*n*). The Dooms-Day Book, our author had made his chief and peculiar ſtudy, and that his labours might be uſeful to poſterity, he compoſed a large and learned work, on purpoſe to explain it (*o*), under the title of Tractatus de uſu & obſcurioribus verbis libri de Domeſday, *i. e. A Treatiſe of the uſe, and of the true meaning of the obſcure words in the Domes-Day Book.* Which was preſerved in the Cotton library, under Vitellius, No. 9. He likewiſe beſtowed three years hard labour in compiling a book for the eaſe of his ſucceſſors, and which was alſo for the conveniency of the publick. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt, *A catalogue of all ſuch records as were in the*

(*l*) Printed with Sir J. Dodderidge's Diſcourſe on Parliaments, in 1658.

(*m*) Selden's Titles of Honour, London, 1614, 4*to*. *See* Gervaſius, *in the* Index of Authors.

(*n*) Madox, Firma Burg. in the Preface.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 519. Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 213. Hearne's Collection, p. 74.

in our hiſtory and antiquities. But it being ſuggeſted that the ſaid ſociety would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies, for that reaſon, the members thought fit to break it off. Nor were there wanting very powerful men, that proved enemies to them; and, among other things, they were pleaſed to alledge, that ſome of the ſociety were not only diſaffected to, but really of a quite different perſuaſion from, the Church of England. The reader ſees, that here are facts, but no dates or authorities. The diſcourſes Mr Hearne publiſhed, were bequeathed to him by the very learned Dr Thomas Smith, who died May 11, 1710, and who himſelf intended to have publiſhed them (7). This worthy perſon, in his life of Sir Robert Cotton, had long before given the publick a clear and diſtinct account of them (8). He fixes the riſe of this ſociety of Antiquaries, about 1590, he tells us, that the main point they aimed at, was to collect and bring into one place, all the MSS. coins, ſeals, *&c.* which were ſcattered through the kingdom; that the ſtudy of antiquity might not be the work (as it is) of a man's whole life; and then to get themſelves incorporated by charter. It was propoſed that a college, or publick building, ſhould be erected at the expence of the friends to this undertaking, in which all the remains of the plundered libraries, of old monaſteries, *&c.* ſhould be depoſited. That the ſociety ſhould be honoured with the Queen's name; conſiſt of a preſident, and a certain number of fellows, who ſhould reſide in lodgings, adjoining to the intended college, and out of whom two ſhould be annually choſen curators of the library, *&c.* that they ſhould be ſubject to a quinquennial viſitation, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the High Treaſurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, the Principal Secretary of State, and Chief Juſtice of England. It was this ſcheme, largely ſet forth by Dr Smith, as having been warmly (though vainly) ſollicited by Sir R. Cotton, both in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, that alarmed, though without reaſon, the univerſities; and without knowing this, we muſt have framed a falſe notion of the thing. But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the ſociety ſtill continued: They met in term time only, ſometimes at the lodgings of Mr Dethick, in the College of Arms, and at others, in ſome of the members houſes. Their method was to ſtate the queſtion to be canvaſſed, then to ſummon the members to a place mentioned in the ſummons, and to collect from ſuch as gave their opinions, their reaſons and authorities in writing. Of ſuch diſcourſes, but whether of the reſpective authors penning, or collected by the member who officiated as ſecretary, is, I think, uncertain, Mr Hearne's collection conſiſts. Of ſuch amongſt theſe, as were compoſed by Mr Agard, we ſhall treat in the next note, at preſent, let us conclude our account of this ſociety. Under a Prince ſo fond of learning as King James, and who beſides profeſſed a perſonal reſpect for Sir Robert Cotton, one might have reaſonably ſuppoſed this learned aſſembly ſhould have met with encouragement, or at leaſt protection. Yet, ſo it was, that their canvaſſing certain queſtions relating to the ſtate, and government, gave ſuch umbrage to this monarch and his council, that upon ſignification thereof to the ſociety, they diſſolved, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, diſcontinued their aſſemblies, about 1614 (9). What induced us to treat of this matter here, was, that Mr Agard's name ſtands firſt in the liſt of members, as given us by Dr Smith, and as there is abundant matter for Sir Robert Cotton's life, without introducing therein an account of this ſociety, it could no where, in this work, come in more naturally. For though Sir R. Cotton, was the more conſiderable man, yet Mr Agard muſt have had a greater ſhare in the erection of this uſeful aſſembly, ſince, at the time fixed by Dr Smith, Sir Robert Cotton was ſcarce twenty, and was of courſe a lover of antiquities, rather than an antiquary. It remains, that we add here, a liſt of the members of this ſociety, which, from Dr Smith, Mr Hearne, and the aſſiſtance of a learned perſon, who deſires to be concealed, we are able to render more ample, and more accurate, than any hitherto publiſhed.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Smith, in vit. D. R. Cotton. p. 450.

(9) Smith in vit R. Cotton, p. 458. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 69.

A liſt of the members of the ancient ſociety of Antiquaries.

From A. D. 1590 to 1614.

Agard, Arthur	Holland, Joſeph
Andrews, Lancelot	Lake, Thomas
Bouchier, Henry	Leigh, Francis
Bowyer,	Ley, James
Camden, William	Oldſworth, Michael
Carew, Richard	Patten, William
Cliffe,	Savel,
Cope, Walter	Saint George, Richard
Cotton, Robert	Selden, John
Davies, John	Spelman, Henry
Dethick, William	Stow, John
Dodderidge, John	Strangeman,
Doyley,	Talbot, Thomas
Erdſwicke or Urdſwicke	Tate, Francis
Fleetwood, William	Thynne, Francis
Hakewill, William	Whitlock, James
Hartwell, Abraham	Wiſeman
Heneage, Michael	

Whoever conſiders this liſt attentively, will need not many words to convince him that ſcarce any other can be produced ſo honourable for this nation, or for the commonwealth of letters, Let us compare this ſociety in 1590, with the French academy, which pretends to no higher antiquity than 1629 (10). Let us examine the deſign of each, and let us compare the figure made by the reſpective members of each body, and we ſhall know what to think of the ſtate of learning in France, and in Britain, at that period. We may thence alſo borrow another piece of uſeful knowledge, how much we of this age ſtand indebted to theſe induſtrious inquirers, but for whom, our antiquities had been, by this time, rubbiſh, not worth the raking into.

(10) Memoirs concernant les vies & les ouvrages de pluſieres modernes celebres dans la Republique de Lettres, par M. Ancillon, Amſterdam, 1709, 12*mo*. p. 5.

[*C*] *He had few equals, perhaps no ſuperior.*] In order to ſupport this, we ſhall add to what is ſaid in

the four treaſuries belonging to his majeſty; and the ſecond, *An account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourſes, and marriages, with foreign nations.* Of this treatiſe he took ſuch care, as ſhewed at once his prudence, and publick ſpirit. He depoſited it with the officers of his majeſty's Receipt, and took order, that the ſame ſhould paſs by inventory, as being for the good of the ſubject; and a proper index for ſucceeding officers (*p*). He likewiſe directed by his Will, that eleven other MS. treatiſes of his relating to Exchequer matters, ſhould, for a ſmall reward paid to his executor, be delivered up to the office. All the reſt of his moſt valuable treaſure of collections, containing at leaſt twenty volumes, he bequeathed to his old friend, Sir Robert Cotton, in whoſe library, as many as remain, are yet to be found (*q*). For, notwithſtanding his great induſtry, and his making ſo much uſe of his pen, his modeſty would not allow him to publiſh any thing. After having thus ſpent his days in honour, and a learned tranquillity, he thought of death, before it came, and cauſed a monument to be erected for himſelf and his wife, near the chapter door in the cloiſter of Weſtminſter Abbey, in which, dying on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1615, he was ſome time in the ſame month interred. Mr Camden (*r*), to whom we owe this date, ſtiles him, Antiquarius inſignis, *i. e. A moſt excellent antiquary*, which is ſufficient to eſtabliſh his general character. The famous Mr Selden, in the index to his Titles of Honour, publiſhed the year before our author died, *viz.* 1614 (*s*), ſpeaking of the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, ſays, *I confeſs it was obſerved to me by Mr Agard, a man known to be moſt painful, induſtrious, and ſufficient, in things of this nature.* This is mentioned as an inſtance of his abilities in his profeſſion, and, taking theſe teſtimonies together, we can hardly conceive too highly of Mr Agard's merit.

(*p*) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 208.

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 520.

(*r*) Annal. Reg. Jac. I. MS. ſub Ann. 1615. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) To the Quarto edition before cited.

the text, the titles of Mr Agard's diſcourſes which have been printed. 1. *Opinion touching the antiquity, power, order, ſtate, manner, perſons, and proceedings of the high court of parliament in England.* Publiſhed with the like eſſays of Sir John Dodderidge, Joſeph Holland, Francis Tate, and William Camden, all members of the ſociety before mentioned (11). But, ſince Wood informs us, that Biſhop Barlow doubted whether this work was genuine, we will ſay no more of it (12). 2. On this queſtion (13), *Of what antiquity ſhires were in England?* In this diſcourſe, various ancient MSS. are cited, and Mr Agard inclines to think King Alfred was the author of this diviſion, becauſe it plainly appears the leſſer diviſions were made by that Prince. This diſcourſe was delivered in Eaſter Term 33 Eliz. 1591. 3. *On the Dimenſions of the Lands of England* (14). In which our author, with great judgment and learning, ſettles the meaning of theſe words, *Solin, Hida, Carucata, Jugum, Kirgata, Ferlingata, Ferlinges*, from ancient MSS. and the authentick records in the Exchequer. This diſcourſe was read on November 24, 1599. 4. *Of the authority, office, and privileges, of Heraults (Heralds) in England* (15). He gives it as his opinion, that this office is of the ſame antiquity with the inſtitution of the Garter. In this diſcourſe alſo he obſerves, that John, Earl of Bedford, cauſed a herald from certain rebels in Cornwall, to be hanged, becauſe rebels are not entitled to the law of arms. 5. *Of the antiquity and privileges of the houſes or inns of court, and of chancery* (16). In this very ſhort diſcourſe, our author obſerves, that in the more ancient times, *i. e.* before the making of Magna Charta; our lawyers and judges were of the clergy. That in the time of Edward I, the law came to receive it's proper form, and that in an old record, the Exchequer was ſtiled the mother court of all courts of record. At this time, he ſuppoſes, the lawyers began to have ſettled places of abode, but affirms, he knew of no privileges. The former diſcourſe has no date, and this only *Paſchæ* 33, perhaps Eaſter Term, 1591. 6. *Of the diverſity of names of this, iſland* (17). We find in this diſcourſe, that the firſt Saxons landing in this iſland, came here under the command of one Aelle, a King of theirs, and his three ſons, in *A. D.* 435, and that the reaſon why it was called England, rather than Saxon-Land, was, becauſe the Angles, after this part of the iſland was totally ſubdued, were more numerous than the Saxons. He likewiſe obſerves, that after this conqueſt, the name of Briton grew into diſtaſte, and all valued themſelves on being Engliſhmen. This was read June 29, 1604, and is the laſt diſcourſe of Mr Agard, in the collection.

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(11) Printed at London, 1658, 8*vo.* and again 1679.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 520.

(13) Hearne's Collection, p. 29.

(14) Ibid. p. 70.

(15) Ibid. p. 100.

(16) Ibid. p. 105.

(17) Ibid. p. 157.

AGELNOTH or EGELNOTH or ÆTHELNOTH, in Latin *Achelnotus*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Canute the Great, ſucceeded Livingus in that ſee in the year 1020 (*a*). This Prelate, ſirnamed the Good, was ſon of Earl Agilmer, and, at the time of his election, Dean of Canterbury. After his promotion, he went to Rome, and received his pall from Pope Benedict VIII. In his way thither, as he paſſed through Pavia, he purchaſed, for an hundred talents of ſilver, and one of gold, St Auguſtin's arm, which was kept there as a relic, and ſent it over to England, as a preſent to Leofric Earl of Coventry (*b*). Upon his return, he is ſaid to have raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to it's former luſtre. He was much in favour with King Canute, and employed his intereſt with that monarch to good purpoſes. It was by his advice, the King ſent over large ſums of money for the ſupport of the foreign churches; and Malmſbury obſerves (*c*), that this Prince was prompted to acts of piety, and reſtrained from exceſſes, by the regard he had for the Archbiſhop. King Canute being dead, Agelnoth refuſed to crown his ſon Harold [*A*], alledging that the late King had

(*a*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

(*b*) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. i. apud X Scriptor. col. 2318.

(*c*) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 75, 76.

[*A*] *Agelnoth refuſed to crown King Harold.*] After the deceaſe of Canute, who died at Shaftſbury, and was buried at Wincheſter, the kingdom was divided about the ſucceſſion. The Daniſh intereſt at London, and elſewhere, declared for Harold Harefoot, ſon of Canute and Elgiva of Northampton. The Engliſh diſapproved this choice, and were inclined to ſet up Edward ſon of King Ethelred; or, if that point could not be carried, they deſired that Hardicanute, ſon of Canute by Queen Emma, might be the perſon. Edward's party was quickly found too weak to continue the competition. At laſt the two Daniſh brothers agreed to the expedient of a compoſition. Hardicanute had all the counties which lay ſouth of the Thames, and Harold the reſt. This conteſt being finiſhed, Hardicanute ſet ſail for Denmark; where ſpending too much time, and not returning at the invitation of the Engliſh, his ſubjects thought themſelves diſengaged, and ſuffered Harold to ſeize the whole kingdom. Queen Emma, Hardicanute's mother, was baniſhed, and forced to retire into Flanders, where ſhe was honourably entertained by Earl Baldwin (1).

(1) Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 894, 895, apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam Francof. 1601,

[*B*] *The*

had enjoined him to ſet the crown upon none but the iſſue of Queen Emma (*d*); that he had given the King a promiſe upon this head, and that he was reſolved to be true to his engagement. Having declared himſelf with this freedom, he laid the crown upon the altar, with an imprecation againſt thoſe Biſhops who ſhould venture to perform the ceremony. Harold, who was greatly chagrined at this diſappointment, endeavoured, both by menaces and large offers, to prevail upon the Archbiſhop, but in vain; and whether he was afterwards crowned by any other perſon, is altogether uncertain. Agelnoth, after he had ſat ſeventeen years in the ſee of Canterbury, departed this life, the 29th of October, 1038, and was ſucceeded by Eadſius King Harold's chaplain (*e*). At this time (as an hiſtorian obſerves) the Monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries [*B*]. This Archbiſhop was an author, having written; 1. *A Panegyric on the bleſſed Virgin Mary.* 2. *A Letter to Earl Leofric concerning St Auguſtin.* 3. *Letters to ſeveral perſons* (*f*).

(*d*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. Sæc. xi. c. 10.

(*e*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1651.

(*f*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. ii. c. 46.

[*B*] *The Monks of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries.*] The Danes having beſieged Canterbury, and maſſacred all the Monks, excepting four; the clergy, who were taken in to fill up the vacancy, continued partly to live as before, refuſing to be wholly tied up to the reſtraints of a monaſtery. They wore indeed the religious habit, but with very little obſervance of the rule. They called their ſuperior a Dean; who afterwards, from Archbiſhop Lanfranc's time, had the title of Prior (*z*). T

(*z*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X Scriptor. col. 1650.

AGLIONBY (JOHN) an eminent divine, was born of a genteel family in Cumberland, and admitted a ſtudent of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1583. Being elected fellow, he thereupon went into Holy Orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a polite and learned preacher. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and was introduced to the acquaintance of the famous Cardinal Bellarmin [*A*]. After his return, he was made chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and, in 1600, took the degree of doctor of divinity. About that time he obtained the rectory of Iſlip, near Oxford, and ſoon after was elected Principal of St Edmund's Hall. He was likewiſe chaplain in ordinary to King James I; and is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament appointed by that King in 1604 [*B*]. He died at Iſlip, the 6th of February 1609-10, aged forty-three, and was buried in the chancel of the pariſh church. He was well accompliſhed in moſt kinds of learning, profoundly read in the fathers and ſchool-divinity, and a great critic in the languages (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 354, 355.

[*A*] *He was introduced to the acquaintance of Cardinal Bellarmin.*] Mr Wood tells us, that the Cardinal, one day, pointing to the picture of Dr William Whitaker, of Cambridge, which hung up in his library, ſaid to Mr Aglionby, that *he was the moſt learned Heretic that he ever read* (1). This Dr Whitaker had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his controverſial writings againſt the Papiſts.

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 355.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, appointed by King James I, in* 1604.] Mr Wood mentions no authority for this aſſertion, nor is Dr Aglionby's name to be found in the liſt of the tranſlators (2). It is not unlikely that he might be aſſiſting in the tranſlation, purſuant to the rules agreed upon by the tranſlators; one of which was, that *letters be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, putting them in mind of the tranſlation in hand, and charging thoſe, who have ſkill in the languages, and have bent their ſtudies that way, to ſend their obſervations to the committees, either at Weſtminſter, Cambridge, or Oxford.* T

(2) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. book viii. p. 693.

AIDAN, or AIDANUS, was the ſon of Goran, or Goranus, King of Scotland [*A*]. He was very young at the time his father was murthered by conſpirators, of whom Donald of Athol was the chief. This happened in the year 535. Eugenius, the nephew of the laſt King, and the couſin of Aidanus, ſucceeded in the throne (*a*). He had ſerved long under the celebrated Arthur King of the Britons, and as he was a good officer, ſo he was alſo a wiſe Prince, but withal, a man of great art, inſomuch, that he diſſembled all concern for his uncle's murder, and even took into his favour Donald of Athol, who was the prime author of it (*b*). This ſo much alarmed the Queen Dowager, that notwithſtanding he made a great ſhew of friendſhip towards her and her family, yet ſhe took the firſt opportunity of retiring with her two ſons, Reginan and Aidan, then about ſeven years old, into Ireland, where they were very kindly received by Tuathalius, the reigning King (*c*). There the Queen and her eldeſt ſon died, but Aidanus continued there, not only during the long reign of Eugenius, but alſo during that of his brother Congallus, that is, throughout the ſpace of forty-eight years. But this laſt mentioned King, conſidering the wrong done to the right heir of the crown, directed the famous St Columb to bring him home, which that good man performed. But when they arrived in Scotland, they underſtood that the King was dead, and that the Scots had ſet his brother Kennatillus upon the throne, Columb however, having firſt aſſiſted at the burial of the deceaſed Prince, went afterwards with Aidan to court,

(*a*) Hect. Boethius, Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*b*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ogygia, ſeu rerum Hibern. Chronol. p. 430.

[*A*] *Aidanus ſon of Goranus, King of Scotland.*] The name of this Prince is variouſly written; in the hiſtories of Boethius, and Buchanan, he is called Aidanus (1), but Bede calls him Ædan (2); in the Saxon annals, his name is written Ægthan (3), Jeffery of Monmouth, calls him Adan (4). But theſe are trivial differences, or at leaſt would be thought ſo in any other hiſtory than ours. As to the facts, and even as to the dates, all the old hiſtorians agree perfectly well. It was therefore thought proper to inſert this life in this dictionary, in order to ſhew that our ancient hiſtory is not ſo uncouth, ſo uncertain, or ſo inconſiſtent, as ſome would perſuade us. It is indeed, a little ſtrange,

(1) H. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. H. S. lib. v.

(2) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34.

(3) Chron. Sax. p. 23.

(4) Hiſt. Britan. lib. xii. c. 9.

court, where, to the ſurprize of all men, the new raiſed King received them with much civility and kindneſs, telling Aidanus, he ſhould for the preſent aſſiſt him in governing the kingdom, which would ſhortly become his, to whom of right it pertained (*d*). This fell out accordingly, for the King, being old and infirm, died, as he had foreſeen, and our Aidan ſucceeded in his ſtead, according to Hector Boetius, in the year 578. He was crowned King of Scotland in the Marble Chair, by the hand of St Columb, who made a noble oration on that occaſion, exciting the Prince to juſtice, and the people to obedience. Immediately after his coronation, Aidan went into Galloway, where he reduced certain robbers, who had done great miſchief. He then inſtituted annual aſſizes in Galloway, Lochabar, and Caithneſs (*e*). But theſe works of peace were ſuddenly interrupted; ſome of the young nobility quarelled at a hunting match, and bloodſhed following, thoſe who were moſt guilty, or at leaſt moſt afraid, retired into the dominions of Brudeus, King of the Picts. Aidan, in virtue of a treaty with that Prince, often demanded them, and was as often refuſed. At length he entered his country, and carried off a great number of priſoners, with abundance of cattle. The Pictiſh Prince reſenting this, made alſo an inroad, and did great miſchief in Galloway. In the end, a general engagement happened, wherein the Picts were routed with great ſlaughter, the Scots alſo loſing many men, and amongſt them, the King's ſon Arthur. This battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Dunkell. St Columb hearing of this war, came to the King, and upbraided him with his too great readineſs to ſhed blood, which made that Prince ſo uneaſy, that he would not part with that excellent man, 'till he had promiſed him to negotiate a peace, which he did with ſucceſs (*f*). The Saxons were now poſſeſſed of England, having driven the Britons into Wales. Ethelfrid who reigned then in Northumberland, was a moſt crafty, and withal a moſt ambitious Prince. He projected the conqueſt of the Pictiſh kingdom, but perceiving himſelf too weak to effect it, he excited Brudeus to break the peace with the Scots, hoping by this means to weaken him, and thereby obtain a more eaſy prey. Aidan being informed of theſe negotiations, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive, with Maelgwyn, King of the Britons (*g*). The Saxons, as ſoon as they were acquainted with this, determined to invade the Britiſh territories, that thereby they might draw the Scots out of their own country, and have them at the greater diſadvantage. This policy of theirs ſucceeded, for Aidan, like a juſt Prince, marched inſtantly to the aſſiſtance of his allies, and joining the British army, offered Ethelfrid and Brudeus battle, which however they declined for two reaſons. One was, that they might the more weary the Scots; the other, that they might give time to Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons, to join them: Aidan, and his confederates being aware of their intention, reſolved to attack Ceuline, before his junction ſhould render them too powerful; this they performed with great bravery, and having forced their camp, cut to pieces a very conſiderable number of their enemies, amongſt whom was Cutha, the King of the Weſt Saxon's ſon. This however, did not hinder the remainder from joining their friends, and offering Aidan battle a ſecond time. In this engagement, though he behaved gallantly, yet he was very unfortunate, for he loſt his ſon Griffin, and his nephew Brennius, who was Thane or Earl of Man. But this was far from being bloodleſs victory to the Saxons and Picts, who beſides a great number of private men killed, had both their Princes wounded, Ethelfrid loſing one of his eyes, and Brudeus receiving a deep cut in his hip (*h*). The next ſummer, Ethelfrid joined the Picts early, and with a numerous army invaded Galloway. Aidan was more ready to receive them than they expected, and taking advantage of their ſtraggling about the country, he cut off ſeveral of their parties, and perceiving that theſe loſſes made them keep cloſe in their camp, he marched ſilently by it in a dark night, and joined the Britons. After this they encamped in a narrow valley in Anandale. There the Saxons and Picts ſurrounded them with a great army, and ſeizing all the paſſages, perſuaded themſelves, they ſhould eaſily and totally rout their enemies. Aidan conſulting, as well with Conſtantine and Menrein, the Britiſh Generals, as with Callan and Murdach, his own Generals, they made a ſhew of ſtrongly fortifying their camp, as if therein they meant to wait for their attack, and when they had ſo done, lighting up a multitude of fires, they decamped in the night, and paſſing certain rivers, the Saxons deemed not fordable, ſuddenly entered Northumberland, and deſtroyed all the country with fire and ſword. This compelled the Saxons and Picts to follow them, and ſoon after their arrival in the ſame country, a pitched battle enſued, wherein, after an obſtinate engagement, the Saxons and Picts were totally routed with prodigious ſlaugher, Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons,

(*d*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron, lib. iii. c. 27.

(*f*) Adamn. Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 7. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Lewis's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 211.

(*h*) Boeth. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Henr. Huntingd. lib. ii. Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 22.

ſtrange, that we admit without ſcruple, ſuch hiſtorical fragments, as yet remain of the ancient Kings of Attica, and take pains to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the firſt Kings of Macedon, though neither of their kingdoms in thoſe times, could exceed the bounds of one of our counties (5), and yet give up our own hiſtory as dark and fabulous, though at the diſtance of many ages from thoſe times, and infinitely clearer, more rational, and better ſupported, than either the Greek hiſtory before the Peloponneſian war, or that of Rome, before the expulſion of her Kings. He muſt certainly be a critical and ſharp-ſighted reader, who in this hiſtory of Aidan, wherein is touched the ſtate of every one of the nations then ſettled in the Britiſh iſlands, can diſcern any thing of abſurdity or of fable. And why we ſhould give up the actions of all our anceſtors to oblivion, in order to find leiſure to decypher the antiquities of other people, is a thing for which no good reaſon can be aſſigned. It muſt be granted, that before the publication of our ancient hiſtories, tranſactions of ſuch antiquity might appear very dubious, but they cannot be thought ſo now, when confirmed by ſo many different authorities, and ſuch a variety of facts.

(5) Cluver. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.

[*B*] *Certain*

Saxons, being killed upon the ſpot, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. After this great victory, King Aidan cauſed all the ſpoil, which they had brought out of Galloway, and which now fell into his hands, to be reſtored to the right owners. This done, he gave a tenth of the remaining booty, to be diſtributed in alms, the reſt was equally divided amongſt the Scotiſh and Britiſh ſoldiers. All the trophies of this conqueſt, he cauſed to be tranſported to the iſland of Colmkill, to St Columb, there to remain in his abbey (*i*). After this, he governed his kingdom in peace about eleven years, and then Ethelfrid prevailed on the Picts to renew the war. Aidan, though he was very old, marched to the place where the Britiſh army ſhould have joined him, but his allies failing him, gave his enemies a great advantage over him, ſo that attacking him with a ſuperior army, they cut the greateſt part of his forces to pieces, the King himſelf narrowly eſcaping. In this battle fell Theobald, King Ethelfrid's brother, which ſhews that it was no eaſy victory. However, it's conſequences were ſo fatal, that the thoughts of them, and the news of St Columb's death, brought the good old King in ſorrow to his grave, in the year 606 when he had reigned thirty-two years, and lived 78 (*k*). There are certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory [*B*], which becauſe they are not mentioned either by the Scotch or Engliſh hiſtorians, we have thought proper to inſert in the notes, being unwilling to place any thing in the text, which is not perfectly clear and certain.

(*i*) H. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Chron. Saxon. p. 23. Lewis's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 212.

(*k*) Boeth. ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Bed. H. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 23. Lewis, ubi ſupra Joan. Fordun. Scotichron lib. iii. c. 80.

[*B*] *Certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory.*] St Adamnanus, in his life of St Columbanus, or Columb, tells us, how he prophetically marked out to the King, Aidan, which of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom. This ſtory is preſerved in the hiſtory of Scotland, printed in the firſt volume of Hollingſhead's collection, but very imperfectly, becauſe of his abſolute want of ſkill in the antient Scotiſh language (*b*). The fact in few words ſtands thus. About the year 584, King Aidan was in the Iſle of Man, and there preſented his ſons to St Columb. They were in number eight, *viz.* Arthur, Eochod Finn, *i. e.* the White, Domangard, Eochod Buidhe, *i. e.* Yellow, (Hollingſhead calls him Eugenius, and tells us he was alſo called Brudus) Tuathalius, Boetan, Conang, and Gartnad. St Columb, paſſing by the three eldeſt, laid his hand on Eochod Buidhe, or Eugenius the Yellow. This ſon, ſaid he, and his heirs, ſhall be heirs of your kingdom, for the other three ſhall fall in battle againſt your enemies, which came accordingly to paſs (7). The Iriſh Chronicles, take notice, that in 590, King Aidan paſſed over into that country, and was preſent at a council held there, which is very probable, ſince he had lived ſo many years in Ireland, and it is very likely married there (8). Bede gives a very circumſtantial account, of the great defeat King Aidan received from Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, which he tells us happened in the year 603, at a place called Deg-faſtane, the defeat being ſo total, that to this day, ſays he, that is, to the year 731, the Scots have never dared to enter Britain, or offer battle to the Engliſh, which circumſtance is alſo taken notice of in the Saxon Annals, where this battle is placed in the ſame year (9).

(6) Chronicle, Vol. I. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 111.

(7) S. Adamn. de Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 9.

(8) *Ogygia*, p. 475.

(9) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 23, 24.

E

AIDAN, Biſhop of Lindisfarne, or *Holy Iſland*, in the VIIth century, was originally a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona [*A*], one of the iſlands called *Hebrides* (*a*). In the year 634, he came into England, at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland [*B*], to inſtruct that Prince's ſubjects in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion [*C*]. At his coming to Oſwald's

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3.

[*A*] *He was a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona.*] Let us hear venerable Bede. 'Monachus 'ipſe Epiſcopus *Aedan*, utpote de inſula quæ vocatur '*Hii* deſtinatus: cujus monaſterium in cunctis pene 'Septentrionalium Scottorum & omnium Pictorum 'monaſteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, re-'gendiſque eorum populis præerat: quæ videlicet 'inſula jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, non magno 'ab ea freto diſcreta; ſed donatione Pictorum, qui 'illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis 'Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem 'Chriſti perceperint (1). ——— *Biſhop Aidan was 'himſelf a Monk, being ſent on this miſſion from the 'iſland Hii, the monaſtery of which place had for a 'long time a juriſdiction over all the monaſteries of 'the northern Scots and Picts. The iſland itſelf was 'ſubject to Britain, from which it was ſeparated 'only by a ſmall arm of the ſea: but by donation of 'the Picts, who inhabit thoſe parts of Britain, it 'had been given to the Monks of Scotland, as an 'acknowledgment of their converſion by the preaching 'of the latter.'

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3. & H. Huntingd. Hiſt. l. iii. *apud* Scriptor poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601. p. 330.

[*B*] *He came into England at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland.*] This Prince, being ſenſibly affected with the advantages of Chriſtianity, and deſirous his ſubjects ſhould partake of the ſame privilege, had ſent into Scotland for ſome perſon of learning and character to inſtruct them. The Scotch clergy immediately diſpatched away a Miſſionary (2) for that purpoſe. But this eccleſiaſtic, being of a rugged and ſevere diſpoſition, was greatly diſliked by the Engliſh; inſomuch that finding himſelf unſucceſsful in his miſſion, he returned home, and reported to his countrymen, that the Engliſh were an untractable people, bigotted to Paganiſm; and that it was impoſſible to convert them. Aidan, who was preſent, turning himſelf to the Prieſt, ſaid: 'Your want of 'ſucceſs, brother, ſeems to me to be owing to your 'want of condeſcenſion to the weakneſs of your 'unlearned hearers; whom, according to the apo-

(2) Hector Boethius, l. 9. gives this Miſſionary the name of *Corman*.

'ſtolical rule, you ſhould firſt have fed with the milk 'of a milder and leſs rigid doctrine, till, being 'nouriſhed by degrees with the word of God, they 'were become capable of reliſhing the more perfect and 'ſublime precepts of the Goſpel.' *Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior juſto indoctis auditoribus fuiſti, & non eis juxta apoſtolicam diſciplinam primo lac doctrinæ mollioris porrexiſti, donec paulatim enutriti verbo Dei, ad capienda perfectiora & ad facienda ſublimiora Dei præcepta ſufficerent* (3). This diſcrete and judicious ſpeech was highly applauded by the aſſembly, and it was unanimouſly reſolved that Aidan deſerved the honour of the epiſcopal character, and was the beſt qualified to convert the Engliſh. Whereupon he was preſently conſecrated, and ſent upon that employment (4). It may be thought ſtrange, perhaps, that King Oſwald ſhould ſend into Scotland for a miſſionary to inſtruct his ſubjects in the Chriſtian religion; and that he did not rather re-call Paulinus, who had been driven from the ſee of York (5), or employ the miniſtry of James, whom Paulinus had left in Northumberland. But it muſt be conſidered, that Oſwald had been inſtructed in religion by the Scotch, and had imbibed an averſion for the miſſionaries ſent from Rome, on account of the diverſity of ſentiments between the Scotch and the Romaniſts, in relation to the celebration of Eaſter (6), and the tonſure of prieſts.

(3) Bede, ibid. c. 5.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) See the next remark.

(6) See the remark [*G*].

[*C*] ——— *to inſtruct the Northumbrians in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion.*] The kingdom of Northumberland had received the Chriſtian faith by the preaching of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, in the reign of King Edwin, who died in 633. But that Prince being ſlain in battle, and the deſolation, to which Northumberland was expoſed, having obliged Paulinus to quit the kingdom, the Northumbrians returned in crowds to idolatry. Anfrid and Oſric, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their ſubjects, though they had embraced the Chriſtian religion in Scotland. And thus the knowledge of the true religion was almoſt extinguiſhed

Oſwald's court, he prevailed upon the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York, where it had been ſettled by Gregory the Great, to Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland [*D*]. He was very ſucceſsful in his preaching; in which he was not a little aſſiſted by the pious zeal of the King, who, having lived a conſiderable time in Scotland, and acquired a ſufficient knowledge of the language, was himſelf Aidan's interpreter, and explained his diſcourſes to the nobility, and the reſt of his court (*b*). After the death of Oſwald, who was ſlain in battle, Aidan continued to govern the Church of Northumberland, under his ſucceſſors Oſwin and Oſwi, who reigned jointly; the former in the province of Deira, the latter in that of Bernicia. Bede tells us a remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan [*E*]. This holy Biſhop, having foretold that Prince's untimely death, was ſo afflicted for his loſs, that he ſurvived him but twelve days, and died in Auguſt 651, after having ſat ſixteen years (*c*). Bede gives him an extraordinary character [*F*], but, at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter [*G*], in which he followed the cuſtom of the Scots, Picts, and Britons (*d*). The ſame

(*b*) Id. ibid. & H. Huntingdon Hiſt. l. iii. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601, p. 330.

(*c*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14. See the remark [*E*].

(*d*) Id. ib. c. 3.

in that country; and this wretched ſtate continued near two years, till Oſwald mounted the throne in 634 (7).

(7) Vide Hiſtor. Angl. ſub annis, 1633, &c.

[*D*] *He prevailed with the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York——— to Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland.*] Bede tells us, Lindisfarne is not really an iſland, but part of the main land; and that, by the flux and reflux of the ſea, it is twice a day ſurrounded with water in the manner of an iſland, and as often left dry. *Qui videlicet locus accedente & recedente reumate bis quotidie inſtar inſulæ maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contiguus terræ redditur* (8). It is a peninſula, joined to the coaſt of Northumberland by a very narrow neck of land, and called *Holy Iſland* from it's being inhabited chiefly by Monks (9). But though the epiſcopal ſee was ſmall, it's juriſdiction was very extenſive: for the Biſhops of Lindisfarne preſided over the whole kingdom of Northumberland, according to the received diſcipline of the antient Engliſh Church, in which there was but one Biſhop to each kingdom. *Quantumvis autem arcta fuerat Sedes, Diœceſis erat latiſſima: toti ſiquidem Northumbrorum regno epiſcopi Lindisfarnenſes præfuerunt, juxta diſciplinam apud antiquos uſque ad Theodori archiepiſcopi tempora receptam, qua ſingulis regnis ſinguli epiſcopi præſidebant* (10). The author, now cited, tells us, that Aidan and his ſucceſſors, as far as Wilfrid, neither knew nor affected the metropolitical dignity, though they ſucceeded to the rights of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, who had received the pall, and obtained the title of Metropolitan. Nor had they any intercourſe with the Roman Pontiff: for, beſides that they acknowledged no foreign Biſhops ſuperior to themſelves, they celebrated Eaſter (*) in a manner different from the Church of Rome. *Paulino itaque in ditione ſucceſſerunt, neutiquam tamen in dignitate. Paulinus enim Pallio utebatur, & Metropolitani titulum, quamvis nondum ſibi conſtitutis ſuffraganeis, obtinuit. Aidanus autem, ejuſque ad Wilfridum uſque ſucceſſores è Scotia prodeuntes, metropolitanam dignitatem nec noverunt quidem nec affectarunt; cumque Romano pontifice, qui iſtam Paulino dignitatem contulerat, nil commune habuerunt. Præterquam enim quod nullos exteræ gentis epiſcopos ſibi ſuperiores agnoverint, diem Paſchalem ritu adhuc alieno, a quartadecima ſcilicet luna calculum ducentes, celebrarunt* (11).

(8) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 3.

(9) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, Vol. II. col. 1502.

(10) Hiſt. de Succeſſ. epiſc. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 691.

(*) See the remark [*G*].

(11) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *A remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan.*] King Oſwin had given Biſhop Aidan a fine horſe. Some time after, the Biſhop happening to meet a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, diſmounted and gave him the horſe with it's rich houſings. The King hearing this was diſpleaſed, and, the next time the Biſhop came to dine with him, accoſted him in the following manner: *My Lord, why were you ſo prodigal of my favour, as to give away my pad to a beggar? If there was a neceſſity of ſetting him on horſe-back, could you not have furniſhed him with one of leſs value; or if he wanted any other relief, you might have ſupplied him another way, and not have parted ſo eaſily with the preſent I made you.* To which the Biſhop replied; *Your Majeſty ſeems not fully to have conſidered the matter: for otherwiſe you would not ſet a greater value on the ſon of a mare than on a ſon of God* (12). Upon this no more paſſed, and they ſat down to dinner. Not long after, the King coming from hunting when the Biſhop was at court, and remembring what had paſſed between them, laid by his ſword, and, falling at the Biſhop's feet, deſired he would not take amiſs what he had formerly ſaid about the pad. The Biſhop, being diſturbed to ſee the King in that poſture, raiſed him up, and deſired him not to trouble himſelf about that matter. And now the Biſhop appeared with a melancholy air, and wept very much; and being aſked the cauſe of his tears by one of his Prieſts, he told him, *he foreſaw that Oſwin's life was but ſhort; for in my life* (ſays he) *I never ſaw ſo humble a Prince before. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us; and indeed the nation does not deſerve the bleſſing of ſuch a governor.* The Biſhop proved a true Prophet: for the King was ſoon after treacherouſly ſlain; and, about a fortnight after, Aidan himſelf died, and, as Bede expreſſes it, received the reward of his pious labours in Heaven. *De ſæculo ablatus, perpetua laborum ſuorum a domino præmia recepit* (13).'

(12) Num quid tibi carior eſt, ille filius equæ, quam ille filius Dei?

(13) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14.

[*F*] *Bede gives him an extraordinary character.*] 'Scripſi hæc de perſona *(ſays that hiſtorian)* & 'operibus viri præfati ——— quæ laude ſunt 'digna in ejus actibus laudans, atque ad utilitatem 'legentium memoriæ commendans: ſtudium videlicet pacis & caritatis, continentiæ & humilitatis; animum iræ & avaritiæ victorem, ſuperbiæ 'ſimul & vanæ gloriæ contemptorem; induſtriam 'faciendi ſimul & docendi mandata cœleſtia; ſolertiam 'lectionis & vigiliarum; auctoritatem ſacerdote dignam 'redarguendi ſuperbos ac potentes, pariter & infirmos 'conſolandi ac pauperes recreandi vel defendendi clementiam. Qui, ut breviter multa comprehendam, 'quantum ab iis qui illum novere didicimus, nil ex 'omnibus quæ in Evangelicis vel Apoſtolicis ſive 'Propheticis literis facienda cognoverat, præter'mittere, ſed cuncta pro ſuis viribus operibus explere 'curabat (14) —— *Theſe things have I written con-* (14) Id. ib. c. 17.
'*cerning the perſon and actions of the aforeſaid* '*Prelate, giving due praiſe to that part of his conduct* '*which deſerved it, and tranſmitting it to poſterity for* '*the uſe of the readers: namely, his concern for peace* '*and brotherly love, for moderation and humility; his* '*entire freedom from reſentment and avarice, from* '*pride and vain-glory; his readineſs both to obey* '*and teach the divine commands; his diligence in* '*reading and watching; his true ſacerdotal authority* '*in reſtraining the proud and the powerful, and, at* '*the ſame time, his tenderneſs and compaſſion in com-* '*forting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the* '*poor. To ſay all in a few words, as far as we* '*have been informed by thoſe who perſonally knew him,* '*he took care to omit no part of his duty, but, to the* '*utmoſt of his abilities, performed every thing com-* '*manded in the writings of the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles,* '*and Prophets.*'

[*G*] ——*but at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter.*] 'Quod autem Paſcha (Bede *goes on*) non ſuo tempore 'obſervabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, 'vel ſuæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitum ſequeretur 'devictus, non adprobo, nec laudo (15). —— *But I* (15) Ibid.
'*do not approve or commend his keeping of Eaſter* '*improperly, whether it was that he was ignorant* '*of the time preſcribed by the canons, or, if he did* '*know it, was kept from following it by the cuſtom* '*and practice of his nation.*' However Bede apologizes for Biſhop Aidan even in this point; for he adds: 'In quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione ſuæ 'Paſchæ non aliud corde tenebat, venerabatur, & 'prædicabat, quam quod nos, id eſt, redemptionem 'generis humani per paſſionem, reſurrectionem, aſ-

'cenſionem

ſame hiſtorian aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan [*H*]; two of them performed in his life-time, and the other after his death (*e*). He was buried in his church of Lindiſfarne, and part of his relicks were carried into Scotland by his ſucceſſor Colman in 664.

(*e*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 15, 16, 17.

'cenſionem in cœlos mediatoris dei & hominum Jeſu 'Chriſti. Unde & hanc non, ut quidam falſo opi-'nantur, quartadecima Luna in qualibet feria cum 'Judæis, ſed die dominica ſemper agebat, a Luna 'quartadecima uſque ad viceſimam; propter fidem 'videlicet Dominicæ reſurrectionis quam una Sabbati 'factam, propterque ſpem noſtræ reſurrectionis quam 'eadem una Sabbati quæ nunc Dominica dies dicitur 'veraciter futuram, cum ſancta eccleſia credebat (16). '—— *In which however this is to be commended in* 'him, *that, in the celebration of his Eaſter, he com-*'memorated *and preached the ſame thing that we do,* 'namely, *the redemption of mankind by the paſſion,* 'reſurrection, *and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, the medi-*'ator between God and men. *And therefore he did not,* 'as *ſome falſly imagine, keep this feſtival, in imita-*'tion of the Jews, *on the fourteenth day of the moon,* 'whatever *day of the week it happened to fall on;* 'but always *on a Sunday, reckoning from the four-*'teenth day to the twentieth: and this, *on account of* 'our Lord's reſurrection, *which (with Holy Church)* 'he believed to have happened *on a Sabbath-day, and* 'the hopes of our own reſurrection, *which he likewiſe* 'believed (as we do) will fall out on a Sabbath-day, 'or, *as it is now called, a Sunday.*'

(16) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 17.

[*H*] *Bede aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan.*] I. A certain Prieſt, named Utta, was ſent by King Oſwi to Canterbury, to conduct into Northumberland his betrothed wife, the Princeſs Eanfleda, daughter to King Edwin. This Prieſt, who was to go thither by land, but to return by ſea, addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Aidan, deſiring his prayers for the ſucceſs of his voyage. The good prelate having bleſſed him, and commended him to God, told him, he foreſaw there would ariſe a violent ſtorm, whereby his veſſel would be in great danger; and at the ſame time gave him a viol of holy oil, bidding him, when occaſion ſhould require, to pour it into the ſea, which would thereby be preſently rendered calm. Utta followed the good Biſhop's directions, and by that means ſaved himſelf, and all that were in the ſhip with him, from impending deſtruction. Bede ſays, the truth of this miracle was confirmed to him by a prieſt named Cynimund, who had the ſtory from Utta's own mouth (17). (17) Ibid. c. 15. II. The army of the Mercians, commanded by Penda, having committed great devaſtations in Northumberland, and penetrated as far as the royal city of Bebbangburg, began to ſet it on fire: at which time Biſhop Aidan, being in the iſland Farne, about two miles diſtant from the city, and ſeeing the flakes of fire brought by the wind, and the ſmoak riſing above the walls, immediately lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with tears ſaid, *Behold, Lord, what miſchief Penda does!* Whereupon, the wind preſently changing, the flames were driven from the city upon the incendiaries, many of whom periſhed, and the reſt were glad to retreat from a city, which they ſaw to be thus miraculouſly defended (18). III. This good Biſhop being in one of the royal villas, not far from the abovementioned city, and finding himſelf near his death, ordered a tent to be pitched for him cloſe to one of the walls of the church: which being done, he retired thither, and there gave up his laſt breath. It happened ſome years after, that Penda, King of the Mercians, having ſet fire to this church, it was entirely conſumed, all but a wooden buttreſs or beam, cloſe to which Aidan's tent had been placed. This miracle being greatly celebrated, the church was rebuilt, and the ſame piece of timber employed as a buttreſs to the new fabric. But ſome time after, this church, through negligence, was again deſtroyed by fire; and being once more re-built, the miraculous beam was no longer placed on the outſide of the church, but was laid up within it; where it became an object of the people's veneration, and was inſtrumental in curing many diſeaſes and infirmities (19). (18) Ibid. c. 16. (19) Ib. c. 17.

AILMER, or ÆTHELMARE, Earl of Cornwall and Devonſhire, in the reign of King Edgar (*a*): it is not known of what family he was. His authority and riches were great, and ſo alſo in appearance was his piety. He founded the abbey of Cerne, in Dorſetſhire; and had ſo great a veneration for Eadwald, the brother of St Edmund the Martyr, who had lived a hermit in that county, near the ſilver well, as they called it; that with the aſſiſtance of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, he tranſlated his relicks to the old church of Cernel (*b*). In 1005, he founded the abbey of Eyneſham in Oxfordſhire, as alſo the priory of Bruton in Somerſetſhire, both for Monks of the Benedictine order (*c*). In 1013, when Suane, King of Denmark, over-run the greateſt part of England, and forced King Æthelred to ſhut himſelf up in Wincheſter, Earl Ailmer thought fit to ſubmit himſelf [*A*], and to make terms with the conqueror, to whom he gave hoſtages (*d*). In 1016, when Canute, the ſon of Suane, invaded England, and found himſelf ſtoutly oppoſed by that valiant Saxon Prince, Edmund Ironſide, the ſon of Æthelred, this Earl Ailmer [*B*], with that arch-traitor, Eadric Streone, Earl of Mercia, and Earl Algar, joined the Dane againſt their natural Prince, which was one great cauſe of the Saxons ruin (*e*). He did not long ſurvive this; and we find mentioned in hiſtory only one ſon of his, whoſe name was Æthelward, Earl of Cornwall, who followed his father's maxims, and was properly rewarded for it. For in 1018, Canute reaping the benefit of their treaſons,

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(*b*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 254.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 258. & Vol. II. p. 206.

(*d*) Math. Weſtm. in A. 1013.

(*e*) Id. in A. 1016.

[*A*] *Thought fit to ſubmit himſelf.*] In the Saxon Chronicle we are told, that in the year 1013, in the month of July, King Suane came with his navy to Sandwich, thence he ſailed along the coaſt to the mouth of the Humber, and afterwards by the Trent to Gainſborough; there he landed with his ſon Canute, and a very numerous army. The neighbouring country being reduced, he divided his forces; part he left under the command of his ſon to guard his ſhips, and the hoſtages he had received; and with the reſt he marched ſouthward. The city of Oxford, on his approach, ſurrendered, ſo did Wincheſter; which encouraged him to march eaſtward, in hopes of taking the city of London. In this he miſcarried, King Æthelred being there in perſon, who had the better of the Danes in a very bloody engagement. Upon this Suane retired to Wallingford; from thence croſſing the Thames, he marched to Bath, where this Æthelmare, and many other Lords of his party, met him, gave hoſtages for their fidelity, and aſſiſted him in carrying his ſpoil to his ſhips (1). This rivetted the chains of the nation; and for this horrid treachery, which however ſhewed his exceſſive power, he obtained the ſirname of Great. The ſame Chronicle places the death of his ſon Ethelward in the year 1017, and calls him expreſsly the ſon of Ethelmare the Great (2).

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(2) Ibid. p. 151.

[*B*] *This Earl Ailmer.*] Some Antiquaries would have us believe, that the Aylmers of Aylmer-Hall, in the county of Norfolk, are deſcended from this Æthelmare, becauſe they bear in their arms four choughs; and for their creſt, on a ducal coronet, a Corniſh chough's head and neck, wings diſplayed (3). This notion, however, ſeems a little unreaſonable, Æthelmare being apparently no ſirname; and Duke again, a title unknown to the Saxons. In another article, we ſhall treat of a Saxon Biſhop of the ſame name, which ſhews that it was common; and conſequently, that there is no referring the ſirname of Aylmer to this or that

(3) Strype's Life of Biſhop of Aylmer, Lond. 1701, 8vo. p. 2.

treaſons, and perceiving that the traitors were no longer uſeful, he cauſed the infamous Eadric Streone, and this Earl Æthelward, to be both put to death (*f*).

(*f*) R. Hoved. Edit. Francf. 1601, p. 437.

that particular man amongſt the Saxons, who bore this name; neither in this caſe is there the leaſt reaſon for it, the Aylmers of Norfolk being certainly a very antient and honourable family, ſtanding in no want of theſe fabulous pretenſions, as will be ſhewn in a proper place. E

AILRED (*a*), ETHELRED (*b*), or EALRED (*c*), Abbot of Reveſby in Lincolnſhire, in the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry II, was born of noble parents (*d*), in the year 1109, and educated in Scotland, together with Henry, ſon of David King of Scots (*e*). Upon his return into England, he took the habit in the Ciſtertian monaſtery of Reveſby aforeſaid; where his extraordinary piety and learning ſoon raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot [*A*]. His great love of retirement, and a life of contemplation and ſtudy, induced him to decline all offers of eccleſiaſtical preferment, and even to refuſe a Biſhopric. He was particularly fond of reading St Auſtin's works, eſpecially that author's confeſſions; and he was a ſtrict imitator of St Bernard in his writings, words, and actions (*f*). He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning [*B*], in the writing of which, he was aſſiſted by Walter Daniel, a Monk of the ſame convent (*g*). This Abbot died January the 12th 1166, aged fifty-ſeven years (*h*), and was buried in the monaſtery of Reveſby, under a tomb adorned with gold and ſilver (*i*). And, we are told, he was canonized on account of ſome miracles ſaid to have been wrought by him after his death (*k*).

(*a*) Hiſtor. Anglic. Scriptores X. Lond. 1652.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1166.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pits, ibid.

(*g*) Leland, ib.

(*h*) Pits, ibid.

(*i*) Leland, ibid.

(*k*) Pits, ibid.

[*A*] *His extraordinary piety and learning raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot.*] He outſhone his brethren, as the ſun eclipſes the brightneſs of the inferior luminaries; and endeared himſelf no leſs to the great men of the kingdom, than to the Monks of his own houſe. *Tanquam clariſſimum ſuæ religionis ſidus inter minora lumina emicuit, monachos exemplo docens, literis puriori-bus informans: quo factum eſt, ut regni nobilibus, non minus quam ſuis, charus eſſet, & abbas ſecundus Rievallenſis deſignaretur* (1).

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

[*B*] *He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning.*] 1. De Bello Standardii tempore Stephani regis, *i. e. Of the war of the ſtandard in the reign of King Stephen*, anno 1138. 2. Genealogia Regum Anglorum. *i. e. A genealogy of the Engliſh Kings.* 3. Hiſtoria de vita et miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confeſſoris. *i. e. An hiſtory of the life and miracles of King Edward the Confeſſor.* 4. Hiſtoria de Sanctimoniali de Watthun. *i. e. An hiſtory of the Nun of Watthun.* Theſe four pieces are extant in the collection of *ten Engliſh writers*, publiſhed by Roger Twyſden at London, 1652. Ailred wrote another *life of St Edward* in elegiac verſe, and dedicated it to Laurence Abbot of Weſtminſter. It is extant in manuſcript in the library of Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge. 5. Sermones de Tempore & de Sanctis. *i. e. Sermons on time and the ſaints.* 6. In Iſaiam Prophetam Sermones xxxi. *i. e. Thirty-one ſermons on the Prophet Iſaiah.* 7. Speculam Charitatis libris iii cum Compendio ejuſdem. *i. e. The mirror of charity, in three books, with an abridgment of the ſame.* 8. Tractatus de puero Jeſu duodecenni in illud Luc. ii. cum factus eſſet Jeſus, &c. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the child Jeſus, being twelve years of age, upon that paſſage of St Luke* (ch. ii.) *When he was twelve years old*, &c. 9. De Spirituali Amicitia, *libri* iii. *i. e. Of ſpiritual friendſhip, in three books.* Theſe five pieces were publiſhed by Richard Gibbons, a Jeſuit, at Douay, 1631; afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Ciſtertienſis*; T. 5. p. 16. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, T. 23. p. 1. 10. Regulæ ad Incluſas, ſeu Moniales. *i. e. Rules for the Nuns.* This piece has been falſely aſcribed to St Auguſtin, and is uſually publiſhed with his works: but Ailred's name is prefixed to it in Holſtenius's *Collection of Rules*, Part iii. p. 109. 11. Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiphaniæ, & Sermones xi de Oneribus Iſaiæ. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the Sunday before the Octaves of the Epiphany, and eleven Sermons on Iſaiah's Burthens.* This piece lay ſome time concealed among the works of St Bernard (2). The reſt of this Abbot's works, which were never publiſhed, or extant only in manuſcript, are enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits. T

(2) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1150.

AINSWORTH (HENRY) an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine, who flouriſhed the latter end of the XVIth, and in the beginning of the XVIIth century. It is very much to be regretted, that we are able to ſay very little of ſo great a man, for we know not ſo much as where, or when he was born, or any thing more of him than this, that about the year 1590, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf amongſt the Browniſts, to whom he adhered, and on that account endured a ſhare in their perſecutions (*a*). His great ſkill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which are ſtill highly and juſtly eſteemed [*A*], gained him a vaſt reputation (*b*). However, the diſcredit his ſect

(*a*) Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 543, 577.

(*b*) Treatiſe of Religion and Learning by Edw. Leigh, M. A. of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, Lond. 1656, Fol. p. 110.

[*A*] *Which are ſtill highly and juſtly eſteemed.*] His annotations on ſeveral books of the Bible were printed at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral ſizes. Thoſe on the Pſalms in quarto, in 1612; thoſe on the five books of Moſes, in two volumes in quarto, in 1621; all theſe together, bound in three quarto volumes. At length, 1627, his annotations were printed in one volume in folio, and again in 1639, which edition is become ſo very rare, as to be inſerted in all the catalogues of ſcarce books (1). It will not therefore be amiſs to give an account of it's contents. It's title runs thus: 'Annotations upon the five books of Moſes, the 'book of the Pſalms, and the Song of Songs, or Canticles. Wherein the Hebrew words and ſentences are 'compared with, and explained by, the ancient Greek 'and Chaldee verſions, and other records and monu-'ments of the Hebrews; but chiefly, by conference with 'the holy ſcriptures, Moſes his words, laws, and ordi-'nances, the ſacrifices, and other legal ceremonies here-'tofore commanded by God to the Church of Iſrael, are 'explained; with an advertiſement, touching ſome ob-'jections made againſt the ſincerity of the Hebrew text, 'and allegation of the Rabbins in theſe annotations; as 'alſo tables, directing unto ſuch principal things as are 'obſerved in the annotations upon each ſeveral book. 'By Henry Ainſworth. London, printed by M. Parſons, 'for John Bellamy, 1639.' In this edition, the firſt thing that occurs is a preface or diſcourſe, on the life and writings of Moſes, which is ſubſcribed by the author; then follow the five books of Moſes, tranſlated literally from the Hebrew, with annotations chiefly from Rabbinical writers; and by compariſon of texts. At the end of the Pentateuch, there is a little treatiſe, intituled, An advertiſement, touching ſome objections made againſt the ſincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in the former annotations; to which are added ſome other ſhort diſſertations. Then follow, annotations upon the book of Pſalms; to which is prefixed, an excellent Life of David, extracted from, and in the words of, ſcripture. Laſtly, we have the Song

(1) Wendleri Diſſ. de Lib. rar. ſect. xxiii. Johannis Vogt. Catalogus Hiſtorico-criticus Librorum rariorum. Hamb. 1738, 12mo, p. 16, 17.

ſect were then in, drew upon him ſuch dangers and troubles, that after ſtruggling with them for ſome years, he at length quitted his country, and retired into Holland, where moſt of the eminent Nonconformiſts, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of Queen Elizabeth's government, had taken refuge before. At Amſterdam Mr Johnſon and he erected a church, of which our Ainſworth was the doctor or teacher (*c*). In conjunction with Johnſon, he publiſhed a confeſſion of faith of the people called Browniſts, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confeſſions; but being men of warm ſpirits, they ſplit into parties about ſome points of diſcipline; Johnſon excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Preſbytery of Amſterdam. This divided the congregation, inſomuch, that Mr Ainſworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnſon, who after ſome time, returned the ſame compliment to Ainſworth. At length the conteſt grew ſo hot, that Amſterdam could not hold them: Johnſon and his followers removed to Embden, where ſoon after he died, and his congregation diſſolved (*d*). Nor did Mr Ainſworth and his followers live long in peace; for ſoon after he left them, and retired to Ireland, where he continued ſome time; but when the ſpirits of his people where quieted, he returned to Amſterdam, and continued with them to his death (*e*). If we may believe Dr Heylyn, the contentions at Amſterdam were ſome of them of an odd nature, and which ſufficiently ſhew how great obedience ſome men expect, who yet are not much inclined to pay it, either to the Church or to the State (*f*) [*B*]. His learned writings were received with reſpect, even by his adverſaries, who while they refuted his ſingularities, paid a proper regard to his abilities, particularly that worthy Biſhop of Exeter, Dr Hall, who wrote with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt the Browniſts (*g*). But nothing it ſeems could reclaim him, or incline him to return home; but as he lived, ſo he died in exile, though with ſome remarkable circumſtances, which have been remembered by ſeveral authors, notwithſtanding the year in which they happened is not recorded. His demiſe was ſudden, and

(*c*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*d*) Diſcourſe of troubles and excommunications at Amſterdam, by George Johnſon, 1603. Robinſon's Apology for the Browniſts. An animadverſion to Richard Clifton's advertiſement, by Henry Ainſworth, Amſt. 1613, 4*to*.

(*e*) Neal, ibid p. 48.

(*f*) Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 374, 375.

(*g*) A common apology of the Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of the overjuſt Sect, commonly called Browniſts, wherein the grounds and diffences of the ſeparation are largely diſcuſſed, by Joſeph Hall, Sect. xiv, xxiii, xxvii.

Song of Solomon, with a literal tranſlation from the Hebrew in proſe, and another in verſe, as alſo annotations. This learned work was tranſlated into Dutch, as the reader will ſee in the margin; and his commentary on the Song of Solomon, into German verſe. All the modern writers on the ſcriptures, cite him frequently; and the authors of Moreri's dictionary are pleaſed to leave it doubtful, whether the learned Lightfoot did not borrow much of what he has written on the ſcriptures from this excellent work (*z*).

(*z*) The Dutch tranſlation was by Sibrand Vomelius, printed at Leuwarden, for H. Nauta, 1690. Folio. The German tranſlation of the Song of Solomon, at Frankfort, by [illegible]r. Schrey. 1692, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *Either to the church, or to the ſtate.*] We cannot have the differences at Amſterdam ſet in a clearer, though perhaps they may be placed in a little too ſtrong a light, than by Dr Heylyn; he lived near thoſe times, and took care to be perfectly informed, as to the things of which he wrote, though it may be, his diſtaſte to all ſectaries might ſharpen his manner of delivering them, for which the judicious reader will make allowances. 'Worſe fared it with the brethren of the ſeparation, who had retired themſelves unto Amſterdam in the former reign, than with their firſt founders, and forefathers, in the Church of England; for having broken in ſunder the bond of peace, they found no poſſibility of preſerving the ſpirit of unity; one ſeparation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The brethren of the firſt ſeparation had found fault with the Church of England for reading prayers and homilies, as they lay in the book, and not admitting the preſbytery to take place amongſt them. But the brethren of the ſecond ſeparation take as much diſtaſte againſt retaining all ſet forms of hymns and pſalms, committing their conceptions both in praying and propheſying, and ſinging of pſalms, to the help of memory; and then ſubjoin this maxim, in which all agreed, that is to ſay, that there is the ſame reaſon of helps in all the parts of ſpiritual worſhip, as is to be admitted in any one, during the performing of that worſhip. Upon which ground, they charge it home on their fellow-ſeparatiſts; that as in prayer, the book is to be laid aſide, by the confeſſion of the antient brethren of the ſeparation, ſo muſt it alſo be in propheſying and ſinging of pſalms; and therefore, whether we pray, or ſing, or propheſy, it is not to be from the book, but out of the heart. For propheſying, next they tell us, that the ſpirit is quenched two manner of ways, by memory as well as reading. And to make known how little uſe there is of memory in the act of propheſying or preaching, they tell us, that the citing of chapter and verſe (as not being uſed by Chriſt and his apoſtles in their ſermons or writings) is a mark of Antichriſt. And as for pſalms, which make the third part of ſpiritual worſhip, they propoſe theſe queries: 1. Whether in a pſalm, a man muſt be tied to metre, rhyme, and tune? and whether voluntary be not as neceſſary in tune and words, as well as matter? and 2. Whether metre, rhyme, and tune, be not quenching the ſpirit? according to which reſolution of the new ſeparation, every man, when the congregation ſhall be met together, may firſt conceive his own matter in the act of praiſing; deliver it in proſe or metre, as he lifts himſelf; and in the ſame inſtant, chant out, in what tune ſoever, that which comes firſt into his own head, which would be ſuch a horrible confuſion of tongues and voices, that hardly any howling or gnaſhing of teeth can be equal to it. And yet it follows ſo directly on the former principles, that if we baniſh all ſet forms of common prayer (which is but only one part of God's publick worſhip) from the uſe of the Church, we cannot but in juſtice, and in reaſon both, baniſh all ſtudied and premeditated ſermons from the houſe of God, and utterly caſt out all King David's Pſalms, (whether in proſe or metre, that comes all to one) and all divine hymns alſo into the bargain. Finally, as to forms of government, they declared thus (or to this purpoſe at leaſt, if my memory fail not) that as they which live under the tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals, worſhip the very beaſt itſelf; and they which live under the government of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, do worſhip the image of the beaſt; ſo they which willingly obey the reformed Preſbytery of Paſtors, Elders, and Deacons, worſhip the ſhadow of that image. To ſuch ridiculous follies are men commonly brought, when once preſuming on ſome new light to direct their actions, they ſuffer themſelves to be miſguided by the *ignis fatuus* of their own inventions. And in this poſture ſtood the brethren of the ſeparation, *anno* 1606, when Smith firſt publiſhed his book of the preſent differences, between the churches of the ſeparation, as he honeſtly calls them. But afterwards there grew another great diſpute between Ainſworth and Broughton, whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod were of blue, or a ſea-water green; which did not only trouble all the Dyers in Amſterdam, but drew their ſeveral followers into ſides and factions, and made good ſport to all the world, but themſelves alone. By reaſon of which diviſions and ſubdiviſions, they fell at laſt into ſo many factions, that one of them in the end, became a church of himſelf; and having none to join in opinion with him, baptized himſelf, and thereby got the name of a Se-baptiſt; which never any ſectary or heretick had obtained before (3).' As to theſe particular differences between our author Ainſworth and Mr Johnſon, they were made the ſubject of various books and pamphlets in thoſe days, ſome of which are come down even to our times, as the reader will perceive by the book cited in the margin (4).

(3) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 374, 375.

(4) Hiſtory of the troubles and excommunications at Amſterdam, by George Johnſon 1603. An animadverſion to Richard Clifton's advertiſement, by Henry Ainſworth, 1613, 4*to*.

and not without ſuſpicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, he advertiſed it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would deſire; but Ainſworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with ſome of his Rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, it is thought he was poiſoned (*b*). It was certainly a great misfortune, that the obſtinacy of his own ſpirit, and the rigorous adminiſtration in the Church, ſhut out ſo able a man from the publick exerciſe of his miniſtry; for he was indiſputably a perſon of profound learning, exquiſitely verſed in the Scriptures, and deeply read in the works of the Rabbins. Beſides, he had a ſtrong underſtanding, quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. It is true that theſe excellent qualities were ſomewhat allayed by the haſtineſs of his temper, his contempt for eccleſiaſtical governments, his proneneſs to maintain diſputes about ſmall things, and his raſhneſs in ſeparating, not only from the Church, but his own Nonconformiſt brethren in Holland. This was a grievous prejudice to the Proteſtant cauſe in general; and gave a ſignal advantage to the enemies of the Puritans here in England in particular. Though our author was much conſidered in his life-time [*C*], in his own country, and ſeveral of his books were more than once reprinted after his death, yet through a prevailing contempt for men of his ſentiments, and too cold a reception of that kind of learning, which rendered him famous, his works are now more known and valued abroad than here; inſomuch, that it is not eaſy to produce an Engliſh writer oftener quoted, or with greater teſtimonies in favour of his merit, than we find beſtowed on Dr Ainſworth; and this by the learned of all countries, and at a conſiderable diſtance in time, and of all ſects and opinions (*i*). A higher teſtimony of the veneration he has acquired by his writings, cannot well be expected, than that which occurs in all the late editions of Moreri's dictionary; and even in the laſt, wherein with great pains they diſtinguiſh between Henry Ainſworth, the able commentator on the Scriptures, and Henry Ainſworth the Hereſiarch, who was one of the chiefs of the Browniſts in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and very gravely tell us, that we muſt have a care not to confound them; nevertheleſs, nothing is more certain, than that theſe two Henry Ainſworth's were the ſame man. There was indeed another writer, whoſe Chriſtian name was William, whoſe works have ſome affinity with thoſe of our author, and are therefore ſometimes aſcribed to him (*k*), but this William Ainſworth lived conſiderably later; and beſides him there was one Mr Samuel Ainſworth, a Nonconformiſt miniſter in Northamptonſhire, who was alſo an author (*l*). After the deceaſe of our Dr Ainſworth, his congregation at Amſterdam made choice of Dr Carre for their paſtor, who was author of the marginal references to the Bible, and ſeveral other treatiſes (*m*).

(*b*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Dictionaire de la Bible par Calmet. A Geneve, 1730, *4to.* Vol. I. p. clvji, clxix. Wendleri Diſſ. de Lib. 24. ſect. xxiii. Theoph. Sinceri Nact. richten von alt. und rar. Buchern. p. 119. Ss.

(*k*) See a book, intituled, The Marrow of the Bible, or a Logico-Theological Analyſis of every book of the Holy Scripture, 8vo. 1652, by W. A.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 496.

(*m*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Much conſidered in his life-time.*] He publiſhed occaſionally ſeveral treatiſes, many of which made a great noiſe in the world, as particularly his book, intituled, A Counter-Poiſon againſt Bernard and Craſhaw, *4to*, 1612; this piece is often cited, and the principles therein advanced, refuted by Biſhop Hall, though he did not write expreſsly againſt Ainſworth, but againſt Smith and Robinſon, two miniſters amongſt the Browniſts; yet whenever he mentions Ainſworth, he always owns him for the greateſt man of his party; and ſpeaking to thoſe he wrote againſt, calls him your Doctor, your Chief, your Rabbi (4). Another work of Ainſworth's was intituled, An Animadverſion to Mr Richard Clyfton's advertiſement, who, under pretence of anſwering Charles Lawne's book, hath publiſhed another man's private letter, with Mr Francis Johnſon's anſwer thereto; which letter is here juſtified, the anſwer thereto refuted, and the true cauſes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the Engliſh exiled Church at Amſterdam, manifeſted: printed at Amſterdam, by Giles Thorp, A. D. 1613, quarto. About the ſame time he wrote a Treatiſe of the Communion of Saints: and two years after another book, intituled, A Treatiſe of the Fellowſhip that the Faithful, *&c.* have with God, his Angels, and one with another, in this preſent life, 1615, 8*vo.* In the ſame year appeared likewiſe, The trying out of the truth between John Ainſworth and Henry Ainſworth; the one pleading for, the other againſt, Popery, *4to.* He wrote likewiſe a ſmall piece, often printed in 12*mo.* called, An Arrow againſt Idolatry, which is highly and juſtly commended by a late writer (5). To theſe we may add, a treatiſe, intituled, Certain Notes of Mr Ainſworth's laſt Sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. 1630, 8*vo.* whence it may be gathered, that he died ſome little time before. E

(4) See his Apology for the Church of England againſt the Browniſts, as cited in the text.

(5) Neal, ubi ſupra.

AIRAY (HENRY) Provoſt of Queen's college in Oxford, was born in Weſtmoreland, educated in Grammatical learning by the care of Bernard Gilpin, uſually called the Northern Apoſtle, and by him ſent to St Edmund's Hall in Oxford, in the year 1579. He was then nineteen years of age, and was maintained at the univerſity by Gilpin, who left him a handſome legacy by his laſt will, bearing date the 27th of October, 1582. Mr Airay ſoon removed from St Edmund's Hall to Queen's college, where he became *Pauper Puer Serviens.* In 1583, he took his bachelor's degree, and was made *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius* [*A*]; and in 1586, he commenced Maſter of Arts and Fellow. About this time he went into orders, and became a conſtant and zealous preacher in the univerſity, particularly in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt, adjoining to Queen's college. In 1594, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and four years after was

[*A*] *He became* Pauper Puer Serviens —— *and* Tabardus, *or* Tabardarius.] Theſe are ſervile offices in that college. *Pauper Puer Serviens* is a ſervitor, or poor lad, who waits upon the fellows in the common-hall at meals, and in their chambers. Mr Wood tells us, all muſt ſubmit to this office before they can be fellows. The *Tabardi*, or *Tabardarii*, that is, *Tabarders*, or *Tabitters*, are ſo called, becauſe antiently they wore coats or upper gowns, much like thoſe belonging to Heralds (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

[*B*] *Lectures*

was choſen provoſt of his college. In 1600, he proceeded in divinity, and ſix years after was choſen vice-chancellor (*a*). He wrote the following pieces, which were publiſhed after his death. 1. *Lectures upon the whole Epiſtle of St Paul to the Philippians.* London, 1618, 4*to* [*B*]. 2. *The juſt and neceſſary Apology touching his ſuit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordſhire.* London, 1621, 8*vo.* 3. *A Treatiſe againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus* [*C*]. Airay was a zealous Calviniſt, and a great ſupporter of thoſe of his party; who concur in giving him the character of a perſon of great holineſs, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the diſcharge of his miniſterial function (*b*). He died in Queen's college the tenth of October, 1616, aged 57, and was buried in the inner chapel of the ſaid college (*c*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 408.

(*b*) Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxford, Book I. p. 300, &c.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Lectures upon St Paul's Epiſtle to the Philippians.*] Theſe lectures were preached in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt, in Oxford, and were publiſhed by Chriſtopher Potter, fellow of Queen's college, with an epiſtle of his own compoſition prefixed to them. Mr Potter was a great admirer of our author and his doctrine, and was the editor likewiſe of his next piece, intituled, *The juſt and neceſſary apology*, &c. (2).

(2) Wood, ibid.

[*C*] *A Treatiſe againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus.*] Thomas Beacon, an old Calviniſt, had long before written on the ſame ſubject; and, about Airay's time, Dr William Whitaker, and Mr Andrew Willet did the like (3). T

(3) Wood, ibid. col. 409.

AIRAY (CHRISTOPHER) Vicar of Milford in Hampſhire, was born at Clifton in Weſtmoreland [*A*], and admitted a ſtudent in Queen's college in Oxford, in Michaelmas Term, 1621; where having paſſed through the ſervile offices (*a*), and taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was elected a Fellow. Soon after, agreeably to the ſtatutes of that houſe, he went into Holy Orders, and, in 1642, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He wrote Faſciculus præceptorum Logicalium in gratiam juventutis Academicæ compoſitus, *i. e. A Collection of the Rules of Logic, for the uſe of the Students in the Univerſity* (*b*); beſides ſome other pieces, which the Oxford Antiquarian (*c*), who gives us this account, had not ſeen. He died the eighteenth of October, 1670, and was buried in the chancel of his church of Milford. His epitaph [*B*] may be ſeen below.

(*a*) Namely, thoſe of *Pauper Puer Serviens*, and *Tabardus*. See the preceding article, remark [*A*].

(*b*) Printed at Oxford, 1660, ſecond edit. 8*vo.*

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

[*A*] *He was born at Clifton in Weſtmoreland.*] Mr Wood does not tells us, whether Mr Chriſtopher Airay was any way related to Dr Henry Airay, whoſe article we have given above; though one would be apt to ſuſpect he was, when we conſider that, beſides the ſimilitude of name, they were both born in the ſame county, had their education in the ſame college, and proceeded in the ſame courſe of ſtudy.

[*B*] *His Epitaph.*] 'Memoriæ ſacrum Chriſtopheri Airay S. T. Bac. olim Coll. Reg. Oxon. ſocii, & hujus eccleſiæ vicarii vigilantiſſimi, viri ſummæ integritatis, judicii acerrimi, & ingenii literarum omnium capacis, qui difficillimo ſeculo inter æſtuantes rerum fluctus clavum rectum tenuit. Mortalitatem tandem exuit 18 Oct. annos natus 69, &c. ——
'*Sacred to the memory of Chriſtopher Airay, bachelor of divinity, fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, and moſt vigilant vicar of this church; a gentleman of the greateſt integrity, judgment, and learning; and who, in the moſt difficult and troubleſome times, adhered ſtedfaſtly to his principles. At length he put off mortality, on the 18th of October, aged fifty-nine*, &c. (1).' T

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 470.

ALAN (OF LYNN) in Latin *Alanus de Lynna*, a famous divine in the XVth Century, was born at Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge; where he applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity, and, having taken the degree of Doctor (*a*), became an eminent preacher. Bale, who gives Alan an advantageous character (*b*), yet blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of Scripture [*A*]. But he is particularly famous for the great pains he took in making Indexes to moſt of the books he read [*B*]. Alan flouriſhed about the year 1420 (*c*), and wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly 1. De vario Scripturæ ſenſu, *i. e. Of the different ſenſes of Scripture.* 2. Moralia Bibliorum, *i. e. The Morality of the Scriptures.* 3. Sermones notabiles, *i. e. Remarkable Diſcourſes.* 4. Elucidarium Scripturæ, *i. e. A Method of interpreting Scripture.* 5. Prælectiones Theologicæ, *i. e. Lectures on Divinity.* 6. Elucidationes Ariſtotelis, *i. e. Explications of Ariſtotle* (*d*). At length he became a Carmelite, in the town of his nativity, and was buried in the convent of his order (*e*).

(*a*) Joh. Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 524.

(*b*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(*d*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

I find

[*A*] *Bale —— blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of ſcripture.*] 'Unum hoc ingne malum cum cæteris ſuarum factionum habebat commune. Quæcunque hiſtoricè ſcripta erant in utroque Dei Teſtamento, per allegorias & morales (ut vocant) expoſitiones ad animæ negotium & humanæ juſtitiæ opera traxit (1). ——— *He had this great fault in common with thoſe of his ſtamp. He allegorized the hiſtorical parts of the Old and New Teſtament, and applied them to the buſineſs of the ſoul, and the moral actions of men.*' Pits, on the other hand, commends the method he took to explain the Holy Scriptures; which was, by comparing them with themſelves, and having recourſe to the antient fathers of the Church. *In quo conatu, optimam viam ſecutus, alia cum aliis ſacræ ſcripturæ loca conferens, & ad antiquos eccleſiæ patres, ſanctoſque recurrens doctores, nihil temere ſuoque ſolius ingenio nixus, interpretatus eſt* (2).

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(2) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

[*B*] *He made indexes to moſt of the authors he read.*] Particularly, Joſephus, Origen, Hilary, Euſebius, St Jerom, St Ambroſe, St Auguſtin, St Baſil, St Chryſoſtom, St Cyril, Caſſian, Johannes Damaſcenus, St Gregory, Rabanus, Remigius, Caſſiodorus, Bede, Alcuinus, Haymo, Hugo, Anſelm, St Bafnard, Gerard of Laodicea, Belethus Bleſenſis, Thomas Aquinas, Ægidius, Duns Scotus, Alexander Neckam, Gorham, Baconthorp, Berthorius, and Philip Ribotus. The indexes to all theſe authors Bale himſelf ſaw in the library of the Carmelites at Norwich (3). The uſe, and neceſſity, of indexes, is well ſet forth by Dr Fuller (4). 'An index (ſays he) is a neceſſary implement, and no impediment of a book, except in the ſame ſenſe wherein the carriages of an army are termed *impedimenta.*

(3) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(4) Worthies of England, Norfolk, p. 256.

I find another ALAN, Abbot of Tewkesbury [C], who flourished about the year 1177, and died in 1201. He wrote a book De vita & exilio Thomæ Cantuariensis, *i. e. Of the Life and Banishment of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (f).

(f) Cave's Hist. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1177.

'*pedimenta*. Without this, a large author is but a 'labyrinth, without a clue to direct the reader there-'in. I confess, there is a lazy kind of learning, 'which is only indical; when scholars (like adders, 'which only bite the horse-heels) nibble but at the 'tables, which are *calces librorum*, neglecting the 'body of the book. But though the idle deserve no 'crutches, (let not a staff be used by them, but on 'them) pity it is, the weary should be denied the 'benefit thereof, and industrious scholars prohibited 'the accommodation of an index, most used by those, 'who most pretend to contemn it.'

[C] *ALAN, abbot of Tewkesbury*] In Baronius (5) he is styled *Abbas Deoches*; which is a mistake, arising perhaps from hence, that, in the Vatican copy which that author made use of, he found written *Deoches*, instead of *Theoches*, or, as we now say, *Teukesburiensis*. T

(5) Ad an. 1162. n. 21.

ALAN, ALLEN, ALLYN (WILLIAM) Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church. He was the son of John Allen, by Jennet Lyster, sister to Thomas Lyster, of Westby in Yorkshire (a), was born at Rossal in Lancashire, some time in the year 1532. His father was a gentleman of good family, and some fortune [A], who took care of his education till such time as he reached his fifteenth year, and then sent him to Oxford (b), where, in 1547, he was entered of Oriel college, and had for his tutor, Morgan Phillips, or Philip Morgan, a very famous man, and a zealous Papist (c), under whom he studied with great success, addicting himself especially to Logick, and Philosophy, in which he became such a proficient, that he was unanimously elected fellow of his college in 1550 (d), in which year also, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e). In an act celebrated July the sixteenth, he went out junior of the act, having compleated his degree of Master of Arts, with great reputation (f); being at that time esteemed an honour to the university on account of his great parts, learning, and eloquence. In 1556, he became Principal of St Mary's Hall, and in that, and the year following, one of the Proctors of the university (g), being then but twenty-four years of age. In 1558, he was made canon of York (h), but on Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, he, as a zealous Catholick, lost all hopes of preferment, and therefore, in 1560, withdrew out of his native country (i), and retired to Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands, where an English college was erected, of which he became the principal support [B]. At this time, there were several persons of great learning, and some of the boldest champions of the Popish cause, resided in this place, with whom Allen conversed, and by the politeness, as well as strength of his genius, grew quickly into great esteem. To this, it is said, the gracefulness of his person did not a little contribute, for, with a majestick presence, he had an easy, affable, deportment, and, with the greatest severity of manners, a mildness in speech and behaviour, which drew the affection of all who conversed with him (k). Here he began to write in support of the Catholick cause, and his first piece was against a work written by the learned Bishop Jewell, on the subject of Purgatory and Prayers for the dead (l) [C]. The method he made

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(b) Camden. An. edit. T. H. p. 684.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Pits, de illustr. Script. Angl. p. 792.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273.

(e) Id. Fast. Ox. Vol. I. col. 75.

(f) Ibid. col. 80.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 273. Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(h) Wood, ubi supra. Camden, ubi supra.

(i) Pits, de illustr. Angl. Script. p. 792. Edw. Fitzherbert in Vit. Vit. Card. Alani.

(k) Watson's Quodlibets, p. 104.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[A] *A Gentleman of good family, and fortune.*] So an eminent writer, and his contemporary, informs us. His words are these, 'Natus ille in comitatu Lan-'castrensi honesta familia, & quæ aliquot clariores cog-'natione complexa. *i. e. He was born in Lancashire* '*of a reputable family, allied to some of a higher de-*'*gree* (1).' Pits improves this, according to his wonted manner, for he tells us, that he was *nobilibus ortus parentibus* (2), which must signify, born of honourable parents at least. The author of his life, tells us, that he was descended from the Allens of Staffordshire, and that his grandfather, George Allen, settled at Rossal in Lancashire, because an uncle of his, who was Abbot of Delawise, demised to him diverse lands there, belonging to his monastery (3). Wood, rightly observes, that the arms Cardinal Allen bore, *viz.* Argent three Conies passant sable (4), are not the arms of the Allens of Staffordshire, nor indeed, that I can find of any other family (5) of that name; perhaps it was assigned him abroad, on account of the dangers he had run in the service of the Catholick cause, and the fierceness with which his enemies had pursued him; but this is submitted to the reader as a mere conjecture.

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 634.

(2) Pits, de illustr. Angl. p. 792.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 268.

(4) Ibid. ubi supra.

(5) See the Index to Guillim's Heraldry.

[B] *Of which he became the principal support.*] The reason why the English fugitives inclined to settle in the Low Countries, was chiefly on account of it's vicinity to their own country, whereby they had an opportunity of applying, as occasion required, to their friends for relief. The Spanish government also having already an eye towards Britain, encouraged such learned Catholicks as fled from thence, to settle in those provinces, and especially at Louvain, where there was a flourishing university, and other conveniencies (6). Of this, the government in England had early intelligence, and took great care to break off all correspondence between these fugitives, and the relations they had left behind them. There are still some writings in the Paper Office, which contain the names of persons punished for sending money to Louvain, as also an account of the sums they sent (7). However, Dr Harding, Dr Bullock, and other eminent persons remaining there, our author Allen, when he went abroad, thought it the propereft place for him to reside in, and renew his acquaintance with his studies (8).

(6) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 90.

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 114.

(8) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani.

[C] *On the subject of purgatory, and prayers, for the dead.*] Of all who have written against the Papists, there is none whose works have been better received than those of Bishop Jewell, nor of all the subjects which he handled, was there one wherein he seemed to have reasoned with greater force, than on this, which Allen undertook to answer. The title of his book ran thus. *A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholicks, concerning Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead:* It was printed at Antwerp, in 1565, in 8*vo* (9). The strength of our author's argument lies in this position, that a middle state is what most Protestants own, and that therefore it is more reasonable to believe, as the Church teaches concerning it, than to think at random in this respect. He likewise takes pains to show that prayers for the dead, were in use in the earliest ages of the Church, and, at the same time, omits nothing that may move the passions, and incline the reader to believe, that as the practice of antiquity, so reason and good-nature also were on his side of the question. This treatise made a great noise in England, and was answered by Mr William Fulke (10), to whom, in process of time, Dr Richard Bristow wrote a reply, printed at Louvain, 1580, whereupon, Dr Fulke thought himself obliged to write a rejoinder, which came out the next year (11).

(9) Pits, de illustr. Angliæ Script. p. 793.

(10) See Catalogue of Popish Books, and Answers, in Strype's Anna's, Vol. II. at the end.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[D] To

made uſe of in this work, was very proper to captivate the judgment of the reader; and his ſtyle, which was remarkably pure, and flowing, made his performance ſtill the more dangerous. The chiefs of the party then abroad, conceived the greateſt hopes of this new diſputant, and, as a mark of their confidence, put under his care a young man, of an honourable family, who was come to ſtudy at Louvain. The care he took of this young pupil, and his application to his other ſtudies, had ſuch an effect upon his health, that his phyſicians were of opinion, nothing could reſtore it, but the enjoying for a ſeaſon his native air. On this account, though his coming into England was attended with great danger, our author ventured over about 1565 (*m*). He went firſt, as the doctors had adviſed him, into Lancaſhire, where he was born, and there, without any regard to his ſafety, he laboured to the utmoſt of his power in making converts, and in diſſwading ſuch as were already Catholicks, from going to Heretical Conventicles, that is, from going to the eſtabliſhed Church (*n*). In order to carry his point the more effectually, he wrote and diſtributed ſeveral little pieces, which were afterwards printed, but by theſe endeavours rendering himſelf obnoxious to the government, ſo ſtrict a ſearch was made after him by the magiſtates, that he was forced to retire out of that county (*o*), into the neighbourhood of the city of Oxford, where he concealed himſelf ſome time. In this retreat, he wrote a kind of apology for his party, under the title of *Brief Reaſons concerning the Catholick Faith* (*p*). Some indeed ſay, this was written at the houſe of the Duke of Norfolk, in Norfolk, where it is certain our author was ſome time concealed, though he returned afterwards into the neighbourhood of Oxford again, where he diſtributed copies of this performance, to fix the minds of ſuch as wavered between the two religions; and to draw over ſuch as already doubted their ſafety, while remaining in the eſtabliſhed Church (*q*). Such ſucceſs attended theſe his endeavours, that though the conveniency of a ſhip going to the Netherlands (*r*) offered, yet he refuſed to make uſe of it, and choſe rather to continue in this dangerous ſituation, promoting, as far as in his power lay, the doctrine of Popery, and the ſpiritual juriſdiction of his Holineſs, and ſuch as derived their authority from him. With this view, he ventured to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with ſome of his old friends in the univerſity, and amongſt the reſt with a perſon formerly a Papiſt, but then of the eſtabliſhed Church, and one, of whoſe preferment his family had great hopes. This man, our author by his unwearied applications drew back to his former opinions, which ſo exaſperated his relations, that they perſecuted Allen with extraordinary diligence, inſomuch, that he was forced to fly towards London, and not long after, with ſome difficulty, made his eſcape into Flanders, in 1568 (*s*), having remained in England three years. In all probability he had ſome great friends here, who, in reſpect to their former acquaintance with him, were well enough pleaſed at his withdrawing a ſecond time beyond ſea. Amongſt whom, we may reckon Sir Chriſtopher Hatton (*t*), afterwards Chancellor, who received part of his education in St Mary's Hall at Oxford, while our author was Principal thereof; on which account, Sir Chriſtopher had a great tenderneſs for Allen's perſon, and Allen, on the other hand, had ſo high an eſteem of him, as to raiſe his reputation to the greateſt heighth abroad, which occaſioned ſome invidious reflections at home (*u*). After our author came a ſecond time into the Spaniſh Low-Countries, he went to Mechlin (*w*) in the Dutchy of Brabant, where he read a divinity lecture in a certain monaſtery there, with great applauſe, thence he went to Doway, where he became Doctor in Divinity (*x*), and laboured very aſſiduouſly in eſtabliſhing a ſeminary there for the ſupport of Engliſh ſcholars, and, becauſe this was looked upon with an evil eye by the government in England, he afterwards wrote a book in defence of ſuch eſtabliſhments, of which the reader will find notice taken in our account of his writings. While he was thus employed, he became canon of Cambray (*y*), a very conſiderable and honourable preferment, conferred on him purely to reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholick Church [*D*]. In this ſeminary of Doway, many books were compoſed to juſtify the Popiſh Religion, and to anſwer the books written in defence of the Church of England, which occaſioned Queen Elizabeth's iſſuing a proclamation, forbidding ſuch books to be either ſold or read (*z*). In 1569, our author Allen appointed one Briſtow, who became afterwards a very eminent man, moderator of ſtudies at Doway (*a*), which Briſtow, in all probability, was the perſon Allen drew over to his opinions, when he was in England, as is before mentioned. Not long after, Dr Allen was appointed canon of

(*m*) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani, p. 39.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*p*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 793.

(*q*) As appears from the Treatiſe itſelf.

(*r*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Id. ibid.

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 253.

(*u*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, edit. 1649. p. 149.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*x*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 224.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 557.

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212.

[*D*] *To reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholick Church.*] All who are admitted to this dignity, are obliged to prove their deſcents, that is, to ſhow that for ſo many generations they have been gentlemen. We learn from a celebrated Popiſh writer, a very extraordinary circumſtance concerning our author Allen's miſſion in England, the report of which, might very poſſibly contribute ſomewhat to his obtaining this preferment. The author having told us the reaſon of his going over to England, proceeds thus: Neither did he lead there an idle or ſupine life, but, like a brave and bold ſoldier, diſguiſed in name and in habit, he ſallied by ſtealth into the enemies quarters, recovering from them many whom they had ſeduced, which grevioufly provoked them, and occaſioned much pains to be taken in order to apprehend him: once he very narrowly eſcaped, for the perſon employed to ſeize him who knew him well, and had actually ſupped with him the ſame night, had ſuch a miſt before his eyes, when he came to execute his deſign, that he paſſed by him without knowing him (12). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, becauſe Wood takes no notice of it, that the pupil of whom Allen took ſuch care as to endanger his own health, was Mr Chriſtopher Blount, afterwards Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who was concerned in the Earl of Eſſex's inſurrection (13).

(12) Nicius Erythræus in Pinacoth. I. p. 92.

(13) Camden. Annal. p. 855.

of Rheims, through the intereſt of the Guiſes (*b*), and to this city, he tranſferred the ſeminary which had been ſettled at Doway. The reaſon which induced this alteration, was, becauſe the then governor of the Netherlands, Don Lewis de Requeſens, had obliged the Engliſh fugitives to withdraw out of his government (*c*). Hence forward, Dr Allen was eſteemed the chief of his party, and indeed, he laboured inceſſantly to do it ſervice, by writing various treatiſes, in defence of the doctrines, and not a few, by way of apology, for the practices of the Papiſts, by licenſing, and recommending many books written by others, and by many journies into Spain and Italy. By theſe his labours, he procured a ſeminary to be eſtabliſhed at Rome (*d*), and two others in Spain (*e*), wherein Engliſh ſtudents were not only educated in all ſorts of learning, but were alſo maintained and provided for. At home, Dr Allen was juſtly reputed a capital enemy of the ſtate (*f*), all correſpondence with him was looked on as the higheſt kind of treaſon, and Thomas Alfield, a Jeſuit, was actually executed for bringing certain books of our author's writing into England [*E*]. The celebrated Robert Parſons, the Jeſuit, was Dr Allen's great friend, and counſellor (*g*), and very probably, put him upon that deſperate project, which, if it had ſucceeded, would have overwhelmed the Engliſh, and which, as it miſcarried, did in a manner enervate the Spaniſh monarchy. For many years there had been differences, diſcontents, and even actual injuries committed, between the Engliſh and the Spaniards; but now Dr Allen, and the fugitive Noblemen from England, perſuaded King Philip the ſecond, openly to undertake the conqueſt of their native country (*h*). To facilitate this, the Pope, who then was Sixtus V, was prevailed upon to renew the excommunication, thundered againſt Queen Elizabeth, by his predeceſſor, Pope Pius V (*i*). While this was in agitation, Sir William Stanley, who commanded a very conſiderable garriſon of Engliſh and Iriſh in the important town of Daventer, baſely betrayed it to the Spaniards, and went with his whole regiment of 1200 men into that ſervice (*k*). Rowland York, who had been alſo intruſted with a ſtrong fort in the ſame country, acted in the like infamous manner, which not a little aſtoniſhed the States General of the United Provinces, and brought no ſmall ſcandal on the Engliſh nation (*l*); yet Dr Allen wrote a treatiſe in defence of this baſe proceeding, and ſent ſeveral Prieſts to Stanley, in order to inſtruct thoſe he had drawn over to the King of Spain's ſervice (*m*), as the reader will ſee in the notes [*F*]. To give the greater weight to theſe his writings, our author, Allen, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, was created Cardinal, by the title of St Martin in Montibus (*n*), and ſoon after, the King of Spain gave him an Abbey of great value in the kingdom of Naples, with ſtrong aſſurances of much greater preferment, which was afterwards performed. In April, 1668, he compoſed that

(*b*) Ibid. col. 270. Camden. Ann. p. 684. Fuller's Church Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(*d*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See his epitaph, in Note [*H*].

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(*g*) Watſon's Quodlibets, 8vo. p. 240. See alſo the article of PARSONS, in Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(*h*) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(*k*) Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, 942, 943. Camden. Annal. p. 552. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 428.

(*l*) Grimeſtone, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. p. 793.

[*E*] *Bringing certain books of our author's into England*] The college of Doway, was ſettled through the prudence and care of Dr Allen, who procured a penſion from the Pope, for the ſupport of ſuch as led a collegiate life there. Of theſe, there were uſually eight or ten doctors, who officiated as profeſſors: Of whom, ſome explained the Holy Scriptures, others taught ſcholaſtick divinity, but the ſtudies principally encouraged there, were the canon-law, and controverſy. Here alſo, ſuch as were appointed thereto, wrote books againſt hereſy, defended the religion, and the practices of Catholicks, againſt the aſperſions of their enemies, and alſo collected memoirs of the ſufferings and deaths of ſuch as were ſtyled martyrs for the Catholick Faith. In the direction of this college, Dr Allen officiated as preſident, and behaved with ſo much mildneſs, wiſdom, and circumſpection, that he was univerſally revered and beloved (14). He likewiſe reviſed and approved ſuch books as were written there, during the time that he preſided, as appears particularly by his teſtimony prefixed to Richard Briſtow's brief Treatiſe of diverſe ſure and plain Ways to find out Truth, in this doubtful and dangerous Time of Hereſy, to which book, Dr Allen's licence bears date, April 30, 1574 (15). He likewiſe licenſed ſome of the books of Robert Parſons, and of many others. As to this Jeſuit, whoſe name was Thomas Alfield, and who, in the text, is ſaid to have died for bringing in ſome of our author's books; there is ſtill among the papers of the Lord Treaſurer, Burleigh, a brief of the treaſonable expreſſions extracted out of Dr Allen's books, in order to ground his indictment. Theſe expreſſions are moſt of them contained in a treatiſe written by Dr Allen, intituled, *The Defence of the twelve Martyrs in one Year* (16), which is not mentioned either by Pits, or Wood, in their catalogues of his works. In order to give the reader ſome notion of our author's ſtyle, and manner of writing, as alſo, becauſe this book is ſo ſcarce, that 'tis hardly to be met with, we ſhall tranſcribe a paragraph or two from the indictment. 'The bond and 'obligation we have entered into for the ſervice of 'Chriſt, and the Church, far exceedeth all other 'duty, which we owe to any human creature. And 'therefore, where the obedience to the inferior 'hindreth the ſervice of the other, which is ſuperior, 'we muſt, by law and order, diſcharge our ſelves of 'the inferior. The wife, if ſhe cannot live with her 'own huſband, being an infidel, or an heretick, 'without injury, or diſhonour to God, ſhe may de'part from him, or, contrariwiſe, he from her, for 'the like cauſe, neither oweth the innocent party, 'nor can the other lawfully claim, any conjugal duty, 'or debt in this caſe. The bond-ſlave, which is in 'another kind, no leſs bound to his lord and maſter, 'than the ſubject to his ſovereign, may alſo, by the 'antient Imperial laws, depart, and refuſe to obey or 'ſerve him, if he become a Heretick. Yea, *ipſo 'facto*, he is made free. Finally, the parents that 'become Hereticks, loſe the ſuperiority and domi'nion they have by the law of nature, over their own 'children. Therefore, let no man marvel, that in 'caſe of hereſy, the ſovereign loſeth the ſuperiority 'over his people, and kingdom.' The indictment charges, that the author did hereby intend, that Queen Elizabeth, by reaſon of her hereſy, had fallen from her ſovereignty. It likewiſe charges Thomas Alfield, with bringing the ſaid traiterous books of William Allen, into her majeſty's dominions, and there publiſhing them on the 10th of September, in the twenty-ſixth year of her reign, that is, in 1584 (17). For which facts he was executed at Tyburn, the 6th of July, 1585 (18).

(14) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 972.

(15) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(16) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 562.

(17) MS. Burleigh, from a book once belonging to Dr More, Biſhop of Ely.

(18) Stowe's Annals, p. 709.

[*F*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] This event happened in the winter of 1587. Sir William Stanley had been before in the ſervice of the King of Spain, but deſerted from him, and ſerved with reputation in Ireland. The Earl of Leiceſter, made him governor of Daventer, not only without, but againſt the conſent of the States, who always ſuſpected him, and who, after the Earl was gone into England, would willingly have removed him. Stanley having made an agreement with Count Taxis, admitted him with a ſmall body of troops into the place, and having thus reduced it to the King of Spain's obedience, he was left there governor, with ſuch of his Iriſh forces

that work which rendered him moſt famous abroad, and infamous at home. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt explaining the Pope's bull, for the excommunication and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth; the ſecond, exhorting the nobility and people of England to deſert her, and take up arms in favour of the Spaniards (*o*). Of this book the reader will find a farther account in the notes [*G*]. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was by far the ſevereſt piece ever written againſt an Engliſh Prince, and very capable, conſidering the then ſituation of things, of producing miſchievous effects. Many thouſand copies were printed at Antwerp, in order to have been put on board the Armada, that they might have been in readineſs to have been diſperſed by the Papiſts all over England, upon the firſt landing of the Spaniards. But, on the failing of this enterprize, all theſe books were ſo carefully deſtroyed, that very few were preſerved (*p*). Of theſe, one, as ſoon as it was printed, was tranſmitted by ſome of the Lord Treaſurer's ſpies, to the Engliſh council, and Queen Elizabeth, thereupon, ſent Dr Dale into the Low Countries, to complain of ſuch a proceeding to the Prince of Parma, who affected to preſerve great meaſures towards her Majeſty. He heard this complaint with a great deal of phlegm, and anſwered, that as he knew of no ſuch book, he could not ſay any thing to it's contents (*q*). After the Armada was deſtroyed, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been three years in priſon under a charge of high-treaſon, was brought to his tryal and the great crime charged upon him, was his correſpondence with Cardinal Allen, which being proved, he was found guilty by his Peers (*r*). In the ſame year, the King of Spain promoted our author, as he had promiſed him, to the Archbiſhoprick of Mechlin in Flanders (*s*), where he would have had him conſtantly reſident, in order to his more effectually cheriſhing the Popiſh and Spaniſh intereſts in England. But the Pope having a high opinion of the Cardinal's merit, and finding him of great uſe in conſiſtories, would not ſuffer him to leave Rome (*t*), where, however, he laboured as earneſtly as ever, in the ſervice of his countrymen, and the Catholick Faith. Some have aſſerted, that he and one Sir Francis Ingleſield, aſſiſted Father Parſons in compoſing his traiterous book concerning the ſucceſſion (*u*), which he publiſhed under the name of Doleman, and which was of ſo dangerous conſequence, that it was made capital by law, for any perſon to have it in his cuſtody (*w*). Yet others affirm, that he had no hand in it, but, on the contrary, was very little pleaſed with this treatiſe (*x*), as tending to perpetuate thoſe diſſenſions, which for ſo many years had torn and diſtracted his native country. The remainder of his life he ſpent at Rome in great honour and reputation, living in much ſplendor, and uſing all his intereſt for the comfort and maintainance of ſuch poor Catholicks as fled out of England (*y*). As for the adminiſtration here, they had ſeveral ſpies upon him, and it appears by the papers of the Treaſurer Burleigh, that he had conſtantly very diſtinct accounts of every ſtep the Cardinal took (*z*). In the laſt years of his life, he is ſaid to have changed his ſentiments, as to government, and to have been heartily ſorry for the pains he had taken in promoting the invaſion of England by the Spaniards; nay, we are told by a very eminent Popiſh writer, that when he perceived the Jeſuits intended nothing but deſolating and deſtroying his native land, he wept bitterly, not knowing how to remedy it, much leſs how to bridle their inſolence (*a*). This conduct of his, drew upon him

(*o*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240. Wood's Athen Oxon. Vol. I col. 271.

(*p*) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. p. 564. Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, p. 996. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 429.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. p. 595.

(*s*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269.

(*t*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 673.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 359.

(*x*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 263.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(*z*) See in the Table of Contents, to Strype's IVth Volume.

(*a*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

forces as adhered to him. As for Rowland York, whom the Earl of Leiceſter intruſted with a ſtrong fort, to bridle the Spaniſh garriſon in Zutphen, he ſold it to the ſame Count Taxis, who commanded that Spaniſh garriſon (19). The treatiſe written by our author, in defence of this action, was firſt printed in Engliſh, in the form of a letter, and afterwards in Latin, under the title of *Epiſtola de Daventriæ Ditione. Cracov.* 1588. In this epiſtle it is alledged, that Sir William Stanley was no traitor, becauſe he had only delivered to the King of Spain, a city which was his own before, and all Engliſhmen in the ſervice of the States, are exhorted to follow his example (20).

(19) Grot. Annal. 1587. Camd. Annal. p. 553. Grimeſton's Netherlands, p. 942. 943. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 428.

(20) Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Of this book the reader will find*, &c.] The firſt part of this book, was intitled, *A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus V*, wherein it is maintained, that, by virtue of the Pope's bull, Queen Elizabeth was accurſt, and deprived of her crown; the invaſion and conqueſt of her kingdoms committed to the King of Spain, to execute the ſame with his armies both by ſea and land, and to take the crown to himſelf, or to limit it to ſuch a potentate as the Pope and he ſhould name. The title of the ſecond part was, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, and in the title, our author is called the Cardinal of England (21). The chief points inſiſted on in this book, are theſe: The Queen is called the pretended Queen, and the preſent Uſurper. She muſt be deprived of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. She is an Heretick, a Schiſmatick: Uſurping the kingdom againſt all right; as for the other cauſes, ſo becauſe ſhe had not the conſent of the great Biſhop of Rome. That ſhe moved the Turk to invade Chriſtendom. She had ſet at ſale, and made a market of laws and rights. Some of her facts make her uncapable of the kingdom. Some others make her unworthy of life. That therefore Pope Sixtus V, had renewed the excommunication againſt her, and deprived her of her title and pretences to the kingdom of England, and Ireland, and declared her illegitimate, and an uſurper, and abſolved all her ſubjects from the oath of fidelity to her. And then he charged all perſons to withdraw their aid from her; that worthy puniſhment might be taken of her. And that they join themſelves with the Duke of Parma. Alſo, it was proclaimed lawful to lay hands upon the Queen; and a very great reward was promiſed to them that did ſo. And a ſafe conduct was then given to as many as would bring warlike proviſions to the Spaniſh camp; and to all who would aſſiſt that enterprize, the Pope doth by indulgence give full pardon, and plenary remiſſion of all their ſins, &c. In the ſame book he ſays, that he was made Cardinal on purpoſe to ſuccour and ſerve his nation at this time, and promiſes that all imaginable diligence ſhall be uſed to preſerve and protect all Catholicks, and all ſuch as ſhould come in and ſubmit themſelves to the Prince of Parma. Notwithſtanding all this, many Papiſts were of opinion, that the Cardinal was in a manner compelled to take this book upon himſelf, and that in reality, it was either written, or altered, by Father Parſons and other Jeſuits (22). Nay, it is pretended, that the Cardinal himſelf in his life-time proteſted as much, and it is certain, that after his death, the Jeſuits pretended to father upon him many things, of which he was ignorant. The truth is, the contents of this book was univerſally diſliked by all ſober Catholicks (23), as well as Proteſtants, and therefore it is no wonder, there is ſuch ſhifting it from one to another.

(21) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

(22) Id. p. 247.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 561. Speed's Chron. p. 857.

[*H*] *An*

him the ill will of that powerful ſociety, who, notwithſtanding all the pains he had taken, all the books he had written, all the reputation and rewards he had acquired, gave out that he was a good ſimple man, but not of any eſteem or reckoning in ſtate affairs, handled in the Pope's conſiſtory, a man of weak judgment, ſhallow wit, and ſmall advice, never uſed but a little for matters of learning, and that in poſitive only, not in any ſchool point (*b*). On his death-bed he was very deſirous of ſpeaking to the Engliſh ſtudents then in Rome, which the then Father Rector, a Jeſuit, prevented, as fearing he ſhould have perſuaded them to a loyal reſpect for their Prince, and a tender regard for their country (*c*). He is generally ſaid to have died of a retention of urine, but it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that he was poiſoned by the Jeſuits, which ſuſpicion was attended with ſuch probable circumſtances, that the reverend Fathers themſelves admitted his being poiſoned, but then they charged it on his antagoniſt, the Biſhop of Caſſana, whom they liked not, and who it was thought, on his demiſe, would have been made a Cardinal (*d*). As for our author, his deceaſe happened on the ſixth of October, 1594, in the ſixty-third year of his age (*e*). He was buried with great pomp, in the chapel of the Engliſh college at Rome, where a monument is erected to his memory, with an inſcription, which the reader will find in the notes [*H*]. Upon the death of this memorable perſon, the Jeſuits, as a Prieſt of the Church of Rome tells us, openly triumphed, inſulted over the dead corps, giving out, among other calumnies againſt him, that he was well gone, and that God had taken him away in good time. For if he had lived but a little while longer, he would have diſgraced himſelf, ſhamed his country, and loſt the credit which he had gotten (*f*); yet they ſhortly after, for many reaſons, altered their tone, and when they found how little credit theſe diſcourſes met with, magnified the Cardinal's memory, as if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor [*I*]. Without all queſtion, it is a very hard taſk, to give this eminent perſon his true character; however, ſince it is our province, we cannot be blamed for attempting it, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that we offer nothing but what is ſupported by authority. If we conſider him as an Engliſh ſubject, writing, adviſing, and acting againſt his Prince, we muſt look upon him as a buſy, enterprizing, and dangerous rebel, labouring continually the deſtruction of his Prince, and her people, equally ready to perſuade foreigners to invade, or ſubjects to riſe up in arms, which is the picture drawn of him by Camden (*g*). If, on the other hand, we look on him in the light of a zealous Papiſt, and as one convinced in his conſcience, that what he did was agreeable to the doctrines of the Church, then we cannot deny him the title of an active, learned, and induſtrious perſon; and if we may credit what ſhould ſeem to be the ſtrongeſt evidence, far from being an enemy, in the latter part of his life eſpecially, either to his country, or to his lawful Sovereign Queen Elizabeth (*h*) [*K*].

(*b*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 98.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Camd. Ann. p. 684. Fuller, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

(*f*) Thom. Bell, in his Anatomy of Popiſh Tyranny, lib. ii. c. 2.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 684, 685.

(*h*) Fitzherbert, in Vit. Card. Alani.

Laſtly,

[*H*] *An inſcription which the reader will find in the notes.*]

Deo Trino & Uni.

Gulielmo Alano, Lancaſtrienſi, S. R. E. Cardinali Angliæ, qui extorris patria, perfunctus Laboribus diuturnis, & Orthodoxa Religione tuenda, ſudoribus multis in ſeminariis ad ſalutem patriæ inſtituendis, fovendis, periculis plurimis ob eccleſiam Romanam, opera, ſcriptis, omni corporis & animi contentione defenſam, hic in ejus Gremio, Scientiæ, Pietatis, Modeſtiæ, Integritatis fama & exemplo charus, occubuit 17 Kal. Novembris, Anno Ætatis 63, ſalutis humanæ 1594 (24). That is:

(24) Godwin, de Preſul. Angl. Part ii. p. 179.

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

To the memory of William Alan, a Lancaſtrian, in the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of England, who, driven from his country, worn out with daily Labours, ſupporting the Orthodox Religion, ſtriving inceſſantly in the founding Seminaries, for promoting the ſpiritual Safety of his Country, cheriſhing when founded, expoſing himſelf to many dangers by ſerving the Church of Rome, in Actions, Writings, and by the whole forces of his Soul and Body, here in it's Boſom, endeared by the Fame and Example of his Wiſdom, Piety, Modeſty, and Integrity, he died the 17th of the Kalends of November, in the 63d year of his Age, and of Man's Salvation 1594.

[*I*] *As if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor.*] In order thoroughly to underſtand this perplexed affair, the reader muſt obſerve, that a little before the Spaniſh invaſion, in 1588, it was thought neceſſary, to have ſome Engliſhman promoted to the rank of a Cardinal. The candidates were Dr Lewis, Biſhop of Caſſana, and our Dr Allen, and much intereſt was made on both ſides, but at length the Jeſuits being exceedingly apprehenſive of Biſhop Lewis's coming to that honour, it was procured for him of whom we are writing. However afterwards, when the Cardinal did not go all their lengths, they treated him as injuriouſly, as ever they had done any of their greateſt enemies; yet growing again apprehenſive, that Biſhop Lewis might put on that hat which Allen had left, they began to obſerve, in all companies, that the deceaſed Cardinal was a perfect ſaint, that he was juſtly admired by ſeveral Popes, reſpected by all the Princes of Europe, who either knew or heard of him; that his whole ſtudy was for the good of his country, and the maintenance of the Catholick religion, and that yet the Biſhop of Caſſana had made it the buſineſs of his life, to diſturb and diſquiet ſo holy, and ſo excellent a man (25).

(25) Watſon's Quodlibets, 98, 99, 101. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 264.

[*K*] *To his lawful ſovereign Queen Elizabeth.*] The cleareſt proof that can be of this, we find in a letter amongſt the MSS. of the Lord Burleigh, thus endorſed by that Lord's own hand. Cardinal Allen from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, Auguſt 14, 1593. It runs thus (26):

(26) From a book once belonging to (More) Biſhop of Ely.

'Good Mr Hopkins,

'YOURS of the tenth of July, came ſafely to 'my hands, and gave me knowledge of a cer-'certain overture made to you, by one, that might 'ſeem to do it by ſome ſecret commiſſion of treaty 'of an accord between England and Spain, with 'deſire of my ſenſe therein, either of my ſelf or 'with the Pope, upon ſome reaſonable conditions, 'for toleration of the Catholick religion in our country. 'Which argument, how grateful it ſhould be unto 'me, you that of old knew ſo well my opinion and 'deſire in that cauſe, may eaſily deem. And after 'a little pauſe of mind upon ſo ſudden and unwonted 'news, I could think no otherwiſe, but that God 'himſelf hath ſtirred up in their hearts this motion, 'for the ſaving of that realm from the preſent fears, 'and dangers, and perplexities it is fallen into. And 'thereby alſo a ſpecial [favour] offered at length unto 'me, once e're I die, not only to give the willing, 'deſired comforts, I owe unto my afflicted Catholick

'friends

Laſtly, taking him merely as an author, he was unqueſtionably for matter, method, wit, learning, language, one of the moſt conſiderable writers of his age, as the greateſt of his enemies, and the beſt criticks, have allowed [*L*]. It ſeems ſtrange, that many of of our writers of controverſy, and ſome not unlearned, have treated this our author as a Jeſuit (*i*), whereas in all controverſies between that order and the ſecular Prieſts, the latter always gloried in Cardinal Allen, as a man to whom no Jeſuit could juſtly be compared in any reſpect [*M*]. In the cloſe of this life it is proper to remark, that at Rome, and every where abroad, Cardinal Allen was ſtiled Cardinal of England, regarded as the Protector of the nation, and honoured with extraordinary reſpect. He had about him ſeveral perſons of ſome diſtinction, particularly Mr Fitzherbert, who wrote a large account of his life, which was never printed, as well as the epitome of that life, from which moſt of the facts mentioned in this article are taken; Mr Thomas Heſket, his nephew; Mr Banes, who had lived long in Poland; with many others. To maintain his magnificence, he had a revenue of 15,000 crowns *per annum*, then computed at 4,500 pounds of our money (*k*). But when it appeared that all this had wrought little, and that there was no hopes of reducing England, either by fraud or force, leſs care was taken of Engliſh Prieſts, and few of them were raiſed even to the degree of Biſhops. But in the reign of King Charles II, when it was again thought probable at Rome, that ſomething might be done for promoting the Catholick cauſe in Britain, Philip Thomas Howard, younger brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was created Cardinal, and ſometimes called the Cardinal of England (*l*), as our Cardinal Allen had been before.

(*i*) Stowe, edit. 1631, p. 746. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630. Dr Denton, in Popiſh Merits, p. 39.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 277.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 272.

'friends and brethren, but therein alſo to ſerve 'moſt faithfully and profitably, even my very ene-'mies, though otherwiſe than through theſe unfor-'tunate differences and debates in religion, [our Lord 'God forgive the author thereof.] I know I have none; 'or to do to the one or the other, and above all to 'my native country, moſt dear unto me, ſo much 'good as an unfeigned peace would bring, I would 'travel to the laſt drop of my blood. I thank God, 'I am not ſo eſtranged from the place of my birth, 'moſt ſweet, nor ſo affected to foreigners, that I 'prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal 'things; whereof if it pleaſed the Queen's majeſty or 'council to take a ſure taſte, I deſire no more, but 'that they would confidently uſe and command me 'in this matter. And in truth, upon the receipt of 'your letter, I had not ſlept before I had dealt with 'his Holineſs, if the party that made the motion un-'to you, had brought any warrant in the world from 'any in authority, or any ſufficient proof or atteſta-'tion of their contentment therein. Which might 'have been [as yet it may be] kept as cloſe as them-'ſelves would require. That they ſo did not, if 'they meant any matter indeed I marvel. And you 'did well and wiſely to ſtand on that point: without 'which I cannot, in reaſon nor honour, attempt a 'thing of that weight and quality with the Pope, 'much leſs bring our purpoſe to paſs, either with him 'or the King. With whom alſo, not only by his Holi-'neſs's mediation, but by myſelf, in matters concerning 'our country and religion, I may perhaps do more 'than I need now to ſay. And whatſoever I can do 'with either of them, I would employ in this caſe 'myſelf to the uttermoſt. Though, to ſay the truth, 'if the Pope were a temporal Prince only, being no 'leſs injured [tho' in another kind] than the King 'himſelf, his perſon were not ſo fit to be a moderator 'of this pretended peace. But being a ſpiritual per-'ſon, and the common and moſt loving father of all 'Chriſtians, and attending above all human reſpects 'the ſervice of God, and the advancement of religion, 'without all formalities and punctos of worldly 'humour, I am aſſured he will embrace this cauſe with 'all hearty affection. For I know many ways his 'moſt tender heart and deſire towards our country's 'weal, both in God and in the world, &c.

[*L*] *And the beſt criticks have allowed.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of ſuch of his writings as we have not already mentioned. Such as, *A Defence of the Lawful Power and Authority of the Prieſthood to remit ſins.* To which is added two other tracts, *The Peoples Duty in confeſſing*; and *An Explanation of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, with reſpect to Indulgencies.* Printed at Louvain, 1567, in 8*vo* (27). De Sacramentis in genere, de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de Miſſæ Sacrificio, Libros tres. i. e. *Of Sacraments in general, of the Euchariſt, and of the ſacrifice of the Maſs, three Books. Addreſſed to Pope Gregory XIII. Printed at Antwerp,* 1576 (28). *Of the Worſhip due to Saints, and their Relicks.* 'A true, ſincere, and modeſt Defence of 'Chriſtian Catholicks, that ſuffered for their faith at 'home and abroad. Againſt a falſe, ſeditious, and 'ſlanderous Libel, intitled, The Execution of Juſtice in 'England: wherein is declared, how unjuſtly the 'Proteſtants do charge Catholicks with Treaſon; 'how untruly they deny their perſecution for religion, 'and how deceitfully they ſeek to abuſe ſtrangers about 'the cauſe, greatneſs, and manner of their Sufferings; 'with diverſe other matters pertaining to this Purpoſe.' Printed without the name of the place, in 1583 (29). The book to which this was an anſwer, was penned by Lord Burleigh himſelf, and the original, under his own hand, is yet preſerved (30). As for this piece of Cardinal Allen's, it is eſteemed the very beſt of all his writings; it conſiſted of nine chapters, wherein as much is ſaid for his cauſe, and as great learning ſhewn in defending it, as it would admit. Of this diſcourſe it is, that the learned Edmund Bolton, author of Nero Cæſar, gives this character, *a princely, grave, and flouriſhing piece, of natural and exquiſite* Engliſh, *is Cardinal* Alan's *apology* (31). Beſides theſe, he wrote ſome other little treatiſes, which were publiſhed without his name, and therefore cannot certainly be known to be his. To the laſt mentioned book, an anſwer was written by John Stubbe of Lincoln's-Inn (32), by direction of the Lord Treaſurer, and another by Biſhop Bilſon (33).

(27) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 269. Pits, p. 793.

(28) See the authors before cited.

(29) Copied from the book.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 481.

(31) See his Hypercritica, at the end of A. Hall's edition of N. Trivet, Vol. II. p. 233.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 482.

[*M*] *Could juſtly be compared in any reſpect.*] If only the common writers of pamphlets (34), following honeſt John Stowe (35), had ſtiled our author a Jeſuit, I ſhould have looked on it as a mere term of reproach, and not ſtrictly to be taken, but ſince Mr Strype (36), who ſhould have known better, calls him ſo, it is neceſſary to cite the following ſhort proof of the contrary, from an author of undeniable credit in ſuch a diſpute, I mean Father Watſon, the great champion of the ſecular Prieſts againſt that order (37). 'It is, ſays he, a very mean occupation, and but 'coarſe ſtuff, that the Jeſuits can and will not make 'a commodity of one way or other. For who 'knowing what number of learned there are in the 'world, of Dominicans, Franciſcans, Auguſtins, Be-'nedictines, Carthuſians, &c. that I may omit ſundry 'Cardinals, Biſhops, Deans, Canons, and others, ſe-'cular Prieſts, yea of our own nation, as Dr Allane, 'Dr Sanders [though too much jeſuited] Dr Harding, 'Dr Stapleton, Dr Gifford, Dr Parkinſon, Dr Ely, 'and a whole ſcore twice told, now *in eſſe*, of ſe-'cular Prieſts, whom no Engliſh Jeſuit is able to hold 'tack withal, yet have theſe Machiavels got ſuch a ge-'neral fame and report to fly abroad of them, as though 'there were not one of any talent in the world to be 'found, unleſs he were a Jeſuit.' And in another part of the ſame work, this author tells us, that Pope Gregory XIII, made uſe of this phraſe to his Cardinals, Venite Fratres mei, oſtendam vobis Alanum: as much as to ſay, continues he, *I will ſhew you a man in Anglia born, to whom all Europe may give place, for his high prudence, reverend countenance, and purport of government* (38). But whoever would ſee a ſtill more ample character of this our Cardinal, may conſult a foreign writer, mentioned in the margin, who will give him full ſatisfaction (39).

(33) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(34) Such as Dr Denton in his Popiſh Merits.

(35) Annals, p. 746.

(36) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 630.

(37) Quodlibets, p. 71, a marginal note.

(38) Ibid. 97.

(39) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. i. p. 92.

(a) See the article AARON.

ALBAN (*St*) is famous for having been the firſt Chriſtian (*a*), who ſuffered martyrdom in this iſland; for which reaſon he is uſually ſtyled the St Stephen, or protomartyr, of Britain [*A*]. He was born at Verulam, of Pagan parents [*B*], and flouriſhed towards the end of the third century. In his youth he took a journey to Rome [*C*], in company with Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon [*D*], and ſerved

[*A*] *He is ſtyled the —— protomartyr of Britain.*] This is the uſual appellation given him by our old hiſtorians. Thus Matthew of Weſtminſter (1) calls him *Anglorum ſive Britonum promartyrem*, 'the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or Britons:' where, at the word *Britonum*, ſome critic has put the following remark, which, in the printed books, has crept from the margin into the text. *Quod ſolum verum eſt; quia certum eſt, eum Britonem, non Anglicum extitiſſe: unde male dicitur, Anglorum protomartyrem.* i. e. 'Which alone is true; becauſe it is certain he was 'a Briton, and not an Engliſhman: ſo that he is 'improperly called the protomartyr of the Engliſh.' For this reaſon Thomas Walſingham, in deſcribing the common-ſeal of the convent of St Albans, retains only the proper appellation. *In quo* (ſays he) *vetuſtiſſimo opere imago glorioſi protomartyris Britannorum Albani figurabatur, tenens in manu palmam* (2). i. e. 'In which moſt antient piece of workmanſhip, the 'image of St Alban, the protomartyr of the Britons, 'was figured, holding a branch of palm in his hand.' Venantius Fortunatus, in celebrating the praiſes of the martyrs, writes thus of St Alban:

(1) Flores Hiſtor. an. 794.

(2) Walſing. in Hiſtor. Rich. II, an. 1. 81.

(3) Lib. 8. Carm. 4. de Virginitate.

Egregium Albanum fœcunda Britannia profert (3).

The great St Alban fruitful Britain bore.

Notwithſtanding which teſtimonies, Thomas Dempſter (4) contends, that this Saint was by birth a Scotchman, though he ſuffered martyrdom in Britain; and for this he cites the following diſtich of Hartmannus as quoted by Caniſius.

(4) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Scotor. l. i. a. 23.

Scotia ſe Albano felicem martyre clamat,
Victima qui Chriſto prima Britanna fuit.

The Church to Scotland martyr'd Alban ow'd,
Who firſt for Chriſt in Britain ſhed his blood.

The learned Uſher ſought in vain to find theſe verſes in the books of Caniſius; and therefore builds no more upon them, than upon another confident aſſertion of Dempſter's in the ſame place, that he had met with a ſmall treatiſe written by St Alban, intitled *Chriſtianorum Puritas*, which, the Archbiſhop will venture any wager, neither that hiſtorian, nor any other writer, ever ſaw. *Verum quum in tomis Caniſianis hoc fruſtra quæſiverim, non magis hic apud me fidem ſuam liberat, quam in illo quod in eodem ipſo loco non minori confidentia aſſeverat, perveniſſe ad ſe Albani opuſculum inſcriptum* Chriſtianorum Puritas; *cujuſmodi libellum neque ab illo, neque a mortalium omnino quoquam, conſpectum fuiſſe unquam, quovis pignore auſim contendere* (5). The title of Protomartyr is likewiſe given to St Alban in an antient inſcription, found by ſome workmen, who were repairing the eaſt end of the church of St Albans, in the year 1257. Theſe labourers, in opening the ground between the ſhrines of St Oſwin and St Wulſtan, found certain leaden ſheets containing relics, which, by the following inſcription on a plate of lead, appeared to be thoſe of the martyr. IN HOC MAUSOLEO INVENTUM EST VENERABILE CORPUS SANCTI ALBANI PROTOMARTYRIS ANGLORUM (6). i. e. *In this* Mauſoleum *is found the venerable body of St Alban, the Protomartyr of the Engliſh.* I ſhall only add part of the hymn, which uſed to be ſung on the feſtival of this Saint:

(5) Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. London, 1687, p. 77.

(6) Matth. Par. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. Vol. II. p. 942. & Anonym. *apud* Uſſer. ubi ſupra.

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum (7).

(7) In Breviar. Sariſbur. Offic. S. Albani.

i. e. Hail, Protomartyr of the Engliſh, Soldier of the King of Angels, O Alban, Flower of the Martyrs!

[*B*] *He was a native of Verulam, &c.*] This town was antiently called *Werlamceſter* or *Watlingaceſter*; the former name being derived from the river *Warlame*, which ran on the eaſt ſide, the latter from the Roman high-way called *Watlingſtreet*, which lay to the weſt (8). Tacitus calls it *Verulamium*, and Ptolemy *Urolamium*. The ſituation of this place was cloſe by the town of St Alban's in Hertfordſhire, which takes it's name from our protomartyr. There is nothing now remaining of old Verulam but ruins of walls, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, which are now and then dug up. It is conjectured from the ſituation, that this was the town of Caſſivelaunus, ſo well defended by woods and marſhes (9), which was taken by Cæſar. In Nero's time, it was eſteemed a *Municipium* (10), or town, whoſe inhabitants enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens (11). It was entirely ruined by the Britons, during the war between the Romans and Boadicea Queen of the *Iceni*. Afterwards Verulam flouriſhed again, and became a city of great note. About the middle of the fifth century, it fell into the hands of the Saxons. But Uther the Briton, from his ſerpentine ſubtilty ſirnamed *Pendragon*, recovered it, with much difficulty, after a very long ſiege. Alexander *Nequam* or *Neckam*, who was born at Verulam in the thirteenth century, mentions this revolution, as alſo the martyrdom of St Alban (whom he improperly ſtyles a citizen of Rome) in the following verſes (12):

(8) Matth. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtor. an. 313.

(9) Caſſivelauni oppidum ſylvis paludibuſque munitum. Cæſar, de Bello Gall. l. v.

(10) Camden's Britannia, by Bp Gibſon, Vol. I, laſt edit. col. 355.

(11) A. Gell. Noctes Atticæ, l. xvi. c. 13.

(12) *Apud* Camden. ubi ſupra.

Urbs inſignis erat Verolamia, plus operoſæ
Arti, naturæ debuit illa minus.
Pendragon Arthuri patris hæc obſeſſa laborem
Septennem ſprevit cive ſuperba ſuo.
Hic eſt martyrii roſeo decoratus honore
Albanus, civis, inclyta Roma, tuus.

To antient Verulam, a famous town,
Much kindneſs art hath ſhew'd, but nature none.
Great Arthur's ſire, Pendragon's utmoſt pow'r,
For ſeven long years did the proud walls endure.
Here holy Alban, citizen of Rome,
Obtain'd the happy crown of martyrdom.

After Uther's death, Verulam fell again into the hands of the Saxons: but by frequent wars it was at laſt entirely ruined, and is now converted into cornfields (13). *Seges eſt, ubi Troja fuit.*

(13) Ibid.

[*C*] *He took a journey to Rome.*] Leland tells us, that, at the time when Alban flouriſhed, learning, and the polite arts, had been lately introduced by the Romans into Britain, which was now become a province of the empire; and that the youth of quality and diſtinction uſed to travel to Rome for improvement in knowledge and the ſciences. *Eo tempore, quo floruit Albanus, bonæ literæ, beneficio magno Romanorum, in Britannia jam in provinciam redacta, enituerunt; uſque adeo ut nobiles votis omnibus eloquentiam, unà cum receptis artibus, inſigniter excolerent. Utque felicius hæc ſibi ornamenta compararent, ipſos ſcientiarum fontes, nempe Romam, de more petebant* (14).

(14) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 18.

[*D*] *Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon.*] In an antient book of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus, the latter is ſaid to have been a Roman by birth, and to have paſſed into Britain in the time of Diocletian's perſecution (15). But Giraldus Cambrenſis (16) and Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis (17) affirm, that he was born at Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales; and Rudburn (18) and the author of the little Wincheſter Hiſtory (19) tell us, he was a Monk, and promoted to the clerical office in the cathedral of that city. Johannes Caius (20) likewiſe informs us, that Amphibalus was a native of Caer-Leon; and adds, that he was Rector of the univerſity of Cambridge. However it be, it is certain he was inſtrumental in the converſion of St Alban, and was himſelf afterwards crowned with martyrdom. *See more of him in the ſequel of this article.*

(15) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 85.

(16) Itinerar. Cambriæ, l. i. c. 5.

(17) Polychron. l. i. c. 48.

(18) Hiſt. major. l. i. c. 4.

(19) Winton. eccleſ. hiſt. c. 6.

(20) Hiſt. Cantabrig. l. i. p. 24, 25.

[*E*] *He*

ſerved ſeven years as a ſoldier in the armies of the Emperor Diocletian. Being returned home, he ſettled in the town of Verulam, where he lived highly eſteemed by his countrymen, till the perſecution under the above-mentioned Emperor (*b*). In the mean time, through the example and inſtructions of Amphibalus, he renounced the errors of Paganiſm, in which he had been educated, and became a thorough convert to the Chriſtian religion (*c*). He was put to death in the year of Chriſt 303 [*E*], during the tenth and laſt general perſecution of the Church. The ſtory of his martyrdom is very briefly and obſcurely related by Gildas, but more circumſtantially and at large by venerable Bede, the ſubſtance of whoſe narrative is as follows: being yet a Pagan (or at leaſt it not being known that he was become a Chriſtian) he entertained the above-mentioned Amphibalus (*d*) in his houſe. The Roman Governor being informed that he harboured a Chriſtian, ſent a party of ſoldiers to apprehend him. But Alban, putting on the habit of his gueſt [*F*], preſented himſelf to the officers in his ſtead, and was carried before that magiſtrate. The noble freedom with which he behaved [*G*], and the declaration he made of his converſion to Chriſtianity, ſo enraged the Judge, that he ordered him immediately to be beheaded. In his way to execution, he was ſtopped by a river, over which was a bridge, ſo thronged with ſpectators, that it was impoſſible to croſs it. The Saint, impatient for the crown of martyrdom, approached the brink, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, the ſtream was miraculouſly divided [*H*], and afforded a paſſage for

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 18.

(*c*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(*d*) This name is not found in Bede, who only calls him *Clericus quidam*.

[*E*] *He was put to death in the year of Chriſt* 303.] The date, aſſigned by Bede (21), is the year 286; in which he is followed by the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and by the Latin Annals aſcribed to Aſſerius Menevenſis; by Thomas Rudburn the elder, in his Leſſer Chronicle; by Johannes Tinmouthenſis, and by Capgrave in his Life of St Alban; by the Saliſbury Breviary, and others. There is no great variation between this account of time, and the computations of Matthew Paris and Matthew of Weſtminſter. For the former tells us, the relics of St Alban were diſcovered by King Offa 507 *years after that Saint's death*, 344 *years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, on the kalends of Auguſt, the firſt indiction*; that is, in the year of Chriſt 793, from which the indictions began to be reckoned. The latter informs us, that his tomb was diſcovered on the Octave of St Stephen, the beginning of the year 1257, *nine hundred and ſeventy years after his death*. Here may properly be inſerted the following computations, made by a Monk of St Alban's, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. 'From the incarnation of our Lord, 'to the paſſion of St Alban, are elapſed 286 years; 'and from the paſſion of St Alban, to the arrival of 'Germanus, Biſhop of Auxerre, in Britain, 163 'years: which put together make 449 years. From 'the arrival of St Germanus, to the tranſlation of 'St Alban, under the illuſtrious King Offa, are 344 'years: add theſe to the former, and they become '793. From this tranſlation, to that which was 'made in the reign of King Henry I, under the 'Abbot Geoffrey, are 336 years. All theſe put together make 1129 years. From this laſt tranſlation, 'to the diſcovery of the ſaid martyr's Mauſoleum, 'under Abbot John, on the octave of St Stephen, 'are 127 years. Theſe added to the foregoing make 'the whole 1256. And at this time, *viz.* in the 'year of our Lord 1257, are elapſed 970 years from 'the martyrdom of St Alban, counting the beginning 'of the year from the feaſt of the Circumciſion, and 'not from that of the Annuntiation.' William Caxton, and after him Johannes Major, in his Scottiſh Hiſtory, refer the martyrdom of St Alban to the year of Chriſt 226, which is full fifty-eight years before the beginning of Diocletian's reign. According to ſome of the Winchester Annals, St Alban ſuffered in the year 296; according to others, in the year 305. Stowe's Chronicle places his martyrdom in 293; and Wendover's in 304, which that writer calls the nineteenth of Diocletian. The truth of the caſe is; St Alban was martyred during that dreadful perſecution, which, according to Oroſius and others, laſted ten years. But it appears from Euſebius, that this flame broke out in the year of Chriſt 303, being the nineteenth of Diocletian; and though in other provinces it continued to rage during the ſpace of ten years, yet in Gaul and Britain, where Conſtantius Auguſtus reſided, it ceaſed the very ſucceeding year. And therefore the martyrdom of St Alban is properly reckoned among the events of the year 303 (22).

(21) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 7.

(22) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra. p. 88.

[*F*] *He put on the habit of his gueſt.*] The garment of Amphibalus, which Alban, upon this occaſion, put on, is called by Bede, and in antient writers, *Caracalla*; which is rendered, by the Saxon interpreter of Bede, *a monkiſh habit*. This *Caracalla* was a kind of *cloak with a cowl*, as appears from St Jerom (23) and Eucherius (24), who, deſcribing the Ephod, or ſacerdotal garment of the Jewiſh Prieſts, tell us, it was made, *in modum Caracallæ*, after the manner of the *Caracalla*, or monkiſh dreſs, *ſed ſine cuculło*, but without a cowl. Hence the diminutive Καρακάλλιον, in the Greek-Latin Gloſſary aſcribed to Cyrill, is explained by *Cuculla*. Thomas Walſingham relates (25) that this garment was preſerved in the Church of Ely, in a large cheſt, which was opened in the reign of Edward II, A. D. 1314. They found therein a woollen garment, ſo big that it filled the cheſt from top to bottom; and on the upper part of it were perceived ſome ſpots of blood, as freſh as if it had been newly ſtained therewith. This hiſtorian ſays hereupon, that it is plain, this garment was the ſame which St Alban, at the time of his converſion, received from his maſter St Amphibalus, as a mark of the new religion he had embraced, and the ſame in which the martyr afterwards ſuffered death. Thomas Rudburn, who reports the ſame ſtory (26), goes farther, and tells us, there was found with the garment an ancient writing in theſe words; *This is the* Caracalla *of St Amphibalus, the Monk, and Preceptor of St Alban; in which that protomartyr of England ſuffered death, under the cruel perſecution of Diocletian againſt the Chriſtians.*

(23) Epiſt. 128. ad Fabiolam.

(24) Inſtructions, l. ii. c. 10.

(25) Apud Uſſer. ubi ſupra, p. 78.

(26) Ibid.

[*G*] *He behaved with a noble freedom.*] It happened at the time when Alban was brought before the Judge, that magiſtrate was ſtanding by an altar, and offering ſacrifice to his gods. When he ſaw Alban, and perceived the cheat he had put upon him, he ordered him to be dragged before the images of his gods, ſaying to him; *Becauſe you have choſen to conceal a ſacrilegious perſon and a blaſphemer, rather than deliver him up to ſuffer the juſt reward of his blaſphemy, the puniſhment due to him ſhall be inflicted on you, if you refuſe to comply with the ceremonies of our religion.* Alban, not in the leaſt terrified with theſe threats, boldly declared he would not obey the Judge's commands. The Magiſtrate then aſked him, *of what family he was?* Alban replied; *To what purpoſe do you enquire of my family? if you would know my religion, I am a Chriſtian.* Then the Judge aſked him *his name*; to which he anſwered, *My name is Alban, and I worſhip the only true and living God, who created all things.* The Magiſtrate returned; *If you would enjoy the happineſs of eternal life, delay not to ſacrifice to the great gods.* Alban anſwered; *The ſacrifices you offer are made to devils; neither can they help the needy, or grant the petitions of their votaries.* The Judge was now enraged beyond meaſure, and commanded the holy confeſſor to be beaten, in hopes thereby to ſhake his conſtancy: but finding all means ineffectual, he ordered him to be taken away, and led to immediate execution (27).

(27) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *The ſtream was divided.*] Neither Bede, nor the other antient writers of the Acts of St Alban, have told us the name of this river. In a few copies of Gildas, it is true, the word *Tameſis* or *Tamenſis* appears: but it is not to be found in the manuſcript of that author in the publick library of Cambridge. Nor can it be admitted, unleſs we ſuppoſe Gildas to have given the name

for himſelf and a thouſand perſons. This miracle converted the executioner [*I*] upon the ſpot, who threw away his drawn ſword, and, falling at St Alban's feet, deſired he might have the honour to die with him, or rather for him. This ſudden converſion of the headſman occaſioning a delay in the execution, St Alban walked up to a neighbouring hill, where praying for water to quench his thirſt, a fountain ſprung up under his feet. Here he received the crown of martyrdom [*K*], on the tenth of the kalends of July. The executioner was a ſignal example of divine vengeance: for, at the inſtant of the ſtroke given to the Saint, his eyes dropped out of his head [*L*]. The behaviour of St Alban at his death, and the miraculous circumſtances attending it, were inſtrumental in converting many of the ſpectators to Chriſtianity [*M*]. Between four and five hundred years afterwards, Offa, King of the Mercians, built a very large and ſtately monaſtery, to the memory of St Alban, in the place where he ſuffered martyrdom [*N*]. The ſtory of this Saint's death, particularly the miraculous circumſtances attending it, are by many looked upon as fabulous, and without foundation; whilſt others think there is no reaſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban [*O*]. St Amphibalus himſelf afterwards ſuffered martyrdom

name of *Tameſis* to the *Coln*, becauſe that river empties itſelf into the Thames. For the *Coln* runs through part of Hertfordſhire, between old Verulam and new St Albans (28).

(28) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 79.

[*I*] *This miracle converted the executioner.*] Capgrave calls the ſoldier, who was to have beheaded St Alban, by the name of *Heraclius* (29); and the author of the Acts of St Alban and St Amphibalus (30) gives him that of *Araclius*. This man had the honour to bury St Alban with his own hands, and afterwards to tread in his ſteps. He is celebrated by Robert of Dunſtable (31) in the following verſes:

(29) Ibid. p. 89.

(30) In Hiſtor. Sanctar. collectione, edit. Lovanii, 1485.

(31) *Apud* Uſſerium, ibid.

Improba diſploſos convulſio diſſipat artus;
Horribilis Lethi forma, furoris opus.
Nec moritur Sontum tot Sancti mortibus ira;
Sed metit, exitii meta, machæra caput.
Fit de terreno cœleſtis milite miles,
Dum fovet invicta ſtrenuitate fidem.
Albani callem virtutis odore ſecutus,
Fit bravio conſors, ſicut agone comes.

This ſoldier is placed in the Roman martyrologies together with St Alban.

[*K*] *Here he received the crown of martyrdom.*] The place, where he was beheaded, was called, in the Anglo-Saxon language *Holm-hurſt*. *Hurſt* ſignifies a *Wood*; and an antient author, quoted by Archbiſhop Uſher, tells us, he had ſeen the place, and that it was overgrown with trees. *Vidi locum repleri arborum denſitate, in quo martyr invictus quondam pro Chriſto ſententiam ſubiit capitalem.* In after-times, it obtained the name of *Derſwold Wood*, and was the ſpot, whereon the town of St Albans was built (32).

(32) Id. ib. p. 87.

[*L*] *The executioner's eyes dropped out of his head.*] This miracle is recorded in the martyrologies of Bede, Ado, Rabanus, and Notherus, under X *Kalend. Julii*. To which may be added the following verſes of Erric of Auxerre (33):

(33) Erric. Antiſſiod. de vita Germani. l. iii.

Millia pœnarum Chriſti pro nomine paſſus;
Quem tandem rapuit capitis ſententia cæſi.
Sed non Lictori ceſſit res tuta ſuperbo;
Utque caput ſancto, ceciderunt lumina ſævo.

Thus tranſlated into Engliſh (34):

(34) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 352.

After a thouſand ſufferings for the faith,
When judg'd at laſt to end them all with death;
The bloody Lictor did juſt Heav'n ſurprize,
And as the ſaint his head, the villain loſt his eyes.

[*M*] *Many of the ſpectators were converted to Chriſtianity.*] One of them, being more ſenſibly touched than the reſt, delivered himſelf to this effect. He told them, 'That if St Alban had proved his 'belief by meer rhetoric, he ſhould not have wondered 'if his countrymen had paid no regard to his diſ'courſe: for why ſhould they liſten to a perſuaſion, 'which ſtood condemned by the conſtitutions and re'ligious cuſtoms of their anceſtors? But ſince he 'wrought miracles in atteſtation of his doctrine, not 'to ſubmit to ſuch irreſiſtible evidence, was, in ef'fect, to ſtand out againſt the omnipotence of God; 'for, that God was the author of thoſe wonderful 'effects, was paſt diſpute.' *With what colour of ſenſe then* (adds he) *can we diſpute the truth of thoſe doctrines, thus ſupernaturally atteſted? For when was ever any thing of this kind performed by our deities, or heard of in our religion? And beſides all this, the character of the man was admirable. His patience and conſtancy, his temper and devotion, were particularly remarkable; inſomuch that, all things conſidered, his behaviour ſeems almoſt as great a miracle as any of the reſt. When he was inſulted, he ſhewed no unmanlineſs, nor indeed ſeemed to have any paſſion about him but that of pity. And when he was brought to the place of execution, he diſcovered as much pleaſure in his countenance, as if he had been going to an entertainment. Who, upon reflexion, does not eaſily perceive, that Alban was ſupported by more than human aſſiſtance? And if ſuch greatneſs and conſtancy be the peculiar marks of divine favour, we may certainly conclude, that ſuch bleſſings are beſtowed only on the virtuous and devout. And therefore the beſt ſervice we can do ourſelves and our country, is to embrace St Alban's principles, and imitate his example.*' This diſcourſe being well received by the auditors, they unanimouſly declared for the Chriſtian religion; and wanting a perſon to inſtruct them more fully, and aſſiſt them in religious offices, they went in queſt of Amphibalus, who had converted St Alban. This Monk, having eſcaped the fury of his perſecutors, was retired into Wales, where he preached with wonderful ſucceſs, and converted great numbers to the Chriſtian faith. The men of Verulam abovementioned, being about a thouſand in number, travelled into Wales, where they all received baptiſm at the hands of St Amphibalus (35).

(35) Harpsfield. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ang. c. 10. & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 84.

[*N*] *Offa, King of the Mercians, built a monaſtery in the place where St Alban ſuffered martyrdom.*] This foundation was made in the year 795. That King, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, beſtowed large poſſeſſions on this religious houſe, and obtained ample privileges for it from ſeveral Popes. Particularly, it was exempt from paying the apoſtolical duty called Romeſcot or Peter-pence: it's Abbot, or Archdeacon acting under him, had epiſcopal juriſdiction over all the clergy and laity reſiding on any of the lands belonging to the monaſtery; and Pope Adrian IV, who was an Engliſhman, and born near Verulam, granted to the Abbot of this monaſtery, *that as St Alban* (theſe are the words of the privilege) *is well known to be the protomartyr of the Engliſh nation, ſo the abbot of his monaſtery ſhould, at all times, be reputed the firſt in dignity of all the Abbots.* The church of this monaſtery is ſtill in being, and is much admired for it's largeneſs, beauty, and antiquity. When the Monks were turned out, it was purchaſed by the townſmen for four hundred pounds, and converted into a parochial church (36).

(36) Camden, ubi ſupra.

[*O*] *The ſtory of this Saint's death —— is by many looked upon as fabulous —— whilſt others think there is no reaſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St Alban.*] Our great Milton, in his Hiſtory of England (37), ſeems to give very little credit to the narrative of Bede and others. His words are, ſpeaking of St Alban; *The ſtory of whoſe martyrdom, ſoiled and worſe martyred with the fabling zeal of ſome idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehenſive of truth, deſerves no longer digreſſion.* Let us now hear Mr Collier. 'As for St Alban's miracles, being 'atteſted by authors of ſuch antiquity and credit, I 'do

(37) *Apud* Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 24.

martyrdom [*P*] at Rudburn, three miles diſtant from Verulam.

'do not ſee why they ſhould be queſtioned. That 'miracles were wrought in the Church at that time 'of day, is clear from the writings of the antients. 'To ſuppoſe there are no miracles but thoſe in the 'Bible, is to believe too little. To imagine that 'God ſhould exert his omnipotence, and appear ſu-'pernaturally for his ſervants, in no place but in 'Jewry, and in no age ſince the Apoſtles, is an un-'reaſonable fancy. For ſince the world was not all 'converted in the Apoſtles time, and God deſigned 'the farther enlargement of his Church, why ſhould 'we not believe he ſhould give the Pagans the higheſt 'proof of the truth of Chriſtianity, and honour his 'ſervants with the moſt undiſputed credentials? Now 'if this is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, why ſhould 'St Alban's miracles be diſbelieved, the occaſion 'being great enough for ſuch an extraordinary in-'terpoſition? For by this means the martyr muſt be 'mightily ſupported, the Britiſh Chriſtians fortified 'againſt the perſecution, and the Pagans ſurprized 'into a converſion (38).'

(38) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. I. B. i. p. 22.

[*P*] *St Amphibalus ——— ſuffered martyrdom.*] We have ſeen in the remark [*M*], that a thouſand of the inhabitants of Verulam were converted and baptized by this Saint. The reſt of the burghers who continued Heathen, being vexed at the loſs of ſo many of their townſmen, took arms, and went after them into Wales; where they inhumanly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. As for St Amphibalus, who had inſtructed and baptized them, they brought him away with them, and ſtoned him to death at Rudburn (39); in which town Thomas Rudburn the hiſtorian (who was born there, and wrote in the fifteenth century) affirms there were two knives found of an extraordinary ſize, ſuppoſed to have been uſed upon that occaſion (40). It is remarkable, that the martyrdom of St Amphibalus is not mentioned by Gildas, Bede, or in any of the antient martyrologies; but Matthew Paris, and other hiſtorians, vouch the matter of fact from a book of great antiquity in St Alban's monaſtery. As to the name Amphibalus, it came originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory (41); though the learned Archbiſhop of Armagh is of opinion, it was not the real name of St Alban's inſtructor, but belonged more properly to the Caracalla or garment mentioned above (42), than to it's owner (43); ἀμφιβάλλειν ſignifying in the Greek language the ſame as *induere*, or *accingere* ſc. *veſtem*.

(39) Harpsfield, ubi ſupra, & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra.

(40) Apud Harpsfield, ibid.

(41) Lib. v. c. 5.

(42) In the remark [*F*].

(43) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 78.

T

ALBANACT, or ALBANAK, the ſon of Brutus or Brito, from whom this iſland is ſaid to have received the name of Britain (*a*). Many very learned men deny the exiſtence of him and his ſuppoſed father. It is neceſſary however, to the thorough underſtanding of our antient hiſtory, to be acquainted with what it reports of him, and that is briefly this [*A*]. Brutus, King of this whole iſland, had by his wife Ignoge, three ſons, Locrin, Kamber, and Albanact (*b*). To the eldeſt, he gave the middle and beſt part of the iſland, called from him Loëgria; to the ſecond, Kamber, the country on the other ſide of Severn; and to the youngeſt, Albanact, all the land on the other ſide the Humber. This was ſome time before his death, which happened in the year before Chriſt 1114 (*c*), when all the young Princes were at their reſpective governments. For ſome years they all three governed their countries in peace and proſperity; but at length, Humber, King of the Huns, invaded the dominions of Albanact with a great army, ſlew him, and drove his people to fly for ſhelter to Locrin, who, equally ſtung with his brother's loſs, and the inſult offered to himſelf, drew together all his forces, and gave battle to the invader, who was now in his territories, defeated him, and in the flight forced him into a river, in which he was drowned, whence it received his name, and hath never ſince been otherwiſe called than Humber (*d*). This fell out about 1104 years before Chriſt (*e*); and from this King Albanact, the northern part of this iſland was called Albany, as it is by it's natives to this day. Our antient hiſtorians, who relate theſe facts, ſome of whom are mentioned in the margin, agree pretty well in their dates, and in their relation; and ſo they well might, if as ſome ſay they all tranſcribed the work of him who is firſt mentioned. But as this does not appear, ſo we think no conſequences ſhould be drawn from an unproved aſſertion [*B*]. The old Scots hiſtorians (*f*) did not much oppoſe this account of

(*a*) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. i. Robert of Glouceſt. p. 22. Chron. Godſtov. p. 18.

(*b*) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. ii. c. 1. Aſured. Beverl. Annal. p. 13. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 85. Girald. Cambrenſ. Cambriæ Deſcript. c. 7.

(*c*) Chron. Godſtovianum, MS. p. 17, 18.

(*d*) Galfrid. Munumet. Hiſt. Brit. lib. ii. c. 1. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Alured. Beverl. p. 13.

(*e*) Chron. Godſtovian. p. 18.

(*f*) Such as Boethius, Major, &c.

[*A*] *And that is briefly this.*] It is not our intention, in this article, to enter into the great controverſy which hath divided, nay, and well nigh confounded, our beſt Antiquaries, *viz.* whether any credit is due to the ſtory of Brute? In doing this, we ſhould anticipate his article, and rather bewilder than inform the reader. Our preſent buſineſs therefore, ſhall be to examine this ſtory of Albanact; and to enquire if the arguments alledged to prove it fabulous, be more weighty, than thoſe which have been, or may be, urged for it as a true hiſtory. To this enquiry, we have been led by ſeveral inducements. One was the fitneſs of diſcuſſing ſuch points in this work, it being hard to think of another, into which they would ſo properly fall. A ſecond reaſon was, the ſhewing foreigners that theſe matters are not altogether ſo void of light, as ſome who have ſkimmed the Britiſh hiſtory would perſuade them. To which we may add an inclination to demonſtrate the folly of rejecting without conſideration, as fabulous, all that relates to very antient times. It is morally certain, that the dread of credulity, hath betrayed more people into it, than ever it kept from leaning thereto. An age or two ago, a man would have been laughed at for adviſing recourſe to Turkiſh hiſtories, in order to correct thoſe we have of that nation's riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate, yet now many excellent authors confeſs it to be neceſſary (1). But if we reflect on what would have been ſaid, if at that time one had mentioned the memoirs of a Tartar Prince (2), and his ſkill in Aſtronomy, it will not appear ſo amazing a paradox, ſhould we even venture to aſſert, there is more wiſdom in doubting the truth of the old Britiſh hiſtory, than in believing it wholly falſe and fictitious. For while we only doubt we are ready at any time to review old arguments, or to hear new evidence; whereas a thing once declared fabulous, is thenceforward condemned to oblivion. All who are well read, eſpecially in oriental hiſtory, know of how great conſequence this advice is; and that without it, we had never known more of the famous Timur, who ſubdued a larger empire than Alexander, than our immediate anceſtors, who called him Tamerlane, and reported him a lame blackſmith (3). Some ſuch introduction as this was neceſſary, not to this article of Albanact only, but to ſeveral others of as antient date; and therefore this preface, once for all, may ſuffice to gain attention to the narrative itſelf, though not abſolutely certain, and to render the notes leſs tedious, which expoſe the grounds of theſe diſputes. It may indeed be objected, that all ſuch diſputes are frivolous, to which we anſwer, that concerns not us, very great men have engaged in them, and have ſo far introduced them into all our hiſtories, as to make it our duty to clear them the beſt we may.

(1) See the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, the preface to Prince Cantemir's hiſtory, and the military hiſtory of the Turks in Italian and French, by Count Marſigli.

(2) See the general hiſtory of the Tartars.

(3) See Knowles's hiſtory of the Turks.

[*B*] *An unproved aſſertion.*] The grand argument againſt this part of the Britiſh hiſtory is, that it has no foundation but in one author's writings, *viz.* Geoffrey of Monmouth. Now thoſe who ſay this, beg the queſtion, becauſe they affirm other authors tranſcribe his book, who perhaps never ſaw it. Geoffrey relates the death of Brutus, the diviſion of his kingdom, the invaſion

of their country's receiving the name of Albany; but Buchanan is very angry with it, and will by no means allow that this is any thing better than a fable (g). Of which however we ſhall prove he was a moſt incompetent judge. On his authority, ſucceeding authors have treated this narration with extraordinary contempt. We decide nothing, but for the reader's ſatisfaction, and to place this controverſy in a true light, we will fairly ſtate the arguments on both ſides, that the judicious peruſer may frame his concluſion according to reaſon and evidence [C].

(g) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.

vaſion of Humber, the death of Albanact, and Locrin's victory, but without a date (4). Henry of Huntingdon relates the coming of Brutus, which he ſays he met with in ſeveral authors (5). But he ſays nothing of Albanact; ſo that it ſeems many writers had touched this ſubject before Geoffrey, with whom this Henry was contemporary (6). The Chronicle of Godſtow is the work of various writers; it makes no mention of Geoffrey, though the hiſtory does indeed correſpond with his, except in dates, which are carefully placed here (7), though omitted as I have ſaid by Geoffrey. Alured of Beverly is noted by the induſtrious Leland (8), to have taken moſtly out of Geoffrey's Britiſh hiſtory, yet himſelf ſays nothing of this, he ſpeaks of antient books he had read, and particularly of a Britiſh hiſtory (9) he uſed, but does not ſay it was Geoffrey's. In all probability it was not, for Alured has many things not to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the faireſt and fulleſt proof that can be had, or indeed deſired, that the ſtory of Albanact reſts not on this ſuſpected author, is the teſtimony of Girald Barry, or as he has been commonly called Giraldus Cambrenſis, who, in his deſcription of Wales (10), delivers this whole ſtory as it ſtands in our text; though immediately after he calls Geoffrey a fabulous writer, and treats him with the utmoſt indignity. Hence it is moſt evident, that this hiſtory was found elſewhere than in Geoffrey's writings, and ſo it is aſſerted by Leland (11), in a tract, or rather in hiſtorical collections for a tract, to prove the ſuperiority of the Kings of England over Scotland. In theſe notes it is ſaid, that Albanact's ruling over Scotland, and leaving it his name, ſtood in many antient Chronicles then in being. This however was no more than had been affirmed long before by Edward I, to the Pope, in a letter, wherein this poſſeſſion and right of Albanact is ſtated as a thing notorious and indubitable (12). But after all, this iſland was very populous when the Romans came firſt hither under Cæſar, ſo that it muſt have been long inhabited. We have no account of theſe inhabitants from other authors; the antient Bards retained theſe remains and ruins of old hiſtory, which, on a nice enquiry, will be found a thing cuſtomary in all nations, even the moſt barbarous. Here are various hiſtorians, who have (as the Greeks did) turned their verſe into proſe: here is a royal letter too, in ſupport of it's authority; and if, after all, darkneſs is welcomer than ſuch a light, why no body is bound to take it. The ſtory, with it's proofs, is propoſed; and if they are not ſufficient to procure it credit, they are at leaſt ſuch as ought to ſecure it a place in this Dictionary, that it may abide the cenſure of the publick.

(4) Galfrid. Munum. lib. ii. cap. 1.

(5) Hiſt. lib. i. ap. Script. poſt Bed. p. 30.

(6) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. xii. c. ult.

(7) Chron. Godſtovianum, p. 19.

(8) Collectanea. Vol. III. p. 224.

(9) Alured. Beveil. An. lib. i. p. 12, 13.

(10) Cambriæ Deſcript. cap. 7. apud Camden. Script. p. 886.

(11) Leland. Collectan. Vol. III. p. 1.

(12) Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. int. X. Scriptor. p. 1484.

[C] *According to reaſon and evidence.*] The point here to be diſcuſſed is, whether Scotland was called Albania, or Albany, from Albanact? Buchanan deſpizes this etymology, and treats the ſtory as a fable. To ſtate his reaſons fairly, they are theſe (13). 1. This account depends on the ſtory of Brute, which he eſteems a ridiculous fable, and the invention of the Monk of Monmouth. 2. He ſays the derivation of Albania from Albanactus is not grammatical (14). 3. He can give us the true derivation. Albany is from Albion, the old name of the whole iſland, which was ſo called, not from the whiteneſs but height of it's mountains (15). To theſe particulars, plain and eaſy anſwers may be given. 1. The overturning the Monk of Monmouth's hiſtory, will not prove the ſtory of Brute a fable (16). Our ballads relate many fictions about Roſamond, yet there was certainly ſuch a woman. But Buchanan, I believe, never read Geoffrey, though he quotes him, for he banters him about one Tintagol a giant, of whom the Monk of Monmouth ſays not a word. 2. As to the grammatical criticiſm, we muſt obſerve, that Albanactus is a Britiſh name latinized, ſo is Albania; now how faulty ſoever the derivation may be according to the Roman uſage, that does by no means ſhew that the Britiſh name of the man might not be the ground of the Britiſh name of the country. I ſhall preſently ſhew Buchanan knew better. 3. It is a conjecture only, that Alp and Alb, ſignify high; and beſides he owns the old cuſtom was to name places from perſons, as *Knock-Fergus*, i. e. *the Rock of Fergus* (17), from his being loſt there. But to theſe we may add ſome poſitive arguments in favour of the Britiſh account. 1. Buchanan (18) owns the Britiſh language prevailed originally through the iſland; and that in this language Scotland is called Albin, and the Scots Albinich, which is preciſely what the Britiſh author called them, whom the Monk of Monmouth tranſlated. 2. He can give us no counter hiſtory to this, for Fergus, the firſt King of Scotland, came thither as he ſays (19), three hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, in the reign of Coil, a Britiſh King, which is agreeable to the Britiſh hiſtory he ſo much condemns. 3. This name of Scotland correſponds with all the other appellations impoſed by the Britons, whence we are ſenſible the Roman or Latin names were framed not more elegantly than this. On the whole, Buchanan ſhews himſelf infinitely a better Philologiſt, than he is an Antiquary; and if this controverſy ſhould be determined according to his rule, that Britiſh names are to be accounted for from the Britiſh tongue, and not from the Greek and Latin; as alſo in conſequence of his conceſſions, without doubt this old derivation will appear both natural and probable. Hector Boethius, whom Buchanan owns to have been a learned man, was aware of this, and did not therefore diſpute the point. But what is ſtill more to the purpoſe, the very learned Biſhop Leſley, who was ſcarce inferior to Buchanan, even in his Latin ſtyle; and in politicks and antiquities much his ſuperior: a prelate who reſided long in England, converſed with our Antiquaries; and who, notwithſtanding, had no great reaſon to be in love with our nation, agrees exactly with us in this etymology (20). The hiſtory of Brute and his ſons, does not appear at all incredible to him; and he ſays expreſsly, that the original of Albany is Albanact. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Shakeſpeare has introduced Albanact into one of his plays (21), probably to familiarize the name to his countrymen, and to preſerve the memory of the ſole ſovereignty of Brute.

(13) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) See the Note [B].

(17) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.

(18) Id. lib. i.

(19) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.

(20) In Deſcript. Scot.

(21) Tragedy of Locrine.

E

ALCOCK (JOHN) Doctor of Laws, and Biſhop of Ely in the reign of King Henry VII, was born at Beverley in Yorkſhire, and educated at Cambridge. He was advanced to the Deanery of Weſtminſter, and afterwards to the honourable poſt of Maſter of the Rolls. In 1471, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter (a); in 1476, tranſlated to the ſee of Worceſter (b); and in 1486, by a ſecond tranſlation, removed to that of Ely (c), in the room of Dr John Morton, tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury. He was a prelate of ſingular learning and piety [A], and ſo highly eſteemed by King Henry, that he

(a) Godwin, De Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Roffenſ. an. 1471.

(b) Id. ib. inter Epiſc. Wigorn. an. 1476.

(c) Id. ib. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. an. 1486.

[A] *He was a prelate of ſingular learning and piety.*] 'Qui ab ipſa pueritia (ſays Bale) bonarum literarum ſtudiis ac pietati deditus, ita à virtute in virtutem crevit, ut eo nemo per Angliam majori ſanctitatis nomine inſigniretur. Parciſſime per totam ætatem victitaſſe dicitur, duriterque vigiliis, ſtudiis, abſtinentia, & aliis caſtigationibus domuiſſe prurientis ſuæ carnis illecebras (1). *Who, having devoted himſelf from his childhood to learning and piety, made ſuch a proficiency in virtue, that no one in England had a greater reputation for ſanctity. His whole life was ſpent in a diligent application to his ſtudies, in*

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. cent. 8. c. 57.

he appointed him to be Lord Preſident of Wales, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England. He founded a ſchool at Kingſton upon Hull, and a chapel on the ſouth ſide of the church, in which his parents were buried. He built the beautiful and ſpatious hall belonging to the epiſcopal palace at Ely, and made great improvements in all his other palaces. Laſtly, he founded Jeſus-College in Cambridge [*B*] for a maſter, ſix fellows, and as many ſcholars (*d*). This prelate wrote ſeveral pieces; particularly theſe following: 1. Mons Perfectionis. *i. e. The mount of perfection.* 2. In Pſalmos penitentiales. *i. e. On the penitential Pſalms.* 3. Homiliæ Vulgares. *i. e. Vulgar homilies.* 4. Meditationes piæ. *i. e. Pious meditations* (*e*). Biſhop Alcock died October 1, 1500, and was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingſton upon Hull [*C*].

(*d*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Baleus, de Script. Britan cent. 8. c. 57.

'*in faſting and abſtinence, and in mortifying the corrupt deſires of his fleſh.*'

[*B*] *He founded Jeſus-College in Cambridge.*] This houſe was formerly a nunnery dedicated to St Radigund: but the building being greatly decayed, and the revenues come to nothing, the Nuns had all forſaken it, except two; whereupon Biſhop Alcock, obtaining a grant thereof from the King, converted it into a college, and dedicated it to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Bleſſed Virgin, and St Radigund (2). This is Biſhop Godwin's account of the matter. But Camden (3), and others tell us, that the Nuns of that houſe were ſo notorious for their incontinence, and ſo generally complained of, that King Henry VII, and Pope Julius II, conſented to it's diſſolution. And agreeably hereto, Bale (4) calls this nunnery ſpirituale lium meretricum cœnobium, *i. e. a community of ſpiritual harlots.*

(2) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. an. 1486.

(3) Britannia, laſt Edit. Vol. I. col. 483.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingſton upon Hull.*] He had a very ſtately monument erected over him, which, in Biſhop Godwin's time, was greatly defaced, and almoſt deſtroyed. That author hints to the members of Jeſus-College, how commendable it would be in ſome one of the great men daily produced from that foundation, to reſtore the ſepulchral honours due to their founder and patron. *Inter tot præclaros viros quot ex hoc collegio prodierunt & prodeunt quotidie, quam vellem non deeſſet qui —— patrono de ſe optime merito tumuli honorem debitum reſtitueret* (5).

(5) Godwin, ibid.

T

ALCRED, ALCREDUS, or ALREDUS, King of Northumberland. He was lineally deſcended from Ida, the firſt King of the Bernicii, and was born about the year 740 (*a*). When he attained to man's eſtate, he ſaw his country miſerably deſtracted, partly through the vices of their Kings, and partly through the madneſs of the people. Oſulf, who ſucceeded on the voluntary reſignation of his father, and who was the lawful heir of the kingdom of Northumberland, periſhed by a conſpiracy in his own family, in the year 758 (*b*). In his ſtead, Æthelwold, who is alſo called Moll, ſucceeded by a popular election, for it does not appear, that he was ſo much as of the royal family (*c*). This it ſeems was by no means pleaſing to many of the great Lords of the kingdom, eſpecially ſuch as were of the royal blood; and therefore Oſwin, a perſon of great intereſt in his country, took up arms againſt him, but with very little ſucceſs; for his army being totally routed, he was himſelf alſo ſlain, at a place called Edwin's Cliff, in the month of Auguſt 761 (*d*). This however did not hinder Alcred from aſſerting his right to the crown, in which he proved ſucceſsful, for as ſome of our hiſtorians tell us, he procured Æthelwold to be fraudulently ſlain near Durham, in 765 (*e*). Roger Hoveden ſays King Æthelwold loſt his kingdom at Wincanheale, in the latter end of October that year (*f*); and the Saxon Chronicle intimates, that after ſix years reign he reſigned (*g*). However it was, Alcredus at this time aſcended the throne, which proved no eaſy ſeat to him (*h*). In 768 died Elbert, King of Northumberland, in the cloiſter which he had choſen for his retreat. The ſame year King Alcred married his Queen Oſgerna (*i*). He ſeems to have lived upon good terms with his neighbours, and to have taken ſome pains in cultivating a friendſhip with foreign Princes (*k*). However he was as far from pleaſing his ſubjects as any of his predeceſſors, inſomuch, that about Eaſter, in the year 774, he was compelled to fly from York, with a very ſmall number of dependents, who choſe rather to follow his fortunes, than to deſert his perſon (*l*). He retired firſt to the ſtrong city of Bebba, which is thought to be the town now called Bamborrow in Northumberland, and finding himſelf not ſafe there, he ſought the protection of Cynoth, King of the Picts, who treated him kindly (*m*). Two of our antient hiſtorians aſſert, that this King Alcred was depoſed by the unanimous conſent of all the Princes of the royal family, and other great Lords of his kingdom (*n*), which hath drawn ſome to conſider this as an inſtance of depoſing a King for male-adminiſtration [*A*]. Thoſe who expelled him, either recalled out of baniſhment, or took out

(*a*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765. R. Hoved. Annal. p. i. p. 403.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. p. 59. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. X. Script. col. 105. Flor. Vigorn. A. D. 759.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 759. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. p. 60. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent Vigorn. A. D. 761.

(*e*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*f*) Sim. Dunelm. fol. 106. R. de Hoved. p. 403.

(*g*) A. D. 759.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 765. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*i*) Simeon. Dunelm col. 106.

(*k*) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 620.

(*l*) Chron. Sax. p. 61.

(*m*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

(*n*) R. Hoved. p. 403. S. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *An inſtance of depoſing Kings for male-adminiſtration.*] Amongſt the ſtate tracts, written in the reign of King William, there is the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Stamford, at the general quarter ſeſſions, held for the county of Leiceſter at Michaelmas, 1691, his Lordſhip being then *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for that county. The intent of this ſpeech is to vindicate the Revolution; wherein his Lordſhip having run through all the inſtances of depoſitions of Princes in France, Spain, and Scotland, proceeds thus. 'As 'for England, I will mention ſome few before the 'Conqueſt (vulgarly ſo called) who were Archigallo, 'Emerian, Vortigern, Sigebert, King of the Weſt 'Saxons, Beornred, and *Alured*, King of Northum-'berland; all theſe were deprived of their thrones for 'their cruel and evil government, and others more 'worthy put in their ſtead (1).' This muſt be founded on what we are told by Simeon of Durham, who in his hiſtory, under the year 794, writes thus 'Alcredus 'Rex conſilio & conſenſu ſuorum omnium, reges familiæ 'ac principum deſtitutus ſocietate, exilio imperii mu-'tavit majeſtatem. *i. e. King Alcred, by the common 'council and conſent of his ſubjects, being deſerted by 'his Princes, and even thoſe of the Royal Family, 'changed his royal ſtate for an inglorious exile* (2).' Roger Hoveden tranſcribes this account literally (3); though by a different manner of pointing, it has ſomewhat a different ſenſe given to it in Sir Henry Savil's edition. It is very remarkable, that Simeon of Durham hath exactly the ſame ſtory of another King of Northumberland: for under the year 796, having related the murder of King Æthelred, he goes on thus: 'Oſbald vero patricius à quibuſdam ipſius gentis princi-'pibus in regnum eſt conſtitutus, & poſt XXVII dies 'omni

(1) Collection of ſtate tracts publiſhed in the reign of William III. Vol. II. p. 191.

(2) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

(3) Annal. p. i. p. 403.

out of priſon Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, and ſet him upon the throne. In 778, they expelled him, and crowned Alfwold of the blood royal, who governed the kingdom ten years (*o*). It is not certain how long Alcred lived in exile, or where he died; but in all probability, it was before this Prince came to the throne, who was his near relation, and who took his two ſons, Ofred and Alcmund, into his protection. He was an excellent Prince, and, as our hiſtorians ſay, exceedingly pious (*p*). Yet in 788, or as the Saxon Chronicle has it in 789, towards the end of September, he was treacherouſly murdered by one Siga, a powerful nobleman (*q*); who ſome years after, ſtung with remorſe, laid violent hands on himſelf (*r*). To him ſucceeded his nephew, Ofred, the ſon of Alcred, who in leſs than a year was betrayed and driven into exile; and Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, being a ſecond time recalled from baniſhment, again mounted the throne (*s*). Ofred having ſtill ſome friends, in 792 returned out of the Iſle of Man, then called Euphania, and endeavoured to dethrone his competitor; but being betrayed, he was defeated, and delivered up into the hands of Æthelred, who cauſed him to be put to death; though he ſuffered his body to be royally interred at Tinmouth (*t*). In 794, King Æthelred was murdered by his people, and was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Eardwulf (*u*); though Roger Hoveden ſays, that Oſbald ſucceeded him, and was depoſed and baniſhed in twenty-ſeven days (*w*): to whom ſucceeded Eardwulf, who held the kingdom, not without much trouble, many years; and in 800, procuring Alcmund, the younger ſon of Alcred, to be put into his hands, by thoſe who had the care of him, he cauſed him and all his attendants to be put to death (*x*); thereby putting an end to the family of Alcred, and all it's pretenſions. But ſuch was the prudence, piety, and integrity, of this young Prince, that though he was thus cut off, by a ſudden and violent death, in the bloom of his youth, and without any fault of his own, yet many years after his deceaſe, he was, for the fame of his virtues, reputed a ſaint; and, as ſuch, had the nineteenth day of March appointed for his feſtival (*y*). There was alſo another ſaint of his name (*z*), of whom, to avoid multiplying articles, we will ſay ſomewhat in the notes, that we may omit nothing curious or inſtructive; and which, at the ſame time, has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory [*B*].

(*o*) Chron. Sax. p. 62.

(*p*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(*q*) Chron. Sax. p. 64. Sim. Dunelm. col. 110.

(*r*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 112. A. D. 793.

(*s*) Chron. Sax. p. 65. Sim. Dunelm. col. 111. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(*t*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 792.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 65, 66.

(*w*) Annal. p. i. p. 404.

(*x*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 116.

(*y*) Matth. Weſt. monaſt. ad. An. Dom. 800.

(*z*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108.

'omni regiæ familiæ ac principum eſt ſocietate deſtitu-
'tus, fugatuſque & de regno expulſus, atque ad inſu-
'lam Lindisfarnenſem cum paucis ſeceſſit, & inde ad
'Regem Pictorum cum quibuſdam è fratribus navigio
'pervenit (4). *i. e. One Oſbald, a nobleman, was by*
'ſome of his own party exalted to the throne; but being
'deſerted by all of the royal family, and by the great
'men, in twenty-ſeven days ſpace he was compelled to
'fly, with a few of his followers, out of the kingdom,
'retiring into Holy Iſland; and thence he paſſed in a
'bark, with ſome of his brethren, into the dominions of
'the King of Picts.' Neither is this all the inſtances of that nature to be met with in the Chronicle of the Northumbrian Kings (5). On the contrary, there are ſeveral others both before and after him; inſomuch, that it is certain that the people in thoſe days made very free with their monarchs, or rather their chiefs, made free with them, as was the caſe alſo in Scotland.

(4) Hiſtor. col. 113.

5) Vid. Chron. Saxon. Simeon. Dunelm. Roger. Hoved.

[*B*] *Has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory.*] It is ſurprizing, that Alford (6) the Jeſuit, ſhould particularly relate the martyrdom and canonization of this St Alcmund, and yet ſay nothing of another Saint of the ſame name, who ſeems to have been much more famous. He was alſo a Northumbrian, and flouriſhed about the ſame time with this other Alcmund; whence I have ſometimes inclined to doubt, whether the latter was not ſupplanted by the former. This other Alcmundus was Biſhop of Hexham in Northumberland; and Richard the Prior in his celebrated hiſtory of that church tells us (7), that he became Biſhop of that See in 767, being the ſecond year of the reign of King Alcred, and that he died in 781, being the fourth year of King Elfwald; when he had held the See upwards of twelve years, or, as he ſays in another place, thirteen years (8). But Simeon of Durham gives us a very large account of his declaring himſelf a Saint (9), which, for it's ſingularity, deſerves to be taken notice of. The body of Biſhop Alcmund was, it ſeems, depoſited by that of his predeceſſor St Acca. But two hundred and fifty years after he was buried, he appeared to one Dregmus, a very pious man, and deſired him to go to one Ælfred, a prieſt at Durham, and with his help to remove his body into a more honourable place. Dregmus hereupon aſked him who he was? *I am*, ſaid he, *Alcmund Biſhop of Hexham, and my body lies next to that of St Acca, my predeceſſor.* Upon this his corps was taken up the next day; but ſo many people crowded to ſee it, that it was too late to depoſit it in the place deſigned for it, and therefore it was laid in the porch of St Peter for that night, being watched by a great company of Monks and Prieſts. Towards morning all of theſe, except one, fell faſt aſleep; whereupon he taking this opportunity, ſtept to the ſhrine, and withdrew a middle bone of one of St Alcmund's fingers. The next day, when, after ſinging various hymns, they attempted to move the corps to the high altar, where it was to remain; they found, to their great amazement, that it was impoſſible to ſtir it. The prieſt, who took the finger-bone with no other intent than to place it in the church of Durham, as a relick of St Alcmund; and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that he was the cauſe of this wonder, beſought the people to apply themſelves to God in prayer, that he would be pleaſed to permit the Saint to declare what the reaſon was, why his body could not be moved. Accordingly, that night St Alcmund appeared to the man whom he viſited firſt, and ſaid, with a ſtern countenance, *What is it you would do? would you carry me maimed into that church where I ſerved God and St Andrew whole; adjure you all the people to morrow, that they reſtore what they fooliſhly took away, otherwiſe my body cannot be moved: at the ſame time he ſtretched out his hand and ſhewed the maimed finger.* This being accordingly done, the prieſt delivered the bone, and the body was carried and interred behind the altar. E

(6) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 692.

(7) De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtalden. Eccl. ap. X. Script. col. 289.

(8) Id. ibid. col. 300.

(9) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

ALCUINUS, or ALBINUS (FLACCUS), a famous writer in the VIIIth century, was born in Yorkſhire, or (as others tell us) not far from London (*a*). He had his education firſt under venerable Bede, and afterwards under Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, who made him keeper of the curious library which he had founded in that city (*b*). Alcuinus flouriſhed about the year 780, was deacon of the church of York, and at laſt abbot of the monaſtery of Canterbury. In 793, he went over into France, being invited thither by Charlemagne, to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the hereſy of Felix, Biſhop

(*a*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britann. centur. 2. c. 17.

(*b*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 88.

Biſhop of Urgel [*A*], and the canons of the falſe ſynod of Nice (*c*). He was in high eſteem with that Prince, who not only honoured him with his friendſhip and confidence, but became his pupil likewiſe, being inſtructed by him in rhetorick, logick, mathematicks, and divinity (*d*). The year following, he attended Charlemagne to the council of Francfort, and, upon that Prince's recommendation, was admitted a member of that council. The ſame Prince gave him the abbies of Ferrara, St Jodocus, and St Lupus. In 796 he earneſtly requeſted leave to retire from ſecular affairs; which was refuſed him. In 798, he drew his pen againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, and confuted his errors in ſeven books. In 799, being invited by Charlemagne to accompany him in his journey to Rome, he excuſed himſelf on account of his infirmities and old age. In 801, Charlemagne being returned from Italy, and newly declared Emperor, Alcuinus took the opportunity of congratulating him on his election, and preſſed his ſuit ſo earneſtly, that at length he obtained leave to retire from court, to the abbey of St Martin at Tours, which the Emperor had lately given him. Here he ſpent the remainder of his life in an honourable retreat, and employed himſelf in educating the youth in the ſchool which he had founded in that city. The Emperor in vain endeavoured by repeated letters to re-call him to court. He died at Tours, on Whitſunday in the year 804 (*e*). He was a man of ſingular piety and learning, and the beſt Engliſh divine (according to William of Malmſbury) after Bede and Aldhelme (*f*). France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flouriſhing ſtate of learning in that kingdom [*B*]. He wrote a great number of books [*C*], moſt

(*c*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad. ann. 780.

(*d*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. *l.* i. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 24.

(*e*) Cave, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The hereſy of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel*] Hear what Mr Du Pin ſays of this Hereſiarch and his doctrine. 'Towards the end of the VIIIth century, there aroſe 'in the Weſt a diſpute about the myſtery of the incarnation. Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, in Catalonia, being 'conſulted by Elipand, Biſhop of Toledo, whether 'Jeſus Chriſt, as man, ought to be called the adoptive or natural ſon of God, anſwered, that in that 'quality he ought only to be called his adoptive ſon. 'He wrote in defence of this opinion, and endeavoured 'to ſpread it, not only in Spain, but alſo in France 'and Germany. He was oppoſed by the Biſhops, 'who, in a council held at Ratiſbon in 792, con'demned that error, together with it's author, who 'was ſent to Rome to Pope Adrian. The Pope con'firmed the judgment of the ſynod, and obliged Felix 'to retract. Nevertheleſs ſome Spaniſh Biſhops per'ſiſted in that opinion. Felix himſelf eſpouſed it anew, 'and Elipand defended him in a letter, which was 'condemned by Pope Adrian, then by a ſynod held 'in Italy, and, laſtly, by the council of Francfort in '794, conſiſting of three hundred Biſhops. The 'queſtion was debated in that council, and it was de'cided, that Jeſus Chriſt, as man, ought to be called 'the proper, and not the adoptive, ſon of God. This 'council informed Elipand, and the other Spaniſh 'Biſhops, of their deciſion; and Charlemagne joined 'his authority with that of the council, to oblige 'them to renounce their opinion. This affair was 'likewiſe examined at Rome, under Pope Leo III, in 'a council of fifty-ſeven Biſhops, held in 799. They 'confirmed the judgment given by Adrian, againſt 'the error of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, and anathematized him as an heretic. The ſame year Char'lemagne ſent for Felix to Aix la Chapelle, and gave 'him permiſſion to defend his opinions before the 'Biſhops. Alcuinus replied to him, and confuted 'him; whereupon he gave up his opinion, and em'braced that of the Church. He was followed by 'his diſciples, and that queſtion occaſioned no far'ther controverſy in the Church (1).'

(1) Du Pin, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe. cent. viii. ch. 4.

[*B*] *France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flouriſhing ſtate of learning in that kingdom.*] 'Ei quic'quid politioris literaturæ iſto & ſequentibus ſæculis 'Gallia oſtentat totum acceptum referri debet. Ei 'Academiæ Pariſienſis, Turonenſis, Fuldenſis, Sueſſio'nenſis, aliæque plures originem & incrementa de'bent; quibus ille, ſi non præſens præfuit, aut fun'damenta poſuit, ſaltem doctrina præluxit, exemplo 'præivit, & beneficiis à Carolo impetratis adauxit (2). '—— *France is obliged to Alcuinus for all the polite 'learning it boaſted of in that and the following ages. 'The univerſities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soiſſons, 'and many others, owe to him their origin and increaſe; 'thoſe, of whom he was not the ſuperior or founder, 'being at leaſt enlightened by his doctrine and example, 'and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from 'Charlemagne.*' A German poet, cited by Camden (3) mentions the ſervice Alcuinus did France, by introducing literature into that kingdom. His verſes are theſe:

(2) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad an. 780.

(3) Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 166.

Quid non Alcuino, facunda Lutetia, debes?
Inſtaurare bonas ibi qui feliciter artes,
Barbariemque procul ſolus depellere cœpit.

No ſmaller tokens of eſteem from France
Alcuinus claims, who durſt himſelf advance
Single againſt whole troops of ignorance.
'Twas he tranſported Britain's richeſt ware,
Language and arts, and kindly taught them there.

[*C*] *He wrote a great number of books.*] An edition of them was publiſhed by Du Cheſne at Paris in 1617, conſiſting of the following pieces. 1. Interrogationes & Reſponſiones, ſeu Liber Quæſtionum, in Geneſim. *i. e. Queſtions and anſwers on the book of Geneſis.* 2. Dicta ſuper illud Geneſeos, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem noſtram. *i. e. A diſcourſe on thoſe words in Geneſis, Let us make man in our own image.* 3. Enchiridium, ſeu Expoſitio pia brevis in VII Pſalmos Penitentiales, in Pſalmum CXVIII, & in Pſalmos Graduales, ad Arnonem Archiepiſcopum Saliſburgienſem. *i. e. A Manual, or ſhort pious expoſition on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, on the 118th Pſalm, and on the gradual Pſalms, dedicated to Arno, Archbiſhop of Saltzburg.* It was printed ſeparately at Paris in 1547, in 8*vo.* but without the preface, which was firſt publiſhed by Lucas Dacherius (4). 4. De Pſalmorum uſu liber. *i. e. Of the uſe of the Pſalms*, together with divers forms of prayer fitted for daily uſe. This book is dedicated to Fredegiſus his ſcholar. 5. Officia per ferias. *i. e. Offices for each day*, or Pſalms diſpoſed according to the days of the week, together with Orations, Hymns, Confeſſions, and Litanies. 6. Epiſtola de illo Cantici Canticorum loco, Sexaginta ſunt Reginæ, &c. *i. e. An epiſtle concerning that paſſage in Solomon's Song*, (vi. 8.) *There are threeſcore Queens, &c.* 7. Commentaria in Eccleſiaſten. *i. e. Commentaries on the book of Eccleſiaſtes.* Baſil. 1531. 8vo. 8. Commentariorum in S. Joannis Evangelium libri ſeptem. *i. e. Seven books of commentaries on St John's Goſpel.* Straſburg. 1527. 9. Epigrammata de recognitione & emendatione totius divinæ ſcripturæ. *i. e. Epigrams on the reviſal and correction of the whole Bible.* In Du Cheſne's edition of Alcuinus's works, we are told, that our author, by order of Charlemagne, undertook to correct the whole text of the Vulgate Bible; which work is ſtill to be found in the library of Vauxcolles, with the epigrams here mentioned (5). 10. De Fide SS. Trinitatis libri tres, ad Carolum Magnum, cum invocatione ad S. Trinitatem & Symbolo fidei. *i. e. Three books concerning faith in the Holy Trinity, addreſſed to Charlemagne, with an invocation to the Holy Trinity, and the Creed.* 11. De Trinitate, ad Fridegiſum Quæſtiones 28, ſeu Confeſſio, ſive Doctrina de Deo. *i. e. Twenty-eight queſtions concerning the Trinity; or a confeſſion, or doctrine concerning God, addreſſed to Fridegiſus.* 12. De differentia Æterni & Sempiterni, Immortalis & Perpetui, Sæculi, Ævi, & Temporis, Epiſtola. *i. e. A letter concerning eternity, immortality, ages, time, &c.* 13. De Animæ ratione ad Eulaliam Virginem. *i. e. Of the nature of the ſoul, addreſſed to*

(4) *In* Spiceleg. T. X.

(5) Cave, ubi ſupra.

most of which are extant. His ſtyle is elegant and ſprightly, and his language very pure conſidering the age in which he lived.

the virgin Eulalia. 14. Contra Felicem Orgiletanum libri ſeptem. *i. e. Seven books againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel*, written in 798, and falſely aſcribed, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, to Paul of Aquileia. 15. Epiſtola ad Elipandum. *i. e. A letter to Elipand, Biſhop of Toledo.* There is extant in Alcuinus's works an anſwer to this letter, full of reproaches and calumnies, written by Elipand to Alcuinus, in the year 799. 16. Contra Elipandi Epiſtolam libelli duo. *i. e. A reply to Elipand's letter in two books*, written in the year 800. 17. De Incarnatione Chriſti. *i. e. Of Chriſt's Incarnation*, and of the two natures united in him, againſt the ſame, in two books. This is followed, in Du Cheſne's edition, by a *Letter from Elipand to Felix* upon his converſion. The former abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix, in the end of the year 799: nevertheleſs, being depoſed from his ſee, he was baniſhed for life to Lyons. Elipand alſo, convinced of his error by the writings of Alcuinus, died piouſly in the year 808. There is alſo a *Confeſſion of Faith*, ſent by Felix to the clergy and people of Urgel, after he had abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix (6). 18. Epiſtola ad filiam in Chriſto chariſſimam. *i. e. A letter to his dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt.* 19. De Divinis Officiis Liber, ſive Expoſitio Romani Ordinis. *i. e. A Treatiſe concerning Divine Offices, or an Expoſition of the Roman Office.* This paſſes for the genuine work of Alcuinus, and has been often cited under his name by the writers, who have treated that ſubject; and in Du Cheſne's edition of this author, it is enlarged with the addition of twelve entire chapters. Nevertheleſs Dr Cave (7) is of opinion it is not Alcuinus's, but was written after the year 1000. 20. De Ratione Septuageſimæ, Sexageſimæ, & Quinquageſimæ, Epiſtola. *i. e. A Letter concerning Septuageſima, Sexageſima, and Quinquageſima*, written to the Emperor Charlemagne. 21. De Baptiſmi cæremoniis, ad Odvinum preſbyterum, Epiſtola. *i. e. A Letter to the preſbyter Odwin concerning the ceremonies of Baptiſm.* This is followed by another piece on the ſame ſubject, entitled *De iiſdem cæremoniis:* but Father Sirmond has juſtly taken it from Alcuinus, and reſtored it to it's true author Amalarius of Triers (8). 22. De Confeſſione peccatorum, ad pueros Sancti Martini. *i. e. A Letter to the Youths of the Abbey of St Martin's, concerning Confeſſion of Sins.* 23. Sacramentorum Liber. *i. e. A Book of Sacraments*, Colon. 1571. 24. Homiliæ tres, 1. De Silentio in quo miſſum eſt incarnatum verbum. 2. In Nativitatem B. Mariæ 3. In Feſto omnium Sanctorum. *i. e. Three Homilies; the firſt on the Incarnation, the ſecond on the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, and the third on the Feaſt of All Saints.* Theſe homilies are ſpurious, being taken out of Paulus Diaconus's *Homiliarium.* The third of them is the thirty-ſeventh among thoſe on the Saints, under St Auguſtin's name (9). 25. Vita Antichriſti, ad Carolum Magnum. *i. e. The Life of Antichriſt, dedicated to Charlemagne.* 26. De Virtutibus & vitiis ad Comitem Widonem Liber. *i. e. A Diſcourſe concerning the Virtues and Vices, addreſſed to Count Wido.* 27. De Septem Artibus Liber. *i. e. A Treatiſe concerning ſeven Sciences.* This piece is imperfect, there remaining no more than two chapters, *viz.* thoſe on Grammar and Rhetoric, with a tranſition to Logic. The *Grammatica* was publiſhed ſeparately at Hanover in 1605. The *Rhetorica & de Virtute Dialogus* came out at Paris in 1599. And the *Dialectica* or *Logic*, being a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus, was publiſhed, together with the Grammar, at Ingolſtad in 1604 (10). 28. Diſputatio Regalis. *i. e. The Royal Diſputation*, being a dialogue between Pipin, afterwards King of Italy, and the author. 29. Scriptum de vita Sancti Martini Turonenſis. *i. e. The Life of St Martin of Tours.* 30. De Tranſitu Sancti Martini Sermo. *i. e. A Sermon on the Death of St Martin.* 31. Vita S. Vedaſti Epiſcopi Attrebatenſis. *i. e. The Life of St Vedaſt Biſhop of Arras*, written in the year 795. 32. Vita beatiſſimi Richarii preſbyteri. *i. e. The Life of St Richarius or Riguier the Prieſt.* 33. De Vita S. Willebrordi Trajectenſis Epiſcopi Libri duo. *i. e. The Life of St Willebrord Biſhop of Utrecht, in two Books*; one in proſe, the other in verſe. 34. Epiſtolæ 115. *i. e. One Hundred and fifteen Letters.* 35. Poemata & Verſus de pluribus Sanctis. *i. e. Poems and Verſes on ſeveral Saints.* The pieces hitherto mentioned were publiſhed all together by Andrew du Cheſne: but ſince that edition of Alcuinus's works, other pieces have been publiſhed under the ſame author's name; as, 36. Libri quatuor Carolini de Imaginibus. *i. e. Four Caroline Books concerning Images.* Theſe are ſaid by Roger Hoveden (11) to have been written by Alcuinus under the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. They were written againſt the worſhip of images, a little before the council of Francfort, and publiſhed during the ſeſſion of that council under the Emperor's name; who in the preface expreſly declares, *he undertook that work out of a zeal for God and truth.* Dr Cave is of opinion, they are the genuine work of that Emperor, who might poſſibly be aſſiſted in compoſing them by Alcuinus (12) 37. Confeſſio fidei. *i. e. A Confeſſion of Faith.* This is a Collection taken out of the writings of St Auguſtin, and divided into four parts. It was publiſhed under Alcuinus's name by Chifflet, at Dijon, 1654, in *quarto*, among ſeveral tracts of other writers. M. Daillé, in a tract of his publiſhed at Roan in 1675, has endeavoured to prove, that this *Confeſſio fidei* is a ſpurious piece, and falſely aſcribed to Alcuinus. F. Mabillon has written a long diſſertation (13) in defence of the genuineneſs of the piece in queſtion. However he owns very candidly, he has not abſolutely proved his aſſertion, but only rendered it highly probable. 38. Commentarius brevis in Canticа Canticorum. *i. e. A ſhort Commentary on the Canticles or Solomon's Song.* London, 1638, 4*to*. This piece was publiſhed by Patricius Junius, with the commentary of Gilbert Foliot. 39. Breviarium fidei adverſus Arianos. *i. e. A Summary of faith againſt the Arians.* Sirmundus publiſhed it at Paris in 1630, without a name; but Chifflet reſtored it to Alcuinus (14). 40. Homilia de Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis. *i. e. An Homily on the Purification of the Virgin Mary*; falſely aſcribed to St Ambroſe, but reſtored to Alcuinus by M. Baluze (15). 41. Epiſtolæ duo & Sermo ad Carolum M. *i. e. Two Letters and a Diſcourſe addreſſed to Charlemagne*, publiſhed by M. Baluze (16). 42. Epiſtola & Præfatio ad Libros ſeptem in Felicem Orgiletanum. *i. e. An Epiſtle and Preface to the ſeven Books againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel.* It was wanting in the printed copies, and was firſt publiſhed by M. Baluze (17). 43. Epiſtolæ tres. *i. e. Three Letters*, brought to light by Dacherius (18). 44. Epiſtolæ xxvi. *i. e. Twenty-ſix Letters*, publiſhed by Mabillon (19). 45. Carmen de Cuculo. *i. e. A Poem on a Cuckow*, and two other poems, publiſhed by Mabillon (20). 46. Poemata duo. *i. e. Two Poems*, the firſt a ſhort one in heroic verſe, the other a long one in elegiac, both of them chiefly on the argument of the books of the Old and New Teſtament; publiſhed by Lambecius (21). 47. Hymnus & Epigrammata tres in S. Vedaſtum. *i. e. An Hymn and three Epigrams on St Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Lambecius (22). 48. Homilia in die Natali S. Vedaſti. *i. e. An Homily on the Birth-day of St Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Bollandus (23). 49. De Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis. *i. e. Of the Biſhops and Saints of the church of York.* This is an heroic poem, containing near 1700 verſes. It was copied from two manuſcripts, one at Rheims in France, and the other at St Theodoric near Rheims; and ſent by Mabillon to Dr Gale, Dean of York, who publiſhed it under Alcuinus's name (24). But Oudin (25) is of opinion, it was not written by Alcuinus, becauſe the poetry is very barbarous, and inferior to that of his other poems. That writer aſcribes it to a Benedictine Monk, named Fridegodus, who lived about the year 960. Dr Gale aſſures us (26), he had by him ſeveral epiſtles of Alcuinus, which were never publiſhed. Beſides the works of Alcuinus abovementioned, he wrote ſome pieces, which are loſt; namely, 50. Commentarius in Proverbia. *i. e. A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.* 51. Commentarius in quatuor Epiſtolas S. Pauli, viz. ad Epheſios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, & ad Hebræos. *i. e. A Commentary on four of St Paul's Epiſtles*, viz. *thoſe to the Epheſians, to Titus, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews.* 52. De Orthographia liber. *i. e. A Treatiſe of Orthography.* 53. De muſica Liber. *i. e. An Eſſay on Muſick.*

(6) Cave, ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Cave, ibid.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Annals ad an. 792.

(12) Cave, ubi ſupra, an. 768.

(13) Analect. T. I. p. 178.

(14) Præfat. ad Oper. Ferrandi.

(15) Miſcell. T. II. p. 382.

(16) Ibid. p. 365.

(17) Ib. T. IV. p. 413.

(18) Spicileg. T. IX.

(19) Analect. T. IV. p. 272.

(20) Ibid. T. I. p. 369. T. II. p. 552.

(21) Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob. l. ii. c. 5.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Acta Sanct. menſe Februar. p. 800.

(24) Galeus, Rer. Anglic. Script. T. III. p. 703.

(25) Comment. de Script. Eccleſ. Sæc. viii.

(26) Ubi ſupra.

ALDHELM or ADELM (*St*), Biſhop of Shireburn in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt Saxons (*a*) [*A*]. He was born at Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury [*B*] in Wiltſhire, and had his education partly abroad in France and Italy, and partly at home under Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, who had built a little monaſtery where the town of Malmſbury now ſtands. After Maildulphus's death, Aldhelm ſucceeding him did, by the help of Eleutherius, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the ground of right belonged, build there a very ſtately monaſtery [*C*], of which himſelf was the firſt Abbot. Upon the death of Hedda, Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, that kingdom being divided into two dioceſes, namely, Wincheſter and Shireburn, King Ina promoted Aldhelm to the latter, comprehending Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwall (*b*). It is ſaid, he was conſecrated at Rome by Pope Sergius I, and that he had the courage to reprove the holy Father for having a baſtard [*D*]. This prelate, by the direction of a dioceſan ſynod, wrote a book againſt the miſtake of the Britons concerning the celebration of Eaſter; in which he charged the Britiſh Church with many ſingularities, which kept them from the Saxon communion. This book, Bede tells us (*c*), reconciled many of the Britons, who were ſubject to the Weſt Saxons, to the Catholick uſage in that point. He likewiſe wrote a book, partly in proſe, and partly in hexameter verſe, in praiſe of virginity (*d*), dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbeſs of Barking (*e*), and publiſhed among Bede's *Opuſcula* (*f*). Aldhelm wrote ſeveral other pieces, mentioned by Bale and William of Malmſbury [*E*]. Bede gives him the character of an univerſal ſcholar and

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Britan. centur. I. n. 83. and Godwin de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherborneni. an. 705.

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. 18.

(*d*) Bede, ibid.

(*e*) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* Decem Scriptores, p. 745.

(*f*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. ii. p. 121.

[*A*] *He is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons.*] Let us hear William of Malmſbury concerning the family of St Aldhelm. 'Ferunt quidam '*(ſays that hiſtorian)* incertum unde id aſſumpſerint, 'fuiſſe nepotem Inæ regis Weſt-Saxonum ex fratre 'Kentero. Nobis pro vero arrogare non libuit, quod 'videtur magis opinioni quadrare volaticæ, quam veritati hiſtoricæ. Siquidem ex chronicis conſtat quod 'Ina nullum fratrem præter Inigildum habuerit, qui 'paucis ante ipſum annis deceſſit. Poſſem & illud 'objicere, quod Aldhelmus non minor ſeptuagenario 'decedens, Inam plus xviii annis ſuperſtitem reliquerit, idemque rex poſtea tot annos viridi adhuc 'ævo Romam iverit. Convenitne ut patruus juvenis 'nepotem ſeptuagenarium haberet, qui de fratre minoris ætatis natus fuiſſet? —— Qui legit manualem 'librum regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum beati Aldhelmi patrem non fuiſſe regis Inæ germanum, ſed 'arctiſſima neceſſitudine conſanguineum (1). —— *Some 'report, upon what authority I know not, that he was 'nephew of Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, being the 'ſon of his brother Kenter. I would not aſſume for 'true, what looks more like a flying rumour, than a 'matter of fact. For it is evident from hiſtory, that 'Ina had no other brother than Inigild, who died a 'few years before him. I might alſo object, that Aldhelm, being not leſs than ſeventy years old when he 'died, left Ina, who ſurvived him eighteen years, and 'that the ſame King, after ſo many years, went to 'Rome in the vigour of his age. Is it conſiſtent, that 'the uncle in the flower of his youth ſhould have a 'nephew ſeventy years of age, and the ſon of his 'younger brother? Whoever reads King Elfred's manual, will find that Kenter the father of St Aldhelm was not the brother of King Ina, but only very 'nearly related to him by blood.*' I ſhall leave the matter to reſt upon the authority and reaſoning of William of Malmſbury.

(1) W. Malmſb. de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. II. p. 2.

[*B*] *Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury.*] This town was built by Dunwallo Mulmutius King of the Britons, and by him called Caer-Bladon. After it had been deſtroyed by the wars, there roſe out of it's ruins a caſtle called by the Saxons Ingelborne; which was known by no other name for a long time, till Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, a great ſcholar, and eminent for his devotion and ſtrictneſs of life, being delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the wood under the hill, upon which the caſtle ſtood, lived there a hermit. Afterwards inſtituting a ſchool, and with his ſcholars devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he built a little monaſtery. From this Maildulphus the town of Ingelborne began to be called Maildulfſburg, and by Bede *Maildulfi Urbs* Maildulf's town: which name in length of time was changed into that of Malmſbury (2).

(2) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 103.

[*C*] *Aldhelm built a very ſtately monaſtery.*] King Ethelſtan enriched this monaſtery with ample donations, and choſe it for the place of his burial. After the Monks had been in poſſeſſion of it for the ſpace of 270 years, they were turned out in the year 956 by the command of King Edwy, and ſecular prieſts put in their room; but they were reſtored by King Edgar. This religious houſe was famous for it's wealth, and for having produced ſeveral learned men, eſpecially William of Malmſbury, to whoſe learned induſtry the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England are greatly indebted. King John gave the Monks leave to raze the caſtle for the enlargment of the abbey, which exceeded all the reſt in Wiltſhire both for riches and honour, it's Abbot ſitting in Parliament as a Peer of the Realm. At the diſſolution of the monaſteries in the reign of Henry VIII, the abbey of Malmſbury was purchaſed for a large ſum of money by one Stump, a rich clothier, for the uſe of the inhabitants, who converted it into a pariſh church (3).

(3) Camden, ibid. col. 104.

[*D*] *He had the courage to reprove the Pope for having a baſtard.*] 'Memoriæ traditum *(ſays Bi-'ſhop Godwin)* dum ibi loci hæreret, approbationem 'pontificiam expectans, ſanctiſſimum illum patrem, verum jam patrem, nova prole auctum; & luxuriam 'hominis reprehendere coram auſum novitium hunc 'epiſcopum (4). —— *It is reported, that, whilſt he 'tarried at Rome in expectation of the Pope's appro-'bation, the moſt holy Father, now a father indeed, 'had a child born to him; and that this new Biſhop 'had the courage to reprove him to his face for his in-'continency.*' But Bale gives this ſtory a quite different turn, and reproaches Aldhelm for not diſcharging his conſcience. 'Unum hoc in eo deflendum '*(ſays he)* occurrit, quod cum Sergio Primo Pontifice 'Romano longam conſuetudinem habens (cujus interim 'non ignorabat inceſtum) cauterio peruſtam avehebat 'conſcientiam (5). —— *One thing only is blameable 'in him, that having had a long intimacy with Pope 'Sergius I, (whoſe incontinency in the mean time he 'was not a ſtranger to) he brought away his con-'ſcience ſeared with a hot iron.*'

(4) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherbornenſ. an. 715.

(5) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. centur. I. n. 83.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] 1. De octo vitiis principalibus. *i. e. Of the eight principal Vices* (6); or, as it is otherwiſe called, De pugna octo principalium virtutum. *i. e. Of the fight of the eight principal virtues* (7). It is extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum of Caniſius (8). 2. Ænigmatum Verſus mille. *i. e. Ænigmas conſiſting of a thouſand Verſes*, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius (9). This, with the other works in verſe of St Aldhelm, were publiſhed by Martin Delrio at Mentz, in 1601, in 8*vo* (10). 3. A book, addreſſed to a certain King of Northumberland named Alfrid, containing the following chapters: De Septenarii numeri dignitate, collecta ex veteris & Novi Teſtamenti floribus & diſciplinis philoſophorum. *i. e. Of the dignity of the number Seven, collected from the flowers of the Old and New Teſtament, and from the doctrines of the philoſophers.* De Ammonitione fraternæ charitatis. *i. e. Of the admonition of brotherly charity.* De inſenſibilium rerum natura, quæ ſecundum metaphoram ſermocinari figurantur. *i. e. Of the nature of inſenſible things, which are metaphorically and by a figure ſuppoſed to be indued with ſpeech.* De pedum regulis. *i. e. Of the rules of feet, or the meaſures of verſe.* De Metaplaſmo

(6) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 7.

(7) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra

(8) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. vii. an. 680.

(9) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(10) Cave, ibid.

and an elegant writer (*g*). The monkiſh authors, eſpecially William of Malmſbury (*h*), have aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Aldhelm: particularly they tell us, that a Carpenter having cut a beam for his church too ſhort, the ſaint by his prayers ſtretched it out to the full proportion; and that he hung his garments upon the rays of the ſun, which miraculouſly ſupported them, to the admiration of all the beholders (*i*). He was the firſt Engliſhman that ever wrote in Latin, and that introduced poetry into England [*F*]. He preferred muſick to all other worldly delights, and played ſkilfully on all ſorts of inſtruments (*k*). The Popiſh writers pretend, he uſed frequently to put his virtue to a dangerous tryal, by lying all night with a young woman, yet without violation of his chaſtity (*l*). St Aldhelm lived in great eſteem till his death, which happened May the 25th 709. A meadow near the town of Malmſbury is called from him *St Aldhelm's Mead*; and before the Reformation they had ſeveral other memorials of him, as his Pſalter, the robe wherein he ſaid Maſs, and a great bell in the abbey-ſteeple called *St Aldhelm's Bell* (*m*).

(*g*) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See W. Malmſb. lib. v. de Pontif. Angl. ſive de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part II.

(*i*) Flowers of the Engliſh Saints, p. 491, 492.

(*k*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Camd. Britannia, laſt. edit. Vol. I. col. 104.

taplaſmo. *i. e. Of the figure called Metaplaſm.* De Synalæpha. *i. e. Of the figure called Synalæpha.* De ſcanſione & eclipſi verſuum. *i. e. Of the ſcanning and ellipſis of verſes.* De metro alterna interrogatio & reſponſio. *i. e. A dialogue concerning metre* (11). 4. De vita monachorum. *i. e. Of the monaſtic life.* 5. De laude ſanctorum. *i. e. Of the praiſe of the ſaints.* 6. De Arithmetica. *i. e. A treatiſe of Arithmetic.* 7. De Aſtrologia. *i. e. A treatiſe of Aſtrology.* Beſides Homilies, Epiſtles, and Sonnets, in the Saxon tongue (12). I ſhall ſubjoin William of Malmſbury's character of St Aldhelm as a writer. 'Sermones ejus 'minus infundunt hilaritatis quam vellent hi qui re- 'rum incurioſi verba trutinant; judices importuni, 'qui neſciant quod ſecundum mores gentium varien- 'tur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involute, 'Romani ſplendide, Angli pompatice dictare ſolent. 'Id in omnibus antiquis cartis eſt animadvertere. 'Moderatius tamen ſe agit Aldelmus, nec niſi perraro '& neceſſario verba ponit exotica. Allegat catholicos 'ſenſus ſermo facundus, & violentiſſimas aſſertiones ex- 'ornat color rhetoricus. Quem ſi perfecte legeris, & 'ex acumine Græcum putabis, & ex nitore Romanum 'jurabis, & ex pompa Anglum intelliges (13). —— 'There is leſs gaiety in his diſcourſes, than thoſe deſire, 'who are more careful of ſtyle than matter; unrea- 'ſonable critics, who forget that the mode of ſpeaking 'differs according to the different manners of people. 'Thus the language of the Greeks is involved and ob- 'ſcure, that of the Romans ſplendid and elegant, that 'of the Engliſh pompous and ſwelling. This is re- 'markable in all the antient writings. As for Ald- 'helm, he is very moderate in his ſtyle, and never in- 'troduces foreign terms but upon neceſſity. His Catholic 'meaning is cloathed with eloquence, and his moſt ve- 'hement aſſertions adorned with the colours of Rhetoric. 'If you read him with attention, you will take him 'for a Grecian by his acuteneſs, a Roman by his ele- 'gance, and an Engliſhman by the pomp of his 'language.'

(11) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(12) Baleus, ibid.

(13) W. Malmſb. ibid.

[*F*] *He was the firſt —— that introduced poetry into England.*] This he ſays of himſelf in one of his treatiſes on metre: 'Hæc de metrorum generibus & 'ſchematibus pro utilitate ingenii mei habes, multum 'laborioſe, neſcio ſi fructuoſe, collecta, quamvis mihi 'conſcius ſum me illud Virgilianum poſſe jactare,

'Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
'Aonio rediens deducam vertice Muſas (14).

(14) *Apud* W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

'—— *Theſe things have I written concerning the 'the kinds and meaſures of verſe; collected with much 'labour, but whether uſeful I know not; though I 'am conſcious to my ſelf I have a right to boaſt as 'Virgil did:*

'*I firſt, returning from th' Aonian hill,*
'*Will lead the Muſes to my native land.*'

His hiſtorian tells us, he made an excellent uſe of his ſkill in Engliſh poetry; which was, to poliſh the barbarous manners of the people, and to bring them to a better ſenſe of religion. 'Commemorat Elfredus 'carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Al- 'delmum feciſſe; adjiciens cauſam, qua probet ratio- 'nabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola in- 'ſtitiſſe: populum eo tempore ſemi-barbarum, parum 'divinis ſermonibus attentum, ſtatim cantatis miſſis 'domos curſitare ſolitum; ideoque ſanctum virum ſu- 'per pontem quæ rura & urbem continuat, abeuntibus 'ſe oppoſuiſſe obicem, quaſi artem cantandi profeſ- 'ſum. Eo plus quam ſemel facto, plebis favorem & 'concurſum emeritum. Hoc commento, ſenſim inter 'ludicra verbis ſcripturarum inſertis, cives ad ſanita- 'tem reduxiſſe; qui ſi ſevere & cum excommunica- 'tione agendum putaſſet, profecto profeciſſet ni- 'hil (15). —— *Elfred informs us, that Aldhelm 'made the ballad, which is ſtill commonly ſung, ad- 'ding a probable reaſon why ſo great a man buſied him- 'ſelf about ſuch trifles; namely, that the people were 'half barbarians, little attentive to religious diſ- 'courſes, and accuſtomed to run home immediately after 'ſinging of maſs; wherefore the holy man, placing 'himſelf upon a bridge that joined the town and coun- 'try, uſed often to ſtop them, profeſſing himſelf ſkilled 'in the art of ſinging. By this means he gained the 'favour of the populace, who flocked about him; and 'inſenſibly mixing words of ſcripture with ludicrous 'matters, he brought the towns-men to a right way of 'thinking; whereas, if he had thought proper to uſe 'ſeverity, or have proceeded to excommunication, he 'would have met with no ſucceſs.'* T

(15) Id. ib.

ALDHUN, the firſt Biſhop of Durham, ſucceeded Elfſig in the biſhopric of Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland (*a*), in the year 990, being the twelfth of the reign of King Ethelred. He was of a noble family, but, according to Simeon of Durham, more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment [*A*]. He ſat about ſix years in the ſee of Lindisfarne, during which time, that iſland was greatly expoſed to the incurſions of the Daniſh pirates. This made him think of removing from thence; though Simeon of Durham ſays, he was put upon it by an admonition from Heaven (*b*). However, taking with him the body of St Cuthbert, which had been buried there about 113 years, and accompanied by all the Monks and the reſt of the people, he went away from Holy Iſland; and, after wandering about ſome time, at laſt he ſettled with his followers at Dunelm, now called Durham; where he gave riſe both to the city and cathedral church.

(*a*) See an account of this biſhopric in the article AIDAN, a Scotch Biſhop.

(*b*) Cœleſti monitus oraculo. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 27.

[*A*] *He was of a noble family, but —— more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment.*] 'Erat autem idem antiſtes proſapia nobilis, ſed pla- 'cita Deo converſatione multo nobilior, habitu, ſicut 'omnes predeceſſores ejus, & actu monachus probabi- 'lis. Cujus probitatis laudem a majoribus ſibi tradi- 'tam indigenæ pene omnes, ac ſi eum viderent, præ- 'dicare ſolent (1). —— *He was noble by birth, but 'much more ſo by his religious behaviour: a Monk, as 'all his predeceſſors were; and that not only in the 'external garb, but in the real virtues of that cha- 'racter. The fame of his goodneſs has reached poſte- 'rity, and is ſtill celebrated by the inhabitants of his 'dioceſe, as if he was now alive and converſant a- 'mong them.'*

(1) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 26.

[*B*] *He*

church [*B*]. He had a daughter named Ecgfrid, whom he gave in marriage to Ucthred, ſon of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, and with her ſix towns belonging to the epiſcopal ſee (*c*); upon condition that he ſhould never divorce her. But that young Lord afterwards repudiating her [*C*], Aldhun received back the church lands he had given with her (*d*). This prelate educated King Ethelred's two ſons, Alfred and Edward; and, when their father was driven from his throne by Swane King of Denmark, he conducted them, together with Queen Emma, into Normandy, to Duke Richard the Queen's brother (*e*). This was in the year 1017, a little before Biſhop Aldhun's death. For the next year, the Engliſh having received a terrible overthrow in a battle with the Scots, the good Biſhop was ſo affected with the news, that he died a few days after [*D*], having enjoyed the prelacy twenty-nine years (*f*). Radulphus de Diceto (*g*) calls this Biſhop *Alfhunus*, and Biſhop Godwin (*h*) *Aldwinus*.

(c) Theſe were Birmetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carlton, Heaclif, and Helfelden. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, col. 79.

(d) Ibid. col. 80.

(e) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Dunelm. an. 990.

(f) Sim. Dunelm. ibid. col. 30.

(g) Abbreviat. Chronol. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 467.

(h) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He gave riſe both to the city and cathedral church of Durham.*] Before Aldhun's arrival, the town of Dunelm, or Durham, conſiſted only of a few ſcattered huts or cottages. The ſpot of ground was covered with a very thick wood, which the Biſhop, with the aſſiſtance of the people that followed him, made a ſhift to cut down, and clear away. After he had aſſigned the people their reſpective habitations by lot, he began to build a church of ſtone; which he finiſhed in three years time, and dedicated it to St Cuthbert, placing in it the body of that Saint. From that time the epiſcopal ſee, which had been placed at Lindisfarne by Biſhop Aidan, remained fixed at Durham; and the cathedral church was ſoon endowed with conſiderable benefactions by King Ethelred and other great men (2). Durham, in Latin *Dunelmum*, (Biſhop Godwin tells us) was ſo called from *Dun*, which in the Saxon language ſignified a mountain, and *Holm* which ſignified a river-iſland; becauſe the river Were ſurrounds on all ſides the mountain on which the city ſtands (3).

(2) Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, col. 28, 29.

(3) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *That young lord repudiated Aldhun's daughter*] Malcolm King of Scotland, having invaded the northern parts of England, laid ſiege to Durham. Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, being an old man and not able to make head againſt the enemy, ſhut himſelf up in the royal city of Bebbanburg. But his ſon Ucthred, at that time married to Ecgfrid, putting himſelf at the head of the Northumbrians and Yorkſhire-men, fell upon the Scots, and gave them a total overthrow; Malcolm himſelf narrowly eſcaping by flight. King Ethelred hearing of this victory ſent for Ucthred, and, as a reward of his valour and conduct, gave him the earldom of Northumberland, though his father was not yet dead, and annexed to it that of York. The young Earl was ſcarce inveſted with theſe new honours, when he repudiated his wife (4). Simeon of Durham aſſigns no reaſon for this divorce: but it is very probable, Ucthred now thought himſelf too great a man to be ſon-in-law to a Biſhop, and that he aſpired after a nobler alliance: for having firſt married the daughter of a rich citizen named Styr, and thereby (probably) acquired a conſiderable increaſe of wealth, he ſoon got rid of her by divorce; and obtained in marriage Elfgiva the daughter of King Ethelred (5). As for Ecgfrid, ſhe was married to a Thane in Warwickſhire named Kilvert: but being divorced from this ſecond huſband, ſhe returned to Durham, and there ſhut herſelf up in a convent during the reſt of her life (6). Our author places the ſiege of Durham, mentioned in this remark, in the year 969; whereas Aldhun did not remove from Lindisfarne till about 996; which two dates are utterly irreconcileable. It is not eaſy to ſay whence this chronological miſtake aroſe, whether from the negligence of the author, the copyiſt, or the printer. It is certain that Aldhun's daughter was not married to Ucthred till after her father's ſettlement at Durham, nor was ſhe divorced from him till after the abovementioned ſiege.

(4) Sim. Dunelm. de Ucthredo Comite Northanhymbrorum. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 79, 80.

(5) Ibid. col. 80.

(6) Ibid.

[*D*] *The Biſhop was ſo affected with the news, that he died a few days after.*] When he heard of the dreadful ſlaughter of the Engliſh, he fetched a deep groan, and cried out; 'Wretch that I am! Why 'have I lived to this time? Was it to ſee the deſtruc'tion of my people? O holy confeſſor Cuthbert, be'loved of God! if ever I have done any thing 'pleaſing in thy ſight, now reward me by not ſuf'fering me to ſurvive the ſlaughter of thy people.' *O me, inquit, miſerum! ut quid in hæc tempora ſervatus ſum? an ideo huc uſque vixi, ut tantam viderem cladem populi? O, inquit, ſanctiſſime, O dilecte Deo confeſſor Cuthberte, ſi quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc quæſo mihi vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo mortuo non ſim ego diutius ſuperſtes* (7).

(7) Id. Ibid. col. 30.

T

ALDRED, Archbiſhop of York in the reigns of Edward the Confeſſor, Harold, and William the Conqueror, was a Monk of Wincheſter, afterwards Abbot of Taviſtock, and from thence promoted to the ſee of Worceſter in the year 1046 (*a*). Four years after his conſecration, he took a journey to Jeruſalem, through Hungary; a thing which no Engliſh Biſhop had attempted before him (*b*). Being returned into England, he was ſent by King Edward on an embaſſy to the Emperor Henry II [*A*]. He ſtayed a whole year in Germany, and learned many things there relating to Church diſcipline, the practice of which he afterwards introduced into England (*c*). He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman [*B*]; and

(a) Sim. Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. ad an. 1046.

(b) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Epiſc. *apud* X Scriptores, 1700.

(c) Stubbs, ibid.

[*A*] *He was ſent by King Edward on an embaſſy to the Emperor Henry II.*] The deſign of this embaſſy was, to deſire the Emperor to ſend letters and Embaſſadors to Solomon King of Hungary, to prevail with him to ſend home Prince Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, whom King Edward had deſigned for his heir (1). For King Edmund having left two ſons, Edmund and Edward, King Canute, for fear they ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne, ſent them into Denmark, under pretence of travelling, but with a ſecret intention of having them murthured. The perſon, with whom he had intruſted the young Princes, knowing his deſign, inſtead of carrying them into Denmark, conducted them to the King of Sweden, whom he acquainted with the King of England's deſign. The Swediſh King received them with great kindneſs: but, being cautious of diſobliging Canute, he ſent the young Princes to the court of Hungary, where Solomon willingly took upon himſelf the care of their education. That Prince married one of his daughters to Edmund, and gave his ſiſter-in-law, the Emperor's daughter, to Edward. Edmund died ſoon after his marriage; but Edward had ſeveral children (2). The Emperor complied with the intention of Aldred's embaſſy; and accordingly Edward, with his wife Agatha, his ſon Edgar, and his daughters Margaret and Chriſtina, arrived in England in 1057. But Prince Edward dying ſoon after his arrival diſappointed the Confeſſor's intention (3).

(1) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 942.

(2) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. v.

(3) Id. ibid.

[*B*] *He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman.*] This Herman was a Flanderkin, and had been chaplain to King Edward, who advanced him to the Biſhopric of Wilton. The revenues of that Biſhopric being but ſmall, Herman petitioned the King for leave to fix the epiſcopal ſee in the convent of Malmſbury: but Edward, by the advice of his nobles, refuſing his conſent, Herman in diſguſt threw up his Biſhopric, and retiring into France lived three years in a monaſtery: in the mean time Aldred had the care of his ſee. But Herman diſreliſhing the monaſtick life, and hearing that the Biſhop of Sherburn was dead,

and of that of Hereford four years, after the death of Leofgar in 1056 (*d*). In the year 1061, Kinſius Archbiſhop of York being dead, Aldred was advanced to that ſee and, with the King's conſent, held the biſhopric of Worceſter *in commendam* [*C*], as four of his predeceſſors had done (*e*). Soon after, he went to Rome for his pall, accompanied by Toſti Earl of Northumberland, Giſo Biſhop of Wells, and Walter Biſhop of Hereford. But Pope Nicolas II, being informed of his ſimoniacal practices, not only refuſed to confirm him in the archbiſhopric, but deprived him likewiſe of all he enjoyed before. Thus diſappointed, he left Rome with his three companions: but as they were travelling over the Alps, they were ſet upon by a band of robbers, who plundered them of every thing but their cloaths; ſo that they were obliged to return to Rome, to get a farther ſupply for their journey. Then Earl Toſti interpoſing, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats [*D*], prevailed upon the Pope to confirm Aldred, and give him the pall; which he did, on condition that prelate ſhould reſign the ſee of Worceſter (*f*). Being quietly ſeated in his chair at York, he began to do ſome good things: for he built a common hall for the Canons to dine in; he finiſhed the hall at Beverly, begun by his predeceſſor, but left imperfect; he re-built the new cathedral church at Glouceſter, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes; laſtly, he obliged the clergy of his province to wear a decent and uniform habit, whereas before they were not diſtinguiſhable from the laity. The ſee of York having been greatly reduced by the perſecution of the Barbarians, Aldred, with the King's conſent, retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the ſee of Worceſter for his own uſe (*g*) [*E*]. And now this prelate began to diſcover himſelf to be a mere worldling and an odious time-ſerver. For no ſooner was his patron King Edward dead, but he aſſiſted Harold, ſon of Earl Godwin, to obtain the crown. Afterwards, when William the Norman had ſucceeded in his invaſion, and Stigand Archbiſhop of Canterbury had refuſed to crown him, Aldred fell in with the ſtream, and performed the ceremony; only exacting an oath from the Norman, that he would love and protect the Engliſh equally with his own natural ſubjects (*h*). But when afterwards he found that the Conqueror little regarded this oath, he thundered out an excommunication againſt him (*i*). Soon after, the Daniſh invaſion coming on, and the citizens of York, with the Northumbrians and others, declaring for Prince Edgar Atheling's title, Aldred ſickened at the news, and died, September 10, 1069, juſt before the Danes landed; and was buried in the cathedral church of York (*k*). This Archbiſhop was the laſt Engliſhman promoted to the ſee of York; his ſucceſſors being of Norman race (*l*). I ſhall give the reader a taſte of this prelate's ſpiritual pride and prieſtly arrogance, in two ſtories; the one from his panegyriſt Stubbs [*F*], who relates it

(*d*) Stubbs, ibid. col. 1701.

(*e*) Stubbs, ibid.

(*f*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. *apud* Rer. Anglic. poſt Bedam Scriptor. p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Stubbs, ubi ſupra, col. 1702.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. vi.

(*k*) Stubbs, ib. col. 1703.

(*l*) Id. ib. col. 1705.

which ſee the King had formerly promiſed him he would annex to that of Wilton, he returned into England; and the King keeping to his promiſe, Herman held the united ſees of Wilton and Sherburn till the ninth year of William the Conqueror, when the epiſcopal ſeat was fixed a Sarum or Saliſbury (4).

[*C*] *He held the Biſhopric of Worceſter* in commendam.] William of Malmſbury charges the Archbiſhop with obtaining this *commendam* ſimoniacally. *Hic ſimplicitati Edwardi illudens, moremque anteceſſorum pecunia magis quam ratione allegans, Archiepiſcopatum Eboracenſem non intermiſſa priori ſede ſuſcepit* (5). There is ſome obſcurity in this paſſage: but the ſenſe of it ſeems to be; that Aldred, abuſing the eaſy diſpoſition of the King, found means to retain the ſee of Worceſter, rather by the force of money properly applied, than by virtue of the precedent he alledged.

[*D*] ——— *By threats.*] The Earl was of a fiery diſpoſition, and upon this occaſion played the bully for his friend. He went to his Holineſs, and railed plentifully at him. He told him, his excommunication would ſtrike no terror into diſtant nations, if it could not frighten a band of robbers in the very neighbourhood of Rome. He demanded reſtitution for the loſs he had ſuſtained; otherwiſe he might depend upon it, when the King of England came to hear of this uſage, he would withdraw the tribute due to the holy chair. The thunder of theſe threats (ſays Malmſbury) frightened the Pope into compliance. *Toſtinus quippe gravibus verborum contumeliis Apoſtolicum aggreſſus, in ſententiam ſibi placitam reduxit. Parum metuendam à longinquis gentibus ejus excommunicationem, quam propinqui latrunculi deriderent. In ſupplices furere, in rebelles parum valere. Aut ſua ſibi per ejus authoritatem reddenda, quæ per fraudulentiam conſtaret amiſſa; aut futurum, ut hæc rex Anglorum audiens, tributum S. Petri merito Nicolao ſubtraheret: ſe non defuturum rerum veritati exaggerandæ. Hoc minarum fulmine Romani territi Papam flexerunt, ut Aldredo Archiepiſcopatum redderet & pallium* (6). Stubbs ſays nothing of Earl Toſti's threats, but imputes the Pope's change of mind to the motions of pity, and the interceſſion of the whole court. *Itaque Papa Nicholaus ſuper eum pietate commotus, & totius curiæ interceſſione pro eo exoratus, Archiepiſcopatum ei dato pallio confirmavit* (7). The ſame author has preſerved part of the preamble of the Pope's Bull of confirmation, as follows: *Nicholaus Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Confratri & Coepiſcopo Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo Apoſtolicæ benedictionis privilegium & Salutem, & per eum ſuæ eccleſiæ ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus canonice promovendis imperpetuum. Quia divinitatis occulta diſpenſatio eſt,* &c. (8).

[*E*] *He retained twelve towns or manours belonging to the ſee of Worceſter for his own uſe.*] This is what his panegyriſt Thomas Stubbs tells us: but if John Bromton is to be believed, his conduct in this affair merits the higheſt cenſure. For, according to that hiſtorian (9), he detained thoſe poſſeſſions by violence and injuſtice; and, the better to cover his rapine, he nominated Wolſtan, Prior of Worceſter, to that ſee, agreeably to the Pope's Bull, which gave him the power of appointing his ſucceſſor therein. This Wolſtan, being a plain eaſy man, and owing his advancement to Aldred, did not attempt, during the life of the Archbiſhop, to recover the twelve manours unjuſtly transferred to the church of York: but no ſooner was Aldred dead, than Wolſtan defended the rights of the church of Worceſter, and recovered the poſſeſſions which had been diſmembered from it.

[*F*] *Two ſtories; the one from Stubbs.*] As the Archbiſhop's officers were, one day, bringing a great quantity of proviſions to his palace at York, they were met upon the road by the high-ſheriff of the county, who ſtopped them, and aſked them to whom they belonged. The men anſwered, they were ſervants of the Archbiſhop, and were carrying thoſe proviſions for his uſe. The high-ſheriff, deſpiſing the Prelate and his ſervants, ordered the officers who attended him to ſeize upon the carriages and proviſions, and carry them to the King's granary in the caſtle of York. The Archbiſhop hearing of this, ſent ſeveral of his clergy and citizens to demand reſtitution of the high-ſheriff, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refuſed it. But that officer diſregarding his threats, the Archbiſhop poſted up to London, and went, attended by a numerous train of Biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics,

(4) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 946.

(5) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. *apud* Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. poſt. Bedam, p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

(6) W. Malmſb. ibid.

(7) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Epiſc. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1702.

(8) Ibid.

(9) *Apud* X Scriptor. col. 932.

as a ſingular inſtance of his conſtancy and reſolution; the other from William of Malmſbury [G].

cleſiaſtics, to Weſtminſter, where the King then was in council. The monarch no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the Prelate, than he roſe up to ſalute him as uſual; which the latter put by with his croſier, and taking no notice of the King's ſtanding, nor of his crowd of courtiers, he addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words: 'Hear me, William; when thou wert an alien, and 'God had permitted thee, for our ſins, and through 'much blood, to reign over us, I anointed thee King, 'and placed the crown upon thy head with a bleſ-'ſing: but now, becauſe thou deſerveſt it not, I will 'change that bleſſing into a curſe againſt thee, as a 'perſecutor and oppreſſor of God and his miniſters, 'and a breaker and contemner of thoſe oaths and 'promiſes, which thou madeſt unto me before the 'altar of St Peter.' The King aſtoniſhed at theſe menaces threw himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, and humbly begged to know by what offence he had deſerved ſo ſevere a ſentence. The noblemen in the preſence were irritated to a high degree at the Prelate's arrogance, in ſuffering the King to lie at his feet without raiſing him. But the Archbiſhop turning to them ſaid; 'Let him alone, gentlemen, let him 'lie; he does not fall down at my feet, but at the 'feet of St Peter.' After ſome time he thought fit to raiſe the King, and told him his errand. The Conqueror was too much frightened to deny his requeſt. He gave him rich gifts, and diſpatched an expreſs to the high-ſheriff for the reſtitution of his goods, which were punctually reſtored, to the value of a ſack-ſtring, *uſque ad ligamen ſacci* (10).

(10) T. Stubbs, ibid. col. 1703.

[G] ——— *The other from William of Malmſbury.*] Urſus, Earl of Worceſter, had built a caſtle to the prejudice of a neighbouring monaſtery: for the ditch of the ſaid caſtle took off part of the church-yard belonging to the Monks. Aldred had often by letters admoniſhed the Earl to do juſtice to the Monks. But finding intreaties would not do, he went to Urſus in perſon, and demanded whether it was by his appointment that this encroachment was made. The Earl not denying the fact, the Prelate cried out;

Higheſt thou Urſe (11);
Have thou God's curſe.

(11) i. e. *Thou art called* Urſus. This name ſignifies in Latin a *Bear*.

This curſe, ſays my author, ſeemed to take effect: for Urſus died ſoon after, and Roger his ſon enjoyed his father's honour but a very ſhort time; for, having ſlain one of the King's officers, he was forced to fly his country (12). T

(12) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

ALDRICH or ALDRIDGE (ROBERT), called in Latin *Aldriſius*, was Biſhop of Carliſle in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary (*a*). This prelate was born at Burnham in Buckinghamſhire, educated in grammar learning at Eaton ſchool, and elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in the year 1507; where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was about that time ſtyled by Eraſmus, in one of his epiſtles, *blandæ eloquentiæ juvenis* (*b*). Afterwards he became Proctor of the univerſity, ſchool-maſter of Eaton, fellow of that college, and at length Provoſt. In 1529 he retired to Oxford, where he was incorporated Bachelor of Divinity, March 15, 1529 (*c*); and the next year, performing his exerciſes for the degree of Doctor in that faculty, he was licenſed to proceed, in April 1530 (*d*). About the ſame time he was made Archdeacon of Colcheſter. In 1534, May 7, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor; and the ſame year he was appointed regiſter of the moſt noble order of the Garter (*e*), in the room of Dr Richard Sydenore, Archdeacon of Totneſs (*f*). July 18, 1537, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Carliſle, in the room of Dr John Kyte deceaſed: from which time to that of his death, though there were many changes both in Church and State, yet (Mr Wood tells us) he ran through all, and conſequently complied with all (*g*). Biſhop Aldrich wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly theſe following: 1. Epiſtola ad Gulielmum Hormannum. *i. e. A Letter to William Horman.* 2. Epigrammata varia. *i. e. Various Epigrams.* 3. *Several Reſolutions concerning the Sacraments.* 4. *Anſwers to certain Queries concerning the Abuſes of the Maſs.* He wrote alſo *Reſolutions* of ſome queſtions relating to Biſhops and Prieſts, and other matters tending to the reformation of the Church begun by King Henry VIII. John Leland, the antiquarian and poet, who was his familiar acquaintance, has celebrated him for his admirable parts and learning [A]. This prelate died March 25, 1555, at Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire, which was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle [B].

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Carleol.

(b) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 97.

(c) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. ad an. 1530.

(d) Ibid. ad an. 1530.

(e) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(f) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. ad an. 1503.

(g) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

[A] *John Leland —has celebrated him* in the following verſes.]

Ad Rob. Aldrigum.

Si ſcires penitus meæ Camænæ
Erga te ſtudium, benignis illam
Ulnis acciperes, tuoque dignam
(Ni fallor modo) diceres favore.
At quî ſcire meæ (rogo) tacentis
Affectum potes intimum Camænæ?
(Ut ſis ergo ſciens) lubenter in te
Teſtatos faciet ſuos amores,
Attingetque tuas canora laudes
Doctrinæ ſolidas, jubente Granta:
Quæ te quæ juvenem bonas docebat
Artes ingenuum, elegantiamque:
Illo tempore, quo beata Eraſmum
Ingentis pretii virum fovebat,
Non magno ſine commodo ſuorum
Omnium, &, tulit ut quidem ſecundus
Caſus, præcipue tuo: Aſſidebas
Nam deſiderio laborioſe
Exemplaria docta conferenti,
Caſtæ relliquias latinitatis.
Nunc, Aldrige, tibi ſuas Camæna
Partes præſtitit, additura metam
Succincti hendecaſyllabis Phaleuci (1).

(1) Joh. Lel. Encomia &c. illuſtr. viror. *apud* Collectan. Append. Part I. p. 134.

[B] *Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle.*] Among other alienations of the church-lands in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a licence, dated November 1, 1552, was granted to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, empowering him to ſell to the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral of England, *Socam ſive dominium ſuum de Horn-Caſtle cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln. in villis, campis, ſive parochiis de Horn-Caſtle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Aſhby, Maring, Wileſby, Haltham, Coniſby, Boughton, Fimbleby, Moreby, Meckham & Innerby in com. prædict.* to have the ſame to him and his heirs, *tenend. de domino rege*, &c. There was likewiſe a licence granted to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the ſaid conveyance. And for all theſe lordſhips the purchaſer was only to pay the yearly rent of twenty-eight pounds to the Biſhop (2). T

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Records, n. 25.

ALDRICH

ALDRICH (HENRY) an eminent philoſopher, poet, and divine, in the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was the ſon of Henry Aldrich of Weſtminſter, Gent. He was born there in the year 1647 (*a*), and educated in the college-ſchool in that city, under the famous R. Buſby. In act-term 1662, he was admitted into Chriſt-church-college Oxon, of which he was, ſoon after, elected ſtudent (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 31, 1666 (*c*), and that of Maſter, April 3, 1669 (*d*). Entring ſoon after into holy orders, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge in every branch of divine and human learning, and became a famous tutor in his college. On the fifteenth of February, 1681, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-church, in the ſecond ſtall (*e*); and the ſecond of March following, accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*f*). He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts during the reign of King James II [*A*], upon which, and other accounts, his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that when, at the Revolution, J. Maſſey the Popiſh Dean of Chriſt-church fled beyond ſea, his deanry was conferred upon Dr Aldrich; who was therein inſtalled the ſeventeenth of June, 1689 (*g*). In this eminent ſtation he behaved in the moſt worthy and exemplary manner; and promoted learning, religion, and virtue, with great application and zeal, in that noble college over which he happily preſided. A great deal of it's preſent luſtre and beauty it owes to his ſkilful and ingenious hand; for it was he who deſigned the beautiful ſquare, called Peckwater-Quadrangle, which is eſteemed a regular and compleat piece of architecture (*h*). Like his excellent predeceſſor Biſhop Fell (*i*), he publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an antient Greek author [*B*], for a new-year's-gift to the ſtudents of his houſe. He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of logic, and ſome other things [*C*]. The reviſing of the manuſcript of *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, was committed to his care, jointly with Biſhop Sprat; but it doth not appear that they made any additions, or conſiderable alterations in it, as has been aſſerted by a late writer, Mr Oldmixon (*k*). Beſides his preferments abovementioned, Dr Aldrich was alſo Rector of Wem in Shropſhire (*l*). He was choſen Prolocutor of the convocation, in 1702. This worthy perſon died at Chriſt-church, on the the fourteenth of December, 1710. As to his character: he was a moſt univerſal ſcholar, and had a taſte for all ſorts of learning, eſpecially architecture. Having never been married, he appropriated his income to works of hoſpitality, and beneficence, and in encouraging learning to the utmoſt of his power, of which he was a moſt munificent patron, as well as one of the greateſt men in England, if conſidered as a Chriſtian or a gentleman. He had always the intereſt of his college at heart, whereof he was an excellent governor [*D*]. And, as he was remarkable for modeſty and humility, concealing his name to thoſe ſeveral learned tracts he publiſhed, ſo at his death he appointed to be buried without any memorial in the cathedral; which his thrifty nephew complied with, depoſiting him on the ſouth ſide of Biſhop Fell's grave, December 22, eight days after his deceaſe; which happened in the ſixty-third, or ſixty-fourth year of his age (*m*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1055. He tells us there, that our author was aged fifteen in 1662; and conſequently was born in 1647.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 164.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 175.

(*e*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 527.

(*f*) Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 218.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See Preſent State of Gr. Britain, by John Chamberlayne, Eſq; edit. 1735, 8*vo*. Part I. p. 277.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 798, and 1055.

(*k*) See the late Biſhop of Rocheſter's Vindication of Bp Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himſelf: and Oldmixon's Reply to the Weekly Miſcellany, in a looſe ſheet, wherein he gives up the point.

(*l*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. by B. Willis, Eſq; p. 443. edit. 1730, 4*to*.

(*m*) Willis, ibid. & p. 444.

[*A*] *He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts, during the reign of King James II.*] The tracts he then publiſhed were, 1. *A Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford, concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour, in the holy Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1687, 4*to*. It was an anſwer to O. Walker's *Two diſcourſes concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt.* And he writing *Animadverſions upon the Reply to two Diſcourſes*, &c. Dr Aldrich publiſhed 2. *A Defence of the Oxford Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford*, &c. *From the Exceptions made to it in the ſecond Appendix to a Compendious Diſcourſe of the Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1688, 4*to*. This *ſecond Appendix* was written by Obadiah Walker, and *The Compendious Diſcourſe*, &c. by Abraham Woodhead (1). Biſhop Burnet ranks our author among thoſe eminent Engliſh clergymen, who 'examined all the points of Popery with a ſolidity of 'judgment, a clearneſs of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any 'thing that had before that time appeared in our 'language (2).'

(1) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 616, 936, 1055.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 673, 674.

[*B*] *He publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an ancient Greek author.*] We have not been able to get an account of what he publiſhed of that kind, except theſe following pieces. 1. *Xenophontis Memorabilium libri quatuor.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1690, 8*vo*. 2. *Xenophontis Sermo de Ageſilao.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1691, 8*vo*. 3. *Ariſteæ Hiſtoria* LXXII. *Interpretum.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. 4. *Xenophontis de Re Equeſtri lib.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8*vo*. 5. *Epictetus & Theophraſtus.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1707, 8*vo*. 6. *Platonis, Xenophontis, Plutarchi, Luciani, Sympoſia.* Gr. Oxon. 1711, 8*vo*. This laſt was publiſhed after his deceaſe. —— He compoſed alſo Biſhop Fell's epitaph, and ſome others, which are expreſſed in a very polite and elegant manner (3).

(3) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 534, 435.

[*C*] *He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of Logic, and ſome other things.*] It was printed under the title of *Artis Logicæ Compendium.* Oxon. 1691, 8*vo*. in ſix ſheets; and reprinted ſeveral times ſince, with variations and additions. The learned author compoſed it for the uſe of his nobie pupil, Frederic-Chriſtian Howard, ſon to Charles Earl of Carliſle. — He alſo printed *Elements of Geometry*, in Latin, in a large thin octavo; probably for the uſe of ſome of his friends, or pupils: for it was never publiſhed. — And likewiſe, had a hand in Gregory's *Greek Teſtament*, printed at Oxford in 1703, fol. — Some of his notes are printed in the new edition of Joſephus, by Havercamp.

[*D*] *Whereof he was an excellent governor.*] This part of his character is well expreſſed by the author of the dedication to his edition of the *Sympoſia*, in the following elegant words. — *Qui in omni vitæ curſu præclarum aliquod vel benignum alumnis ſuis paravit. — Qui patronus fuit munificentiſſimus; amicus amiciſſimus; mortalium, pene dixerim, optimus: illum denique opum honorum contemtorem animum, omnium ſcientiarum omnium virtutum capacem, cœlo (unde profectus fuit) redditum, juvat, & juvabit uſque, plauſu & gratulationibus proſequi.*

C

ALDULPH or ARDULPH or EARDULPH, King of Northumberland, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, ſucceeded King Oſwald, and was inaugurated in St Peter's church at York, the twenty-ſixth of May 796 (*a*). King Ethelred, the immediate predeceſſor of King Oſwald, the better to ſecure himſelf on the throne, had baniſhed ſeveral of the principal Northumbrian Lords, and among the reſt Aldulph, whom he ſuſpected of carrying on deſigns againſt his perſon and crown. But the

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Angl. an. 796.

malecontent

malecontent party prevailing, and King Ethelred being aſſaſſinated, Oſwald was elected in his room. This Prince reigned but twenty-ſeven days, being driven out by the oppoſite faction, who placed Aldulph on the throne. Two years after his acceſſion, a conſpiracy being formed againſt him by the murtherers of the late King Ethelred, at the head of whom was one Wada; King Aldulph engaged them in a place called by the Anglo-Saxons *Billingahoth* near *Walalege*; and many being ſlain on both ſides, Wada and his forces were put to flight, and the King obtained a glorious victory (*b*). In the year 801, this Prince led an army againſt Kenwolf King of the Mercians, who had afforded ſhelter to his enemies: but, through the interpoſition of the Biſhops and Nobles on both ſides, the two Monarchs were reconciled, and made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip (*c*) [*A*]. Aldulph had the addreſs to maintain himſelf upon the throne by the help of the moſt powerful faction of the two, which at that time divided the kingdom of Northumberland. Nevertheleſs the other made ſeveral attempts from time to time to advance itſelf. Alcred, who had ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, had left a ſon named Alcmund, who was at the head of this laſt party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, Aldulph, who judged it neceſſary to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety, cauſed him to be privately murthered. His death being looked upon by the oppoſite party as a martyrdom, Alcmund was placed in the number of the ſaints; and this furniſhed the King's enemies with a pretence to take up arms, and to put themſelves under the command of a Lord named Aldrick. This rebel being overcome and ſlain in battle, the malecontents continued ſome time without making any freſh attempt. But the face of affairs ſoon changed: the party oppoſed to the King became ſo powerful, that this Prince was forced to ſave himſelf by flight, and take refuge in the court of Charlemagne, where the Engliſh were always well received. Nor did Aldulph ever recover his crown: for, two years after, the kingdom of Northumberland ſubmitted to the power of Ecbert King of Weſſex; which put an end to the Heptarchy (*d*).

(*b*) *Victoriam regaliter ſumpſit.* Sim. Dunelm. ib. an. 798.

(*c*) Id. ibid. an. 801.

(*d*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, lib. iii. in Abregé de l'Hiſt. de Northumb.

I find an ALDULPH Biſhop of Lichfield in the reign of Offa King of the Mercians; whom I mention for no other reaſon, but becauſe in his time the ſee of Lichfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric [*B*].

[*A*] *The two monarchs —— made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip.*] Simeon of Durham quotes a tetraſtick, which he ſays was fulfilled by this treaty of peace between the two Kings. It is this:

Gratiùs aſtra nitent, ubi nothus
Definit imbriferos dare ſonos;
Lucifer ut tenebras pepulerit,
Pulchra dies roſeos agit equos (1).

(1) Simeon Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. an. 796.

That is,

When the moiſt ſouth no longer blows,
Each ſtar it's grateful radiance ſhows;
When Lucifer diſpels the night,
The day holds forth it's roſy light.

[*B*] *In Biſhop Aldulph's time, the ſee of Lichfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric.*] King Offa being ſucceſsful in his wars, and making the greateſt figure in the Heptarchy, reſolved, in the year 765, upon the erecting Lichfield into an Archiepiſcopal ſee. Lambert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made uſe of all his intereſt to prevent the diſmembring his juriſdiction; and, the conteſt being brought before the court of Rome, the Archbiſhop urged the grant of Gregory the Great, to the ſee of Canterbury. However, King Offa prevailed in his application, and obtained of Pope Adrian I, that all the Biſhops within the kingdom of Mercia ſhould be ſuffagans to the Biſhop of Lichfield as their Metropolitan (2).

(2) Math. Weſtminſt. Flores Hiſtor. an. 765.

ALEXANDER, Biſhop of Lincoln in the reigns of Henry II and Stephen, was a Norman by birth, and nephew of the famous Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who firſt made him Archdeacon of Saliſbury, and afterwards, by his intereſt with the King, raiſed him to the mitre (*a*). Alexander was conſecrated at Canterbury, July 22, 1123. Having received his education under his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and been accuſtomed to a ſplendid way of living, he affected ſhow and ſtate, more than was ſuitable to his character, or conſiſtent with his fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation [*A*]. The year after his conſecration,

(*a*) Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. Tom. I. p. 68. Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Lincoln. an. 1123.

[*A*] *He affected ſplendor more than was conſiſtent with his character or fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation.*] Henry of Huntington, who dedicated his hiſtory to Biſhop Alexander, calls him, in the preface, Florem & cacumen regni & gentis, *The flower and top of the kingdom and nation.* The ſame author has preſerved the following flattering verſes on this Biſhop.

Splendor Alexandri non tam reniteſcit honore,
Quam per eum reniteſcit honor; flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans, theſauros cogit honoris;
Et gratis dare feſtinans, ne danda rogentur,
Quod nondum dederit, nondum ſe credit habere.
O Decus, O morum directio, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta poteſtas,
Lene jugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertaſque decens venere, pudorque facetus.
Lincoliæ gens magna prius, nunc maxima ſemper;
Talis & ille diu ſit nobis tutor honoris (1).

(1) H. Huntingdon. Hiſt. l. vii. p. 382. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, edit. Francof. 1601.

Which may be thus rendered into Engliſh:

Honour, which us'd to dignify a name,
Is dignify'd by Alexander's fame.
In bounty rich, in uſing riches wiſe,
His treaſure only in beſtowing lies.
His charity prevents the ſuppliant's moan;
Nor ought, but what he gives, he calls his own.
O Glory, and exemplar of the ſtate!
On thee the Graces and the Virtues wait;
Unerring faith, and chearful clemency,
With cautious pow'r, and decent liberty;
The yoke ungalling, and correction ſweet,
Doctrine that ever charms, and modeſt wit.
Lincoln, thy envied glories higher riſe,
And Alexander lifts thee to the ſkies.
Late may he lay in duſt his honour'd head,
Who teaches all in honour's paths to tread.

conſecration, his cathedral church at Lincoln having been accidentally burnt down, he re-built it, and ſecured it againſt the like accident for the future by a ſtone roof (*b*). This prelate increaſed the number of Prebends in his church, and augmented it's revenues with ſeveral manours and eſtates. In imitation of the Barons and ſome of the Biſhops, particularly his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, he built three caſtles; one at Banbury, another at Sleaford, and a third at Newark. He likewiſe founded two monaſteries; one at Haverholm, for regular Canons and Nuns together, the other at Tame for White-Fryars (*c*). When King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons [*B*], that of Newark held out againſt the King's officers, but was forced at laſt to ſurrender. As for the Biſhop himſelf, after ſeven months impriſonment, and being kept to very ſlender diet, he with difficulty obtained his liberty (*d*). From that time he applied himſelf to the governing and ornamenting his church, which he rendered the moſt ſtately and flouriſhing of any in England. He went twice to Rome, in the years 1142 and 1144. The firſt time, he came back in quality of the Pope's Legate, for the calling a Synod, in which he publiſhed ſeveral wholſome and neceſſary canons. In Auguſt, 1147, he took a third journey to the Pope, who was then in France; where he fell ſick through the exceſſive heat of the weather, and returning with great difficulty to England, he died in the twenty-fourth year of his prelacy (*e*). About a year before his death, he received a letter from the famous St Bernard [*C*], who ſeems to have been pretty well acquainted with his temper and character.

(*b*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de vitis Epiſcop. Lincoln. c. 22.

(*c*) At the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the firſt of theſe was found to be worth 256 *l.* 13 *s.* 7 *d.* the other 88 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* per annum. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chronic. Joh. Bromton, *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1027.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

I call theſe verſes *flattering*; becauſe, as an hiſtorian, Huntington ſeems to have drawn a more faithful picture of this Prelate, acknowledging his virtues, and not diſſembling his faults: for thus he deſcribed him after his death. 'Nutritus in ſummis deliciis à Rogero avunculo ſuo Saliſberienſi epiſcopo, majores inde animos contraxit quam opportunum eſſet ſuis. Siquidem præterire volens principes cæteros largitione munerum & ſplendore procurationum, cum proprii reditus ad hoc non ſufficere poſſent, à ſuis ſummo ſtudio carpebat, unde egeſtatem ſuam nimietate prædicta comparatam complere poſſet; nec tamen complere poterat, qui ſemper magis magiſque diſpergebat. Fuit autem vir prudens, & adeo munificus, ut à curia Romana vocaretur magnificus (2). —— *Having been educated in luxury and pleaſure under his uncle Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, he entertained higher thoughts than were ſuitable to his rank and fortunes: for, vying with the nobles in liberality and ſplendor, and his income not being ſufficient to ſupport his expences, he was forced to rack his tenants, for money to ſupply his wants occaſioned by his prodigality; which yet he could not fully ſupply, inaſmuch as his profuſeneſs continued daily to increaſe. However he was a prudent man, and ſo bountiful, that he was ſtyled by the court of Rome the Magnificent.*'

(2) H. Huntingd. ubi ſupra, p. 394.

[*B*] *King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons*] As a comment on theſe words, we ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort account of this matter from one of our hiſtorians. 'Stephen, having now gotten a little reſpite from his enemies, began to conſult with himſelf how he might eaſe himſelf of ſuch troubleſome conteſts with his ſubjects; and becauſe he now found, that the caſtles he had permitted his nobility to build, were the greateſt impediments of his peace at home, and the readieſt harbour of rebels, he reſolved to forbid that any ſhould be built hereafter, and demoliſhed ſome of the moſt dangerous lately erected; and to this end called a great council at Oxford. Here ſome of his lords, who much envied the magnificent and ſtately caſtles erected by the clergy (whoſe buildings both in number and ſtrength much exceeded thoſe of the nobility) but eſpecially the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who had built ſeveral great caſtles at Saliſbury, the Devizes, Sherburn, Malmſbury, and (3) Newark; whiſpered into the King's ears, who was very jealous and ſuſpicious of ſuch deſigns, That theſe forteſſes were intended for the reception of the Empreſs Maud and her party: and by their ſurmiſes ſo wrought upon the King's fears, that he ſent for the Biſhop of Saliſbury to Oxford. The Biſhop, foreſeeing the danger impending, would have excuſed himſelf from his attendance upon the King, by reaſon of his great age; but that plea would not be allowed, he muſt go. The Biſhop therefore taking with him his nephews Alexander Biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigell Biſhop of Ely, with a retinue of well-armed men, went to Oxford; where at his firſt coming, his ſervants going to take them up lodgings, happened into a quarel with the ſervants of the Earl of Britain, and killed one of them in the fray, the nephew of the Earl being dangerouſly wounded. This being brought to the King's ears, he calls for the Biſhop, and demands ſatisfaction for the breach of peace made by his ſervants in his court, which was this, that he ſhould immediately yield up the keys of all his caſtles to him, as pledges of his fidelity. The Biſhop refuſed to do it; whereupon he commanded the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln to be ſeized upon, and kept under a guard. The Biſhop of Ely had made his eſcape, and got into the caſtle of the Devizes. The King preſently took into his hands by force the caſtles of Saliſbury, Sherburn, and Malmſbury; and after three days aſſault, that of the Devizes was ſurrendered to him, whither he ſent the two Biſhops priſoners, and ſeized the Biſhop of Saliſbury's treaſure, which amounted to forty thouſand marks (4).'

(3) Here ſeems to be a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article, that the caſtle of Newark was built by the Bp of Lincoln.

(4) S. Daniel, Hiſt. of England, ſub an. 1138.

[*C*] *He received a letter from the famous St Bernard.*] Among other things, St Bernard, in his letter, cautions him *not to be dazzled with the luſtre of ſecular grandeur, nor to look upon any worldly advantage as permanent; nor value his fortune more than himſelf: to guard againſt the flattery of proſperity, for fear of a turn of misfortune which will laſt longer: not to be charmed with the tranſient ſatisfactions of life; for that ſcene will quickly be ſhut up, and make way for another both laſting and uncomfortable.* He adviſes him *not to deceive himſelf with any diſtant proſpect of death: for ſuch deluſive hopes lead directly to danger and ſurprize, and are the likelieſt way to hurry a man into the other world without preparation* (5).

(5) Bernardi Epiſt. 64.

ALEXANDER NEQUAM, or NECKHAM. See NECKHAM.

ALEXANDER (WILLIAM) an eminent nobleman, ſtateſman, and poet of Scotland, in the reigns of King James, and King Charles I. His ſirname is ſaid by the hiſtorians of his own country, to have been taken from the proper name of his predeceſſor Alexander Macdonald; who holding, under the family of Argyle, the lands of Menſtrie, this became the place of his reſidence. Andrew Alexander, in the reign of James V, is obſerved to be the firſt who is mentioned in the records of Scotland. He, by Catherine Graham his wife, had Alexander his ſon and heir; who obtained a grant from Archibald, maſter of Argyle, of the ſaid lands of Menſtrie, to himſelf and Elizabeth Douglas his wife, in life-rent, and to Andrew Alexander their ſon, in fee, which

which was ratified under the great ſeal in 1529; whoſe heir and ſucceſſor, was this William Alexander (*a*). He was born in the year 1580, as we compute from an inſcription quoted towards the end of this narrative. He ſoon appeared ſuch a promiſing youth, that the beams of thoſe bright endowments of nature, which ſhone out, and gilded his dawning years, made his friends deſirous of improving them to the height of excellence, by a liberal education; and ſo much was he diſtinguiſhed for both, that they recommended him, in the quality of a tutor, or rather companion, to the Earl of Argyle in his travels. After ſome time ſpent in foreign parts, he returned to Scotland, and betook himſelf a while, it ſeems, to a rural retirement. There he finiſhed his poetical complaint, of the unſucceſsful addreſs he had made to his firſt miſtreſs; which he intitled *Aurora*. For he had, before he went abroad, and three luſtres were expired, as he expreſſes it himſelf (*b*), or was fifteen years of age, ſeen ſome rare beauty, who had ſmitten him ſo deeply, that neither the diverſion of travel, nor the ſight of ſo many fair foreigners, as he calls the river Loir to witneſs he had there met with, could remove his affection (*). Wherefore now, after his return, this courtſhip was revived, and he wrote above an hundred ſonnets, &c. upon it; till matrimony diſpoſing of her to another perſon, he alſo had recourſe to the ſame, as a remedy to wean his paſſion for the former object. For he tells us, that the lady ſo unrelenting to him, had matched her morning to one in the evening of his age (*c*). That himſelf ſhould now change the myrtle-tree for the laurel, and the bird of Venus for that of Juno (*d*). That he was at laſt bound to one, whereby he ſhould eſcape bondage from all others. That the torch of Hymen had burnt out the darts of Cupid; and that he had thus ſpent the ſpring of his age, which now his ſummer muſt redeem (*e*). Now therefore it was that he removed to the court of King James VI, and lived there in the capacity only of a private gentleman (*f*), but with the character of a learned and accompliſhed one. He ſtill found occaſion to exerciſe his poetical talents, from the recommendation they made of him even to the King, who might be the readier to encourage thoſe ſtudies in another, which he had ſo publickly profeſſed himſelf. Further notice of, and perhaps acquaintance with him, might be promoted by the ſituation of his abode, being ſo commodious for thoſe ſports, wherewith his majeſty was wont, in his journies of pleaſure, there to divert himſelf. But the poetry to which Mr Alexander now turned his pen, was that ſolid and ſublime ſpecies of it, which would hold up the cleareſt mirror to Princes and Potentates; which would beſt animate the lifeleſs precepts of philoſophy, and render it's graveſt leſſons moſt agreeably affecting; for the better government, not only of a people in general, but the paſſions and appetites of the governors themſelves; by the moſt ſovereign precedents, and harmonious precautions, of the uncertainty of life, and the inſufficiency of it's felicities, the vanity of grandeur, the corruption of power, and burden of riches. To this purpoſe he formed himſelf, ſomewhat after the plan of the antient Greek and Roman tragedies, at leaſt in their choruſes between the acts; not ſo much to have his dramatick compoſitions perſonated in mimickry upon the narrow ſtage of a play-houſe, as to be really and more extenſively acted in human life, by thoſe who bore the parts of the greateſt actors in the common theatre of mankind. And to this effect, we find a tragedy of Mr Alexander's publiſhed, upon the ſtory of Darius, at Edinburgh, in 1603. The choice of his meaſure in this (as in his other plays) is alternate rhyme, which I leave the criticks to defend (*g*) and deſcry (*h*); and as to his ſtyle, if it is not always pure, our author has modeſtly pleaded his country, and allowed the preference to our dialect, in the preface thereof. It was the year after, publiſhed again at London, with ſome verſes before it in praiſe of the author, by J. Murray, and Walter Quin, who has here alſo an anagram upon the name of William Alexander, which has been reprinted elſewhere (*i*). But that preface is not here revived; and there are two poems of our author's at the end of this edition, which were never afterwards printed again; the one, congratulating his majeſty upon his entry into England; the other, written ſhortly after, upon the inundation of Doven, a water near our author's houſe, upon which, his majeſty was wont to recreate himſelf with the paſtime of hawking. As it contains a fine compliment, we ſhall here ſubjoin the ſenſe of it [*A*], and proceed to obſerve, that the ſame year this play was reprinted in England, was publiſhed here his *Aurora*, alſo in quarto, 1604; which, as it was the fruit of, he made an oblation to Beauty, by dedicating it to Agnes Douglas, Counteſs of Argyle. But theſe poems were never after reprinted, though bound up with the ſucceeding augmentation of his plays. In the ſame year laſt mentioned, his *Paræneſis* to Prince Henry, was here alſo publiſhed; therefore how truly it's publication was deferred till after the death of that Prince, lies upon Mr Langbain to reconcile (*k*); in which, among other noble inſtructions, he ſhews, how the happineſs of a Prince depends on his choice of a council; ſuch, as can throw off private grudges, regard publick concerns, and will not, to betray their ſeats, become penſioners. Further ſhews, the uſe of hiſtories,

(*a*) The Peerage of Scotland by George Crawfurd, Eſq; fol. 1716, p. 462.

(*b*) *Aurora: containing the firſt fancies of the author's youth*; by W. Alexander of Menſtrie, Lond. 4to. 1604. Sonnet. 2.

(*) Ibid. Son. 36.

(*c*) Id. Son. 100.

(*d*) Ib. Son. 106.

(*e*) Id. Song 10.

(*f*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Dryden, in Pref. to An. Mirab. and Sir W. Davenant, in Pref. to Gondib.

(*h*) Rymer, in Pref. to Rapin, on Ariſtotle's Treatiſe of Poetry.

(*i*) Ger. Langbain's account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, 8vo. 1691. p. 5.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 4.

[*A*] *Subjoin the ſenſe of it.*] Intimating, as if thoſe waters had forſaken their banks, upon his majeſty's leaving the kingdom; and, in ſpreading over the plains, ſtrove, by a licentious greatneſs, to recover reſpect; which ſerved but to make the inhabitants more feelingly mourn their loſs of ſuch a ruler, as had kept all things among them in bounds and regularity: ſo that they, like the Antipodes, while he is ſhining day upon England, are beginning their night; which makes his Muſe droop with ſorrow: but, if his Phœbus would deign to ſhine upon her, ſhe might raiſe her flight, to build amidſt his rays. And ſo ſhe did not long after, as may above appear.

hiſtories, and how the lives of great men are to be read with greateſt profit: lays open the characters of vicious Kings; thoſe abandoned to avarice, to flattery, and, the moſt contemptible of all, to effeminacy and luſt: diſplays the glories of martial accompliſhments; and hopes, if the Prince ſhould ever make an expedition to Spain, that he might attend him, and be his Homer to ſing his acts there. Whether the author was yet arrived in England, does not appear, by any of theſe writings; and whether he publiſhed any more, ſeparately, till the year 1607, we have not yet directly learnt. But in this year came out his three other plays, which with that beforementioned, are intitled, *The Monarchick Tragedies*; *Crœſus, Darius, The Alexandræan, Julius Cæſar*; *newly enlarged* (*). *By William Alexander, Gentleman of the Prince's privy chamber*: and with them are bound the poems aforeſaid. Theſe plays are dedicated to King James, in a poem of thirteen ſtanza's, and have a copy by Sir Robert Ayton before them, expreſſing, that the King himſelf had graced our author's labours with his glorious name; ſo that, patron, ſubject, ſtyle and all, make him the *Monarchick Tragedian* of our iſland. And though indeed thoſe plays, for the reaſons before given, muſt, to all royal readers of them, adminiſter a kind of terrible pleaſure; yet his majeſty is ſaid, not only to have been delighted with our author's converſation, but his works (*l*); and to have called him his *Philoſophical Poet*. Inſomuch, that no ſtream appears to have more viſibly wafted him to thoſe honours wherewith he was a few years afterwards graced, than what thus flowed through his own hand, from the fountain of the Muſes. We might be endleſs in giving inſtances of his fine ſenſe out of theſe plays; but, to thoſe who have not read him, a few may be here acceptable, and enough to ſhew his preference of *Merit* to Dignity; his grief that it is not made a guide in the choice of *Favourites*; his thoughts on the wretched condition of *Miniſters*, with that of *Kings* themſelves; and laſtly, who is to be accounted the greateſt *Conqueror*; as may be ſeen below [*B*]: and we ſhall refer to other topicks, gathered out of him, in a collection from our old poets, lately publiſhed (*m*). Beſides thoſe authors beforementioned, others have celebrated theſe performances; as John Davis of Hereford, who, in a book of Epigrams, publiſhed about the year 1611, has one to Mr William Alexander of Menſtrie, in praiſe of theſe tragedies (*n*), wherein, though a ſtranger to his perſon, he thinks himſelf obliged in juſtice to applaud his writings; as having made himſelf thereby, a Sovereign even over Monarchs; and thinks, Alexander the Great had not gained more glory with his ſword, than this Alexander has acquired by his pen. Michael Drayton calls him *my Alexander*, whoſe name he would ever have known to ſtand by his; yet attempts but to ſhew the friendſhip that was between them, not the merit of his numbers, which were brave and lofty, ſo like his mind was his muſe (*o*). We are informed, that not long after, was firſt publiſhed, the ſupplement he wrote to complete the third part of Sir Philp Sidney's celebrated Romance; and that it is to be found in the true fourth, as well as the ſubſequent editions thereof, with the initial letters of his name (*p*); though Anthony Wood only mentions it in the eighth, as

(*) See a criticiſm upon theſe tragedies, in the Lives and Characters of the Engliſh dramatic Poets, being an abridgment and continuation of Langbain (by C. Gildon) printed 8*vo*. about the year 1698.

(*l*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 463.

(*m*) Mr T. Hayward's Britiſh Muſe, &c. 3 vols. 12*mo*. 1738.

(*n*) Davis's Scourge of Folly, &c. 8*vo*. ſine anno p. 98.

(*o*) See M. Drayton's Elegies, at the end of his Battle of Agincourt, and other poems, fol. 1627, p. 207.

(*p*) Arcadia, 4th Edit. folio, 1613.

[*B*] *May be ſeen below.*] And firſt, having ſpoken of hereditary honours, and the borrowed feathers of titles, that fall by ſucceſſion, and not by deſert; and having ſhown his ſcorn, to beg his worth from dead mens names, or gain credit only by his coat, he proceeds thus, upon

MERIT.

What comfort's this, to have the higheſt ſeat,
And all the bliſs that majeſty imparts;
If thoſe, whom only we excel in ſtate,
Be our ſuperiors in far better parts?
More than a crown, true worth ſhould be eſteem'd:
One, fortune gives, the other is our own;
By which, the mind, from anguiſh is redeem'd;
When Fortune's goods, are by herſelf o'erthrown (1).

(1) Crœſus, Act iii. Scene ii.

FAVOURITES.

O, more than happy ten times, were that King!
Who were unhappy but a little ſpace,
So that it did not utter ruin bring,
But made him prove, a profitable thing!
Who, of his train, did beſt deſerve his grace;
Then cou'd, and wou'd, of thoſe, the beſt embrace:
Such vultures fled, as follow but for prey,
That faithful ſervants might poſſeſs their place:
All gallant minds, it muſt with anguiſh ſting,
While wanting means their virtue to diſplay.
This is the grief, which burſts a gen'rous heart;
When favour comes by chance, not by deſert (2).

(2) Darius, Act. iv. Scene iii. in chorus.

MINISTERS.

Although we cou'd, to quit our ſtate, conſent,
Us, from ſuſpicion, nought but death could purge:
Still greatneſs muſt turmoil, or elſe torment;
If borne, a burden; if laid down, a ſcourge (3).

(3) The Alexandrean Tragedy.

KINGS.

And while they live, we ſee their glorious actions,
Oft wreſted to the worſt; and all their life
Is but a ſtage of endleſs toil and ſtrife;
Of tumults, uproars, mutinies, and factions.
They riſe with fear, and lie with danger down;
Huge are the cares that wait upon a crown (4)!

(4) Darius, Act. v. in chorus.

The CONQUEROR.

O! what a great indignity is this?
To ſee a conq'ror to his luſt a ſlave!
Who wou'd the title of true worth were his,
Muſt vanquiſh vice, and no baſe thoughts conceive:
The braveſt trophy ever man obtain'd,
Is that, which o'er himſelf, himſelf hath gain'd (5).

(5) Ibid. Act. iii.

Then let us live, ſince all things change below,
When rais'd moſt high, as thoſe who once may fall;
And hold, when by diſaſters brought more low,
The mind ſtill free, whatever elſe be thrall:
Thoſe, Lords of fortune, ſweeten ev'ry ſtate,
Who can command themſelves, though not their fate (6).

(6) Jul. Cæſar, p. ult.

[*C*] *A work*,

as perhaps having only that at hand, when he made this remark (*q*): an exercise for his Muse, still in a kind of poetry, though not in verse. In the month of July, 1613, the same year that supplement was printed, we find Mr Alexander mentioned, to have been sworn one of the Gentlemen Ushers of the Presence to Prince Charles (†). But now his Muse laboured with a more solemn birth than any of her tragick productions, and brought forth a fruit unusual to the soil of courts, which gave him the title of a *Divine Poet*; being a sacred poem, as large as all his others, called *Dooms-Day*; *or, the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment.* It was printed at Edinburgh in quarto, 1614, and afterwards in the folio edition of his works; also again by itself, in a quarto edition at London (*r*). It is divided into twelve hours, as the author calls them, or books; and the first book was, a few years since, reprinted in octavo, with intention to give us the remainder of his poetical writings in a correct edition. The editor, A. Johnstoun, tells us, that having communicated the author's whole works to Mr Addison, for his perusal; he said, in approbation of them, *That he had read them over with the greatest satisfaction*; and gave it as his judgment, 'That the beauties in our antient English poets, are too slightly 'passed over by the modern writers; who, out of a peculiar singularity, had rather 'take pains to find fault, than endeavour to excel (*s*).' In the year abovementioned, the King, looking on him as a wise man, made him Master of the Requests, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood (*t*). And now begins the other part of his character; the man of business, title, and great undertaking; for little more of the Poet appears, except that two years after, came forth a new edition of his plays, in a pocket volume (*u*). Thus, as it is hard to reside long in courts, without imbibing some of the tincture which prevails there, our *Philosophical*, our *Divine Poet*, seems, upon these promotions, to have turned Politician! and instead of enlarging his flowery acquisitions on the banks of Parnassus, grew ambitious of spacious dominions in Terra Firma; having projected the settlement of a large colony, and making great plantations at Nova Scotia in America, at his own expence, and that of such adventurers as should be engaged in the undertaking. His Majesty made him a grant of that country by his royal deed, on the twenty-first of September, 1621 (*x*), and did intend to erect an order of Baronets, for encouraging and supporting so grand a work; but, to the jealousies which began to disturb the two or three last years of his reign, the suspension thereof is ascribed, till a more favourable conjuncture of affairs should offer; which that King did not live to see. But his son, King Charles I, on his coming to the crown, was very forward to countenance and prosecute the same; which, as it was scheemed or painted out, especially in the pamphlet which Sir William himself published, to encourage adventurers, promised mighty advantages to the nation. This pamphlet he now set forth, is intituled, *An Encouragement to Colonies*; quarto, London, 1625, and the same was published again with an additional title, or another on the same subject, five years after (*y*). The King was so won by these representations, that he made Sir William Alexander Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded, in the said first year of his reign, the order of Knights Baronet in Scotland, whose aid was appropriated for the said plantation and settlement, upon the consideration of each having a liberal portion of land allotted him there. The number of these Baronets were not to exceed one hundred and fifty; and they were endowed with ample privileges, pre-eminence, *&c.* as that, the title should be heritable, and they take place before all Knights, called *Equites Aurati*; all lesser Barons, commonly called Lairds; and before all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, his Majesty's Lieutenant of Nova Scotia; who (with his heirs, their wives and children) is not only excepted, in each of their letters patents, granted to the Knights his companions; but likewise the charter granted to himself by the King, in the year aforesaid, did bear expresly this exception and provision. Further, that they should have place in all his Majesty's and his successors armies, near and about the royal standard, for the defence thereof; with other honourable distinctions of title and precedency, to them, their wives, and heirs. But none of them to be created Baronets, either of Scotland, or Nova Scotia, till he had first fulfilled the conditions designed by his Majesty, for the good and increase of that plantation; and till he had confirmed the same to the King, by his Majesty's Lieutenant there. These patents were ratified in parliament, and registered in the books of Lyon, King of Arms, and the Heralds: but after Sir William sold Nova Scotia to the French, they were drawn up shorter, and granted in general terms, with all the privileges, *&c.* of former Baronets; and it is now become an honourable title in Scotland, conferred at the King's pleasure, without limitation of numbers. For a fuller view of the first form of these patents, with the armorial ensigns granted to the order, and the badge thereof, which they wore about their necks in an orange coloured ribbon; as also of the arms, supporters, and motto, of Sir W. Alexander himself, we refer to the volumes containing the same (*z*). He had now further given him, a peculiar privilege of coining small copper money; a grant which was inveighed against, even at that time with great bitterness (*a*); and indeed the whole enterprize, at least as to Sir William's aims and ends, has had but an ill-favoured representation made of it, by some of his own countrymen, and especially in a Work, otherwise designed to honour both them and him [*C*]. But such like reflections are the usual

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. last edit. Vol. I. col. 228.

(†) In a Letter of Mr T. Lorkin's to Sir T. Puckering, among the MSS. in the Harleian Library.

(*r*) *Quarto*, 1637.

(*s*) Dooms-Day, or the last Judgment, a poem, by W. Earl of Stirline, 8*vo.* 1720, in Pref.

(*t*) Crawfurd, p. 463.

(*u*) *Twelves*, 1616.

(*x*) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

(*y*) *Intituled*, The Map and Description of New England; together with a Discourse of Plantations and Colonies, Lond. 4*to*, 1630.

(*z*) The British Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour, &c. Vol. II. 3d. edit. 16*to*. 1729. and Vol. III. intituled, English Baronets, 16*mo*. 1727, p. 326, *&c.*

(*a*) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

[*C*] *A work, otherwise designed to honour both them and him.*] For, not to mention here, the private schemes and propofals of the author, Sir Thomas Urquhart, being a prisoner of war; for restoring him to his

uſual attendants upon great attempts, when they are not brought to ſucceſsful concluſions. The King however continued his encouragements to Sir William; and being fully ſatisfied of his abilities and fidelity, was pleaſed in the year 1626, to make him Secretary of State for Scotland (*b*), in the place of the Earl of Hadding-toun; and afterwards, in September 1630, a Peer of that kingdom, by the title of Viſcount Stirline (*c*); and in this quality, he had the compliments paid him of his countryman, Dr Arthur Jonſton, the King's phyſician, a noted Latin poet, in an epigram, turning much upon the ſenſe of that beforementioned; and alſo in a panegyrical epiſtle, too long to be here recited (*d*). In leſs than three years after this, the King advanced him to the honour of Earl of Stirline, by his letters patent bearing date the fourteenth of June, 1633, at the ſolemnity of his Majeſty's coronation, in the palace of Holyrood houſe. His lordſhip diſcharged that office of Secretary of State, with univerſal reputation near fifteen years, even to the time of his death; which happened on the twelfth of February, 1640 (*e*); having, three years before, permitted a new edition of his poetical works, or the greateſt part of them, to be publiſhed: that is to ſay, 1. *The Four Monarchick Tragedies.* 2. *Doomsday*; before which there are ſome verſes by William Drummond; as in Drummond's book of poems, there are alſo others to, and by our author (*f*). 3. *The Parænesis*, to Prince Henry. 4, and laſtly, *Jonathan*; *an Heroick Poem intended, the firſt book:* which was now, I think, firſt publiſhed. Theſe three poems are written in the *Ottavo Rima* of Taſſo; or, as his friend Drayton deſcribes it, A ſtanza of eight lines; ſix interwoven, and a couplet in baſe (*g*). The author's ſtyle and verſification are much poliſhed in this edition, eſpecially of the plays; and the plans, with the ſubject matter, improved in ſome of them. The whole is fronted with a new title (*h*), and the dedication aforeſaid, to King James, prefixed; which if Langbain had obſerved more than he did the date of the book, he had not ſaid it was addreſſed to King Charles (*i*). Before one copy of this edition, a good effigies of the author has been found, though miſſing in many. It was engraved by W. Marſhall; and is one of his beſt performances. It repreſents his lordſhip in a cloſe-bodied coat; a full ruff about his neck, and the badge of his new-created order hanging at his breaſt. Livelineſs and gravity are well tempered in his countenance: his hair is ſhort, and well curled; and his beard tapering gradually to a point, according to the faſhion of the times. The oval frame is encompaſſed with two olive branches; and the inſcription in it, is, *Vera Effigies Gulielmi Comitis de Sterlin. Ætatis ſuæ 57.* So that, he was threeſcore years of age at the time of his death, three years after the ſaid publication

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Idem. ex Chart. in Publ. Archiv. dat. 4 Sep. 1630.

(*d*) Vide Epigrammata Arthuri Jonſtoni, Scoti, Med. Regii. 8*vo.* Abredoniæ, 1632. p. 30. & Parerga, ejuſd. Auth. p. 59.

(*e*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See the moſt elegant and elaborate poems of that great court-wit, Mr W. Drummond, &c. 8*vo.* 1659.

(*g*) Epiſt. to the Barons wars.

(*h*) Intituled, Recreations with the Muſes, fol. 1637, and again in 12*mo.* about 1727.

(*i*) Account of the dramatic Poets, p. 9.

his liberty and eſtate at Cromarty; nor other ſtrange ſingularities in the ſaid work; it contains chiefly, the praiſes of ſuch Scotſmen who had been famous in arms and arts, ſince the year 1600: Therefore a kind of continuation of Dempſter, how little ſoever thereof appears in the title (7). Herein, having mentioned Sir William Alexander (afterwards created Earl of Stirline) with applauſe; as the firſt, who of late, had been famous for Engliſh poetry, and named ſome of his works; he yet goes on thus (8): 'The purity 'of this gentleman's vein was quite ſpoiled by the 'corruptneſs of his courtierſhip, and ſo much the 'greater pity; for, by all appearance, had he been 'contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was 'born to, and not aſpired to thoſe grandures of the 'court, which could not without pride be proſecuted, 'nor maintained without covetouſneſs; he might have 'made a far better account of himſelf. It did not 'ſatisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the Muſes, 'and be eſteemed a King among Poets, but he muſt 'be King of ſome new-found-land; and, like another 'Alexander indeed, ſearching after new worlds, have 'the ſovereignty of Nova Scotia! He was born a 'Poet, and aimed to be a King; therefore would he 'have his royal title from King James, who was born 'a King, and aimed to be a Poet. Had he ſtopped 'there, it had been well; but the flame of his ho-'nour muſt have ſome oyl wherewith to nouriſh it: 'like another King Arthur, he muſt have his knights, 'though nothing limited to ſo ſmall a number! For 'how many ſoever, who could have looked out but 'for one day, like gentlemen, and given him but *one* '*hundred and fifty pounds ſterling*, (without any need of 'a key for opening the gate to enter through the 'temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the 'only way to honour) they had a ſcale from him, 'whereby to aſcend unto the platforms of virtue; 'which they, treading under feet, did ſlight the or-'dinary paſſages; and, to take the more ſudden poſ-'ſeſſion of the temple of honour, went upon obſcure 'by-paths of their own, towards ſome ſecret *angi-*'*ports* and dark poſtern-doors, which were ſo nar-'row, that few of them could get in, until they had 'left all their gallantry behind them: Yet, ſuch be-'ing their reſolution, that in they would, and be 'worſhipful upon any terms; they miſregarded all 'formerly-uſed ſteps of promotion, accounting them 'but unneceſſary; and moſt rudely ruſhing in unto the 'very ſanctuary, they immediately hung out the 'orange colours, to teſtify their conqueſt of the ho-'nour of Knight Baronet. Their King nevertheleſs, 'not to ſtain his royal dignity, or to ſeem to merit 'the imputation of ſelling honour to his ſubjects, 'did, for their money, give them land, and that in 'ſo ample a meaſure, that every one of his Knight Ba-'ronets had, for his *hundred and fifty pounds ſterling*, 'heritably diſponed unto him, ſix thouſand good and 'ſufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which, be-'ing but at the rate of ſix-pence an acre, could not 'be thought very dear; conſidering how prettily, in 'the reſpective parchments of diſpoſition, they were 'bounded and deſigned; fruitful corn-lands, watered 'with pleaſant rivers, running along moſt excellent 'and ſpacious meadows; nor did there want abun-'dance of oaken groves, in the midſt of very fertile 'plains (for if they wanted any thing, it was the 'ſcrivener, or writer's fault; for he gave orders, as 'ſoon as he received the three thouſand Scots marks, 'that there ſhould be no defect of quantity, or 'quality, in meaſure, or goodneſs of land) and here 'and there moſt delicious gardens and orchards; with 'whatever elſe, could in matter of delightful ground, 'beſt content their fancies; as if they had made pur-'chaſe among them of the Elyſian-fields, or Ma-'hummed's paradiſe. After this manner, my Lord 'Stirline, for a while, was very noble; and, accord-'ing to the rate of ſterling money, was as twelve 'other Lords, in the matter of that frankneſs of diſ-'poſition, which not permitting him to dodge it up-'on inches and ells, better and worſe, made him not 'ſtand to give to each of his champions, territories 'of the beſt, and the moſt; and although there 'ſhould have happened a thouſand acres more to be 'put in the charter, or writing of diſpoſition, than 'was agreed upon at firſt, he cared not; half a piece 'to the clerk, was able to make him diſpenſe with 'that. But at laſt, when he had enrolled ſome two 'or three hundred knights; who, for their hundred 'and fifty pieces each, had purchaſed amongſt them, 'ſeveral millions of *Neocaledonian* acres, confirmed 'to them and theirs for ever, under the great ſeal; 'the affixing whereof, was to coſt each of them but 'thirty

(7) The Diſcovery of a moſt exquiſite jewel, &c. found in the kennel of Worceſter ſtreets, the day after the fight, &c. 8*vo.* 1652.

(8) Ibid. p. 207, &c.

tion of his plays and this print, as is abovementioned. We have before referred to a criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, an ordinary critick may perceive [*D*]. But here the iſſue of his brain, gives us an eaſy tranſition to that of his body. He left by his wife Janet, the daughter and heir of Sir W. Erſkine, 1. William Lord Alexander, his eldeſt ſon; who dying his Majeſty's Reſident in Nova Scotia, during the life-time of his father, his ſon William ſucceeded his grandfather in the earldom, but died about a month after him. 2. Henry Alexander, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Stirline. This is the ſon, who, according to two authorities here followed (*k*), married a daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, Alderman of London; and had a ſon, from whom the preſent Earl is deſcended. 3. Sir Anthony; but this is the ſon, who, according to the order of deſcent, married, if we adhere to another, not the daughter, but the grandaughter of that Vanlore, and not Vanlove, as his name in the ſaid account is erroneouſly ſpelt; which account is underneath tranſcribed [*E*]. 4. John: and two daughters; the Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary; both married, and the latter had iſſue.

(*k*) Crawfurd, *ubi ſupra*. And the Britiſh Compend. Vol. II. and Vol. III. 4th edit. 16*to*. 1741, by Fra. Nichols, p. 274.

'thirty pieces more; finding that the ſociety was not 'like to become any more numerous, and that the 'ancient gentry of Scotland eſteemed of ſuch a whim-'ſical dignity as of a diſparagement, rather than ad-'dition to their former honour; he bethought him-'ſelf of a courſe more profitable for himſelf, and the 'future eſtabliſhment of his own ſtate; in proſecuting 'whereof, without the advice of his knights, (who 'repreſented both his houſes of parliament, clergy 'and all) like an abſolute King indeed, diſponed he-'ritably to the French, for a matter of *five or ſix 'thouſand pounds Engliſh money*, both the dominion 'and propriety of the whole continent of that king-'dom of Nova Scotia; leaving the new Baronets to 'ſearch for land amongſt the Selenites in the Moon, 'or turn Knights of the Sun; ſo dearly have they 'bought their Orange Ribband, which (all circum-'ſtances conſidered) is, and will be no more honour-'able to them, or their poſterity, than it is, or hath 'been profitable to either.'

[*D*] *A criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, &c.*] As it is ſufficiently cenſured in Mr Addiſon's judgment of them beforementioned, we ſhall only point out a few miſtakes of this critick, ſaid to be Mr Charles Gildon, who publiſhed a ſort of epitome and continuation of Langbain, before cited. One of his miſtakes is, the intention of our author; who never deſigned to creep after any model of the antients, as to unities of action, or other rules of the *drama*. He calculated them not for the amuſement of ſpectators, or to be theatrically acted, ſo much as for readers of the higheſt rank; who, by the wiſeſt counſels and cautions that could be drawn from the greateſt examples, of the ill effects of miſgovernment, and confident reliance upon human grandure, might be taught to amend their own practices, to moderate their own paſſions and their power over all in ſubjection to them: and if they have but this end with ſuch readers; to term them hiſtorical dialogues, or any thing elſe, can be no diſcredit to them, from any others. He owns my Lord is a very good hiſtorian; and his Lordſhip has enough in his own writings to prove himſelf a better poet than many whom this critick has more extolled. We ſhall offer but another of his miſtakes; and that's an egregious one: for having told us, my Lord ſeems *often* to have a peculiar fancy to punning; he cannot give two inſtances of it, without owning he has wronged my Lord in the reader's judgment; becauſe it was the vice of the age, and theſe punning fits come *not often* upon him (9). There's a critick for ye! But, to return his own words, enough of theſe ridiculous quotations.

(9) The Lives and Characters of our Engliſh dramatic Poets, *&c.* 8*vo*. without date, but printed about the year 1698, or rather the year after, pag. 3.

[*E*] *Which account is underneath tranſcribed.*] From a letter written to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford, by G. Garrard, afterwards maſter of the Charterhouſe, and dated December 16, 1637, wherein theſe are his words. 'A grandchild of 'Vanlove's, rich Vanlove, was to be married to a ſon 'of Sir Thomas Read's; he who lay ſome years in the 'Fleet, and ſpent but eighteen-pence a week: he 'lives now at Brocket-Hall near Hatfield. Read hath 'eſtated upon this ſecond ſon of his, 1500 *l.* a year, 'and the match was intended with Mrs Vanlove, who 'had a portion of 4000 *l.* and 400 *l.* a year, after the 'death of her father, young Peter. Monday the '11th of this month, they were to be married. The 'day before, in the afternoon, ſhe ſends to ſpeak with 'one Mr Alexander, a third ſon of the Earl of Sterling, 'Secretary of Scotland here; he comes, finds her at 'cards, Mr Read ſitting by her; ſhe whiſpers him in 'the ear, aſking him if he had a coach (he was of her 'acquaintance before) he ſaid, yes: ſhe deſired Mr 'Read to play her game, and went to her chamber, 'Mr Alexander going along with her. Being there, 'ſhe told him, that to ſatisfy her friends, ſhe had given 'way to marry the gentleman he ſaw, but her affec-'tion was more to him; if his was ſo to her, ſhe 'would inſtantly go away with him in his coach, and 'be married. So he carried her to Greenwich, where 'they were married by ſix that evening (10).' G

(10) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *fol.* Vol. II. 1739, p. 141.

ALEYN (CHARLES) an elegant hiſtorical Poet, in the reign of King Charles I; whoſe works, though written above an hundred years ſince, do ſtill, as they did, when a certain author wrote of them (*a*), live in fame and reputation [*A*]. He received his education in Sidney-college Cambridge; and afterwards ſettling in London, was entertained in the quality of an uſher, by Thomas Farnaby, the famous Grammarian and Commentator, at his great ſchool in Goldſmith's Rents, near Redcroſs-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St Giles's Cripplegate (*b*). In the former part of King Charles the Firſt's reign, he exerciſed his genius upon a very heroical and renowned ſubject; the two moſt glorious victories obtained by the Engliſh in France, under the auſpicious banners of King Edward III, and his martial ſon, the Black Prince; which, at the inſtance of ſome noble favourers, he publiſhed in two poems, *anno* 1631 [*B*]. After he left Mr Farnaby's ſchool in

(*a*) William Winſtanley's Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, 8*vo*. 1687, pag. 165.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in *Faſti*, col. 18.

[*A*] *Do ſtill live in fame and reputation.*] For we have lately had ſeveral of his ſelect thoughts revived, in a good collection drawn out, by way of common place, from many ingenious poets who flouriſhed in the two laſt centuries (1). By which revival it appears, as well as from many other parts of his poems themſelves, not extracted into the ſaid work, that the author really is, according to the general character which has been given of him, very pithy and ſententious (2).

(1) See the Britiſh Muſe, *&c.* in three volumes 12*mo*. 1738, by Thomas Hayward, Gent.

[*B*] *He publiſhed in two poems*, anno 1631.] But finding encouragement to make many improvements and enlargements thereof, he publiſhed the ſecond edition of thoſe poems, by the title of *The Battailes of Creſcey and Poictiers, under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his ſonne Edward, Prince of Wales, named the Black*. By Charles Aleyn. Printed by Thomas Harper, *&c.* 8*vo*. 1633. Both poems are written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; four alternate, with a diſtich in baſe, and comprized in an hundred and twenty-five pages. They are dedicated by the author, *To the honourable, and truely generous the Lord of Colerane*; to whoſe munificence the publick ſeems obliged for this edition, by that expreſſion of the author's to him, wherein he ſays, This piece 'ſtands an 'humble tabernacle, ſacred to honour; and ſhall in 'this be advantaged, that it muſt be entred by the 'temple

(2) W. Winſtanley, ubi ſupra.

in Cripplegate, he was recommended into the family of Edward Sherburne, Esq; Clerk of the Ordnance, who lived in that neighbourhood, to be domestick tutor to his son, afterwards Sir Edward Sherburne (c), who succeeded his father in the office of Ordnance; and was Commissary-General of the artillery to King Charles, at the battle of Edgehill, &c. and likewise of note for some poetical performances of his own. How long our author continued in this situation we know not, before his Muse brought forth another elaborate poem, in honour of King Henry VII, and that important battle, which gained him the crown of England. This work was published, with some commendatory poems before it (as the other had been) in the year 1638 [C]; and by the judicious deliberation he took in

(c) Id. ibid.

'temple of your virtue.' There are five copies of verses prefixed, in praise of him and his work; by Thomas May, John Hall, John Lewis, Gilb. W. and Henry Blount. The first is written in Latin, and shews how much of his glory King Edward owes to Charles Aleyn. The second commends his justice and truth; and tells him, his art shall teach succeeding ages how to write. The third wishes his hopes may not live, if he can judge which is more rare, the acts of those brave heroes, or his expression of them. The fourth says, that men trained in war, scarce know which has acted best, the sword or pen; that the author writes so clearly, that he who reads the book, shall see the battles; and that he paints the wounds, groans, and death of the enemy, in such strong colours, as would make a coward faint to read them. And the last, having told him that his Bayes, and Edward's sword, mutually advance each other; says, that his readers will best praise his battles, with fearful tremblings, and their hair on end. After these encomiums, we may be expected to shew out of the author's own performance, as far as a little taste at least will do it, how far he has deserved them; and the rather, because his poems are grown more scarce than they deserve to be. In the first place then, see how the brave Black Prince spirits up his army at the battle of Cressy.

Couragious Edward spurs their valour on,
And cheers his sprightful soldiers: where he came,
His breath did kindle valour, where was none;
And where it found a spark, it made a flame.
Armies of fearful Harts will scorn to yield,
If Lions be their Captains in the field (3).

(3) Battle of Crescey, p. 35.

Then in the engagement, see how, by his showers of arrows, the enemies drop, like ripe grapes by a storm of hail.

As when the colder region of the air
Moulds rain to hail-shot, the relenting tree
Of the plump god, lusty before, and fair,
Loseth her rubies with heaven's battery;
Thus fell the foe: for shoot, tho' in the dark,
'Tis hard to miss, when the whole field's a mark (4).

(4) Id. p. 42.

But after the engagement, see what pitiful spectacles the French were;

Here a hand sever'd, there an ear was cropp'd;
Here a chap fal'n, and there an eye put out;
Here was an arm lopp'd off, there a nose dropp'd;
Here *half* a man, and there a *less* piece fought:
Like to dismember'd statues they did stand,
Which had been mangled by time's iron hand (5).

(5) Ib. p. 50.

And then, what a condition the English pikes and lances were in.

The artificial wood of spears was wet
With yet warm blood; and trembling in the wind,
Did rattle like the thorns which nature set
On the rough hide of an arm'd porcupine:
Or looked like the trees which dropped gore,
Pluck'd from the tomb of slaughter'd Polydore (6).

(6) Id. p. 49.

Out of his second poem, on the battle of Poictiers, we shall only offer this touch upon the Black Prince.

And now my fancy sees great Edward rise,
Mars his Enthusiast: his actions were
Raptures of valour, and deep extacies
Of man above himself; for drawing here,
His spirits from their matter, passed more
Himself, than he surpass'd the world before.

He, on the stage of Aquitaine, did play
That part, which none beside can personate
In ev'ry course, or found, or made a way,
And prostrates, as infallible as fate.
Like to death's harbinger his passage made;
And there death lodged, where he lodg'd his blade (7).

(7) Battle of Poictiers, p. 81.

In these two poems, it may be here further observed, that a man of copious reading might easily point out many fine sentiments, which the author has happily translated, both from the antients and moderns. And not only from some Latin poets, but even from some of our most celebrated English authors in prose; if that may be called prose in them, which passes for poetry, as turned by him into rhyme and measure. For Monf. Dacier would dispute it; and argue, that a poem transprosed, would still be poetry; and that a true piece of prose, will still continue such, through all the disguise of versification: for that, it is the thought, and not the structure of the words, which makes it one or the other (8). Which may be more true, in the general story of a poem, or some select, than in every single sentiment. For there are few poems so continually upon the stretch of metaphors, hyperboles, and the language of the gods, as not to descend in some parts, to the diction of meer mortal men. Thus that pathetic apostrophe to Death itself, in Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World (9), has been quoted and admired as one of the finest pieces of prose upon that subject, in any antient or modern author (10); yet those words, transplanted into a dramatic poem, have been applauded on the theatre, as fine poetry (11). Thus that beautiful assemblage of ideas, accounting for the fears of death, in one of Nat. Lee's tragedies (12), has been prescribed as a good poetical preservative against those fears, by a critical writer just before quoted (13); and yet, when Sir Francis Bacon first wrote those very words, he never dreamt of writing poetry; nor have they been taken ever since, as they stand in his book, for any other than good prose (14). And thus might we produce, but that it may be thought too tedious or minute, half a dozen, if not half a score distichs from this last poem of our author, Charles Aleyn's, the Battle of Poictiers, which are visibly versified from Lord Bacon's prose, chiefly in his book beforementioned. Not but our poet has many elegant thoughts and sentences of his own; so that it appears the foreign helps to invention, which he, as other able poets, made use of, proceeded rather from the want of industry, to cultivate his own cogitations, and reap in the fruits of his own harvest, than any sterility in the field of his fancy. All we shall here further observe of these two poems is, from a Manuscript Continuation of them; containing the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V (15), which has been before cited and made use of in another work (16). This learned author, whoever he was, says, in the entrance of those poems, that he forbares to recount the glories of King Edward the Third's reign, Crescy and Poictiers, because they were already drawn by *a happy pen.*

(8) Reflexions sur la Poetique d'Aristot.

(9) See the conclusion of that History.

(10) See the Censor, Vol. II. 12mo. 1717. p. 89.

(11) See Dr George Sewell's Tragedy of Sir Walter Ralegh, fourth edit. 12mo. 1720, p. 65.

(12) N. Lee's Tragedy of Lucius Junius Brutus, in his dramatical works, Vol. I. 12mo. 1734. Act iv. Scene ult. p. 70.

(13) The Censor, Vol. I. pag. 28.

(14) See Sir F. Bacon's Essays, in the chapter of Death.

(15) Therefore intituled Τριναρχοδία, 8vo. 1630.

(16) General Dictionary; in the Article of Sir John Fastolfe.

[C] *This work was published, &c. in the year* 1638] Under the following title; *The Historie of that wise and fortunate Prince, Henrie, of that name the seventh, King of England. With that famed battaile, fought between the said King Henry, and Richard III, named Crook-back, upon Redmore, near Bosworth.* In a poem by Charles Aleyn, 8vo. printed for Thomas Cotes. This poem,

in his publications, we may not expect to meet with much more of his labours, though ſomething more of his in print does appear [*D*]; ſince we are informed he was ſo ſoon after called to his laſt reſt: for it is ſaid that he died about the year 1640; and that he was buried in the pariſh of St Andrew's Holbourn (*d*).

(*d*) Id. ibid.

poem, as the others, is written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; and contains an hundred and fifty-ſix pages. It is licenſed by Dr Thomas Wykes; who ſays in his Latin Imprimatur, that he has read over this hiſtorical poem; and judges it worthy of being made publick. Among the verſes to this prefixed, there is one copy, to his ingenious friend, Mr Charles Aleyn, on his learned poem, by Edward Sherburne, his pupil beforementioned; in which he tells our author, that his words yield Henry more honour than did his own weapons; and there is another poem or epigram by his friend Edward Prideaux; which, becauſe ſhort and ſhining, muſt here obtain a place.

When Fame had ſaid thy Poem ſhould come out
Without a Dedication; ſome did doubt
If Fame in that had told the truth; but I,
Who knew her falſe, boldly gave Fame the lye:
For I was certain, that this Book, by thee,
Was dedicated to Eternity.

As this poem is longer than the other two, it is fuller fraught with variety of matter, actions, and characters; and alſo richly adorned with many flowers of rhetoric; alluſions; hiſtorical, poetical, and philoſophical; and many general and comprehenſive maxims, moral and political: ſo that it is animating or inſtructive in moſt parts; and as for verſification, it may vie in elegancy with ſeveral contemporary performances, which have happened to acquire greater fame. If his cadence is not always ſmooth, 'tis generally to make way for ſomething that is nervous and maſculine; which was more regarded by the poets in that age, and before our modern refiners ſacrificed ſtrength to ſoftneſs, and ſenſe to meer ſound. Many quotations having been made from this work, we ſhall content ourſelves here with one ſtanza, of ſeveral he has written upon Empſon and Dudley, thoſe two voracious inſtruments of Henry's avarice, as a ſhort ſpecimen of his genius in this poem: and what may caſually incite the curioſity of ſome ingenious reader, knowing in our Engliſh hiſtory, to peruſe and conſider the poem itſelf, and thoſe beforementioned, with intention, if they ſhall be found deſerving it, of reviving them together, with ſome good hiſtorical illuſtrations.

And as the lower orbs are wheel'd about,
Rapt by the motion of the orb above:
So were inferior agents ſoon found out,
Which mov'd and turn'd, when He began to move:
For 'tis obſerv'd, that Princes ſooner get
Men for their humour, than their honour fit (17).

(17) *Hiſtory of Henry VII.* p. 146.

[*D*] *Something more of his in print does appear.*] Beſides theſe three poems, there are in print ſome little copies of commendatory verſes aſcribed to him, before the works of other writers, eſpecially ſome noted dramatic poets of his time; and particularly, before the earlieſt editions of ſome of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. And there was publiſhed, *The Hiſtory of Eutaſtus and Lucretia*, by Charles Aleyn, the year before (18) that, in which he is reported as above to have died. It is a tranſlation; and the ſtory is to be found among the Latin epiſtles of Æneas Sylvius. G

(18) London, 8*vo.* 1639.

ALFORD (*the Hiſtorian*). See GRIFFITH.

ALFRED. See ÆLFRED.

ALFRICUS (*Archbiſhop*). See ELFRICUS.

ALLAM (ANDREW) a writer in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Andrew Allam, a perſon of mean rank, and born at Garſingdon near Oxford, in April 1655. He had his education in Grammar learning at a private ſchool, at Denton, in the pariſh of Cudeſdon, near his native place, under Mr William Wildgooſe of Brazen-noſe college, a noted ſchoolmaſter of that time. He was entered a batteler of St Edmund's hall, in Eaſter term 1671. After he had taken his degrees in arts, he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length vice-principal of his houſe. In 1680, about Whitſuntide, he entered into holy orders; and, in 1683, was made one of the maſters of the ſchools. His works that are extant are: 1. The learned *Preface* or *Epiſtle to the Reader*, with a *dedicatory Epiſtle* in the printer's name, prefixed to *The Epiſtle Congratulatory of Eumachus Nicanor*, &c. *to the Covenanters of Scotland*, &c. Oxon. 1684. 2. The *Epiſtle* containing an account of Dr Coſins's life, prefixed to the Doctor's book intituled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in tabulas digeſta.* Oxon. 1684. *fol.* 3. The *Preliminary Epiſtle*, with a review and correction of the book intituled, *Some plain Diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper*, &c. written by Dr George Griffith, Biſhop of St Aſaph. Oxon. 1684, 8*vo.* 4. *Additions* and *Corrections* to a book intituled, *Angliæ Notitia*, or *The preſent State of England* [*A*]. 5. *Additions* to Helvicus's *Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre* [*B*]. Mr Allam laid the foundation of a work intituled, *Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, or an *Hiſtory of the Cathedral Churches*, &c. of England. But death prevented his compleating this deſign. 6. He likewiſe tranſlated the *Life of Iphicrates*, printed in the Engliſh verſion of that author by ſeveral gentlemen of Oxford. Oxon. 1684, 8*vo.* 7. Laſtly, He aſſiſted Mr Anthony Wood in compiling his elaborate work of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, or *Hiſtory of the Oxford Writers*; and is mentioned by that author with great commendation and reſpect

[*A*] *Additions and corrections to a book intituled,* Angliæ Notitia, &c.] They appeared in the edition of that book, printed at London in 1684. But the author of the *Notitia* never thought fit to acknowledge the aſſiſtance he had received from Mr Allam (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 785.

[*B*] *Additions to Helvicus's* Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre.] He intended to have finiſhed a ſupplement to that work, from 1660 to 1683, but was prevented by death. His additions, as far as they went, were printed with that author at London 1687, *fol.* But whereas there was a column in the edition of 1687, intended to contain the names of the moſt famous Jeſuits, from the foundation of the order to the year 1685, this (Mr Wood tells us) was not done by Mr Allam; nor that paſſage under 1678, which runs thus; *Titus Oates diſcovers a pretended Popiſh plot* (2).

(2) Wood, ib.

respect [C]. He died of the small-pox, the 17th of June 1685, and was buried in the church of St Peter in the East at Oxford (a).

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.

[C] *He assisted Mr Anthony Wood, - - - who speaks of him with great commendation and respect.*] 'He 'was a person (says that author) of eminent virtues, 'was sober, temperate, moderate, and modest even 'to example. He understood the controversial writ-'ings between Conformists and Nonconformists, Pro-'testants and Papists, far beyond his years, which was 'advanced by a great and happy memory. And I 'am persuaded, had he not been taken off by the 'said offices (*namely those of tutor, moderator,* &c.) 'he would have gone beyond all of his time and 'age in those matters. He understood the world of 'men well, authors better; and nothing but years and 'experience were wanting, to make him a compleat 'walking library (3).' T

(3) Id. ib.

ALLEN (JOHN) Archbishop of Dublin, in the reign of King Henry VIII, was educated in the university of Oxford; from whence removing to Cambridge, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Laws (a). He was sent by Dr Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope, about certain matters relating to the Church. He continued at Rome nine years, and was created Doctor of Laws, either there, or in some other university of Italy. After his return, he was appointed Chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and was commissary or judge of his court as Legate *à latere*; in the execution of which office he was suspected of great dishonesty, and even perjury. He assisted the Cardinal in visiting, and afterwards suppressing, forty of the smaller monasteries, for the erection of his college at Oxford, and that at Ipswich. The Cardinal procured for him the living of Dalby in Leicestershire, though it belonged to the master and brethren of the hospital of Burton Lazars. About the latter end of the year 1525, he was incorporated Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford. On the 13th of March 1528, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, in the room of Dr Hugh Inge deceased; and about the same time was made Chancellor of Ireland. He wrote; 1. *Epistola de Pallii significatione activa & passiva*; penned by him at the time when he received the archiepiscopal pall. 2. *De Consuetudinibus ac Statutis in tuitoriis causis observandis.* He wrote also several other pieces relating to the Church. His death, which happened in July 1534, was very tragical [A]. For being taken in a time of rebellion by Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eldest son to the Earl of Kildare, he was, by his command, most cruelly murthered, being brained like an ox, at Tartaine in Ireland [B], in the fifty-eighth year of his age (b).

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 670.

(b) Ed. Campian, Hist. of Ireland. edit. 1633, p. 120.

[A] *His death - - - - was very tragical.*] It is construed by some, whom Mr Wood (1) calls precise writers, as a judgment on him for being concerned in the dissolution of Daventry priory in Northamptonshire, being one of the forty, which were suppressed for the erection of the Cardinal's college at Oxford.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 670.

[B] *He was most cruelly murthured - - - - at Tartaine in Ireland.*] The place, where the murther was committed, was afterwards hedged in, overgrown, and unfrequented, in detestation of the fact (2). T

(2) Wood, ibid.

ALLEN or ALLEYN (THOMAS), a famous mathematician in the XVIth century, was born at Utoxeter in Staffordshire the twenty-first of December 1542, being descended, through six generations, from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the manour of Buckenhall in the said county. He was admitted scholar of Trinity-college in Oxford, the fourth of June 1561, Fellow in 1565, and two years after Master of Arts. Being much inclined to a retired life, and averse from entering into holy orders, he quitted the college and his fellowship, and retired to Glouceſter Hall, in 1570; where he followed his studies closely many years, and at length became an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician [A]. Being thus accomplished with various sorts of learning, he was several times invited to the houses of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others [B]. Robert Earl of Leicester, the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth's

[A] *He became an eminent Antiquary, Philosopher, and Mathematician.*] The author of his funeral oration (1) calls him *not only the Coryphæus, but the very soul and sun of all the Mathematicians of his time.* Mr Selden (2) tells us, he was 'omni eruditionis genere summoque judicio ornatissimus, celeberrimæ Academiæ Oxonienſis decus insignissimum. *i. e. A person of the most extensive learning and consummate judgment, the brightest ornament of the famous university of Oxford.*' And Camden (3) says, he was 'Plurimis optimisque artibus ornatissimus. *i. e. Skilled in most of the best arts and sciences.*' Mr Wood (4) gives him the character of *an excellent man, the father of all learning and virtuous industry, an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and sciences.* The same author, having searched in the chapel of Trinity-college for an epitaph on Mr Allen's grave, but having found none, gives us, instead thereof, part of his character transcribed from a certain manuscript, in the library of the said college, running thus. 'Vir 'fuit elegantium literarum studiosissimus, Academicæ 'disciplinæ tenacissimus, apud Exteros & Academicos 'semper in magno pretio, eorumque qui in ecclesia 'Anglicana atque in Universitate Oxonienſi pro me-'ritis suis ad dignitates aut præfecturas subinde pro-'vecti fuerunt. Fuit sagacissimus observator, familia-'rissimus conviva, &c. *i. e. He was a man of diligent 'application to polite literature, strictly tenacious of 'academical discipline, always highly esteemed both by 'foreigners, and those of the university, and by all 'in the Church of England, and the university of 'Oxford, whose merits had raised them to the highest 'dignities and stations in either. He was a sagacious 'observer, an agreeable companion,* &c.'

(1) Gul. Burton, in Orat. funebr. Tho. Alleni. Lond. 1632.

(2) In Notis ad Eadmerum, edit. 1623, p. 200.

(3) In Britannia, cap. de Saxonibus.

(4) Athen. Ox. Vol. I. col. 575.

[B] *He was invited to the houses of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others.*] He was often courted to live in the family of Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great friend and patron of the Mathematicians; which invitation he partly embraced, and spending some little time at the Earl's house, he there became acquainted with those celebrated Mathematicians Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torporley, &c. He was also strongly sollicited by Albertus L'askie, Count or Prince of Sirade in Poland (who was in England in 1583) to go with him into that country, and reside there, with a promise of preferment. But Allen, being fond of retirement, and an academical life, declined the Count's offer, and, like a true Philosopher, despised riches and greatness (5).

(5) Wood, ubi supra.

[C] *The*

Elizabeth's reign, had a particular eſteem for Mr Allen [C], and would have conferred a biſhopric on him; but his love of a retired life made him decline the offer. He was alſo highly reſpected by other famous men of his time, as Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr Selden, &c. (a). His great ſkill in the mathematics made the ignorant and vulgar look upon him as a magician or conjurer. He was very curious in collecting ſcattered manuſcripts relating to every faculty, particularly hiſtory, antiquity, aſtronomy, philoſophy, mathematics, &c. Theſe collections have been quoted by ſeveral learned authors, and mentioned to have been in the *Bibliotheca Alleniana:* but they are now loſt in obſcure hands. His works are: 1. *Claudii Ptolemei Peluſienſis, de Aſtrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ conſtructionis liber ſecundus; cum expoſitione Thomæ Alleyn Angli-Oxonienſis.* i. e. 'The ſecond Book of Claudius Ptolemy of Peluſium, concerning the judgment of the 'ſtars, or, as it is commonly called, of the Quadripartite conſtruction, with the Expo-'ſition of Thomas Allen of Oxford.' 2. *Claudii Ptolemei de Aſtrorum judiciis lib. tertius cum Expoſitione Tho. Alleyn*, &c. [D]. Our author likewiſe wrote notes on many of Lilly's books, and ſome on John Bale's book *De Scriptoribus maj. Britanniæ.* Having lived to a great age, he died at Glouceſter-Hall the thirtieth of September 1632 (b) [E].

(a) See the Remark [A].

(b) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 574, 575.

[C] *The Earl of Leiceſter - - - - had a particular eſteem for Mr Allen.*] The Earl's intimacy with Allen, and the abovementioned John Dee, expoſed him to the calumnies of the author of a book intituled, *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*; in which it is ſaid, that *they* (meaning the Earl, &c. whom he brands with the name of *Atheiſts*) *uſed the art of figuring and conjuring, for procuring the ſaid Earl's unlawful deſigns*, and that alſo *by their black art, they endeavoured to make a match between Queen Elizabeth and him.* This is plainly a fooliſh and malicious charge. However, it is certain, the Earl placed ſuch confidence in Allen, that nothing material in the ſtate was tranſacted without his knowledge; and that the Earl had conſtant information, by letter from Allen, of what paſſed in the univerſity (6).

(6) Id. ibid.

[D] *Claudii Ptolemæi Peluſienſis*, &c.] Mr Wood (7), who ſaw theſe two pieces in manuſcript, tells us, they fell into the hands of William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer, who gave them to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; in 1652. One of theſe copies was tranſcribed from the original given by Mr Allen to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury: the other was in the poſſeſſion of John Huniades, the great chymiſt, who gave it to Lilly.

(7) Ibid.

[E] *He died at Glouceſter-hall the 30th of September*, 1632.] The day after his death, an oration was delivered, in praiſe of the deceaſed, by Mr William Burton (8) of that houſe, in the common refectory, before the Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and halls, and many of the univerſity then preſent; all of whom accompanied the body to Trinity-college, where, after another oration ſpoken by Mr George Bathurſt, it was ſolemnly interred. Mr Allen left his curious collection of manuſcripts to Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave them to the Bodleian library. Some of them, Mr Wood tells us (9), had, about the time of Allen's death, fallen into the hands of Mr Richard James, of Corpus-Chriſti college, and were by him depoſited in the Cotton library; and others were in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Maſter of the Requeſts. His picture, painted to the life, he gave to the Preſident of Trinity-college, and his ſucceſſors, to remain in the ſaid Preſident's dining-room for ever. Another copy he gave to the Cotton library, and a third to his old friend Dr Thomas Clayton, head of Pembroke college. T

(8) See Remark [A], init.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

ALLEN (THOMAS) a learned divine, was born in the year 1573, educated in the King's ſchool at Worceſter, and from thence removed to Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, at ſixteen years of age, *anno* 1589. He made a great progreſs in philoſophy, and became a moſt noted diſputant. He was elected a Probationer-fellow of Merton-college, in 1593. Afterwards he went into holy orders: but, inſtead of frequent preaching, he applied himſelf to the more abſtruſe and critical parts of learning. This recommended him to the eſteem of Sir Henry Savile, by whoſe intereſt he obtained a fellowſhip of Eton-college. He wrote Obſervationes in Libellum Chryſoſtomi in Eſaiam. *i. e. Obſervations on St Chryſoſtom's book upon Iſaiah* [A]. He died in 1636, and was buried in Eton-college chapel (a) [B].

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

[A] *He wrote* Obſervationes, &c.] This piece is printed in Sir H. Savile's edition of St Chryſoſtom's works, Vol. VIII. p. 139, &c. Sir Henry was aſſiſted by Mr Allen, in his annotations on St Chryſoſtom's homilies, on St Matthew, and the other Evangeliſts, as he acknowledges in his preface to thoſe annotations, in which he ſtyles our author 'Vir doctiſ-'ſimus, Græcarum literarum non minus quam Theo-'logiæ peritiſſimus. *i. e. A very learned man, and no 'leſs ſkilled in the Greek learning than in Divi-'nity* (1).'

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 604.

[B] *He was buried in Eton-college chapel.*] Over his grave was placed a flat ſtone, having the following inſcription carved on a braſs plate fixed thereto. 'Thomas Allenus Wigornienſis, vir pietate inſignis, Theologus præſtantiſſimus, multarum optimarum linguarum variæque eruditionis callentiſſimus, in collegium hoc (in quo diu ſocius vixit) in collegia inſuper alia, locaque in quibus aliquam vitæ ſuæ partem poſuit pie munificus, hic jacet. Obiit die decimo menſis Octobris, an. 1636. *i. e. Here lies Mr Thomas Allen of Worceſter, a man of exemplary piety; an excellent Divine, well ſkilled in many of the beſt languages and various branches of literature, a pious and munificent benefactor to this college, and to other colleges and places in which he ſpent any part of his life. He died the 10th of October*, 1636 (2).' T

(2) Id. Ibid.

ALLEIN (RICHARD) was the ſon of a clergyman of the ſame name, Rector of Dichet in Somerſetſhire, which preferment he held fifty years (a). Our Richard was born at the aforeſaid place, in the year 1611 (b). The firſt part of his education under his father, fitted him for the univerſity in 1627 (c). In that year he was entered a Commoner of St Alban's Hall in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (d). Thence he removed it ſeems, to New Inn, where having received his Maſter's degree (e); and then taking holy orders he became aſſiſtant to his father, and carried on the work of the miniſtry in his own country (f). His father inclining to what is called Puritaniſm, he fell naturally into thoſe opinions, and being a man of great zeal and competent learning he

(a) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 580.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 689.

(c) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(d) So Calamy, Wood calls it New Inn.

(e) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(f) As he teſtifies himſelf in various parts of his works, particularly towards the cloſe of the firſt part of *Vindiciæ Pietatis.*

he came early to be much conſidered. In the month of March, 1641, he ſucceeded Richard Bernard in the rectory of Batcomb, in Somerſetſhire, where that divine had continued twenty-eight years, having for his predeceſſor Dr Biſs, who lived in the days of the Reformation (*g*). Mr Allein diſcharged his duty here, with much induſtry and fidelity, and being a zealous Covenanter, had now and then ſome diſturbance from the King's forces in thoſe parts. He was however a great enemy to that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit which broke out in this country, on the ruin of the eſtabliſhed Church, as appears by his ſubſcribing a repreſentation, intitled, *The Teſtimony of the Miniſtry of Somerſetſhire, to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the ſolemn League and Covenant*, which was printed in 1648 (*h*). His induſtry and affection to the Cauſe, procured himſelf and his father to be conſtituted Aſſiſtants to the Commiſſioners, appointed by parliament for the ejecting ſcandalous miniſters (*i*). This was in 1654, and Mr Wood tells us, that they acted in this capacity with ſeverity enough (*k*). However, upon the Reſtoration, Mr Allen ſhewed a diſpoſition to yield obedience to the government, but could not, it ſeems, come up to the terms of conformity, which occaſioned his being ejected from his living, after he had held it upwards of twenty years (*l*). After this misfortune he continued to exerciſe his function privately, preaching ſometimes at his own houſe, and at other times at the houſes of gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Once he was apprehended at the ſeat of Mr More, who had been a member of parliament, and who had invited him thither to preach to his family, and to ſome of his neighbours. The penalty was five pounds, which that gentleman very honourably paid for Mr Allen, though he went to priſon for his own fine (*m*). But if this made him cautious, it did not however make him indolent, he went ſtill on in the way of his profeſſion, notwithſtanding that he was often ſummoned to quarter-ſeſſions, and there ſeverely reprimanded for keping a conventicle (*n*). However, he was not impriſoned as other miniſters were, becauſe, as it was generally ſuppoſed, his great learning, piety, and unblameable life, had gained him ſo high a reputation, that it would have been a very unpopular thing, to have ſent a man of his character to a county-goal (*o*). After the five miles act took place, he was obliged to leave Batcomb, and to retire to Froome-Selwood, where he lodged at the houſe of Mr Smith, and continued there in the conſtant exerciſe of his miniſtry, notwithſtanding the dangers to which he was expoſed (*p*). At length he gave way to fate, on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1681, being upwards of ſixty-four years of age (*q*). He was diſtinguiſhed for his plain, practical, and pathetick manner of preaching; for his great delight in the duties of the paſtoral office, ſuch as catechizing, viſiting the ſick, and inſtructing the ignorant. His writings alſo, of which in the notes we ſhall give a particular account, were much eſteemed, and often printed [*A*]. As he choſe to leave his living rather than ſtrain his conſcience, ſo his Nonconformity was no way tinctured, either with ſpleen to the eſtabliſhed Church, or diſloyalty to his Prince. On the contrary, he lived in a fair correſpondence with the clergy in his neighbourhood, and had much reſpect paid him by the gentry of his acquaintance, tho' of oppoſite ſentiments (*r*). The reverend Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. and Vicar of Frome-Selwood, preached his funeral ſermon, and therein gave full and fair teſtimony to his piety, meekneſs, and moderation (*s*), of which he was the better judge, from his long acquaintance with him, and frequent viſits to him, in his laſt ſickneſs. However, the meek and charitable Anthony Wood, to deſtroy, as far

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*i*) Scobell, Collections, Part ii. p. 335.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 580.

(*l*) Calamy, ubi ſupra. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Calamy, ib.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 690.

(*q*) Wood, ibid. Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) I collect this from Mr Alleine's books which I have carefully peruſed; and Dr Anneſley's Preface to his Inſtructions about Heart-Work, 8*vo*. 1682.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Much eſteemed and often printed.*] The firſt (1) work he publiſhed ſo far as I know, or can learn, was, *A Letter to a Friend*, proving, 1. That valid ordination ought not to be repeated, and, 2. That ordination by Preſbyters is valid. Addreſſed to Mr John Humfrey, 1661, 4*to*. but as this hath not his name, we begin with 1. Vindiciæ Pietatis, *Or, a Vindication of Godlineſs in the greateſt Strictneſs, and Spirituality of it, from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy*. Mr Wood ſays, that it was printed in 8*vo*. in the year 1664, and again 1669. He then ſpeaks of *Directions for attaining and maintaining of a godly Life*, as if they had been added to the laſt edition. *The godly Man's Portion and Sanctuary*, being the ſecond part of *Vindiciæ Pietatis*: Mr Wood makes a diſtinct book (2), but the edition I have varies from all theſe. It conſiſts of two parts, the *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, and the *Directions for a godly Life*, printed together at London, without a Printer's name in 1665, with a dedication to the inhabitants of the pariſh of B—— in the county of S—— *i. e.* Batcomb in the county of Somerſet. *The godly Man's Portion*, is joined thereto, but is printed in 1663, whence I conceive, the firſt edition to have been in that year, if not in the year before it. The reaſon the book is without the Printer's name, is, becauſe it was not licenſed. On it's publication the book was greedily bought up, and the King's bookſeller having notice where there was a parcel of them lodged for ſale, cauſed them to be ſeized; in conſequence of which, they were ſent to the King's kitchen, there to be employed for other purpoſes than reading. Thence however, he took care to purchaſe them at the rate of waſte paper, bound them up and ſold them. But this artifice being diſcovered, he was brought on his knees at the council-table, and the books ſent once again to the King's kitchen, there to be biſk'd, that is, ſtruck over with ink [illegible] to be illegible (3). 2. *Heaven opened, or a brief and plain Diſcovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace.* Mr Wood calls this the third part of the *Vindiciæ Pietatis* (4), but it is not ſo ſtiled in the edition I have, which is printed in 1665, with a preface to the reader, wherein it is ſaid, that the author intended to have added it to his other book, but that he found it growing to too great a bulk. 3. *The World conquered, or a believer's Victory over the World laid open, being the fourth Part of Vindiciæ Pietatis*, London, 1668, 8*vo*. All which pieces Mr Wood ſays, were printed together in 1671, under the title of the Works of Mr Allen, in four Parts (5). 4. *Godly Fear, or the Nature and Neceſſity of Fear, and it's Uſefulneſs*, &c. London, 1674, 8*vo*. This is no more than a collection of ſermons on ſeveral texts. 5. *A Rebuke to Backſliders, and a Spur for Loiterers, in ſeveral Sermons lately preached to a private Congregation*, London, 1677, 8*vo*. There was another edition in 1684, which is ſaid in the title page to have been publiſhed for the awakening a ſleepy Age. From the preface to this book it appears, that the author when he wrote it was ſickly, and in a declining ſtate of health. 6. *A Companion for Prayer, or Directions for improvement in Grace, and practical Goodneſs, in Times of extraordinary danger*, London, 1680, in 12*mo*. 7. *Inſtructions about Heart-work, what is to be done*

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 731.

(2) Athen. Ox. Vol. II. col. 689.

(3) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 581.

(4) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

(5) Ubi ſupra. I wonder that in Dr Calamy's account in his Life of Baxter, Vol. II, p. 580, Wood's Liſt is only imperfectly copied. I have done all I can at this diſtance of time to render it compleat.

far as in him lay, the credit of Mr Jenkins, ſtiles him a lukewarm conformiſt, on the ſtrength of theſe facts.

(6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 690.

(7) The Book before me is thus dated. London: Printed for Jonathan Greenwood at the Crown in the Poultry, near Grocers Alley, 1681.

on God's part and ours, for the Cure and keeping of the Heart, that we may live in the Exerciſe and Growth of Grace here, and have a comfortable Aſſurance of Glory to Eternity, London, 1681, 8vo. — This is a poſthumous work, and before it there is an epiſtle to the reader by Dr Anneſley. Wood places the firſt edition of this book in 1682 (6), but therein he is certainly miſtaken (7). The ſecond edition came out in 1684, and then his Companion for Prayer was added to it by way of appendix. He alſo wrote *A brief Character of Mr Joſeph Allen*, which makes the third chapter in the account of his life publiſhed in 1672. He was related to our author, and ſeveral pieces written by Joſeph, are inſerted in the works of Richard Allein, as the reader may ſee by conſulting the notes upon that life, in this work. E

ALLEIN (JOSEPH) the ſon of Mr Tobias Allein, was born in the Devizes in Wiltſhire, in 1633 (*a*). An extraordinary tincture of religion diſcovered itſelf in all his actions, even in his childhood, inſomuch that at eleven years of age he was much addicted to private prayers, and on the death of his brother Edward, who was a worthy miniſter of the goſpel, he earneſtly intreated his father, that he might receive ſuch an education as might fit him for the ſame work. In the ſpace of four years he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and was by his maſter declared fit for the univerſity (*b*). His father kept him however ſome time at home, where he was inſtructed in Logick, and at the age of ſixteen, was placed in Lincoln college at Oxford. There he continued to the eighth of November 1651, when he was admitted of Corpus Chriſti college, a Wiltſhire ſcholarſhip being then vacant. He was very remarkable while at college, for his great aſſiduity in his ſtudies, a ſettled gravity in his temper, and a chearful readineſs to aſſiſt others. He might in a little time have attained a fellowſhip, which he declined for the ſake of the office of Chaplain, being exceedingly pleaſed with the opportunity this gave him of exerting his gifts in prayer. In July 1653 (*c*), he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and became a tutor. In this arduous employment, he behaved himſelf with equal ſkill and diligence, ſeveral of his pupils becoming very eminent Nonconformiſt miniſters, and not a few attained to good preferment in the eſtabliſhed Church (*d*). In 1655, being then in the one and twentieth year of his age, he became aſſiſtant in the miniſtry, to Mr George Newton, in Taunton Magdalen, in Somerſetſhire. There, on the fourth of October in the ſame year, he married his beloved wife, and ſettled himſelf in the world (*e*). His income was very ſmall, at firſt not above forty, never above eighty pounds a year, which however was ſomewhat increaſed by the pains of his wife, who kept a boarding-ſchool (*f*). During ſeven years that he lived in this manner, he diſcharged his paſtoral duty with incredible diligence, for beſides preaching and catechizing in the church, he ſpent ſeveral afternoons in a week, in viſiting the people of the town, and exhorting them to a religious life. Theſe applications were at firſt, far from being welcome to many families; but his meekneſs, moderation, and unaffected piety, made him by degrees the delight of his pariſhioners (*g*). He was deprived in 1662, for Nonconformity. He preached however privately, generally ſix or ſeven, ſometimes fourteen or fifteen times a week. His zeal and induſtry in this courſe, brought him at length into trouble, ſo that on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1663, he was committed to Ivelcheſter jayl, where at that time, there were ſeven miniſters, and fifty Quakers, confined in one room, where they ſuffered great hardſhips; however, they ſtill continued to preach till the aſſizes (*h*). Theſe were held before Mr Juſtice Foſter, and at them, *viz.* on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he was indicted for preaching on the ſeventeenth of May preceding, of which indictment he was found guilty, ſentenced to pay a hundred marks, and to remain in priſon till his fine was paid. At the time of his receiving ſentence, he ſaid; *That he was glad that it had appeared before his country, that whatſoever he was charged with, he was guilty of nothing but doing his duty; and that all that did appear by the evidence was, that he had ſung a pſalm, and inſtructed his family, others being there, and both in his own houſe.* He continued in priſon a whole year wanting three days, which broke his conſtitution (*i*). However, when he was at liberty, he applied himſelf to his miniſtry as earneſtly as ever, which brought upon him a grievous ſickneſs. The five miles act taking place, he retired from Taunton to Wellington, where he continued but a ſmall time, Mr Mallack, a merchant, inviting him to lodge at a houſe of his at ſome diſtance from Taunton (*k*). In the ſummer of 1665, he was adviſed to drink the waters near the Devizes, for his health. But before he left Mr Mallack's houſe, *viz.* on the tenth of July in that year, ſome friends came to take their leaves of him; they were ſurprized praying together, and for this were ſentenced to ſixty days impriſonment, which himſelf, ſeven miniſters, and forty private perſons, ſuffered in the county jayl. This hindered his going to the waters, and his diſeaſe returning, he loſt another ſummer (*l*). At length, in 1667, he went, but was far from receiving that benefit he expected. After ſome time he went to Dorcheſter, where he grew better, but applying himſelf again, to preaching, catechizing, and other duties, his diſtemper returned with ſuch violence, that he loſt the uſe of his limbs. His death was then daily expected, but by degrees he grew ſomewhat better, and at length went to Bath, where the ſtate of his health altered ſo much, that his friends were in hopes he would have held out ſeveral years, but growing ſuddenly worſe again, he finiſhed his life there, in the month of November, 1668, being then ſomewhat above thirty-five years old (*m*). He was a man of great learning, and greater charity, zealous in his own way of worſhipping

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr Joſeph Allein, p. 18. Calamy's Life of of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 574. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(*b*) See the Life of Mr Allein, chap. i.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 101.

(*d*) Life of Mr Allein, p. 22.

(*e*) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Allein, p. 91.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Life of Mr Allein, p. 94.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 53.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 59. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 578.

(*k*) Mrs Allein's Narrative, ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(*l*) Ibid. 77. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 425.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 89. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577. Neal, ubi ſupra.

worſhipping God, but not in the leaſt bitter towards any Chriſtians who worſhipped in another manner (*n*). He preſerved a great reſpect for the Church, notwithſtanding all his ſufferings, and was eminently loyal to his Prince, notwithſtanding the ſeverities of the times. His writings breathe a true ſpirit of piety, for which they have been always and deſervedly eſteemed [*A*]. Anthony Wood has treated (*o*) his memory very rudely [*B*], and betrayed that ſpleen he had againſt the Nonconformiſts, in ſpeaking ill of one, who ſpake ill of no man. The body of our author lies interred in the chancel of the church of Taunton St Magdalen, and on his grave-ſtone ſtand the following lines (*p*).

(*n*) See the ſecond and eighth chapters of his Life, written by Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 420.

(*p*) Ibid. col. 421.

Here Mr Joſeph Allein lies,
To God and you, a ſacrifice.

[*A*] *His writings are deſervedly eſteemed.*] The moſt remarkable of his printed books were theſe which follow. 1. *A moſt familiar Explanation of the Aſſembly's Shorter Catechiſm.* Wherein their larger anſwers are broken into leſſer parcels, thereby to let the light by degrees into the minds of learners, 8*vo.* 1656, with two appendixes. 2. *A Call to Archippus*, being an earneſt motive to the ejected miniſters to continue in their miniſtry, 4*to.* 1664. This was written during his impriſonment, and the intent of it was to ſtir up his Nonconformiſt brethren, to preach and pray, notwithſtanding the ſeverities they laboured under (1). It is very probable this might give offence, though in writing it he diſcharged his conſcience. 3. *An Alarm to the unconverted*, publiſhed in 8*vo.* in 1672, as alſo in 12*mo*; at which time there were twenty thouſand of them ſold. It was afterwards printed under the title of *A ſure Guide to Heaven*, in 1675, and with this title, there have been fifty thouſand ſold (2). However, in 1720, there was a large impreſſion publiſhed with the firſt title, *An Alarm to unconverted Sinners.* It has a long epiſtle before it by Richard Baxter, and a ſhorter by our author's friend Richard Allein. I have been very careful in examining all the editions of this book, and find moſt of them vary in ſome particulars. There was an edition in 12*mo.* 1689, with a preface *To the reader that would be ſafe and happy*, which differs from both theſe prefaces. Mr Wood tells us, it was printed under the title of *A true Way to Happineſs*, but as he makes this a different book from the *Sure Guide to Heaven*, and yet the ſame with the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners* (3), he is certainly miſtaken. 4. *Chriſtian Letters full of ſpiritual Inſtruction*, 8*vo.* London, 1672. They are forty in number, and were afterwards added as an appendix to his life. In 1677, there was another edition with five new letters. Amongſt theſe, ſeveral are directed to his wife, and the reſt to his friends, and to his flock; moſt of them during his impriſonment at Ivelcheſter. 5. *Caſes of Conſcience*, &c. London, 1672, 8*vo.* Theſe are added to the laſt edition of the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners.* 6. *Remains, being a Collection of ſundry Directions, Sermons, ſacramental Speeches, and Letters, not heretofore publiſhed*, 8vo. 1672. Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral little practical pieces, which are inſerted in the books of Mr Richard Allein. Such as the *Synopſis of the Covenant* (4). *A Form of Words, expreſſing a Man's Covenant with God*, &c. (5). Beſides theſe, he left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology, under eight heads, written in a good Latin ſtile, wherein were laid down; firſt, the Chriſtian Doctrine, and then by way of annotation was added, the teſtimonies of the antient Philoſophers (6). One ſection of this, *viz. De Providentia*, was fitted for the preſs, and licenſed, but Anthony Wood ſays, that being Latin and Greek, and ſuch books having too few buyers in England, there were none yet found, who would be at the charge of printing it (7). To this account of his writings, we may add what is very often printed with them, the life and death of that excellent miniſter of Chriſt, Mr Joſeph Allein, &c. This was firſt printed in 8*vo.* 1671. It conſiſts of ſeveral parts, 1. An introduction written by Mr Richard Baxter. 2. A brief relation of what paſſed at his childhood, and at the univerſity, by an eye-witneſs. 3. A ſhort character of him by Mr Richard Allein. 4. An account of his godly life and practice, by the Reverend Mr Newton, to whom he was aſſiſtant. 5. A further account of his miniſtry, by an intimate friend. 6. A narrative of his life by his widow, Mrs Theodoſia Allein. 7. Some notes by a perſon, in whoſe houſe he lodged. 8. His character, under the title of, A Compleat Picture of a Goſpel Miniſter. 9. A few additions to this character, by Mr Richard Fairclough. The ſecond and eighth, were written by miniſters of the Church of England. There is likewiſe annexed a funeral ſermon, preached by Mr George Newton, from Luke xxiii. 28 (8).

(1) Mrs Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr Joſeph Allein, p. 60.

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon: Vol. II. p. 421.

(4) Heaven Opened, by R. A. 8*vo*, 1665, p. 262.

(5) Vindiciæ Pietatis, by the ſame Rich. Allein.

(6) Baxter's Introduction to Mr Allein's Life, p. 17. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 577.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 421.

[*B*] *Anthony Wood has treated his memory very rudely.*] Moſt of the facts mentioned in his article, are taken out of the life of Joſeph Allein, mentioned in the foreging note, and all the Oxford Antiquary has done, is to give them a malicious turn. He ſays, he deſired the office of chaplain, though inferior in value to a fellowſhip, *that he might ſhew his excellencies in publick twice in a day* (9). A miniſter of the Church of England, who knew him at college, ſays his prayers were grave, ſuccinct, and premeditated, and (10) therefore, the times conſidered in which he executed this office, one may ſafely ſay, the college was the better for it, nor do we know whether he did not take this place to prevent the ill uſe that ſome fiery enthuſiaſt might have made of it. After mentioning his call to Taunton, Wood ſays (11), our author Joſeph, *received another call to take to wife, a fair and holy ſiſter, which being effected, he would as in jeſt complain to an intimate friend of his, of the inconveniences of marriage*, viz. *that whereas he uſed to riſe at four of the clock in the morning, or before, his loving ſpouſe would keep him in bed 'till about ſix; alſo, whereas he uſed to ſtudy fourteen hours in a day, ſhe would bring him to eight or nine. And laſtly, that whereas he uſed to forbear one meal a day, at leaſt for his ſtudy, ſhe would bring him to his meat*, &c. Mr Wood cites no authority for this, and therefore one would ſuppoſe he had been told it; but the truth is, that in the ſecond chapter of Mr Allein's life, we are told, that an intimate friend of his, having written to him to know the inconveniences of marriage, he, in a familiar anſwer, wrote back what Mr Wood has mentioned (12), but how this can be called his complaint, is not eaſy to be underſtood. Our Oxford writer tells us, that he had *a third call for the propagation of the Goſpel, and that he would by all means go into China to fulfil it, but was diſſwaded from it by the brethren* (13). All which is built on ſome expreſſions which fell from Mr Allein at the time he was ejected, when he ſaid, that if he found it impracticable to diſcharge the work of the miniſtry in his own country, he would go and preach Chriſtianity in China. This was only a declaration of the duty he thought incumbent upon him of preaching (14), but he actually formed another deſign, which Mr Wood does not mention; and that was, to go and preach in Wales, which nothing but his ſickneſs hindered (15). After having taken his materials from the life of Joſeph Allein, he gives this account of it. *From which acting Farce or Life, eſpecially that ridiculous diſcourſe of Theodoſia, the reader may eaſily underſtand what a grand zealot for the cauſe this our author Joſeph Allein was, and how his life was ſpent, in actions buſy, forward, (if not pragmatical) and meddling without intermiſſion. The ſaid Theodoſia, a prating goſſip, and a meer Xantippe, finding Joſeph Allein to be a meer ſcholar, and totally ignorant of women's tricks, did flatter, ſooth him up, and woo [illegible] and ſoon after married and brought him to her lure* [illegible]. Much more to the ſame purpoſe, we meet with in this author, whoſe account is thus cenſured by Dr Calamy. 'Wood, the Oxonian, fancied himſelf among 'his boon companions paſſing away the tedious mi-'nutes of the lingering glaſs, in it's circular returns 'with a wanton tale, when he compoſed that farce to 'which this good man's name is prefixed (in his '*Athenæ Oxonienſes*) but it is no diſgrace at all to any 'one

(8) The copy I have hath two titles, one in 1671 which is firſt, the other in 1672. Theſe books being printed by ſtealth, and without licence, occaſioned theſe unuſual precautions.

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(10) See the ſecond chapter in Mr Allein's Life, p. 23.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(12) Life of Mr Allein. p. 21. See alſo p. 9, where Mrs Allein aſſerts, her huſband roſe always at, or before, four, &c.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 420.

(14) Mrs Allein's Narrative, p. 53.

(15) Ibid. p. 64.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 421.

' one to be ridiculed in such a way as makes the actor ' infamous, in the estimation of all such as have any ' relicks either of honour, or honesty (17).' There is a very honourable character given of him in Moreri's Dictionary (18), though he is not mentioned in any of the works of the same kind, which have hitherto appeared in our language (19). E

(17) Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 177.

(19) Such as Collier's, or the General Dictionary.

(18) In the edition printed for the booksellers in Amsterdam, Leyden, &c. in 1740, Vol. I. p. 314.

ALLESTRY or ALLESTREE (RICHARD), Provost of Eton-college in the reign of King Charles II, was the son of Mr Robert Allestry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyshire [A], and was born in March 1619, at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropshire (a). He was educated first at a country free-school in the neighbourhood, and afterwards at one of greater note at Coventry (b), where Philemon Holland the translator taught (c). In 1636, being then seventeen years of age, he was carried by his father to Oxford, and entered a commoner in Christ-church, under the tuition of Mr Richard Busby (d). Six months after his settlement in the university, Dr Fell, Dean of Christ-Church, observing the parts and industry of young Mr Allestry, made him a student of that college; where he applied himself to academical learning with uncommon improvement and success. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen Moderator in Philosophy; which office he continued to discharge, till the disturbances of the kingdom interrupted the studies and repose of the university. In 1641, Mr Allestry, among other Oxford scholars, engaged in the King's service, and continued therein, 'till Sir John Biron (e), who was sent with a party of horse to countenance and support the scholars in arms, withdrew from Oxford; whereupon he returned, with many others, to his gown and his studies. Soon after, a party of the rebels having entered Oxford, and plundered the colleges, Mr Allestry narrowly escaped being severely handled by them [B]. In October following, he took arms again, and was present in the battle fought between King Charles and the rebels, under the command of the Earl of Essex, in Keinton-field in Warwickshire: after which, understanding that the King designed immediately to march to Oxford, and take up his residence at the deanry of Christ-church (f), he hasted thither to prepare for his Majesty's reception; but in his way was taken prisoner by a party of horse from Broughton-house, which was garrisoned by the Lord Say for the parliament. His confinement was very short, the garrison surrendring itself to the King's forces, who summoned it in their march. And now Mr Allestry settled himself again to his studies, and in the next spring (g) took his degree of Master of Arts; and the same year his life was greatly endangered by a pestilential distemper, which raged in the garrison of Oxford. Soon after his recovery, he entered a third time into his Majesty's service, and carried a musket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford scholars [C]. In this service he continued till the end of the war, and then went into holy orders, at a time when he had no prospect of worldly advantage. He was tutor to several young gentlemen and students, and discharged the office of Censor of the college. He bore a part in that signal test of loyalty, which the university of Oxford gave in their decree and judgment against the *Solemn League and Covenant*; for which, in July 1648, he was proscribed and expelled the university by the parliament visitors [D]. Being thus driven from Oxford, he retired into Shropshire, and was

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 676. See also the Preface to Dr Allestree's Sermons, in fol. Oxon. 1684.

(b) Preface, ubi supra.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Afterwards the famous Dr Busby, and master of Westminster-school.

(e) Afterwards Lord Biron.

(f) The Care of which had been left to Mr Allestry in the absence of the Dean. Preface, ubi supra.

(g) June 2, 1643. Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 33.

[A] *Mr Robert Allestry, a gentleman of an antient family in Derbyshire.*] The estate of the family having been considerably diminished by the profusion of his ancestors, this gentleman was reduced to serve Sir Richard Newport, afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of High Arcol, in the quality of his steward; and being married, he left that service, and settled at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropshire (1).

(1) Preface to Dr Allestry's Sermons, printed at Oxon. in 1684.

[B] *Mr Allestry narrowly escaped being severely handled by the rebels.*] The occasion was this. Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treasury of Christ-Church, and after a day's labour having forced a passage into it, met with nothing but a single groat, and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron chest. Enraged at their disappointment, they went to the deanry; where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, locked it up, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and dispose of their prize. But when they came, they found themselves again disappointed, and every thing removed out of the chamber. Upon examination it was discovered that Mr Allestry had a key to the lodgings, in the absence of the Dean and his family; and that this key had been made use of upon this occasion. Whereupon he was seized; and, notwithstanding all the defence he could make, would probably have been very severely handled by the rebels, had not the Earl of Essex called away the forces on a sudden, and by that means rescued him from their fury (2).

(2) Ibid.

[C] *He carried a musket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford scholars.*] The exigency of the King's affairs requiring the aid of all his loyal subjects, a regiment was raised out of the Oxford scholars, who served as volunteers without pay or reward, and performed all duties not only in the garrison, and sallies for the defence of it in case of attacks or sieges; but were also commanded upon parties abroad, and endured the fatigue of marches, and the inconvenience of bad quarters; differing in nothing from mercenary soldiers, except in their civility and justice to the country people while they staid with them, and paying them at their departure: things so unusual, that when, upon leaving their quarters, they offered their landlords money, they believed it was done in jest and to abuse them, but were convinced of the contrary by it's being left with them. In this regiment Mr Allestry bore arms, being forward upon all occasions to put himself upon action, and thinking it no disgrace, though a Master of Arts and Fellow of a College, to perform the duties of a common soldier. Nor did he in the mean time neglect his studies, *frequently* (as our author expresses it) *holding his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student* (3).

(3) Ibid.

[D] *He was proscribed, and expelled the university, by the Parliament visitors.*] Soon after the decree of the university against the *Solemn League and Covenant*, visitors were sent down by the pretended Parliament to require the submission of that body to it's authority. Those who could prostitute their allegiance to their Prince, and oaths to the university, and comply with the lust of the usurpers, were received into favour: all others, however deserving, were without farther regard proscribed; which was done by writing their names on a paper, and affixing it on the door of St Mary's Church; signifying therein, that such persons were by the authority of the visitors banished the university, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for spies of war, and proceeded against accordingly. By which practice

was entertained as Chaplain to the honourable Francis Newport, Eſq; (*b*); and, upon the death of Richard Lord Newport (*i*) that gentleman's father, he was ſent over into France to clear accounts, and take care of that nobleman's effects. Having diſpatched this affair with good ſucceſs, he came back to his employment, and continued in it till King Charles II's march into England with the Scotch army, and his miraculous eſcape at Worceſter: at which time, the managers of the King's affairs wanting an intelligent and faithful perſon to ſend over to his Majeſty, Mr Alleſtry was deſired to undertake the journey; which accordingly he did, and having attended the King at Roan, and received his diſpatches, he returned into England. Here he found his friends Mr Dolben and Mr Fell (*k*), who had likewiſe been baniſhed the univerſity, reſiding privately there, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the Royaliſts: whereupon he joined them, and continued with them, 'till Sir Anthony Cope, a loyal young gentleman of conſiderable quality and fortune in Oxfordſhire, prevailed upon him to live in his family; where he continued ſeveral years, with liberty of going or ſtaying as occaſion required: and by this means he was enabled, without being taken notice of, to convey meſſages to the King from his friends. After ſeveral difficult journies ſucceſsfully performed, he was ſent over, in the winter before his Majeſty's Reſtoration, into Flanders; from whence returning with letters, he was ſeized, upon his landing at Dover, by a party of ſoldiers; but had the addreſs to ſecure his letters, by conveying them to a faithful hand. Being guarded up to London, he was examined by a committee of the Council of Safety, and ſent priſoner to Lambeth-houſe (*l*), where he contracted a dangerous ſickneſs. After ſix or eight weeks confinement, he was ſet at liberty [*E*], and returned into Oxfordſhire; from whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he went into Shropſhire to viſit his relations [*F*]. Soon after the Reſtoration, Mr Alleſtry was made a Canon of Chriſt-church, and readily concurred in repairing the injuries and decays that church and college had ſuffered during the Uſurpation. At the ſame time he undertook one of the lectureſhips of the city of Oxford, with a view to inſtil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens, which had been poiſoned by the contrary infuſions of ſchiſmatical teachers: yet he never received any part of the profits, but conſtantly diſtributed it among the poor. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, on the third of October, 1660 (*m*), and was appointed one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary; and ſoon after, upon a vacancy (*n*) of the Divinity-chair, he was choſen *Regius Profeſſor*. In 1665, the King conferred upon Dr Alleſtry the Provoſtſhip (*o*) of Eton-college [*G*], which he held to his death. In 1679, finding his health, and particularly his ſight, much impaired, he reſigned the profeſſorſhip of divinity, and had the ſatisfaction to be ſucceeded therein by Dr Jane, of whoſe abilities he had perfect knowledge. And now, the decay of his conſtitution terminating in a dropſy, he removed to London, to be nearer the advice of phyſicians: but, medicines proving ineffectual, he died [*H*] in January 1680-1, and

(*b*) Afterwards Lord Viſcount Newport of High Arcol.

(*i*) He died in France, having retired thither to avoid the inſolence of the conquering Rebels. Pref.

(*k*) Afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and Biſhop of Oxford.

(*l*) The common goal for the King's friends.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 137.

(*n*) By the death of Dr John Creed. Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 677.

(*o*) Vacant by the death of Dr John Meredith. Wood, ibid.

practice often repeated, the men of the greateſt hopes and merit in the univerſity were *ſpoiled of all things, and not ſuffered to breathe the common air*; ſo that, within the compaſs of a few weeks, Oxford was purged of it's moſt loyal members, in whoſe room ſucceeded an *illiterate rabble, ſwept from the plough-tail, from ſhops and grammar ſchools, and the dregs of the neighbour univerſity*. In this diffuſive ruin Mr Alleſtry had an early ſhare; and though he had the care of ſeveral perſons of quality his pupils, and accounts of his own and theirs to make up, he with difficulty obtained of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelſey, governor of the town, a ſhort reſpite, for ſettling his affairs, and doing juſtice to thoſe for whom he was concerned; the viſitors utterly refuſing his requeſt, for this reaſon, as Dr Rogers one of their number was pleaſed to phraſe it, *becauſe he was an eminent man* (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *He was ſet at liberty.*] The means of his enlargement were owing to the proſpect of an approaching revolution: for ſome of the heads of the Republican party, ſeeing things tend towards his majeſty's reſtoration, were willing by kindneſſes to recommend themſelves to the loyal party, in caſe matters ſhould take that turn. Among theſe was the Earl of Shaftſbury, who uſed to value himſelf that Mr Alleſtry owed his preſervation to him (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*F*] *He went into Shropſhire to viſit his relations.*] In his return from thence, deſigning to viſit his worthy friend Dr Hammond at Weſtwood near Worceſter, he had the mortification to meet, at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. This circumſtance deſerves the rather to be mentioned, becauſe that eminent light of the Engliſh Church gave, at his death, this teſtimony of his eſteem for Mr Alleſtry, that he left him his valuable library of books, *well knowing that in his hands they would be uſeful weapons for the defence of that cauſe he had during life ſo vigorouſly aſſerted* (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*G*] *The King conferred upon Dr Alleſtry the Provoſtſhip of Eton-College.*] It was with ſome difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept of this benefice: but the conſideration that great intereſt was made for it by a lay-man, who might poſſibly ſucceed upon the advantage of his refuſal, induced him to comply with his majeſty's gracious offer. For the Provoſt of Eton being actually parſon of the pariſh, and preſented to the Cure, and inſtituted by the Biſhop of Lincoln the Dioceſan, nothing (he thought) could be more ſacrilegious and irregular than ſuch an uſurpation of a lay-perſon; nor any thing a greater diſſervice to the Church, than by an unſeaſonable modeſty to make way for it. Upon theſe motives it was, that Dr Alleſtry became Provoſt of Eton-College; and for the ſame reaſon it was, that, during his life, he continued ſo, never hearkning to any offer of preferment, which might occaſion a vacancy. And it may be truly ſaid, that this was the greateſt ſecular care which attended him to his laſt moments, it being his dying requeſt to his friends, to interpoſe with the King, that he might be ſucceeded by a perſon lawfully qualified, and who would promote the welfare of the college (7). It is remarkable, that his wiſhes were anſwered: for Dr Zachariah Cradock of Cambridge, who had been inſtalled Canon Reſidentiary of Chicheſter, ſucceeded him in the Provoſtſhip, being elected thereto by the fellows; ſo that Mr Waller the Poet, who, according to Anthony Wood, ſtruggled hard for it, was diſappointed (8).

(7) Ibid.

(8) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 678.

[*H*] *His death.*] Having taken a private lodging in London, he ſubmitted to the methods preſcribed by his phyſicians, more out of compliance with the requeſt of his friends, than in expectation of a cure, in the mean time ſettling his temporal concerns, and employing the intervals his ſickneſs allowed in attending to the offices of the Church conſtantly read to him, and his private devotions. In his laſt moments he received the Euchariſt, having deſired thoſe friends of his who were in town to communicate with him; namely, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of Lincoln, the Biſhop of Exeter, the Biſhop of St Aſaph, the Reverend Dr Buſby; and Mr Fell

and was buried in Eton-chapel (p), under a monument of white (q) marble, on which was put the undermentioned inſcription [I]. I ſhall give an extract of Dr Alleſtry's character [K], from the *Account* of his *Life*, contained in the *Preface* to his *Sermons*. He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college [L], and raiſed the credit and reputation

(p) On the north ſide of the communion table. Wood. ibid.

(q) Wood ſays, a black marble ſtone.

Mr Fell one of the Fellows of Eton, who continued with him all the time of his ſickneſs. He took his laſt leave of them, and waited the hour of his releaſe with great ſerenity and compoſure of mind (9).

(9) Preface, ubi ſupra.

[I] His Epitaph.] It is as follows:

H. S. I.
RICHARDUS ALLESTREE
Cathedræ Theologicæ in Univerſitate Oxonienſi
Profeſſor Regius,
Eccleſiæ Chriſti ibidem Præbendarius,
&
Collegii hujus Ætonenſis Præpoſitus;
Muniis iſtis ſingulis ita par, ut & omnibus major.
In
Diſputationibus Irrefragabilis, Concionibus flexanimus,
Negotii ſolers, Vitæ Integer, Pietate ſanctus.
Epiſcopales infulas eadem induſtria evitavit,
Qua alii ambiunt;
Cui rectius viſum
Eccleſiam defendere, inſtruere, ornare,
Quam regere.
Laboribus ſtudiiſque perpetuis exhauſtus,
Morte, ſi quis alius, præmatura,
Obiit Vir deſideratiſſimus
Januarii XXVII. An. M.DC.LXXX.
Ætatis LX.
Nobile ſibi monumentum,
Areæ adjacentis latus occidentale,
Quod à fundamentis propriis impenſis ſtruxit,
Vivus ſibi ſtatuit.
Brevem hanc Tabellam Hæredes defuncto poſuere.

Which may be thus tranſlated: *Here lies RICHARD ALLESTREE*, Regius Profeſſor *of Divinity at Oxford, Canon of Chriſt-Church, and Provoſt of this College of Eton; in the ſeparate diſcharge of which offices he diſcovered abilities ſuperior to the execution of them all together: in diſputations invincible, an orator in the pulpit, ſkilful in the management of affairs, of great integrity and piety: he declined the epiſcopal character as induſtriouſly as others ſeek it; thinking it a more worthy employ to defend, inſtruct, and adorn the Church, than to govern it. Exhauſted at length with conſtant labour and ſtudy, this valuable man was taken away by too early a death, January* 27, 1680, *in the* 60*th year of his age. In his lifetime he erected to himſelf a noble monument, in building from the ground, at his own expence, the weſt ſide of the adjacent Quadrangle* (10). *His heirs erected this ſmall monument to his memory.*

(10) The grammar ſchool, built over a cloiſter or piazza. Mr Wood ſays, this building coſt the Doctor about fifteen hundred pounds. Ubi ſupra.

[K] *An extract of Dr Alleſtry's character.*] 'His 'mind, that nobler part of him, was compoſed by 'an extraordinary indulgence of nature; thoſe faculties, which in others uſe to be ſingle, and are 'thought neceſſarily to be ſo, were united in him. 'Memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modeſty and no leſs aſſurance, a comprehenſion of 'things and fluency of words; an aptneſs for the pleaſant, and ſufficiency for the rugged parts of knowledge; a courage to encounter, and an induſtry to 'maſter all things, make up the character of his 'happy genius. ——— From his firſt childhood he had a ſtrong impreſſion of piety, and the duties owed to God and men. —— In his conſtitution he had a great deal of warmth and vigour, which made 'him apt to take fire upon provocation; but he was 'well aware of it, and kept a peculiar guard upon 'that weak part: ſo that his heat was reſerved for the 'great concerns of the honour of God, and the ſervice of his Prince and country, wherein he was altogether indefatigable, and in the moſt diſmal appearances of affairs would never deſert them, nor 'deſpair of their reſtauration. There was not in the 'world a man of clearer honeſty and courage; no 'temptation could bribe him to do a baſe thing, or 'terror affright him from the doing a good one. 'This made his friendſhips as laſting and inviolable as 'his life, without the dirty conſiderations of profit, 'or ſly reſerves of craft; not the pageantry of cere'monious addreſs, or cold civility; much leſs the ſer'vile falſeneſs of obſequious flattery. —— His con'verſation was always chearful and entertaining, 'eſpecially in the reception of his acquaintance at his 'table, and friendly viſits. —— He was exceeding 'tender of ſaying any thing that might adminiſter of'fence, or reflect upon any one's reputation. —— 'There was no perſon who more literally verified the 'ſaying of the Wiſe Man, that *much ſtudy was a 'wearineſs of the fleſh.* After his day's work, he 'was uſed to be as faint and ſpent, as if he had been 'labouring all the time with the ſcythe or flail; and 'his intention of thought made ſuch waſte upon his 'ſpirits, that he was frequently in hazard, while at 'ſtudy, to fall into a ſwoon, and forced to riſe from 'his ſeat and walk about the room for ſome time be'fore he could recover himſelf. —— His contempt of 'the world was very extraordinary, as in his large 'and conſtant charities, both by ſettled penſions to 'indigent perſons and families, and occaſional alms, 'ſo alſo his bounteous hoſpitality. —— But the un'controulable proof of contempt of the world, is, 'his dying poor; he having never during his life 'purchaſed an inch of ground, nor any annuity, or 'leaſe, to the value of a penny; nor did he take care 'to renew the patrimonial eſtate which he held by 'a leaſe for life (11). —— His greateſt treaſure was 'his library, which was indeed a conſiderable one, 'both for the number of books and choice of them; 'but theſe he diſpoſed of by deed before his death to 'the univerſity of Oxford for the uſe of his ſucceſſors 'in the chair. —— Though he hung thus looſe from 'the world, he neither was negligent in ſecular affairs, 'nor unſkilful in the managery of them; which was 'made manifeſt by his dextrous diſcharge of the pri'vate truſts committed to him in behalf of his dead 'friends, and the adminiſtration of his public em'ployments. He was for ſeveral years treaſurer of 'Chriſt-Church, in a buſy time of their repairing the 'ruins made by the intruding uſurpers; and amidſt 'the neceſſary avocations of ſtudy, found leiſure for 'a full diſcharge of that troubleſome employment —— 'In the managery of the buſineſs of the chair of di'vinity, as he performed the ſcholaſtic part with great 'ſufficiency in exact and dextrous untying the knots 'of argument, and ſolid determination of con'troverted points, ſo he was not oppreſſed by the 'fame of any of his moſt eminent predeceſſors: his 'prudence was very remarkable in the choice of ſub'jects to be treated on; for he waſted not time and 'opportunity in the barren inſignificant parts of 'ſchool-divinity, but inſiſted on the fundamental 'grounds of controverſy between the Church of En'gland and the moſt formidable enemies thereof. —— 'By his judicious care herein, though he found the 'univerſity in a ferment, and a great part of it's 'growing hopes ſufficiently ſeaſoned with ill pre'poſſeſſions, he ſo brought it to paſs, that during the 'whole tract of ſeventeen years that he held the 'chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, 'nor petulant ſidings on account of them; which 'things diſturbed the peace of the laſt age, and 'helped forward to inflame thoſe animoſities, which 'ended in the execrable miſchiefs of the civil 'war (12).'

(11) It is proper to remark, that Dr Alleſtry died a bachelor.

(12) Preface.

[L] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college.*] The weſt ſide of the outward court of the college was built from the ground, and finiſhed, at Dr Alleſtry's ſingle expence. And whereas, at his coming to Eton, he found the ſociety greatly in debt, by an ill cuſtom introduced by the pretended ſaints of the late times, who at the year's end divided whatever money remained after the ordinary payments were made, incidental charges and debts contracted being ſtill thrown off to the future year; which in time grew to ſuch a bulk as endangered the college's becoming bankrupt: to remedy this evil, Dr Alleſtry, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed on the ſociety to do the like; inſomuch that,

tation of the ſchool, which he found in a very low condition. There are extant *Forty Sermons* (r) [*M*] of Dr Alleſtry's, whereof the greateſt part were preached before the King, and upon ſolemn occaſions. It is much to be regretted, that he could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his *Lectures* [*N*], which, when firſt delivered, were heard with the greateſt ſatisfaction and applauſe. Mr Wood mentions a ſmall tract (s) written by Dr Alleſtry, intitled, *The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford in point of Viſitation, in a Letter to an honourable Perſonage* (t) [*O*].

(r) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford, in one volume folio, 1684.

(s) Conſiſting of one ſheet and a half, 4*to*, 1647.

(t) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 677.

within a few years, the college paid off above a thouſand pound debt, and expended above two thouſand pounds in repairs. Another conſiderable ſervice he did the college and ſchool, as alſo King's-college in Cambridge, whoſe ſeminary it is, was this; that whereas formerly the fellowſhips of Eton were generally diſpoſed of to perſons of foreign education, the King was pleaſed, at the inſtance of Dr Alleſtry, joined with the petition of the Provoſt and Fellows of King's-college, to paſs a grant under the broad ſeal, that for the future five of the ſeven fellows ſhould be ſuch as had been educated at Eton-ſchool, and were fellows of King's-college; which has ever ſince took place (13).

(13) Ibid.

[*M*] *His ſermons.*] The firſt eighteen ſermons in this collection were originally publiſhed on a charitable account. For his ingenious kinſman Mr James Alleſtry the bookſeller (*), from a plentiful fortune being by the fire of London reduced to great poverty, Dr Alleſtry, beſides other aſſiſtances, beſtowed upon him the copies of theſe eighteen ſermons, to make ſome reparation of his loſſes. Afterwards twenty-two more were added to them, being as many as were thought neceſſary to make up a volume. 'The variety of au-'ditors (ſays my author) for whom they were firſt de-'ſigned, makes them not to be all of the ſame 'fineneſs of ſpinning and cloſeneſs of texture: but in 'them all there will appear the ſame ſpirit of per-'ſuaſive rhetoric and ardent piety, whereby *though* 'dead he yet ſpeaketh (14)'

(*) See the next article.

(14) Ibid.

[*N*] *He could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his lectures.*] Having, a little before his death, communicated to the Biſhop of Oxford ſeveral particulars concerning his intentions for the diſpoſal of his goods and papers; the Biſhop obſerved, that there was no mention made of his lectures, and knowing how his modeſty, during his life, had reſiſted all importunities for the publiſhing of them, ſuſpected that the ſame motive might be more prevalent at his death: therefore he wrote to Dr Alleſtry, requeſting that his lectures might be preſerved, which had coſt him ſo much ſtudy and labour, and would be proportionably uſeful to others. The Doctor's anſwer by letter bearing date January 19, 1680, was; *That having not had opportunity to reviſe what he had written, which was not every where conſiſtent with his preſent imaginations, though in nothing material, yet in ſome particulars which he ſhould have better examined; eſpecially divers of the Act-Lectures, which being upon the ſame head, the thread of them was not right nor didactical, and* Nectarius's Penitentiary, *not expounded the ſame way in one place as in another, and the firſt blundering and not true:* therefore he adds, *that if the Biſhop had not writ, and for that he himſelf would not go out of the world without ſatisfying him in every thing, he had reſolved to have ſent for his papers and burnt them; but now he gave them up all to the Biſhop upon this inviolable truſt, that nothing of them ſhould be publiſhed as a ſcheme of his, but to be made uſe of to ſerve any other deſign the Biſhop ſhould think fit.* Dr Alleſtry's words are here tranſcribed, becauſe the plaineſt account of things is always the moſt ſatisfactory (15).

(15) Ibid.

[*O*] *A ſmall tract —— intitled,* The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, &c.] Upon the publication of this piece, William Prynne came out with his *Univerſity of Oxford's Plea refuted*, &c. and in anſwer to that R. Waryng wrote *An Account of Mr Prynne's Refutation*, &c. and Mr Bagſhaw ſenior publiſhed his *Short Cenſure*, &c. Mr John Fell, one of the fellows of Eton-college, was by ſome taken to be the author of this pamphlet concerning the Univerſity's Privileges (16).

T

(16) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 677.

ALLESTRY (Jacob), a Poet [*A*] of the laſt century, was the ſon of James Alleſtry, a bookſeller of London, who loſt moſt of his ſubſtance in the dreadful fire, which happened there in the beginning of September 1666. He was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, entered at Chriſt-church in Oxford in the Act-Term 1671, being then eighteen years of age, and the next year was elected ſtudent of that college. Afterwards he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, was Muſic-reader in 1679, and *Terræ Filius* in 1682; both which offices he executed with very great applauſe, being then

[*A*] *A Poet.*] He wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry; one of which intitled, *What art thou, Love!* was printed in a book intitled *Examen Poeticum* (1). We ſhall tranſcribe it, as a ſpecimen of his talent.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 800.

I.

What art thou, Love! whence are thoſe charms!
That thus thou bear'ſt an univerſal rule!
For thee the ſoldier quits his arms,
The King turns ſlave, the wiſe man fool.

II.

In vain we chaſe thee from the field,
And with cool thoughts reſiſt thy yoke:
Next tide of blood, alas! we yield,
And all thoſe high reſolves are broke.

III.

Can we e're hope thou ſhou'd'ſt be true,
Whom we have found ſo often baſe?
Cozen'd, and cheated, ſtill we view,
And fawn upon the treacherous face.

IV.

In vain our nature we accuſe,
And doat, becauſe ſhe ſays we muſt:
This for a brute were an excuſe,
Whoſe very ſoul and life is luſt.

V.

To get our likeneſs! what is that?
Our likeneſs is but miſery:
Why ſhou'd I toil to propagate
Another thing as vile as I?

VI.

From hands divine our ſpirits came,
And Gods, that made us, did inſpire
Something more noble in our frame,
Above the dregs of earthly fire (2).

(2) See Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, &c. Lond. 1727, 12*mo*. p. 77.

He had alſo the chief hand (as Mr Wood had been informed) in the *Verſes* and *Paſtorals*, which were ſpoken in the Theatre at Oxford, May 21, 1681, by Mr

then eſteemed a good Philologiſt and Poet. He died [*B*], the fifteenth of October 1686, and was buried in the church of St Thomas at Oxford, near the eaſt end of the chancel (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799, 800.

Mr William Savile, ſecond ſon of the Marquis of Halifax, and George Cholmondley, ſecond ſon of Robert Viſcount Kellis (both of Chriſt-Church) before James Duke of York, his Ducheſs, and the Lady Anne. Which Verſes and Paſtorals were afterwards printed in the above-mentioned *Examen Poeticum*.

[*B*] *He died.*] This perſon, James Alleſtry (to uſe Mr Wood's own words) being *exceedingly given to the vices of Poets*, his body was ſo emaciated and worn away by his juvenile extravagances, that he retired to an obſcure houſe in Fiſh-Row, in St Thomas's Pariſh, in the ſuburbs of Oxford; where he continued *incognito*, under the care of a nurſe, about ſeven weeks, and then died in a poor condition, and of a loathſome diſtemper. His body was carried to it's burial by four poor men (3). T

(3) Id. ibid.

ALLEY (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Exeter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*), was born at Great Wycomb in Buckinghamſhire, and educated at Eton-ſchool. He was removed from thence to King's-college in Cambridge, in the year 1528, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity. Soon after, he went to Oxford, where he ſpent ſome time in academical ſtudies. Afterwards he married, was preſented to a benefice, and became a zealous Reformer. Upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the crown, he quitted his cure, and travelled from place to place in the north parts of England, where he was not known; gaining a comfortable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his wife, by practiſing phyſic, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth. When Queen Elizabeth mounted the throne he came to London, where he acquired ſuch reputation by reading the Divinity-Lecture at St Paul's, that he obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, and was conſecrated to that ſee, July 14, 1560. In November 1561, he was created Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Oxford. He wrote: 1. *The Poor Man's Library*, being a Rhapſody or Miſcellany in two volumes; the firſt containing ſeven lectures upon the firſt epiſtle of St Peter, read publickly in St Paul's cathedral in London, *anno* 1560; the ſecond conſiſting of five lectures upon the ſame epiſtle, read in the ſame place. Lond. 1571, fol. 2. An *Hebrew Grammar*: but whether it was ever printed is uncertain. When the verſion of the Bible was undertaken by the command of Queen Elizabeth, this Biſhop tranſlated the Pentateuch. He died the fifteenth of April 1570, and was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir [*A*]. He left behind him one ſon, who was Archdeacon of Cornwall.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 162.

[*A*] *He was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir.*] On his tomb-ſtone is an inſcription, which tells us, he was, 'Acerrimus evangelicæ veritatis propugnator, morum probitate percelebris, bonarum diſciplinarum mirabili ſcientia clarus, *&c. i. e. A zealous advocate for the truths of the goſpel, eminent for his virtues, and remarkably ſkilled in all the uſeful parts of learning* (1).' T

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 163.

ALLEYN (EDWARD) a celebrated Comedian in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I, and a laudable benefactor, by his charitable foundation of a college in the county of Surrey; which flouriſhes with great improvements to this day. He was born of reputable parents, who lived in good faſhion and credit. There is a picture in the ſaid college, which has long paſſed for that of his father, with the age of fifty-nine inſcribed upon it: 'tis attired in the genteel garb of his time, but was indeed painted for his father-in-law; as a curious and ingenious member of the ſaid college has very lately informed me (*a*). His father has been alſo reported to have had ſome eſtate in Yorkſhire: it is certain that his ſon died poſſeſſed of lands in that county, of his own purchaſing; as may be ſeen under his own hand (*b*). But he was born in the city of London; in the pariſh of St Botolph, without Biſhopſgate; on the firſt day of September, *anno* 1566, as we collect from a memorandum of his own writing [*A*]; and more particularly according to Dr Fuller, near Devonſhire-houſe, where now, ſays he, is the ſign of the Pye (*c*). The ſame author adds, that he was bred a Stage-player; which is not improbable, though in his younger days, his father might be in good circumſtances, if his ſon proved intractable to a more ſevere education, or ſerious courſe of life. For it does not appear, by what he has left of his writing, that he had ever engaged himſelf very deeply in ſcholaſtic ſtudies; though he was, as may be gathered from the ſeveral teſtimonies which have been given of him, a man of excellent natural parts; flexanimous genius, corporal agility, lively temper, faithful memory, fluent elocution; and in perſon, as appears by the picture preſerved of him (*d*), of a ſtately port and aſpect; all which might well induce a young man, to initiate and exert himſelf in that gay and popular profeſſion. And indeed there are not wanting other authorities, whereby it ſeems to be confirmed, that he was engaged betimes in that vocation. For if before Chriſtopher Marloe, the poet, died, Alleyn did not only act in ſeveral of his tragedies, but was arrived to that ſuperlative degree, of being inimitable, or *peerleſs* therein; as it has been aſſerted in ſome verſes we ſhall preſently recite (*e*), it may be concluded, that Alleyn was upon the ſtage, ſome time before the year 1592, in which year the ſaid poet Marloe died; as it may be found among the manuſcript

(*a*) The Revd. Mr Thomas Waterhouſe's Letter from Dulwich-college, to the author of this Life; April 17, 1745.

(*b*) In his Laſt Will and Teſtament, more particularly hereafter extracted.

(*c*) Dr Tho. Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1661, London.

(*d*) In Dulwich-college.

(*e*) From Thomas Heywood's Prologue, in the note [*B*].

[*A*] *As we collect from a memorandum of his own writing.*] This date is calculated from a note written with the ſaid founder's own hand, where he ſays, that, 'On the firſt of September, 1622, being the 'feaſt of his birth-day, he was full fifty-ſix years of 'age (1).' From whence might, and ſhould be rectified, the erroneous date of his age upon his tomb-ſtone; and alſo that, which ſeems to have been thence copied, upon his picture.

(1) Among the MS. papers of Mr Edward Alleyn in Dulwich-college.

(f) In Biblioth. Harleiana.

manuſcript papers of the Lord Keeper Puckering, ſtill in being (f). For he had then ſo captivated the town, and ſo monopolized the favour of his audience, by thoſe agreeable varieties he could ſo readily command, in his voice, countenance, and geſture; and ſo judiciouſly adapt to the characters he played, as even to animate the moſt lifeleſs compoſitions, and ſo highly improve them, that he wholly engaged thoſe who heard and ſaw him, from conſidering the propriety of the ſentiments he pronounced, or of the parts he perſonated; and all the defects of the poet, were either beautified, palliated, or atoned for, by the perfections of the player. And thus much is intimated in a little curious tract, written by a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times [B], and printed but the year following that beforementioned; as well as by the atteſtations of ſeveral ſucceeding authors. And not only in proſe but in poetry, we find ſome exalted commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew, and could beſt judge of him [C]. Thus have many writers for, and concerning the ſtage, beſtowed ſome fine general characters upon him, for his ſingular and ſurpaſſing qualifications in that ſphere, of aſſimulate life; but for any hiſtorical particulars of his own real and proper life, (which ſurely muſt have produced, in a man of his figure, fortune, publick character, prudent œconomy, and long converſation with perſons of diſtinction, ſome, worthy of preſervation) except what his foundations and endowments have, of themſelves, forced into publick view and record; or may be gleaned from ſome detached notes and minutes he left of his own private affairs, it is much that none among thoſe, who were nearly concerned, and lived near enough in time, to have compaſſed ſufficient materials, ever compiled ſome ſuch monument to his memory, as might have done juſtice to gratitude, ſervice to virtue, honour to their founder, credit to his profeſſion, and every other way have anſwered the expectations of the world. Some corporations indeed, have ſecreted the generous and exemplary acts of their founders from publication; and we hear too often, that the ſuperintendants of other charitable inſtitutions, have preſcribed themſelves alſo a rule of reſervation as to thoſe particulars; and choſe rather to bury in oblivion all honours which might be paid to their donors, than hazard the cenſure, or ſuſpicion,

[B] *By a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times,* &c.] This was Thomas Naſhe; one of the moſt comical, bantering authors of his age; who having had ſeveral publick controverſies with Dr Gabriel Harvey, and his two brothers, of Saffron-Walden, the ſaid Doctor publiſhed a pamphlet (2), in which he expoſes that Thomas Naſhe, and his acquaintance Robert Greene, very plentifully. Naſhe ſmartly replied upon him, in a tract, now grown very ſcarce; which contains many curious particulars, touching ſeveral learned and ingenious men in thoſe days, and it was publiſhed the next year after Dr Harvey's; who having had ſome epiſtolary correſpondence with Edmund Spenſer; this famous Poet uſed modeſtly to ſubſcribe himſelf at the end of his letters, *Immerito*; intimating, as if he thereby acknowledged himſelf unworthy of the eſteem, or compliments, his ſaid correſpondent paid him. Naſhe turns this word upon the Doctor thus: 'Signior *Immerito*; ſo called, becauſe he was, and is, 'his friend undeſervedly, was counterfeitly brought 'in, to play a part in that his enterlude of epiſtles, 'that was hiſt at; thinking his very name, as the 'name of Ned Allen, on the common ſtage, was able 'to make an ill matter good (3).' Thus we ſee how early this our player was famous upon the Theatre. But he uſually played in the moſt excellent dramatic pieces; and even the capital parts in them. He certainly was one of the original actors in the renowned Shakeſpear's plays; and of this Poet's writing, there were no leſs than twelve publickly known, and probably acted ſo early, as 1598, as from certain contemporary writings it may be certified. In ſome of Ben. Jonſon's plays he was alſo a principal performer; but what characters he perſonated in the plays of either of thoſe Poets, is difficult now diſtinctly to nominate, through the inaccuracy of their editors; who printed not the names of the players oppoſite to the characters they performed, as the modern cuſtom is; but either gave us one general liſt of actors to the whole ſet of plays, as in the old folio edition of Shakeſpear; or divided one from the other; ſetting the Dramatis Perſonæ before the plays, and the catalogue of performers after them; as in Jonſon's (4). As to the diſtinction therefore of maſter Alleyn's talents; all we can add, is from Dr Fuller, and others, in a general manner. We are informed by him, that Alleyn 'made any part, eſpecially a 'Majeſtic one, become him (5):' for which indeed, the portly and graceful figure of his perſon ſeemed well adapted. Another author ſays, 'He was an ornament both to Black-Friars, and to his profeſſion (6).' And 'he was as well famous for his 'honeſty, as for his acting,' according to Sir Richard Baker (7). This laſt author, who had doubtleſs been a ſpectator and auditor of him on the ſtage, alſo calls Alleyn and Burbage, 'The beſt actors of our time;' and adds, 'What plays were ever ſo pleaſing, as 'where their parts had the greateſt part (8)!' And in another more noted work of his, joining our Edward Alleyn with Richard Burbage again, he ſays, 'They were two ſuch actors as no age muſt ever look 'to ſee the like (9).'

(2) Intituled, Four Letters, and certain Sonnets, &c. imprinted by J. Wolfe, 4to, 1592.

(3) Strange newes of the intercepting certain letters, and a convoy of verſes, as they were going privilie to victuall the Low Countries, By Tho. Naſhe, Gent. Printed by J. Danter, 8vo, 1593. In ſignat. G.

(4) An Anſwer to Mr Pope's Preface to Shakeſpear, in a Letter to a Friend, &c. By a ſtroling Player, 8vo, 1729, p. 18, 19.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(6) An Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, &c. by Gerard Langbaine, 8vo, Oxon. 1691, p. 343.

(7) *Theatrum Redivivum*: or, The Theatre Vindicated, by Sir Richard Baker, in anſwer to Mr Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 8vo, 1662, p. 48.

(8) Ibid. p. 34.

(9) Sir R. Baker's Chronicle.

[C] *In poetry we find ſome exalted commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew and could beſt judge of him.*] Namely, by Ben. Jonſon (*); who, though generally avaritious of praiſe himſelf, and therefore often parſimonious of it to others, thus, generouſly addreſſes maſter Alleyn.

(*) So he ſpelt his own name himſelf, in a preſentation he wrote before a copy of his own plays, to his friend Mr Tho. Middleton; which copy was in the Harleian Library.

If Rome, ſo great, and in her wiſeſt age,
Fear'd not to boaſt the glories of her ſtage;
As, ſkillful Roſcius, and great Æſop; men,
Yet, crown'd with honours, as with riches, then;
Who had no leſs a trumpet to their name
Than Cicero; whoſe ev'ry breath was fame:
How can ſo great example die in me,
That Alleyn, I ſhou'd pauſe to publiſh thee?
Who, both their graces, in thyſelf, haſt more
Outſtrip'd, than they did all who went before.
And, preſent worth, in all, doſt ſo contract,
As others ſpake, but only thou doſt act.
Wear this renown: 'tis juſt, that who did give
So many Poets life, by one ſhou'd live (10).

(10) Ben. Jonſon's Epigrams, No. 89.

Alſo Thomas Heywood beforementioned, who both wrote for, and acted on the ſtage; ſetting forth in print, an old play of Marloe's, has, in his prologue thereto, ſpoken of that poet, and this player, as follows,

We know not how our play may paſs this ſtage;
But by the beſt of Poets in that age,
The Malta Jew had being, and was made;
And he, then, by the beſt of actors play'd.
In Hero and Leander (11), one did gain
A laſting memory: in Tamerlane,
This Jew, with others many, t'other wan
The attribute of Peerleſs; be'ng a man,
Whom we may rank with, doing no man wrong,
Proteus for ſhapes, and Roſcius for a tongue (12).

(11) A celebrated Poem of Marloe's, finiſhed by G. Chapman.

(12) T. Heywood's Prologue to C. Marloe's Jew of Malta, a Tragedy, &c. 4to, 1633.

[D] *Maſter*

ſuſpicion, of being unproportionable partakers of the donation: and therefore may have ſhown themſelves averſe to the encouragement of any ſuch memorialiſts, as were ambitious of tranſmitting the merits of their benefactors, in the moſt efficacious manner to poſterity; as if they looked upon the pens of Biographers, but as the probes and lancets of Surgeons, uſually addicted to the fearful friendlineſs of ſearching to the bottom, and letting out corruptions. In ſome of these communities, the miſapplication of ſuch publick charities, has been ingeniouſly reflected on by Mr Selden (*g*); as the ſhyneſs of ſuch communication has been cenſured, the ill conſequences diſplayed, and the cauſes detected by others (*b*). And thus much upon that topick is the rather obſerved in this place, becauſe as we are made moſt ſenſible of the virtue or value of ſome things, by a knowledge of their oppoſites, ſo the dark conduct or comportment in thoſe ſocieties, may ſerve here as a foil, to heighten the luſtre of that at Dulwich College, founded by this our famous Player, Edward Alleyn, as we are about to relate. For by the uſeful anecdotes and other material pieces of intelligence, which have been moſt candidly and obligingly imparted to us, out of the founder's own papers, and other antiquities in his college, by the preſent worthy maſter thereof, we have been much aſſiſted, to clear the ſaid founder from that obſcurity in which he has been ſo long clouded, diſcharge him of ſome miſrepreſentations wherewith he has been unjuſtly diſguiſed, and produce him in a fairer and ſtronger light, at leaſt than he has yet appeared in, to the publick. To this end, we have been principally deſirous of learning, by what means the ſaid founder was enabled, or was ſufficiently enriched, to undergo the expence of erecting ſuch a commodious edifice, and ſo liberally to endow it, for the handſome and decent maintenance of ſo many perſons. And thus much we may gather in anſwer to that queſtion; that beſides ſome paternal inheritance, whatever it was, which might deſcend to him, and lay ſome foundation to his future affluence; it is preſumed, that the benefits he made even by acting of plays, muſt, to a man of his provident and managing genius, and one who drew ſuch numerous audiences to the plays he acted in, being accounted the Protodramatiſt of his time, have alſo conſiderably improved his fortune. But he was not only an actor of plays; he was likewiſe maſter of a playhouſe of his own building, and over a company of players of his own conſtituting [*D*], by which he is ſaid to have amaſſed no ſmall treaſure. He was alſo keeper of the King's wild beaſts, or maſter of the royal bear-garden (*i*); either one or both of thoſe ſituated on the bank-ſide in Southwark; for there were two, which ſeem to have been reſorted to by great numbers of beholders (*k*): and the profits which accrued from theſe rough games, are reported to have amounted ſometimes, to no leſs than five hundred pounds *per annum*. But a little before his death, he ſold his ſhare and patent, as we are informed, to his laſt wife's father, for five hundred and fourſcore pounds (*l*). But matrimony itſelf has often empowered men, ſo diſpoſed, to perform as expenſive acts of liberality; and he was twice or three times married [*E*], to women, whoſe

(*g*) In The Apophthegmes of the Engliſh nation, MS. 4*to*, in poſſeſſion of the writer of this article.

(*b*) In J. Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. V, 1719, p. 302, 303, &c.

(*i*) The Latin inſcription over the door of Dulwich-college.

(*k*) John Stowe's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 448.

(*l*) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter to the author, &c. from Dulwich-college, as above.

[*D*] *Maſter of a play-houſe of his own building; and a company of players*, &c.] This was the Fortune Play-houſe near Whitecroſs-Street, by More-Fields, which Mr Alleyn built, or perhaps rebuilt; for there is mention made by Mr Prynne, of the fearful burning to the ground of the Fortune Play-houſe (13), by ſome unknown accident; and alſo of it's being lately re-edified and enlarged (14). There is a tradition in the neighbourhood where this theatre ſtood (on the ground whereof, the founder's ſucceſſors have built many tenements) that in demoliſhing the old houſe, or digging to lay the foundation of the new one, which was rebuilt in it's place, there was found a conſiderable treaſure of money. If this happened while Mr Alleyn was proprietor there, it might fall, or the greateſt part of it, to him. There is an author who ſpeaks of him and this houſe in theſe words. 'He was ma-'ſter of a company of his own, for whom he built 'the Fortune Play-houſe from the ground; a large 'round brick building (15);' and a little further, that herein, as in others of their play-houſes, 'They al-'ways acted by day light (16).' And at this time, as well as long after, they had neither women actors, nor ſcenes. For, upon Sir William Davenant's firſt opening, by virtue of his patent, the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in the ſpring of the year 1662, with one of his own plays, the Siege of Rhodes, then ſcenes made their firſt appearance upon the Engliſh ſtage (17); and about the ſame time, ſeemingly alſo by him, were actreſſes firſt introduced; and they grew ſo expert, not only in their own parts, but thoſe of the actors, that before the end of King Charles the Second's reign, ſome plays (and particularly the Parſon's Wedding) were repreſented all by women; as in his father's reign, and before, they were all by men (18). When the Fortune Play-houſe was in vogue, there were four more companies, which all got money and lived in reputation. And one of my authors laſt quoted, to the queſtion, How five companies could then be maintained by the town, when in his time, two could hardly ſubſiſt? Anſwers, 'That though 'the town was then, perhaps, not much more than 'half ſo populous as now; yet then the prices were 'ſmall, there being no ſcenes, and better order kept 'among the company that came; which made very 'good people think a play an innocent diverſion for 'an idle hour or two; the plays themſelves being 'then more inſtructive and moral. Whereas of late, 'the play-houſes are ſo extreamly peſtered with vi-'zard-maſks, and their trade, occaſioning continual 'quarrels and abuſes, that many of the more civilized 'part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and 'ſhun the Theatre, as they would a houſe of ſcandal. 'It is an argument of the worth of the plays, and 'actors of the laſt age; and eaſily inferred, that they 'were much beyond ours in this; to conſider, that 'they could ſupport themſelves merely from their own 'merit, the weight of the matter, and goodneſs of 'the action; without ſcenes and machines: Whereas 'the preſent plays, with all their ſhew, can hardly 'draw an audience; unleſs there be the additional in-'vitation of a Signior Fideli, a Monſieur L'Abbé, or 'ſome ſuch foreign regale expreſſed in the bottom of 'the bills (19).'

(13) *Hiſtrio-maſtrix*: The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragedy, &c. by W. Prynne, 4*to*, 1633, p. 556.

(14) Idem, in Epiſt. Dedic.

(15) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* An Hiſtorical Account of the Stage, &c. 8*vo*, 1699, p. 6.

(16) Idem, p. 7.

(17) *Roſcius Anglicanus*: or, An Hiſtorical Review of the Stage, &c. by John Downes, 8*vo*, 1708, p. 20.

(18) Idem, & *Hiſtor. Hiſtrionica*, p. 11, and Ger. Langbaine, p. 313.

(19) Hiſt. Hiſtrionica, p. 5, 6.

[*E*] *He was twice or three times married*] They have had a conſtant tradition at Dulwich-college, that the founder had three wives; but among their records, they can find only the names of the two laſt. The former of theſe was named Joan Woodward, and ſhe was the daughter of that gentleman whoſe portrait beforementioned, has been miſtaken for the founder's father's. There is a ſeal-ring upon one of his fingers, which, on a curious inſpection, made by the gentlemen in that college who has obliged us with this information, diſcovered to him the ſaid miſtake; for he found it to contain the ſame coat of arms with that of the founder's ſaid wife, which is impaled with his own, upon his tomb, *viz.* In the firſt coat, he bears argent;

whoſe dowries, they leaving no iſſue to inherit, might probably contribute to the charge of this benefaction. Thus the means whereby he was furniſhed to eſtabliſh it, may various ways be derived; ſeeing there are ſo many channels, through which the ſtreams of fortune might at length concur, and centre in this fountain. But for the motives to this eminent act of beneficence, we have good reaſon to believe, they have been much miſgrounded, or derived from a very falſe and fooliſh pretence, greatly detracting from their true deſerts. For to whom ſhould this humane, charitable, and pious foundation be aſcribed, as it has with moſt injurious abſurdity been related, but, in effect, to the Devil [*F*]! As if he were ſuch a novice in ſpiritual warfare, as to drive an engineer out of one of his own batteries, over to the enemy, to raiſe a fortification againſt himſelf! But we hope this idle tradition, without any authority applied to this founder, has been ſufficiently refuted, in the animadverſions it has hereunder occaſioned. And we are perſuaded, if the author who fathered it upon him, had been in any degree converſant

gent; a Chevron, between three Cinquefoils, Gules: In the ſecond coat; ſhe bears Gules; a Lion Paſſant, Or; on a chief Azure; Fleurs-de-Lys of the ſecond. It alſo appears among ſome of the founder's memorandums, that he was married to this wife on the 22d day of October 1592: They lived above thirty years in harmony together; and when ſhe died, on the 28th of June 1623, aged fifty-one years, he directed, in the memorials of her, which he cauſed to be inſcribed upon her tomb, *&c.* that ſhe ſhould be called, his religious and loving wife (20). His laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was Conſtance, the daughter of that Mr Hinchtoe, to whom the founder ſold, a little before his death, his ſhare and patent of the bear-garden, as is above obſerved in the text. There appears alſo upon one of the organ pipes in the college chapel, the founder's arms, impaled with another coat, *viz.* Azure; a Wolf Rampant, Ermin; which is very probably ſuppoſed to belong to the family of Hinchtoe (21).

(20) The inſcriptions in Chriſt's chapel, at Dulwich-college.

(21) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *To whom ſhould this pious foundation be aſcribed*, &c. *but, in effect to the devil.*] My author, Mr Aubrey; or his editor; but it may be rather thought the former, who has ſo much laid open his own credulity himſelf (22), that there needs no more be ſaid of it; ſpeaking of Dulwich-college, founded by Mr Alleyn, ſays, 'The tradition was, that playing a dæmon, with ſix others, in one of Shake-ſpear's plays; he was, in the midſt of the play, ſurpriſed by an apparition of the devil; which ſo worked on his fancy, that he made a vow, which he performed at this place (23).' Enquiring once of the oldeſt actor of our time, the late Mr John Bowman, what he had heard, or thought of this ſtory, he pleaſantly anſwered to this effect: That we had been pretty even with the father of lies, in having ſo often belied him with frequenting of plays; for he thought it very inconſiſtent with any probability, that the devil ſhould make his perſonal appearance at the play-houſe, and never go into the boxes, but always expoſe himſelf on the ſtage; and then, only to diſconcert his humble imitators in a dance; thump the muſick out of tune with his cow-heels; make the peoples hair ſtand an end, and drive them away in confuſion; before they had made any aſſignation for their leſs innocent entertainments: and ſo make his friends curſe him for his unſeaſonable diſturbance, worſe than ever his enemies did. Then, as for this fooliſh tradition in particular, it had made the devil ſuch an egregious fool, as to frighten a man out of a vain courſe of life, into a religious one! where he draws a train after him, from generation to generation, out of a deſtitute, or perhaps diſorderly courſe, and teaches them to attach themſelves to the love of God, and renounce the Devil himſelf and all his works! Sure he never was ſuch a wretched politician, as to conſpire ſo againſt his own intereſt, the diminution of his own votaries; as many might otherwiſe have been; and thereby, if he ſhould make a practice of ſuch plots, the deſtruction of his own kingdom of darkneſs! If the Devil has, by this tradition, ſuffered in his character, the inconſiſtence of it, may, upon theſe conſiderations, clear him from being maſter Alleyn's prompter to good works; and ſuggeſt to us, ſome more ſublime motive to his making this oblation of his fortune to the ſervice of God, than being terrified to it, by any apparition of the Devil. —— But, let us look into matter of fact, and we ſhall find maſter Alleyn no ways concerned in, or affected with this tradition. The ſtory was ſtale, long before he left the ſtage. It ſeems to have ſome little relation to a play that was acted in Queen Elizabeth's time; but no play of Shakeſpear's; therefore the account in Mr Aubrey is faulty. The firſt hint we have met with of it, is, in an old pamphlet printed in the beginning of her ſucceſſor's reign; wherein Lucifer, prowling about the town in diſguiſe, meets with a Debauchee in a houſe of ill repute; of whom giving ſome deſcription, he ſays, 'He had a head of hair, like one of my devils 'in Doctor Fauſtus; when the old theatre cracked, 'and frighted the audience (24).' Here the audience appear to have been more alarmed by the cracking of the old houſe, while ſome harmleſs devils were performing their parts in that play, than by any ſupernumerary devil appearing in it; but if there was one, we may account naturally enough for that. Mr Prynne makes a great enlargement upon this narrow ground; but as he quotes no authority, and diſagrees in the play-houſe where it happened, he is exceptionable too; where he mentions, 'The viſible apparition of the Devil upon 'the ſtage at the Bell-Savage play-houſe, in Queen 'Elizabeth's days, to the great amazement both of 'the actors and ſpectators, whilſt they were there, 'profanely playing the hiſtory of Fauſtus; the truth 'of which, I have heard from many now alive, who 'well remember it; there being ſome diſtracted with 'that fearful ſight (25).' So that the Devil appeared in one of Shakeſpear's plays, as we find in Aubrey; and in a play that was not one of his, according to the Black Book; and in a play-houſe that was not the Old Houſe, according to Prynne: But ſtill in Queen Elizabeth's days; and no mention made of Mr Alleyn by either of theſe two laſt authors, who both mention the event, and lived in his own time. Nor is it to be believed that ever any ſuch tradition was ſubſiſting of Mr Alleyn, when Mr Prynne was accumulating his ſaid unweildy bundle of invectives againſt ſtage-players: For as he was many years ſcraping up materials, and muddling in them, he could not have been ignorant of ſuch an extraordinary incident; nor would he have been ſilent, in what might have ſo directly ſerved his purpoſe; but would, to be ſure, have made a triumphant example of ſuch a notable convert. In the reign of King Charles II, the town was alarmed again with ſuch another viſitation, as the aforeſaid Mr Bowman has alſo informed me: and, I think it was at the houſe in Dorſet-Gardens; where in a dance of devils again, there appeared one too many; ſome comical fellow among the comedians, having got into ſuch a horrid dreſs, as made him a much more infernal figure than the reſt, and ſo unexpectedly ſtarted up among them, that they took him for the Devil indeed, were ſtruck with a kind of pannick, which ſoon infected the audience, and diſperſed it in conſternation. And after the like manner, may all the other apparitions of the Devil on the ſtage be probably accounted for. But laſtly, to put it beyond all doubt, that the Devil never appeared in any play, or any play-houſe, that deterred Mr Alleyn from repairing to them; or that he was, by any other cauſe or means, induced to withdraw or abſtain from them, even to the latter part of his life; we find he reſorted to, and carried on the buſineſs of his own play-houſe in London, even after he had built, and was ſettled in his college at Dulwich; and this is to be proved by no leſs authority than a memorandum he left written in his own hand; wherein it appears, that having one day received the profits of a play acted in that houſe, at which there was a very ſlender audience, he entered it down, that his whole receipt amounted to no more than three pounds and ſome odd ſhillings (26).

(22) See Aubrey's Miſcellanies, 8*vo*, 1696, *&c.* from one end to the other.

(23) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 190. From whence this ſtory has lately been adopted, with other errors concerning this founder, in the Complete Syſtem of Geography, *&c.* (now publiſhing) fol. 1744. p. 74.

(24) The Black Book (written by T. M.) Printed by T. C. for Jeffery Chorlton, 4*to*, 1604, p. 3.

(25) Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, fol. 556.

(26) Extract of Mr Edward Alleyn's Diary, MS. in his college at Dulwich.

[*G*] *Particulars*

converſant with his private papers, he would have found reaſon to attribute this dedication of his ſubſtance to the poor, not to any ſudden turn of mind, but to a conſtituent principle, maturely ſettled and grounded upon the ſtrongeſt baſis of piety and benevolence. For therein he appears, by many expreſſions, a man who had been habituated to devotion; inſomuch, that when he came to town about his ſecular affairs, he would, as if it were the chief part of his buſineſs, make it in his way to call at ſome church or other, and partake of the divine ſervice (*m*). So that the ſtage was ſo far from having preſented any cauſe of remorſe, that it ſeems to have rather proved a ſchool of religion to him; where he had imitated imaginary characters of virtue, till he determined, now providence had enabled him, to become himſelf imitable in real ones. And we may conclude, by thoſe ejaculations he makes, acknowledging ſo devoutly, cordially, and conſtantly, as at the ends of his quarterly accounts, &c. all he was poſſeſſed of to be the Gift of God (*n*), that he had deliberately reſolved upon the moſt grateful and acceptable ways of reſtoring it, through the hands of innocent and indigent Men. Then having reſolved alſo, as we ſee by the event, to make himſelf an uncommon example, in preferring time preſent, and not poſtponing it; which adds a great luſtre to the act; in not truſting the execution of it to the hearts, hands, and eyes of others; not to any poſthumous direction, but to his own; while he was living in health and ſtrength, and before he was forty-eight years of age; well knowing that the life of a gift, is then moſt perfectly itſelf, when made in the life of the giver. In this conſideration it will follow, that neceſſity, in order to his putting thoſe reſolutions in practice, obliged him to withdraw from the leſſer ſtage, that he might perform the part he had caſt off for himſelf, upon the great and real theatre of the open world. If any ſecondary motives were to be admitted, they might ariſe from the thoughts of being a leading pattern, the firſt of his profeſſion, who had adorned his country with ſuch a monument of munificence; or from the hopes of inſpiring an emulation in ſome theatrical deſcendants or other, who might be as fortunate as himſelf, in like manner to advance their character and calling into higher repute; or from ſeveral other inducements, more probable than that ſenſeleſs one, before exploded and rejected. But from his motives, to proceed to his execution of this work. He began the building of his college at Dulwich in Surrey, on the borders of Kent, about five miles ſouthward of London-bridge, after the deſign and direction of Mr Inigo Jones, who was a witneſs to his deed of ſettlement, ſo early, that it appears to have been in ſome forwardneſs in 1614, the year in which he is commonly thought to have firſt ſet about it; as we learn with other particulars of this college at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it [*G*]. It has been preſumed, that eight or ten thouſand pounds

(*m*) Extract of the Founder's Diary in his college at Dulwich.

(*n*) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Particulars of this College at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it.*] This is Mr Edward Howes, who, in his edition and augmentation of Stowe's Chronicle, having given ſome account of Mr Sutton's hoſpital, which may be perceived to be written in the middle of the year 1614, by his mentioning the death of Henry (Howard) Earl of Northampton, proceeds in theſe words: 'Edward Allen, alias Allein, of Dullwich, Eſq; at this time builded a very fair hoſpital at Dulwich in Surrey, for ſix poor men, and ſix poor women, and for twelve poor children, from the age of four to ſix, to be there kept and maintained, and taught, till they come to the age of fourteen, or ſixteen years; the ſchoolmaſter to have his diet, lodging, and a competent ſtipend. He intends alſo to have a maſter to reſide in the ſame hoſpital, whoſe name ſhall be Allen, or Alleyne; and by that name, to be choſen to that government of his hoſpitall for ever; as the place ſhall grow vacant. This ſaid founder told me, that he intends, and alſo forthwith, to build thrice twelve poor folks lodgings (*) in London, *viz.* Twelve lodgings, or rooms, in three ſeveral pariſhes; and give unto every of them ſome maintenance. Within two years, this houſe will be finiſhed, and the poor in poſſeſſion; and then, there is more to be ſaid of it: in the mean time, thus much deſerves thanks and memory (27).' For it is, as this author above deſcribes, a very fair hoſpital; containing the chapel, maſter's apartments, &c. in the front, and the lodgings of the other inhabitants, &c. in the two wings; whereof that on the eaſt ſide was handſomly new built, in 1739, at the expence of the college. Among the obſervables therein, they have a little library of books; and had a good collection of plays given by old Mr William Cartwright, an excellent comedian, and acquaintance of the founder's; he was alſo a bookſeller, and lived at the end of Turnſtile-alley by Lincolns-inn-fields (28). He publiſhed the learned *Vindication of Actors*, hereafter quoted, written by Thomas Heywood, Fellow of Peter-houſe Cambridge; who was alſo a noted actor, and had an entire hand, or main finger, in writing two hundred and twenty plays, as we have it under his own pen (29). He had long before publiſhed that vindication himſelf, under a title ſomewhat different (30), for which he was called the Atlas of the ſtage; and having improved and enlarged it, it was ſoon after his death publiſhed, by the ſaid Mr Cartwright, without date, but in Oliver's time, as we take it; by the diſcouragements mentioned of his profeſſion, in his dedication, under the two firſt letters of his name, to Henry Marquis of Dorcheſter. But to return; not far from the library, there is in the weſt wing, a long gallery full of pictures; whereof, the beſt were thoſe left by the founder himſelf; to which were added alſo Mr Cartwright's collections, and among them a curious picture of London, from a view ſaid to be taken by Mr John Norden, the Topographer, in 1603, with the repreſentation of the City-proceſſion on the Lord-Mayor's day (31). The founder's picture is at full length, in a robe or gown; but the reſemblance of his face is ſaid to have been drawn when he lay dead in his coffin. And there is a portrait alſo of his former wife; beſides, Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Greſham (32), and both the Cartwrights, elder and younger, with many other perſons of note; as appears by an old catalogue preſerved of them: but the little pictures of the Kings of England, are, I think, diſcreetly enough hung in no very good light. The preſent maſter's picture is alſo painted at full length, by Mr Charles Stoppelaer, lately a player; but it is not expoſed in that gallery. There was a liſt of the members of this college printed, as they ſtood near thirty years ſince; in which the ſaid maſter appears then to have been warden (33): So that he has been, about the laſt half of his life, in promoting the advantage of his college, no leſs famous, for the vigorous activity of his mind, than in the former part of it, he was, for that of his body. By the liſt of the preſent members it appears, their names and offices are——James Allen, Eſq; Maſter; Joſeph Allen, Warden; John Hilary, Preacher; Thomas Gregory, School-maſter; Thomas Waterhouſe, Uſher; Samuel Tankfeild Hawkes, Organiſt. It has been formerly publiſhed (34), what their ſalaries were,

(*) They were alms-houſes, for twenty poor people, as he appointed in his Will. See note [*L*]. And they were afterwards increaſed to thirty.

(27) Edw. Howe's edit. and continuation of J. Stowe's Annals of England, fol. 1615, p. 940.

(28) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 356.

(29) T. Heywood's Engliſh Traveller, a Trag. Com. 4*to*, 1633, in Pref.

(30) The Apology for Actors, &c. 4*to*, 1612.

(31) In Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 195.

(33) Idem, p. 194.

(34) Id. ibid.

pounds were expended by him upon this college, chapel, &c. before the buildings and gardens were finiſhed, which was about the year 1617; for then he began (o), on the twenty-ninth of September, to keep a Diary of all ſuch collegiate accounts, proceedings, and occurrences, or other perſonal and domeſtick affairs, as might aſſiſt his memory, by recurring to any paſt particulars he had regiſtered, or adminiſter hints in his mind, of making future regulations in his plan or model of that fellowſhip or ſociety, he was now incorporating to participate of his Chriſtian hoſpitality. And in leaving that Diary behind him, he gave his ſucceſſors opportunity of ſeeing, not only how the ſettlement began, but, by the daily occaſion he ſo enjoyned himſelf, of noting down ſo many little events, tranſactions, and obſervations, alſo of better ſeeing how he was pleaſed with the progreſs that was made, and what his inclinations were in carrying the government on, than if he had left them, without ſuch experience, an whole volume of meditations on the ſubject. And indeed, his inclinations have been ſo well regarded, and his foundation ſo greatly improved, beyond whatever he could have expected; even, as it is credibly reported, almoſt to the doubling of the revenue he ſettled upon it, eſpecially within about theſe thirty years laſt paſt, by the prudent and faithful management, of the preſent moſt valuable maſter this college ever had ſince the founder; that if other truſtees, managers, directors, and heads of houſes, had done the like, we ſhould have met with ſublime encomiums, as frequently, as we do with ſevere cenſures of ſuch publick donations. But after the founder had built this college, he met with ſome difficulties in obtaining a charter for ſettling his lands in mortmain; that he might more abſolutely endow it, as he propoſed, with eight hundred pounds *per annum*; for the ſupport and maintenance of one maſter, one warden, and four fellows; three whereof to be eccleſiaſticks, and the other a ſkilful organiſt; alſo ſix poor men, as many women, beſides twelve poor boys; to be educated in good literature, till the age of fourteen or ſixteen years, and then put forth to honeſt trades and callings. That obſtruction aroſe from the Lord Chancellor Bacon; who, though otherwiſe of a generous ſpirit, would have had King James ſettle part of thoſe lands for the ſupport of two academical lectures, which were then propoſed to be founded by two of his friends; and he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from York-houſe in the Strand, Auguſt 18, 1618, intreating him to perſuade his Majeſty to that purpoſe [*H*]. But at length Mr Alleyn's benefaction was allowed to be made entirely in his own way; and it appeared ſo above competition and objection, that it obtained the royal licence, and he had full power and liberty given him to eſtabliſh his foundation, by his Majeſty's letters patent, under the great ſeal, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the twenty-firſt of June, 1619 (p); by virtue whereof, Maſter Alleyn did, in the chapel of the ſaid new hoſpital at Dulwich, called *The College of God's Gift*, on the thirteenth of September following, publickly and audibly read, and publiſh one writing quadrupartite in parchment, dated the ſaid day and year; whereby he created, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed the ſaid college, according to the power and authority above (q). When he had read and publiſhed the ſaid writing, he ſubſcribed it with his name, and fixed his ſeal to every part of the quadrupartite writing, in the preſence of many honourable perſons; then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes [*I*]. How far from lofty

(o) The Rev. Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(p) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 759.

(q) Id. ibid.

were, and what the allowance of the poor men and women; which we do not repeat, becauſe as the revenue is conſiderably increaſed, the ſalaries and allowances are likewiſe.

[*H*] *Intreating him to perſuade his majeſty to that purpoſe.*] This letter written by the ſaid Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the Marquis of Buckingham, is as follows.

'I Now write to give the King an account of a patent I have ſtayed at the ſeal. It is of licence 'to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, 'though it be of tenure in chief, to Allen that was 'the player, for an hoſpital. I like well, that Allen 'playeth the laſt act of his life ſo well; but if his 'majeſty give way thus to amortize his tenures, his 'courts of wards will decay; which I had well hoped 'ſhould improve. But that which moved me chiefly, 'is, that his majeſty, now lately, did abſolutely deny 'Sir Henry Savile (35), for 200 *l.* and Sir Edward 'Sandy's (*), for 100 *l.* to the perpetuating of two 'lectures; the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge; foundations of ſingular honour to his ma'jeſty, and of which there is great want; whereas 'hoſpitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit 'the leſs. If his majeſty do like to paſs the book at 'all; yet, if he would be pleaſed to abridge the '800 *l.* to 500 *l.* and then give way to the other two 'books for the univerſity, it were a princely work: 'and I would make an humble ſuit to the King, and 'deſire your Lordſhip to joyn in it, that it might be 'ſo (36).'

(35) Vide Ant. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxon.

(*) Id. ibid. & in Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II, col. 542.

(36) The Works of Francis, Lord Bacon, the laſt edit. Vol. IV, fol. 1740, p. 685, 686.

There was a remark made on this letter, by the firſt editor of it, with ſome others of the ſaid Lord Bacon's, which is here tranſplanted in this edition, to the bottom of the page; part whereof, which concerns the ſaid letter, is as follows. 'It were to be 'wiſhed this obſervation did not hold true to this 'day: for though the foundations of hoſpitals are to 'be commended, which Sir Francis Bacon hath done, 'both in this letter (37), and other his writings (38), 'yet it ſhews that ſome more adequate remedy for 'ſupporting the poor, than what ariſes from theſe 'charities, or even from the laws enacted for their 'relief, was then, and yet is to be deſired. And as 'the defect thereof, is no ſmall reproach to the go'vernment of a country, happy in it's natural pro'duct, and enriched by commerce; ſo it would be an 'act of the greateſt humanity, to provide for the 'poor; and that idleneſs and beggary, the ſucceſſive 'nurſery of rogues, might as far as poſſible be ex'tirpated (39).'

(37) But it does not appear in this Letter, being all of it above quoted.

(38) See Lord Bacon's advice to the King, touching Mr Sutton's eſtate, in the fourth Volume aforeſaid, of his Lordſhip's Works, fol. 449.

(39) Mr Stephens's note on the Lord Bacon's Letter, as before, p. 636.

[*I*] *Fixed his ſeal, in preſence of many honourable perſons; then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes.*] Thoſe honourable perſons were, Francis, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal of England; Sir Edward Cecil, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Exeter; Sir John Howland, High-Sheriff of Suſſex and Surrey; Sir Edward Boyer of Camberwell, Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, Sir John Bodly of Stretham, Sir John Tonſtal of Caſhalton, and divers other perſons of great worth and reſpect. The pariſhes in which the ſaid writings were depoſited, were, St Botolph's without Biſhopſgate, St Giles's without Cripplegate, St Saviour's in Southwark, and the pariſh of Camberwell in Surrey. And the contents, or heads of the ſaid ſtatutes, or quadupartite writings, containing the laws and rules of this foundation, are as follow,

lofty ſtate, or ſuperior diſtance, he lived in this community, and how affably he condeſcended rather to a kind of equality in it, may be gathered from the words of one of his contemporaries and acquaintance; who, ſpeaking of ſome eminent players deceaſed, *goes on thus*: '*Among ſo many dead, let me not forget the moſt worthy*, famous Mr Edward *Alleyn*, who *in his life-time* erected a college at Dulwich, for poor people, and 'for education of youth. When this college was finiſhed, this famous man was ſo 'equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own Penſioner; humbly 'ſubmitting himſelf to that proportion of diet and cloaths, which he had beſtowed on 'others (*r*).' And how perfectly ſatisfied he was with this diſtribution and ſettlement of his ſubſtance, may plainly appear, by this memorial of his own writing, which is preſerved among his papers, ——— 'May 26, 1620, my wife and I acknowledged the fine 'at the common pleas bar, of *all our lands* to the college: *Bleſſed be God, that hath given 'us life to do it* (*s*).' Many other like circumſtances might be picked out of his papers and his Diary aforeſaid, which might further confirm, if it were further needful, his hearty benevolence to this work; which Diary ending on the twenty-ninth of September, 1622, comprehended juſt five years (*t*). We are informed alſo, there remains no book of his account after that time. His wife, with whom he had ſo long affectionately lived, died about ſix months after, in the year 1623, as is before obſerved; and he might find it inconvenient, as the college had been uſed to the inſpection and government in ſome part or degree alſo of a miſtreſs, to live the remainder of his life a widower; for we find that within about a year or two afterwards, he married his laſt wife Conſtance, alſo beforementioned (*). Some improbable ſtories have been raiſed upon this occaſion, but the lighteſt handling will prevent their growth [*K*]. She ſeems to have been well pleaſed with the courſe of life he had preferred, and to have lived with him, for the ſhort time they lived together, alſo in conjugal harmony, by the ſums of money he left her in his will, beſides jewels, &c. as may be ſeen in the extract thereof, here ſubjoined [*L*]. He died on the (*u*) twenty-fifth, not the twenty-firſt of November, 1626; and in

(*r*) The Actors Vindication, &c. by Thomas Heywood, publiſhed by W. C. (*i. e.* Cartwright) 4*to*, fine anno, p. 28, 29. See note [*G*].

(*s*) Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Id. ibid.

(*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) The Latin Inſcription over the [illegible] Mr Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

1. A recital of King James's letters patent. 2. Recital of the founder's deed quadrupartite. 3. Ordination of the Maſter, Wardens, &c. 4. Ordination of the aſſiſtant members, &c. 5. The Maſter and Warden to be unmarried, and always to be of the name of Alleyn, or Allen. 6. The Maſter and Warden to be twenty-one years of age at leaſt. 7. Of what degree the Fellows to be. 8. Of what degree the poor Brothers and Siſters to be. 9. Of what condition the poor Scholars are to be. 10. Of what pariſhes the aſſiſtants are to be. 11. From what pariſhes the poor are to be choſen, and the members of this college. 12. The form of their election. 13. The Warden to ſupply when the Maſter's place is void. 14. The election of the Warden. 15. The Warden to be bound by recognizance. 16. The Warden to provide a dinner for the college, upon his election. 17. The form of admitting the Fellows. 18. The manner of electing the ſcholars. 19. Election of the poor of Camberwell. 20. The Maſter and Warden's oath. 21. The Fellows oath. 22. The poor Brothers and Siſters oath. 23. The Aſſiſtants oath. 24. The pronunciation of admiſſion. 25. The Maſter's office. 26. The Warden's office. 27. The Fellows office. 28. The poor Brothers and Siſters office. 29. That of the Matron of the poor ſcholars. 30. The Porter's office. 31. The office of the thirty members. 32. Of reſidency. 33. Orders for the poor, and their goods. 34. Of obedience. 35. Orders for the chapel, and burial. 36. Orders for the School and Scholars, and putting them forth apprentice. 37. Order of diet. 38. The Scholars ſurplices and coats. 39. Time for viewing expences. 40. Publick audit and private ſitting days. 41. Audit and Treaſure Chamber. 42. Of lodgings. 43. Orders for the Lands and Woods. 44. Allowance to the Maſter and Warden of diet, for one man a piece; with the number, and wages, of the college ſervants. 45. Diſpoſition, and diviſion of the revenues. 46. Diſpoſition of the rent of the Blue-houſe. 47. The poor to be admitted out of other places in caſe of deficiency in the pariſhes preſcribed. 48. The diſpoſition of forfeitures. 49. The ſtatutes to be read over four ſeveral times in the year. 50. The diſpoſition of certain tenements in St Saviour's pariſh, in Southwark (40).

(40) See Stowe's Survey of London, p. 759,760. And Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. I. p. 191, 192, 193. Alſo a copy of the inſtitutions, ſtatutes, and endowment of Dulwich-college in Surrey, &c. Fol. Inter Librorum Manuſcriptorum Viri Sapientiſſimi Samuelis Pepyſii Curiæ Admiraliæ nuper á Secretis: In Catal. Libror. Manuſcr. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, &c. Fol. Oxon. 1697, Tom. II. Part i. p. 209.

[*K*] *The lighteſt handling will prevent their growth.*] 'Tis ſaid in a work (before quoted) whether by the author, or his editor, is not diſtinguiſhed, that, 'Notwithſtanding all the ſolemnity of this deodand, the 'founder lived to change his mind, upon a ſecond 'marriage; when he was very deſirous of revoking 'his charity, but was not ſuffered. In his original 'endowment he has excluded all other augmentation, 'from future benefactions; and has conſtituted the 'church-wardens of St Giles's without Cripplegate, 'St Mary-Overy's, and St Botolph's Biſhopſgate, viſitors; who, upon any diſagreement, which they 'cannot compromiſe, are referred to their *dernier reſort*, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (41).' As to that aſſertion of his revoking; it appears nothing more than an envious or malicious ſuggeſtion, for which there is no authority produced, or to be found. And there appears enough by what has been already ſaid, and what hereafter follows by the founder himſelf, in his own Will, which was made ſome time after his marriage, and not a fortnight before his death; that he was ſo far from ever having had any thoughts of repenting or revoking his charity, that he appears there, augmenting it to his laſt gaſp. And as for his excluding all other augmentation; 'There is no ſuch thing 'to be found or intimated in his ſtatutes; indeed he 'had thereby excluded himſelf from all power of making any additional members, or augmenting them, 'their number being fixed and limited, both by the 'letters patent, and the deed of incorporation; as 'the late Lord Chancellor King expounded and 'decreed, in a trial concerning the members of 'the ſaid college (*).' But as to what the late Sir John Lade has been heard to report; it is much more incredible, and impoſſible, than any other tale, which has been ever ſpread of the Founder. As if, 'after he had appointed himſelf to be the firſt maſter 'of his own college, and reſtrained all the maſters by 'ſtatute to be unmarried, he ſhould alter his own reſolution of celibacy, and therefore was, upon his 'marriage, deprived of his office by Archbiſhop Abbot; to whom, when Archbiſhop Laud ſucceeded, 'being better ſkilled in civil and canon-law, he, declaring that no founder could commit any offence a'gainſt ſtatutes of his own deviſing, did, as ſoon as 'poſſible, reſtore him (42).' But, the founder could make no reſolution of celibacy, being married when he made the ſtatutes; nay the firſt Maſter and Warden he choſe himſelf, and were his ſucceſſors, were married men: ſo that the miſapplication of that ſtory to the founder, might ariſe from the objection therefore made to them by the ſociety; but it was overruled by the Viſitor, and the Archbiſhop himſelf. But chronology will quite clear the founder of ſuch expulſion and reſtoration; for Laud was not Archbiſhop of Canterbury till September, in the year 1633, which is almoſt ſeven years after the death of maſter Alleyn.

(41) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. I. p. 194.

(*) This from the preſent Maſter of Dulwich-college.

(42) This from John Locker, Eſq; who heard it from Sir John Lade, Baronet.

[*L*] *The extract thereof here ſubjoined* (43).] His Will is dated the 13th of November, 1626, wherein he appoints his burial to be performed without any vain funeral pomp or ſhew in Chriſt's chapel, in God's Gift college, by him founded. And after his juſt debts

(43) From a copy of his ſaid Will taken out of the Regiſtry of the Prerogative court of Canterbury, in twenty-one ſheets of ſtamped paper.

in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, not the ſixty-third, as at the beginning we obſerved it has alſo been miſtaken. He was buried in the chapel of his own college, and has a tomb-ſtone over his grave on which there is an inſcription, which with the other monumental inſcriptions in memory of him, his wife, &c. having already, in what was material been made uſe of, we refer thoſe who are further inquiſitive after them, to the author by whom they are printed (*w*). As for the inſcription over the door, which we have before alſo cited, it was written by Mr James Hume, late ſchoolmaſter of the college, is alſo printed in the author laſt referred to, and concludes with theſe words; *Beatus ille qui miſertus eſt Pauperum: Abi tu, & fac ſimiliter.*

(*w*) In Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, ubi ſupra, p. 195 to 198.

paid, ſo ſpeedily as may be, after his deceaſe, he, the ſaid Edward Alleyn and Matthias Alleyn, a perſon by him put in truſt, for and in aſſurance of one thouſand five hundred pounds, to and for his dear and loving wife, Conſtance Alleyn, after his death, have by two ſeveral deeds dated the 29th of June laſt, ſet over unto Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas (44) Crymes of Peckham in Surrey, Knights, &c. One capital meſſuage, or inn, called the unicorn, in St Saviour's pariſh in Southwark, in the county of Surrey, and all other meſſuages and tenements there: and alſo certain tenements called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, on the bank-ſide, in St Saviour's pariſh aforeſaid. And for further aſſurance of the ſaid 1500 *l.* to his ſaid wife, has acknowledged a ſtatute of 2000 *l.* bearing the ſame date to Sir Nicholas and Sir Thomas aforeſaid; who alſo covenanted, in a pair of indentures of defeizance, that if the ſaid ſum were paid her by his executors, within three months after his deceaſe, the ſaid ſtatute ſhould be void, with the two deeds of aſſignment, or to reaſſign them to ſuch perſons as the teſtator ſhould appoint: ſo deſires his executors would firſt of all ſatisfy her, and then that the two Knights would reaſſign the two leaſes to his executors. And in teſtimony of his further love to his wife, leaves her for her preſent uſe, one hundred pounds more, which he had already, on the 26th of September laſt, delivered for her to Sir T. Crymes; and gives her moreover, all her jewels and other ornaments, whereof ſhe is poſſeſſed. *Item*, He gives to the corporation of God's Gift-college, his ſeal-ring with his arms, to be worn by the maſter and his ſucceſſors; and appoints a common ſeal to be made for the college; both to be repaired by the college as oft as they need; alſo all his books and inſtruments, with the pictures, hangings, and other furniture therein. And all the furniture in the twelve poor ſcholars chambers, together with ſeveral parcels and ſets of his own houſhold linnen, and other utenſils; all the implements of huſbandry, and two teems of horſes and oxen. *Item*. He wills that his executors within two years after his deceaſe, ſhall build ten almshouſes, in the pariſh of St Botolph without Biſhopſgate, London, for ten poor people of that pariſh, to be members of the aforeſaid college; and likewiſe, ten other houſes in St Saviour's pariſh in Southwark aforeſaid, for other ten poor people of that pariſh, to be likewiſe members of the ſaid college; which ſaid twenty poor people being placed in their ſeveral houſes, ſhall have ſuch maintenance, as in the ſtatutes of the foreſaid college is appointed. *Item*. He gives to Thomas Alleyn, the ſon of John Alleyn, late of Wellen, in the county of Bucks, being his couſin, and next heir at common law, 50 *l.* *Item*. To Edward Alleyn, jun. of Newport, 20 *l.* and to his two ſiſters, Elizabeth Newman, and Anne Aſhpoole, 20 *l.* a-piece. To his aunt, Jane Waldock, of Water-Eaton, 10 *l.* To Anne Alleyn, wife of John Harriſon, Clerk, 20 *l.* *Item*. He wills his copy-hold Lands in Lambeth-Marſh, to Edward Alleyn, his god-ſon, and his heirs male; and for want of ſuch iſſue, to John Alleyn, the ſon of Matthias Alleyn, and his heirs for ever. *Item*. To Sir Francis Calton, Knt. 100 *l.* and forgives 20 *l.* he owes him. *Item*. To Elizabeth Cutler, his late wife's god-daughter, 10 *l.* *Item*. To Hannah Pickerly, 10 *l.* *Item*. To Elizabeth Ruſſell, a young girl in his houſe, 10 *l.* *Item*. To all the reſt of his houſhold ſervants, in his ſervice at his death, ſo many pounds a-piece, as they have been years in his family, beſides their wages. *Item*. To the church-wardens of St Botolph's aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, a tenement in Dulwich, with the appurtenances, called the Blue-houſe, for the uſe of the poor of the ſaid pariſh, to be by them diſpoſed of, as in the ſtatutes of the ſaid college is ſet down. And after theſe legacies, &c. are paid; the two leaſes aſſigned to thoſe Knights, ſhall remain as an augmentation to the college, over and above what is aſſured thereto in the ſtatutes. *Item*. He gives (after his legacies paid) to his two executors, their heirs and aſſigns for ever, all his lands in Yorkſhire, which he lately purchaſed of George Cole, Eſq. And alſo, after his funeral expences, debts, &c. are diſcharged, all the reſidue of his goods, chattles, cattles, and ready moneys whatever, to Thomas Alleyn, and Matthias Alleyn, his kinſman; whom, by this his laſt will, he conſtitutes his ſole executors; charging them, as they ſhall anſwer it before the face of the Almighty, that they punctually, as far as they poſſibly may, perform and execute the ſame, &c. Signed, ſealed, &c. the day and year above-written; and the Probate is dated on the 13th of December following. G

(44) So in the copy above, but he is written Grymes in all the printed authorities we have met with.

ALLIX (PETER) a very learned and eminent Divine of the Church of England, though a native of the kingdom of France, and well known in the republick of letters by his numerous, and his excellent writings. He was born ſome time in the year 1641, at Alençon (*a*), and having received a liberal education, which highly improved his great natural parts; he became miniſter of the Reformed Church at Rouen, where, before he was thirty-five, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by publiſhing ſome very learned and curious pieces [*A*], by which he acquired a great reputation (*b*). It was owing to this that he was

(*a*) Nouvelles Literaires, Tom. V. p. 286.

(*b*) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. I. p. 273.

[*A*] *Some very learned and curious pieces.*] At the time our author came abroad into the world, the controverſy about the Euchariſt was very warm; and the ableſt Proteſtant Divines were employed in writing on that ſubject. His earlieſt performance was intituled, I. Reſponſe à la Diſſertation ſur Bertram & Jean Scot, ou Erigene qui eſt à la fin du premier Tome de la Perpetuité de M. Arnaud. *i. e. An anſwer to a diſſertation on Bertram and John Scot, which is at the end of the perpetuity of the faith by Mr Arnaud.* This ſhort treatiſe of our author, is at the cloſe of John Claude's anſwer to M. Arnaud's book (1). As for the diſſertation, in anſwer to which it was written, the author of it was, Father Anſelm Paris, Canon Regular of St Genevieve (2), who replied to him in another book, intituled, Créance de l'Egliſe Grecque ſur la Tranſubſtantiation (3), *i. e. The faith of the Greek Church as to Tranſubſtantiation.* To clear up this matter our author publiſhed,

II. Ratramne, ou Bertrand, Prêtre, du Corps, & du Sang du Seigneur. En Latin, & en François. Rouen, 1672, 12*mo. i. e. Ratramn, or Bertrand, the prieſt, on the body and blood of our Lord, in Latin and French.* The deſign of our author in publiſhing this verſion, was to ſhew that Bertrand differed in his ſentiments on this ſubject, from the Church of Rome, as appears by an advertiſement prefixed to the book. James Boileau publiſhed another tranſlation of this antient author (4), with a long preface, in order to prove his opinions did not deviate at all from thoſe of the Romiſh Church.

III. Diſſertatio de Triſagii origine Autore P. A. V. D. M. (Petro Allix Verbi Dei Miniſtro) Rothomagi 1674, 8*vo. i. e. A diſſertation on the firſt riſe of the triſagium or doxology; by Peter Allix*, &c. The learned Bayle, in an epiſtle of his, to Dr Theodore Janſon, takes notice of this work, aſcribes it to our author, and mentions a miſtake committed by Maimbourgh, in aſcribing it to another perſon (5).

IV. Diſſertatio de Sanguine D. N. I. C. ad Epiſtolam S. Auguſtini quâ num adhuc exiſtat inquiritur, 8*vo. i. e. A Diſſertation on the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*,

(1) Printed at Quevilly, 1670, 8*vo*.

(2) P. Niceron, Hom. illuſtr. Tom. XXXIV. p. 24.

(3) Printed at Paris, 1672, and again in 1675, 12*mo*.

(4) Printed at Paris, 1686, 12*mo*.

(5) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. IV. p. 166.

was called from Rouen to Charenton, which was the principal church the Reformed had in France, the village in which it ſtood lying little more than a league from Paris, at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Marne, and whither the moſt conſiderable perſons in France, of the Proteſtant religion, conſtantly reſorted (*c*). We are therefore to conſider this removal of our author, as the higheſt teſtimony of reſpect that could be paid him by thoſe of his communion, in the circumſtances in which they then were. As he was now in the zenith of preferment, and ſaw himſelf in a condition of doing great ſervice to the Church, he applied himſelf to the taſk with all imaginable zeal, and preached ſeveral moſt excellent ſermons in defence of the faith, againſt the artful attempts of the Biſhop of Meaux, who was then labouring to overturn the reformed religion, by ſeeming conceſſions to it's profeſſors (*d*). Some of theſe ſermons were afterwards printed in Holland, and met with deſerved commendations from the famous Bayle, who teſtified a very high eſteem for the learning and abilities of their author (*e*) [*B*]. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr Allix found himſelf obliged to quit France, as well as the work of the miniſtry in that kingdom, and had prepared a moſt moving and pathetick diſcourſe, which he intended to have delivered as his farewel to his congregation, which however he was obliged to omit, though the ſermon was afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired (*f*) [*C*]. This edict was revoked, and the reformed religion baniſhed France in 1685, on which our author reſolved to follow the advice of his friends, and retire into England, which accordingly he did, either in that or the following year. He met here with a moſt favourable reception, on account of his extenſive learning, and more eſpecially his ſingular knowledge in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, for which he was particularly eſteemed (*g*). On his firſt coming, he applied very cloſely to learning our language, which he attained to a ſurprizing degree of perfection, as appeared by a book he publiſhed in defence of the Chriſtian religion, and which he dedicated to King

(*c*) See the article of CHARENTON in Moreri's Dictionary.

(*d*) See an Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, by Dr Wake. London, 1686, 4*to*, in the preface.

(*e*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Tom. III. p. 431.

(*f*) Nouvalles Litteraires, Tom. V. p. 287.

(*g*) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. IV. p. 628.

Chriſt, &c. The preciſe date of this ſmall treatiſe does not appear, but that it was much eſteemed, reprinted by the learned Crenius; and that he was in ſome meaſure miſtaken as to it's author, we learn from an epiſtle of Mr Bayle, to that induſtrious editor on this ſubject (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 774.

V. Diſſertatio de Tertulliani vita & ſcriptis, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the life and writings of Tertullian.* There is an abridged tranſlation of this very learned and accurate performance, at the cloſe of the French verſion of Tertullian's Apologetic, by M. de Giry (7). It was alſo printed together, with the following diſſertation, on the authority of certain councils, by Crenius, as appears from the epiſtle beforecited.

(7) Publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1701, 12*mo*.

VI. *Diſſertatio de Conciliorum quorumvis definitionibus ad examen revocandis*, 8vo. According to all circumſtances, theſe curious and elegant performances, were all of them ſent abroad in 1680, or thereabouts, and muſt have contributed to raiſe the author's character exceedingly, by ſhewing his ſolid and extenſive learning, eſpecially in points of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and criticiſm (8). It may not be amiſs to mention another larger work of his in this note, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe introduce it in proper order of time, though it was not publiſhed till after his being called to Charenton.

(8) At leaſt the learned Du Pin places them under 1680.

VII. Anaſtaſii Sinaitæ anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexahemeron, liber xii. hactenus deſideratus, Græcè & Latinè ex verſione & cum notis Andreæ Dacerii. Præmiſſa Expoſtulatio de S. Joannis Chryſoſtomi Epiſtola ad Cæſarium à Pariſienſibus Theologis nuper ſuppreſſa. Londini 1682, 4to. *i. e. Anaſtaſius his twelfth book of contemplations, on the ſix days work of the creation, which has been hitherto ſo much deſired, in Greek and Latin, from the verſion, and with the notes of Andrew Dacer. To which is prefixed, an expoſtulatory preface, in relation to an epiſtle of St John Chryſoſtom to Cæſarius, lately ſuppreſſed by ſome Pariſian Divines.* This Anaſtaſius was Archbiſhop of Antioch, about the year 561. The firſt eleven books of theſe Contemplations had been long before publiſhed (9), and theſe were earneſtly deſired, to render his work complete. The Papiſts were at that time very aſſiduous in publiſhing the Chriſtian Fathers, and the moſt learned Proteſtants took care to examine their editions, and to give the world early notice of any attempt to conceal, or to obtrude, under colour of publiſhing theſe valuable monuments of antiquity.

(9) Biblioth. Patr. Tom. IX. p. 857.

[*B*] *Learning and ability of their author.*] I have not been able to diſcover when theſe Sermons of our author were firſt publiſhed, but the ſecond edition of them bore this title.

VIII. Douze Sermons de P. A. Miniſtre du S. Evangile ſur divers textes. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1685, 12*mo*. *i. e. Twelve Sermons by Peter Allix, Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel, upon ſeveral texts.* Of theſe ſermons Mr Bayle gives the following account (10). 'I ſhall only ſay, in reference to theſe 'diſcourſes, that they turn all of them on matters of 'great importance; and that in the firſt four, the 'author labours to eſtabliſh the true principles on 'which an anſwer can be grounded, to the *Paſtoral* '*Advertiſement*, addreſſed to thoſe of *the Religion* by 'the Clergy of France, in 1682. It is with this 'view, that it is ſhewn with great force of argu'ment, that every man is obliged to examine atten'tively, the doctrine taught him by his Paſtors, and 'to reject whatever appears to him falſe. In them, 'the words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock*, &c. 'are explained with wonderful perſpicuity, and are 'ſet in very new and ſingular lights. In them alſo we 'find explained, the promiſe made by JESUS CHRIST 'to his diſciples, that he would ſend them a ſpirit, '*That ſhould conduct them in all truth*, and it is ſhewn 'that this does not prove the Church ſhould be in'fallible. The nature of the Church is treated in 'the eleventh ſermon, and one may venture to ſay, 'that it is one of the moſt important places in the 'book. One may alſo without hazard aſſert, that the 'ſermons on the Deſcent of Chriſt into Hell, on the 'Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, on the Miſeries of final 'Impenitence, on the taking away the Cup, on the 'Incarnation of the Word, &c. contain a thouſand 'beautiful paſſages, equally ſtrong in ſentiment, and 'delicate in their turn and expreſſion.' Such an elogium from ſuch a writer, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the character of any author, above the reach of minor criticks.

(10) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. III. p. 431, 432.

[*C*] *Afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired.*] Before the publication of this ſermon, appeared another ſmall work of his, *viz.*

IX. Les Maximes du vrai Chrétien, *i. e. The maxims of a good Chriſtian.* This was joined to another treatiſe, intituled, Bonnes & ſaintes penſees pour touts les jours du mois. Amſterdam 1687, *i. e. Good and holy thoughts, for all the days in the month.* He was before this time, withdrawn from France, and therefore at liberty to ſend into the world in print, what, without danger to himſelf, and to his congregation, he could not have delivered at Charenton. This work was intituled,

X. L'Adieu de Saint Paul aux Epheſiens, Sermon ſur les Verſets 26, 27, 28, du xx Chapitre des Actes (11). Amſterdam 1688, 12*mo*. *i. e. St Paul's farewel to the Epheſians, a ſermon upon Acts* xx. 26, 27, 28. In this, he repreſents the neceſſity of ſupporting temporal and ſpiritual afflictions with patience and reſignation, and the duty of profeſſing the Faith, and adhering to it with conſtancy, in perilous as well as peaceable times.

(11) P. Niceron, Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres Tom. XXXIV, p. 27.

[*D*] *A*

James II in very reſpectful terms, acknowleging at the ſame time, not only his perſonal obligations to that Prince (*b*), but alſo his kindneſs and charity to the diſtreſſed refugees in general, which is a very ſingular and remarkable piece of hiſtory [*D*]. He was very ſoon complemented here with the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in 1690, he had the treaſurerſhip of the church of Saliſbury (*i*) given him, but I do not find that he was ever Canon of Windſor, as is aſſerted in ſome foreign memoirs. It was propoſed that he ſhould have publiſhed here an authentick Hiſtory of the Councils, for which laborious and important work, unqueſtionably there never was any man better qualified, but by ſome accidents intervening, and for want of encouragement, this great and uſeful undertaking miſcarried (*k*). He wrote and publiſhed however ſeveral treatiſes relating to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, equally learned and entertaining, which were wonderfully well timed, and very uſeful to the Proteſtant cauſe, which was then attacked by the arts of Romiſh Prieſts, as well as by the arms of Popiſh Princes. Theſe pieces were remarkably well received, and Dr Allix became in as great credit here, as ever he had been in France (*l*), for his ingenious and ſolid defences of the reformed religion, from reaſon and authority, from the practice of early ages [*E*], as well the precepts of the Goſpel. In the year 1699, he wrote

(*b*) The title of this book was, Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures, &c. London, 1686.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 186.

(*k*) Nouvelles Litteraires, ubi. ſup.

(*l*) See an account of theſe Works in note [*E*].

[*D*] *A very ſingular, and remarkable piece of hiſtory.*] The title of this book, in the ſecond edition, ran thus.

XI. *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.* In Two Volumes, London 1688. This treatiſe we find licenſed for the preſs by Dr H. Maurice, Chaplain to Dr William Sancroft, then Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, January 12, 1687-8. There is a large extract from the firſt edition of the firſt volume of this work, and a good character given of it in a Litterary Journal publiſhed jointly by Meſſieurs Le Clerc and La Croze (12). But the whole was completely publiſhed in Engliſh, on account of the countenance the author met with from King James, to whom he wrote the following dedication, which however is miſſing in ſome copies.

(12) Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique, Tom. V. p. 305.

To the KING.

Great Sir,

'THE gracious acceptance which your Majeſty was pleaſed to allow the firſt volume of my reflections upon the Holy Scriptures, to eſtabliſh the truth of the Chriſtian religion, encouraged, and almoſt neceſſitated me to the further preſumption of laying theſe two volumes at this time at your Majeſty's feet. Your Majeſty did me the honour to ſay, *That you were pleaſed to ſee Divines apply themſelves to the clearing of ſubjects ſo important.* And after this judgment given by ſo great a Prince, which is ſo evident a demonſtration of your zeal, for the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion, it had been unpardonable in me, not to have gone on with the work; and I had reaſon then to conſecrate it wholly to your Majeſty, who, I was aſſured, would approve of my intentions, and for that reaſon would pardon the imperfections of the performance. As your Majeſty continues ſtill to give ſuch illuſtrious inſtances of your clemency, and royal protection, to thoſe of our nation, ſo I confeſs, Sir, I thought myſelf under an obligation to lay hold upon this opportunity of publiſhing what all thoſe, who find ſo ſure a protection in your Majeſty's dominions, feel and think as much as myſelf upon theſe new teſtimonies of your royal bounty. When your Majeſty had taken us into your particular care, and had granted us ſeveral privileges, and ſo made us ſharers in all the advantages, which thoſe who live under your government enjoy; your Majeſty did yet ſomething more, and inſpired all your ſubjects with the ſame compaſſion toward us, with which your royal breaſt was already touched. You ſaw our miſeries, and reſolved to give us eaſe; and this generous deſign was executed, and your royal clemency diffuſed in the hearts of all your ſubjects. The whole world, Sir, which has received upon all it's coaſts, ſome remainders of our ſhipwreck, is filled with admiration of the unexampled effects of your Majeſty's clemency. There is no place ſo barbarous, where the renown of that mercy, which has been ſo glorioufly extended towards us, has not been carried; and the remembrance will be ever dear to the remoteſt ages of poſterity. We muſt, Sir, be wholly inſenſible, if we had not all of us the higeſt ſenſe of ſo great a bounty; and we ſhould juſtly appear to the whole world, to be unworthy of this your Majeſty's paternal care; if notwithſtanding that low condition, to which we are now reduced, we ſhould not proſtrate ourſelves before your auguſt throne, with the humbleſt demonſtrations of thankfulneſs. When God ſhowers down the greateſt bleſſings upon mankind, he requires this juſt tribute, which is alſo their greateſt honour, by opening to them an acceſs unto the throne of glory. And this ſacred pattern we crave leave to follow, when we ſolemnly pay the like tribute to your Majeſty, who can receive nothing from us again, that can anſwer the greatneſs, or the number of thoſe favours, which have ſo very much exceeded all our deſires. I could wiſh, Sir, that this work which I now preſent to your Majeſty, might be ſo happy as to paſs to poſterity with this character of our acknowledgment; and that it might ſtand as a faithful record for ever, to perpetuate the memory of that lively ſenſe of your bounty, which is imprinted on all our hearts. If this could be hoped for, it muſt be wholly owing to your Majeſty's glorious name, which lateſt ages will receive with reverence. But, Sir, though I dare not hope that theſe reflections can obtain that honour, yet our age at leaſt may ſee, that they bear theſe publick marks of gratitude for all your Majeſty's royal favours. This, Sir, is my whole aim, in the dedication of this work to your Majeſty; and may your ſacred Majeſty be pleaſed to approve of theſe poor teſtemonies of our thankfulneſs in general, and to look upon them as inſtances of mine in particular; and of that profound reſpect, with which I am,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful,

London, May 7, 1688. and obedient ſubject and ſervant,

P. ALLIX.

[*E*] *From the practice of early ages.*] It appears plainly, that ſoon after Dr Allix's coming over to England, he was acknowledged both here and abroad, for the moſt learned and accurate writer in defence of the Proteſtant religion, that his country had produced; of which abundant proofs might be given, if the teſtimony of Bayle, and the authorities cited in the laſt note (where we report the elogia beſtowed on him) were not more than ſufficient. But the particular manner in which he galled the Roman Church, was by attacking her with her own weapons, and proving that, while ſhe treated others ſo freely with the opprobrious name of Hereticks; ſhe had herſelf invented new articles of faith (13). In ſupport of this charge, he publiſhed the following treatiſe that had been ſent him from Paris.

(13) Nouvelles de Republique des Lettres, Vol VI. p. 1226.

XII. Determinatio F. Joannis Pariſienſis de modo, exiſtendi Corpus Chriſti in Sacramento Altaris, alio quam ſit ille quem tenet Eccleſia. Nunc primum edita ex M. S. Cod. S. Victoris Pariſienſis; cui prefixa eſt Præfatio Hiſtorica de Dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis. Londini 1686, 8*vo.* i. e. *The determination of brother John Paris, Jacobin, as to the mode of our Lord's Body, exiſting in the ſacrament of the altar; different from that, held by the Church. Now firſt printed from a MS. at St Victor's in Paris; to which*

wrote a very learned book in defence of the Trinity, which had very conſiderable effects, and has been always looked upon as a piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature [*F*]. He wrote beſides the works already mentioned, ſeveral other learned and

which is prefixed, an hiſtorical preface, as to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. This hiſtorical preface, is entirely the work of our author, in which he inconteſtably proves, that this point of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, was quite unſettled in the earlieſt ages of the Chriſtian Church, and never conſidered as an article of faith, even in the Church of Rome, till declared ſo, for particular reaſons, by the council of Trent (14).

(14) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. VI. p. 1417.

XIII. *Some remarks upon the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the antient Churches of Piedmont, by P. Allix, D. D.* London 1690. 4*to*. This treatiſe was licenſed for the preſs *September* 23, 1689. by Dr Z. Iſham, Chaplain to Dr Henry Compton, Lord Biſhop of London. Our author dedicates this work to King William, and pays him very high compliments on his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; to ſupport and defend which, he tells him, God had raiſed his majeſty up in that critical conjuncture. The deſign of this very learned and accurate performance, was to refute what the Biſhop of Meaux had advanced on this ſubject, in his famous book, intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Variations of the Proteſtants in Matters of Faith* (15). A book that did then, and has ſince, done more hurt to the Proteſtants, than any thing elſe that has been publiſhed on that ſide. The aim of our author in this admirable performance (which contains twenty eight chapters) was to ſhew the true ſtate of the caſe, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of doctrines, in ſeveral parts of Italy, but more eſpecially in the vallies of Piedmont from the ſecond century; which with great labour and induſtry he collected, and with laudable candour and ingenuity, has publiſhed to the world, by which it plainly appears, that he did not intend to amuſe them with an affected diſplay of learning, but to vindicate the truth, by ſetting the Hiſtory of theſe Churches in it's proper light. It was by doing this, that he has fully proved the Romiſh Prelate's book can affect none, but ſuch as do not inquire into the truth of the facts he reports; and proves farther, that all inquiries of this nature, are injurious to the Popiſh cauſe, in as much as they tend to render it evident, that the errors and power of the Romiſh Church, had in all ages, contrary to what they would perſuade the world, been detected and oppoſed. It was in proſecution of the ſame view, and to continue what he had ſo happily begun, that he ſent abroad,

(15) This Treatiſe was penned to facilitate the Deſign of Lewis XIV, to oblige all his ſubjects to be, or ſeem to be, of one faith.

XIV. *Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Antient Churches of the Albigenſes. By Peter Allix, D. D. Treaſurer of the Church of Sarum*, London 1692. 4*to*. This treatiſe the Author dedicated to the Queen, i. e. to Queen Mary, daughter to his firſt patron King James; and in that dedication, he lays open the deſign of this treatiſe, and the reaſons of his ſubmitting it to her majeſty's view, very fairly and freely. In the book itſelf, there is all the good ſenſe and ſound learning, that the ſevereſt critick could expect upon the ſubject. In it he very ſtrenuouſly and judiciouſly defends the Albigenſes from the charges of hereſy and ſchiſm, which the biſhop of Meaux had brought againſt them, and with great force retorts upon him his own arguments; by ſhewing, that a conſtant and vigorous oppoſition of the power of the Church of Rome, founded not only on a diſavowal of her authority, but on a difference from her alſo in opinion, is far from proving either hereſy or ſchiſm in the opponents, but rather ſhews perſecution on one ſide, and a great zeal for truth on the other. He examines likewiſe, in the courſe of his remarks, abundance of curious and important queſtions, with much freedom, learning, and impartiality, traces the progreſs of the ſentiments maintained by the Albigenſes into Spain, and diſcovers how far, and in what degree, the ſame notions were diffuſed here in England, by the famous Wickliff and his diſciples. By way of appendix, there are added to this work, an extract of ſeveral trials of pretended hereticks, taken from the Regiſter of Sarum; which ſerve to confirm the facts laid down in the diſcourſe itſelf, as to the conformity of the religious ſentiments of the Albigenſes, with thoſe of the Lollards; a kind of reproachful term beſtowed on the Wickliffites here, as Hugonot was on the profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion in France.

[*F*] *A piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature.*] Our learned author having already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent treatiſes, in ſupport of the Chriſtian Religion in general, and of the Proteſtant Religion in particular; now thought it highly requiſite to draw his pen in vindication of the Holy Trinity, againſt the Unitarians, which he did in that very learned work, of which we propoſe to give an account in this note.

XV. *The Judgment of the Antient Jewiſh Church, againſt the Unitarians in the Controverſy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour: With a Table of Matters and a Table of Texts of Scripture occaſionally explained. By a Divine of the Church of England*, London 1689. 8*vo*. In order to underſtand clearly, the nature and deſign of this work, it is requiſite to obſerve, that the Unitarians, in anſwer to Biſhop Bull's excellent vindication, had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, in which they aſſerted that Juſtin Martyr, who lived 140 years after Chriſt, was the original author of the notion of our Saviour's divinity, and conſequenty of the Trinity. To eſtabliſh this paradox, they maintained, I. That ſince the Jews had aſſerted the Meſſiah to be no more than man, as appears from the dialogue between Juſtin Martyr and Trypho the Jew, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that all the Jewiſh authors, cited by Dr Bull, againſt the opinion of the Socinians, muſt have lived after the publication of the goſpel. II. That the books of the Jews, which he cites againſt the Socinians, are the pious frauds of ſome Chriſtians, who have lived ſince Juſtin Martyr; and this is believed to be particularly true of the books of Philo the Jew, and of that of Wiſdom. III. That the Jews could not ſpeak of the Trinity, or of the Divinity of the Meſſiah, becauſe they knew nothing of either; and therefore we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that whatever is found in their works, and which ſeems to favour theſe doctrines, muſt have been inſerted by Chriſtians, who lived after the time of Juſtin Martyr. IV. In fine, that if after all there be any thing, either in the Scripture, or in the writings of the antient Jews, conformable to theſe doctrines, it very probably proceeded from the Platonicks, from whoſe writings the Jews and Chriſtians borrowed many notions, which they mingled with the doctrines of the goſpel, in order to render them more acceptable to the Pagans. The great deſign therefore of our author's book is, to refute theſe aſſertions; and not only ſo, but to examine the matter to the bottom, and to prove that the antient Jewiſh Church had, with reſpect to the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Meſſiah, the very ſame ideas at the bottom, that the Chriſtian Church hath at this day, only leſs clear and leſs exact. This was a great undertaking, and required a moſt extenſive knowledge in Greek and Hebrew literature, which every body muſt allow our author has ſhewn, and managed this whole controverſy with equal perſpicuity and erudition (16). It ſeems he had before written in ſupport of Biſhop Bull, but without putting his name to the treatiſe, and therefore I have not been able to diſcover it's title.

(16) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres par Barnard, Vol. II. p. 518.

Theſe treatiſes created the doctor a great many enemies, and amongſt the moſt furious, Mr Stephen Nye, rector of Hormhead, who wrote an anſwer, in which, amongſt other things, he ſays what follows (17). 'If 'I have not here anſwered with all the reſpect and 'tenderneſs that I would, the doctor is to thank 'himſelf for it, as having given a provocation that 'could not be diſſembled. He has now written two 'books, one after another, profeſſedly againſt Mr N. 'imputing to him ſeveral books, that were written not 'by Mr N. but by Mr S. and ſome others I could 'name, as has been all along known to ſeveral gentlemen, and to ſome bookſellers; and at the time that 'Dr A. publiſhed *the Judgment*, it was ſo commonly 'known, that his forwardneſs and raſhneſs in libelling 'and delating Mr N. to the whole nation, and to his 'ſuperiors, as the undoubted author of them, admits 'no excuſe. Of ſo many, eminent for learning and 'dignity, as have written againſt thoſe books; though 'without doubt they had heard the cackle of report, 'concerning Mr N. and other reputed authors of 'Mr *Firmin*'s prints, as well as Dr A. yet in their 'anſwers, none of them charged thoſe books on 'Mr

(17) Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, &c. p. 164.

and ingenious treatiſes on curious and important ſubjects, ſo that he was for upwards of thirty years, an active as well as illuſtrious member of the Republick of Letters, and a very able, as well as affectionate defender of the eſtabliſhed Church. Some of theſe pieces expoſed him to very ſevere cenſures, and amongſt the reſt from Mr Bayle (*m*), who had formerly complimented him ſo highly, but conſidering the ſubject, and the impoſſibility of writing about it with certainty, our author's miſtakes ought not to have drawn upon him any ſevere uſage, or contemptuous language [*G*]. One would have

(*m*) See article of BRAUNBOM (FREDERICK) in his Critical Dictionary. Note [*C*].

'Mr N. or the other ſuppoſed writers, *ſave only this ſtranger*; who of a *Refugee* for religion, was not aſhamed to turn *Informer*. He that will take on him the infamous character of an *Informer*, is ready without doubt to go much farther, if circumſtances and opportunity invite him. Every body knows what *Name* is intended by Mr N. Should not an adviſed and an honeſt man have firſt enquired, whether there be not more perſons of that name; that if perhaps there be, he might avoid doing wrong to innocent perſons, by an indefinite, uncertain ſignification, what particular perſon he meant? When thoſe books to which Dr A. points were written, there were no fewer than three Mr N's clergymen, all of them beneficed within forty miles of London, and two of them acquaintances of Mr *Firmin*. The Informant therefore ſhould have ſome way notified, which of the Mr N's he intended to accuſe, and wiſhed to ſee a publick ſacrifice. I can tell him, there are divers witneſſes among the Socinians themſelves, that will at any time aſſure Dr A. or any other, that neither of the Mr N's, friends of Mr *Firmin*, were ever in the ſentiments of *Socinus*. Though it be true alſo, that they diſapproved, and oppoſed the Tritheiſm of ſome modern writers, that contended for a Trinity of diſtinct (infinite) *Beings*, *Minds*, and *Spirits*, which might bring on them the imputation of Socinianiſm, with a great number of other fooliſh calumnies, from their adverſaries, or from the Tritheiſtick party.

'But when ſuch an imputation or report was up: I pray how, would it recommend the books of Dr A. to tell every body (or the whole nation) that they are written againſt Mr N. more than if he had ſaid, they are written againſt ſome anonymous pamphlets, that are gotten into too much credit and reputation?

'I have heard it confidently reported, that Dr A. himſelf, is author of one of Mr Firmin's principal books: *The Defence of the brief Hiſtory of the Unitarians:* and ſome gentlemen of his nation (Refugees alſo for religion) ſay, Dr A. was always reputed a *Sabellian*. I believed both theſe reports, and ſo did many others: he has convinced me by the *Judgment*, it was a ſlander, or at beſt a miſtake; for he is a Tritheiſt. It will be a new warning to *me*, and ought to be to *him*, not to publiſh flying reports, for certain News; eſpecially to a whole nation, and to the poſſible prejudice of perſons who never wronged me.'

[*G*] *Any ſevere, or contemptuous language.*] In this note, we propoſe to give a ſuccinct account of the remaining pieces publiſhed by our author, in their natural order, which will afford us ample opportunity of explaining, proving, and juſtifying, what has been already delivered in the text, and particularly, allow us occaſion to ſhew how he came to loſe in ſome meaſure, the good graces of Mr Bayle, though there never happened any open breach between them.

XVI. De Meſſiæ duplici adventu Diſſertationes duæ adverſus Judæos. Londini 1701, 12*mo*. *i. e. Of the two Advents of the* MESSIAH, *in as many Diſſertations againſt the Jews.* It was this treatiſe, that hurt the author with many people, on account of ſome extraordinary things that are advanced in it. He had, for example, mentioned ſome computations, according to which, the ſecond coming of Chriſt was fixed to the year 1720, or to 1736, at the lateſt: in this, no doubt, he was miſtaken, and deceived, but what then? Can it be truly aſſerted, that other learned men never err in their ſpeculations; or, if they do, is he bound to be more perfect, or exact? If mens failings in computations draw any imputation on the principles of ſcience, it may be doubtful, whether there be any certainty in the world? But in regard to our author, the apology for him is ſoon made. He did not pretend to prophecy, or revelation, he did not ſet up for new lights, or ſupernatural gifts, but proceeding on ſuch grounds, as had been thought ſure by ſome as great men as ever this church or nation bred; he was ſo unlucky, to apply their principles wrong, or miſtook for principles, what in reality were no more than conjectures, by which he came to advance, as things probable, what, in effect, experience has proved falſe. But does this ſmall fault affect his other learning? Muſt we ruin the fair ſtructure of his reputation, after all the pains he took to raiſe it, becauſe one ſtone is miſplaced? Shall we ſuppoſe he knew nothing, becauſe he did not know when the day of judgment was to come? No ſurely, this would be too hard meaſure. Let us admit he had weakneſſes, but let us ſtill be juſt to his known merits, and grateful for the ſervice he has done us in his other learned works.

The true cauſe why Bayle expreſſed ſome contempt on the ſubject of this treatiſe, was, his being engaged in a diſpute with M. Jurieu, who doubtleſs had uſed him very ill, and deſerved all the ſeverity he met with from him. This M. Jurieu, had ſet up for an expounder of prophecy, and even for a kind of Prophet, in which he notoriouſly failed. It was impoſſible for ſuch an adverſary as Bayle, to overlook an opportunity like this of triumph, and it was as impoſſible for him to uſe it, without involving more or leſs, all, who by giving that turn to their ſtudies, ſeemed in any degree to countenance Jurieu. It was this that engaged him to write the article of Frederick Braunbom, a German Enthuſiaſt, in order to have an opportunity of falling on Jurieu, and to avoid the glare of perſonal reflection, on almoſt all ſuch as had written on like ſubjects. Upon this occaſion he brings in our author, *notwithſtanding Jurieu's want of ſucceſs*, ſays he, *Dr Allix has taken the field, to aſſure us, that Antichriſt will be extinct in* 1716, *in* 1720, *or, at the lateſt, in* 1736 (18). But to proceed with the catalogue of our author's writings.

(18) Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. II. p. 125.

XVII. *Preface and Arguments on the Pſalms.* This was written in Engliſh, and the author of a critical Journal (19), tells us, our authors found them to abound with prophecies, and diſapproved extremely ſuch as admitted two ſenſes, or what is called a double completion.

(19) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. VI, p. 668.

XVIII. Nectarii Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitani Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Eccleſiam. Londini. 1702, 8*vo*. *i. e. Nectarius Patriarch of Jeruſalem, his Confutation of the Pope's Authority in the Church.* This was a tranſlation made by our author into Latin, from the Greek original printed in 1672, in Moldavia, it was a pretty large octavo, and contained abundance of curious facts, more eſpecially as to the claim made by both Churches, to the proof of their Orthodoxy by miracles, which it is on both ſides ſuppoſed, God will never work in favour of any but the true Church (20).

(20) Ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 113.

XIX. Auguſti Hermanni Francke Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ edita ſtudio P. Allix. Londini 1706, 8*vo*. *i. e. Auguſtus Herman Francke's Introduction to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, publiſhed by Dr Allix.* Our author only wrote a ſhort preſaratory recommendation to this book, in order to make it known here in England, and to certify it's uſefulneſs and worth.

XX. Diſſertatio de Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri anno & Menſe Natali. Londini 1707 & 1710, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the Year and Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*.

XXI. *The Prophecies which Mr Whiſton applies to the Times immediately following the Appearance of the Meſſiah, conſidered and examined. London,* 1707, 8*vo*.

XXII. Preparations a la Cene, 8*vo*. *i. e. Preparations for the Lord's Supper.* This practical piece was often printed at Geneva, and is very juſtly commended as a very excellent performance in it's kind.

[*H*] *Many*

have imagined that these curious and laborious works, would at least have done honour to the orthodoxy of their author, and have secured him from the opprobious imputation of Heresy, but the fact is quite otherwise, for a vehement English writer charges him with Tritheism (*n*), and a collection of lives lately published abroad, leaves his memory under the reproach of Socinianism, than which, without question, there never was a charge more groundless or incredible (*o*). Our learned author however, continued steady and fixed to his principles, and was so well known to be a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Church of England on that subject, that the famous Mr Whiston thought proper to consult him, when he first proposed writing in support of his own opinions, as appears by what himself delivers on this subject, in one of his most remarkable pieces (*p*). But our author conceiving this account of that conversation somewhat disingenuous, thought it requisite to give himself a short relation of that affair, to which he adds many things equally curious and important (*q*) [*H*]. He enjoyed a very uncommon share of health and spirits, as appears by his latest writings, in which there is not only all the erudition, but all the quickness and vivacity that appeared in his earliest pieces. Those who knew him found the same pleasure in his conversation, that the learned will always find in his productions, for with a prodigious share of learning, he had a wonderful liveliness of temper, and expressed himself on the dryest subjects with so much sprightliness, and in a manner so out of the common road, that it was impossible to flag or lose one's attention, to what was the subject of his discourse. He was consulted by the greatest men of his age, on the deepest and most intricate parts of learning, and was acknowledged for a genius of the first order, by those whom the world have esteemed, not only the most capable but the most unbiassed criticks (*s*) [*I*]. It was not any single branch

(*n*) The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity, &c. by Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead, 8vo, 1701. p. 166.

(*o*) See his article in Moreri's Dictionary, edit. 1740. Vol. I. p. 310.

(*p*) Historical Preface, p. 8.

(*q*) Remarks upon some places of Mr Whiston's Books, by P. Allix, D. D. 8vo, 1711, p. 5.

(*s*) See the Testimonies cited from Bayle, Le Clerc, &c. in the notes.

[*H*] *Many things equally curious and important.*] This little treatise of our author, which is now become extreamly scarce, bears the following title: XXIII. *Remarks upon some places of Mr Whiston's books, either printed or in manuscript. By P. Allix, D. D. Lond.* 1711, *8vo.* The account he gives us of his conversation with Mr Whiston is very particular, and very worthy of the reader's notice; and therefore, as well as in regard to the scarceness of this tract, which is but a pamphlet, I will give the whole passage in the author's own words, esteeming it a very entertaining part of his personal history. (*) 'The late Dr Payne, as Mr Whiston saith, (for I think they both joined in the question) having asked me, Whether the Holy Spirit was addressed to in the publick prayers of the primitive Church? I answered, that if they had ever read the works of St Basil the Great, they would have found a satisfactory answer to their question; for that he had writ a large discourse on that very subject, in which, he not only supposes, that all their publick prayers were directed to the Father by the intercession of the Son in the holy Spirit; but proves likewise, that the Deity of the Spirit, was generally supposed by the Church, in that form, though it was not formally directed to him alone. I advised him to read that piece of St Basil, who had a natural occasion of examining this matter, by the complaint which was made against him; that in the Doxology he used indifferently, these words: *Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and in*, or *with, the Holy Ghost*. And indeed, St Basil writing near fifty years after the rise of Arianism (which gave the hint to Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and to do all he could to support his heresy) had solidly defended the sense of the primitive Church, in all times, and places, concerning the Deity of the holy Spirit; and confuted all the arguments of the Macedonians. This is the substance of that conversation; and, I am sure, the Divines, and Ministers, who were there, and then present, little thought, I had therein given any occasion for such a charge as Mr Whiston has now, at the distance of twelve or thirteen years, publickly brought against me. He has given me indeed, the title of *The very learned Doctor*, &c. But, as he doubtless has his reasons for what he does, I suppose, he might design at the same time, that it should serve for the justification of himself *Timeo Danaos & Dona ferentes*. Some months ago, one of Mr Whiston's friends told me, he had heard from Mr Whiston, such an account of that conversation, as he has since printed. I then told the gentleman the whole truth of the matter, and what then passed between us: but I thought it of so little importance, that tho' Mr Whiston came afterwards to visit me, in company with some friends of his, I did not think it necessary to take any notice of it, after the explanation I had given his friends, and which in all probability came to his ears; especially, since I could not have done it, without blaming him for his incivility, in making his own use of what I had said, by changing the state of the question, and suppressing a part of my answer: an incivility so much the greater, because I had referred them to St Basil's book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, for an account of my sentiments about the question they proposed. I have had several opportunities of conversing with Mr Whiston, and I am satisfied he never looked upon me, as one who inclined in the least to his opinions. I thought him a studious man, and had a respect for him as such; and he will do me the justice to acknowledge, that I always spoke my mind to him very freely and sincerely; but that I never approved of the liberties he took, which indeed were more than could be well born with.'

(*) See the Pamphlet beforementioned, p. 4, 5, 6.

[*I*] *Not only the most capable, but the most unbiassed criticks.*] One need scarce either consult or quote on this occasion any other than M. Bayle, who in all his pieces publick and private, does him the utmost justice, and applauds his learning, candour, and abilities, with a zeal, that evidently proves his commendations were sincere, and proceeded entirely from the warmth of his heart. I may I think take the liberty of observing, that Bayle and he were in opposite sentiments in regard to very many, or perhaps to most things, so that his applauding him was purely out of love to truth, and from that strict regard to justice, which is incident to men of true science An accident happened in the beginning of our author's reputation, which afforded sufficient testimonies of the esteem and regard shewn towards him by other learned men. In the year 1683, came out at Amsterdam, a book with the following title, 'L'Ouverture de l'Epitre de St Paul au Romains par l'explication du vers et 27 du chap iii, & un Lettre en forme du Traité touchant la justification & la lecture des Peres, 12*mo*.' *i. e. An Opening of the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans, by the Explanation of chap. iii. 27, of that Epistle, together with a Letter in form of a Tract, on Justification and the reading of the Fathers.* Mr Bayle, it seems, had been informed that Mr Allix handed it to the press, on which he inadvertently mentioned him as it's author. But the book giving great offence, Mr le Clerc wrote to Mr Bayle on the subject, who in his answer gives the highest character of our author, confesses his mistake, and owns the work to have fallen from the pen of M. le Cene (21). In another letter to the celebrated Mr Lenfant he says the same thing (22), which shews how uneasy those learned men were, for fear any imputation should light on a character hitherto unspotted. Mr Bernard in his Litterary Journal, speaks very respectfully of Dr Allix; so does M. le Clerc in some pieces of the like kind, and so also does the learned Abbé Houtteville, in his copious discourse on such as have defended the Christian

(21) Ouvres de Bayle, Vol. III. p. 617.

(22) Ibid. p. 621.

branch of literature, or a few related to each other, that could occupy his thoughts, but the whole circle of ſciences which fall under the cognizance of a general ſcholar, and found divine. All theſe he had not only taſted but digeſted, as appears by his excellence in different, and almoſt oppoſite ſtudies. His ſermons ſhew him to have been an admirable orator, and at the ſame time a profound ſcholar. The ſeveral antient authors he publiſhed teſtify his ſkill in criticiſm, and his perfect acquaintance with antiquity. His treatiſes on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, diſcover a prodigious fund of reading, an exact comprehenſion of his ſubject, and his ſincere zeal for the Proteſtant religion. He laboured alſo to ſerve it by the tracts he reſcued from duſt and oblivion, to ſhew (as they effectually did) that the charge of novelty on which the Papiſts inſiſted ſo loudly, was not barely unreaſonable, but at the ſame time groundleſs. His thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, with whatever depends thereupon in Greek and other languages, was diſplayed in his laborious performance in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which his ſincerity is as conſpicuous as his learning. If in the proſecution of theſe deep and recondite ſtudies, he ſomewhat miſtook his way, and erred a little in his computations, it was no more than had befallen the greateſt men who have travelled this road before him, particularly Joſeph Mede, and Biſhop Lloyd, neither have theſe examples convinced other ornaments of the commonwealth of letters that the roads are impaſſable, ſince the very learned Dean Prideaux, and the indefatigable Sir Iſaac Newton, have devoted many of their hours to like inquiries. Our author continued his application to the laſt, and having ſpun out the thread to an extraordinary extent, died at London, February 21, 1717, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of a man, equally aſſiduous in the right diſcharge of all the offices of publick and private life, and every way as amiable for his virtues and ſocial qualities, as venerable from his uprightneſs and integrity, and famous for his various and profound learning.

(23) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique ſur la Methode des principaux Auteurs qui ont ecrit pour & contre le Chriſtaniſme depuis ſon origine. p. 189.

Chriſtian Religion (23). It would be no difficult thing to add to theſe many more inſtances of the ſame nature, but that it ſeems to ſo little purpoſe, ſince the world will always ſee enough in his writings, to juſtify his learning, prudence, and application. E.

ALMARUS, ELMARUS, ELMERUS, ÆLMERUS, was Abbot of the monaſtery of St Auſtin at Canterbury, at the time when Ælfegus, or as he is commonly called Alphage, the Archbiſhop was barbarouſly murthered by the Danes, in the year 1011 (*a*). At this time, our hiſtorians report the city to have been betrayed, by one Elmerus an Archdeacon (*b*). As for our Almerus, the Danes ſuffered him to go at liberty, and in the year 1022, being according to the Saxon Chronicle, the ſixth of King Canutus's reign, Almerus became Biſhop of Sherburn (*c*) [*A*] in Dorſetſhire, which biſhoprick was afterwards transferred to Saliſbury. Godwin hath his name in his account of the Biſhops of that ſee, but he tells us, that beſides his name he knew nothing concerning him (*d*), which is highly probable, for he makes him to have ſat there, in 1009, and cites no authority in ſupport of that date. Elmerus it ſeems did not incline either to leave his abbey, or to become a Biſhop; however, he was prevailed upon at laſt to take upon him that dignity, and when he had ſo done, he diſcharged it with great conſtancy and vigour, till ſuch time as it pleaſed God to render him quite blind. Upon this he reſigned his biſhoprick, much more readily than he had accepted it, and returning back again to his abbey, lived there in a cell in the infirmary, in great innocency and devotion to his laſt hour (*e*). There is one thing very remarkable related of him, and it is this, One day as the boy who attended him was bringing him his dinner, a kite came ſuddenly down, and carried away the victuals in it's talons. The boy amazed at ſo odd and ſo unexpected an accident, firſt told Almerus, and then went back to the kitchen for more meat. Almerus reſolved within himſelf not to eat fleſh, unleſs the kite brought back the fleſh it had taken, ſuppoſing that this was a ſign of it's being unlawful. The boy who knew nothing of this, was ſurprized a ſecond time; for, before before he got to the kitchen door, the kite ſtooping again, dropped the victuals into his platter; he returning, reported the thing to Almerus, who giving thanks to God, ſat down to his dinner without ſcruple. When he came to die, he directed that he ſhould be buried, not as a Biſhop, but as a Monk, which was accordingly done (*f*). He was interred in the church of the monaſtery, before the altar of St John, and his memory held in great veneration, though our author tells us, that without the authority of the Holy See, they could not pay their devoirs to him as a ſaint (*g*).

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 141. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. apud X Scriptor. p. 168.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra. Act. Pontif. Cant. autor. Gervais, ap. X Script. p. 1641.

(*c*) Chron. W. Thorn, ap. X, Script. p. 1782.

(*d*) De Præſul. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 386.

(*e*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(*f*) Ibid. & Chronol. Auguſtin. Cant. ad A. D. 1022.

(*g*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

[*A*] *Almarus became Biſhop of Sherburn.*] The great Patron of this Biſhop was King Canutus, who though in his father's life-time, and even ſome years afterwards, he was fierce and cruel towards the Engliſh; yet when he was ſeated on the throne, and eſtabliſhed by force of arms, he endeavoured to gain the people's affections by a milder and more moderate behaviour. Inaſmuch, as the cruel ſlaughter made at Canterbury, and eſpecially the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Alphage, had rendered the Danes odious; Canutus thought proper not only to tranſlate the body of the martyr, with all imaginable reſpect and magnificence, which he performed eleven years after his death (1), but alſo took the Monks at Canterbury under his ſpecial protection, which accounts for his extraordinary kindneſs to our Biſhop Almar. This parade of piety, however it might deceive the people of that age, is, not without cauſe, treated as downright hypocriſy by later hiſtorians; who by comparing the actions of this Prince, have diſcovered moſt of his politick contrivances were gloſſed with ſuch ſanctified pretences; in ſpight of which, he remained ambitious and rapacious to the laſt (2). It ſhould ſeem that our Biſhop had not very different thoughts, ſince he ſo unwillingly accepted ſo great a dignity, and ſo readily reſigned it, when his infirmity gave him an opportunity of ſo doing (3). His humility and greatneſs of ſoul, ought to commend his name to poſterity, as a pious and worthy man, which is full as much to his honour, as if he had been a Romiſh Saint. E

(1) Oſbern. Hiſt. de Tranſlat. Corp. S. Elphegi ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacra. Vol. II. p. 143.

(2) See Milton, &c.

(3) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

ALPHERY (MIKEPHER) born in Ruſſia, and of the imperial line (*a*). When that country was torn to pieces by inteſtine quarrels, in the latter end of the XVIth century, and the royal houſe particularly was ſo ſeverely perſecuted by impoſtors (*b*), this gentleman and his two brothers were ſent over to England, and recommended to the care of Mr Joſeph Bidell, a Ruſſia merchant. This gentleman, when they were of age fit for the univerſity, ſent them all three to Oxford, where the ſmall-pox unhappily prevailing, two of them died thereof. We know not whether this ſurviving brother took any degrees or not, but it is very probable he did, ſince he entered into holy orders, and, in the year 1618 (*c*), had the rectory of Wooley in Huntingtonſhire, a living of no very conſiderable value, being rated at under ten pounds in the King's books (*d*). Here he did his duty with great chearfulneſs and alacrity, and notwithſtanding he was twice invited back to his native country, by ſome who would have ventured their utmoſt to have ſet him on the throne of his anceſtors; yet he choſe rather to remain with his flock, and to ſerve God in the humble ſtation of a pariſh Prieſt. Yet in 1643, he underwent the ſevereſt trials from the rage of the Phanaticks, who not ſatisfied with depriving him of his living, inſulted him in the moſt barbarous manner. For having procured a file of muſqueteers to pull him out of his pulpit, as he was preaching on a Sunday, they turned his wife and ſmall children out into the ſtreet, into which alſo they threw his goods. The poor man in this diſtreſs, raiſed him a tent under ſome trees in the church-yard, over-againſt his houſe, where he and his family lived for a week. One day having got a few eggs, he picked up ſome rotten wood and dry ſticks, and with theſe made a fire in the church porch in order to boil them, but ſome of his adverſaries, to ſhow how far they could carry their rage againſt the Church, for this poor man was ſo harmleſs they could have none againſt him, came and kicked about his fire, threw down his ſkillet, and broke his eggs (*e*). After this having ſtill a little money, he made a ſmall purchaſe in that neighbourhood, built him a houſe, and lived there ſome years. He was encouraged to this by a Preſbyterian Miniſter who came in his room, who honeſtly paid him the fifth part of the annual income of the living, which was the allowance made by parliament to ejected miniſters, treated him with great humanity, and did him all the ſervices in his power. It is a great misfortune, that this gentleman's name is not preſerved, his conduct in this reſpect being the more laudable, becauſe it was not a little ſingular. Afterwards, probably on the death or removal of this gentleman, Mr Alphery left Huntingtonſhire, and came and reſided at Hammerſmith, till the Reſtoration put him in poſſeſſion of his living again. He returned on this occaſion to Huntingtonſhire, where he did not ſtay long, for being upwards of eighty, and withal very infirm, he could not perform the duties of his function. Having therefore ſettled a curate, he retired to his eldeſt ſon's houſe at Hammerſmith, where ſhortly after he died, full of years and of honour (*f*). It muſt be owned that this article is very imperfect, but the ſingularity of a Ruſſian Emperor's being a country miniſter in England, will, we hope, atone for thoſe deficiencies, which it was not in our power to prevent. E

(*a*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 183.

(*b*) Introduct. a l'Hiſtoire D'Europe par Puffendorf, Vol. IV. p. 411. edit. 1732, 12*mo*.

(*c*) Walker's Sufferings, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Liber Valor. & Decim. edit. 1728. p. 179.

(*e*) From a Letter written by the Rev. Mr Peter Phelips Miniſter of Woo'ey to Mr Clavel.

(*f*) From Mr Phelips's farther account of Mr Alphery, delivered at a Viſitation.

ALREDUS, ALFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, of Beverley, an antient Engliſh hiſtorian; he is ſaid to have had his education in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he acquired not only great ſkill in divinity, but became alſo an able philoſopher, and a good hiſtorian (*a*). He returned afterwards into his own country of Yorkſhire, where he became a ſecular Prieſt, one of the Canons, and Treaſurer of the church dedicated to St John of Beverley (*b*). Bale, and after him, Pits, poſitively affirm, that he flouriſhed under King Stephen, and that he continued his Annals to the year 1136 (*c*). Voſſius, though a foreigner, comes nearer the truth, he tells us that he flouriſhed in the reign of Henry I, and that he died in the year 1126, in which year alſo according to him, he ended his Annals (*d*). The hiſtory he wrote however agrees with none of theſe, it ends in the twenty-ninth of Henry I, and conſequently he died in all probability, in the year 1128, or 1129 (*e*). He was, as we may gather from the preface to his work, a man devoted to his ſtudies, and rather in narrow circumſtances than rich. He intended at firſt no more than an abridgment of the Britiſh hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the antient Britons, which was at that time much talked of, and ſome time afterwards publiſhed more at large by Jeffrey of Monmouth. But when our author had gone through this, a deſire of purſuing the thread of his ſtory led him to add the Saxon, and then the Norman hiſtory, ſo that at length he brought it down to his own times (*f*). This for any thing that appears, was the only piece he wrote, notwithſtanding a crowd of great authorities, which aſſert him to have been the author of four other books, a groſs miſtake, as we hope to prove to the ſatisfaction of every reader in the notes [*A*]. This abridgment

(*a*) Pits de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. p. 204.

(*b*) Baleus de Script. cent. ii. No. LXXIV.

(*c*) Bale, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) De Hiſt. Lat. edit. 1674, p. 393.

(*e*) Alured Beverl. p. 152.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 3.

[*A*] *To the ſatisfaction of every reader in the notes.*] As we are greatly obliged to Biſhop Bale for his collections concerning Britiſh writers, notwithſtanding they are very full of errors, ſo we ought certainly to be very careful how we charge him with greater defects than really are in his writings. As to our author, we ſhall ſtate the caſe fairly, and with many circumſtances, omitted even by the induſtrious Mr Hearne, who was not aware that Bale had given more than one account of Alfred of Beverley. The firſt edition of this writer's hiſtory of Britiſh authors, was printed in 4*to*. in 1548, and therein his account of Alfred of Beverley is very ſhort; all he ſays of his works, being compriſed in the following lines which I cite, becauſe the book is extreamly ſcarce, in his own words. 'De vaſiis e-'ventibus, continuaque ſucceſſione ab origine Britan-'norum ad ſuam Ætatem uſque contexuit, Hiſtoriam 'perpulchram, Lib. 1. de Naturis Rerum, Lib. 1. 'De cæteris nihil ex aliorum Scriptis comperiri potui, 'quamvis id ſedulo tentarim. *i. e. He wrote an elegant* '*hiſtory*

ment of our hiſtory from Brutus to Henry I, is one of the moſt valuable pieces that has eſcaped the rage of time, and the indiſcretion of the firſt reformers. It is written in a conciſe, elegant, Latin ſtyle, with great perſpicuity, and a more than ordinary attention to dates and authorities. One may without ſtraining the compliment, call Alured of Beverley our Engliſh Florus, his plan being nearly the ſame, neither is he leſs happy in it's execution. One may juſtly wonder that ſo judicious a perſon as Leland, did not give him a place amongſt the Britiſh writers, eſpecially ſince it appears from another work of his, that he had ſeen our author's hiſtory (*g*). The true reaſon ſeems to have been, that Leland conſidered him only as the author of an abridgment of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh hiſtory, which miſtake (for the greateſt men may ſometimes miſtake) was owing to the hurry with which he read this book. Otherwiſe he could not but have ſeen, that our author is not a bare tranſcriber of the Britiſh hiſtory, and ſecondly, that he went much farther than the author he is ſaid to have copied; after all it is very doubtful, notwithſtanding the poſitive aſſertions of ſo many great men, whether Alured ever ſaw that verſion of the Britiſh hiſtory, which we now have of Jeffrey of Monmouth, many circumſtances making it probable, that it was not publiſhed before our author wrote his Compendium, as will be ſhewn in another place (*h*). If he had, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould not mention his author, ſince in this reſpect he is very exact in other places, and even here, he calls it the Britiſh hiſtory, and ſays very candidly at the concluſion, that he only tranſcribed what he met with therein, and that he could not pretend to account for the ſilence of the Latin writers, and even of the Engliſh ones concerning the acts of King Arthur, who fought not only againſt the Pagans in Britain, but alſo againſt the Romans themſelves in Gaul (*i*). If this had really been Jeffrey of Monmouth's tranſlation, why ſhould he have concealed it, rather than Henry of Huntington who abridges the ſame hiſtory, and adding it by way of appendix to his own, doth not diſſemble whence he took it. The manuſcripts of this work were always ſcarce, and very few who mention it had ſeen it. Mr Joſcelin, in his catalogne of the writers of Engliſh hiſtory whoſe works he had met with, gives us ſome account of him, but then it appears plainly that he truſted to Bale, and did not conſult the MS. itſelf (*k*), which he aſſures us was in the hands of Mr Netleton. I do not find that the induſtrious Stowe had ever met with this hiſtory, otherwiſe I think he would certainly have quoted it, as would later compilers of our general hiſtory, if at any time it had come to their hands. The MS. from which Mr Hearne publiſhed it at Oxford in 1716, belonged to the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; (*l*) and Mr Hearne himſelf acknowledges, that it was the only one he ever ſaw. The title he gave it was, *The Annals of Alured of Beverley*, to which I conceive he was inclined, on account of his books being quoted by this title, by ſome antient writers, and indeed the title is proper enough, though the book is not divided after the manner of the Abbey Chronicles, but inaſmuch as dates are conſtantly preſerved, and as the latter part is particularly exact, as to the years of the Kings reigns in which the facts therein recited fell out, it may well enough be ſtiled Annals. John Withamſted, a very antient writer, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that he wrote a Chronicle of what happened from the ſettlement of Brutus, to the time of the Normans, in which alſo he treated of the cities antiently founded in this kingdom, and ſet down the names by which London, Canterbury, and York, were called in old times, when the Britons inhabited them (*m*). This authority is much to the honour of our hiſtorian, for Withamſted flouriſhed in the XVth century, and was a man of a critical turn, as appears by his attacking the hiſtory of Jeffrey of Monmouth. This teſtimony agrees exactly with the

(*g*) Collectan. T. II. p. 223.

(*b*) See note [*C*].

(*i*) Alured. Beverl. p. 76.

(*k*) In Append. Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.

(*l*) Preſat. ad Alured. Beverl.

(*m*) Ap. Voſſium, ubi ſupra.

'*hiſtory of the various events, and of the ſeveral ſucceſſions from the origin of the Britons to his own times, in one book. Of the nature of things, one book; as to the reſt of his writings I have been able to learn nothing, though I have made a ſtrict enquiry* (1).' He farther tells us, that he ſuppoſed him to have flouriſhed in the reign of William the Conqueror, about the year 1086. But afterwards, as if from better informations, he gives us the following catalogue of his works. 'Defloraciones Galfredi, Lib. v. Brytannia major, quæ nunc Anglia. De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, Lib. i. Finito Regno Brytonum, Brytanniæ. De geſtis Regum Brytanniæ, Lib. i. Aggreſſus ſum Laborem, itaque mihi. Hiſtoriam ampliorem, Lib. i. in Diebus ſilentii noſtri occur. Vitam D. Joannis Archiepiſcopi, Lib. i. & alia quædam. *i. e. Extracts from Geoffrey, five books, beginning Brytannia major, &c. Of the Acts of the Kings of England, one book. Of the Acts of the Kings of Britain, one book. A larger hiſtory in one book. The Life of Archbiſhop John, in one book, and ſome others* (2).' Pits tranſcribes this account verbatim (3), and therefore, if we can account for Bale's miſtake, we account for his at the ſame time, as alſo for Mr Joſcelin's, mentioned in the text, who likewiſe tranſcribes Bale exactly (4). In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that ſo much of Alfred's work as relates to the Britons, is compriſed in five books, but that theſe were called by the author himſelf, extracts from Jeffrey is impoſſible, becauſe though he mentions Cæſar, Trogus Pompeius, Eutropius, Lucan, Beda, and many others, yet he never mentions Jeffrey, but calls the book from whence he took the facts he ſets down, the Britiſh Hiſtory, which without doubt, is the ſame that Jeffrey tranſlated, though our author adds many things from other writers; but the firſt words of this treatiſe properly ſpeaking are, *Primus in Britannia regnavit Brutus* (5). The ſixth book in Mr Hearne's edition begins with the words, Bale aſſigns for the beginning of the hiſtory of the Engliſh Kings, *viz. Finito Regno Britonum, Britanniæ Regnum ad Anglos eſt tranſlatum* (6), which plainly ſhows that it is in fact the ſame treatiſe. As to the third book mentioned by Bale, it is certainly the ninth of the annals, of which our author ſpeaking in his preface, makes uſe of theſe words, *Aggreſſus ſum itaque laborem mihi quidem difficilem*, &c. (7), which therefore Bale makes the beginning of it. The larger hiſtory is nothing more than a ſhort preface, which Alfred ſet before his work, in order to ſhow the occaſion of his writing it, which begins with, *In Diebus Silentii noſtri*, &c. (8), ſo that here, all theſe four different works are fairly ſhewn to be no more than ſeveral parts of Alfred's Annals, as we have it now in print, and as for the remaining book mentioned by Bale, it will be accounted for in the next Note.

(1) Bale de Script. fo. 73.

(2) Cent. ii. No. LXXIV, in the other editions.

(3) De Illuſtr. Scrip. p. 204.

(4) Append. ad Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.

(5) Alured. Bever. p. 10.

(6) Ibid. p. 77.

(7) Ibid. p. 3.

(8) Ibid. p. 1.

the book as we now have it, and therefore I make no queſtion, but that this piece, with the hiſtory of St John of Beverley, are all that fell from the pen of our author. As to this hiſtory of St John of Beverley, it is alſo in being, and it is a loſs to the learned world that we have it not printed [*B*]. To this edition Mr Hearne has added ſome notes, and a very compleat index, he has alſo prefixed a preface, wherein he vindicates his author from the charge of plagiariſm, under which he has ſo long laboured (*n*). To this there are ſome objections made by Mr Aaron Thompſon, in his preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh hiſtory (*o*), to which, as alſo to ſome remarks of Biſhop Nicholſon (*p*), we have given anſwers in their proper place [*C*]. On the whole, if ever any epitome of Britiſh hiſtory, deſerved particularly well of the publick in general, and of readers of a nice taſte in particular, we may ſafely ſay this hiſtory of Alfred's is it. For though Huntingdon, Hoveden, Malmſbury, and other writers, have prefixed ſummaries of antient hiſtory to the accounts they have left us of their own times, yet are none of them either in point of accuracy or elegancy, to be compared with this hiſtory, which well deſerves to be tranſlated, and if it might be hoped for, continued with the ſame ſpirit down to later times.

(*n*) Preſat. p. 22.

(*o*) Preface, p. 23.

(*p*) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 57.

[*B*] *It is a loſs to the learned world it is not printed.*] We have no account at all of this piece of our author's, farther than the ſhort title abovementioned, either in Bale, Pits, or Mr Hearne's preface to our author's hiſtory, yet the book itſelf is in the Cotton Library, though not ſet down in the catalogues as being contained in a volume of tracts. I ſhall ſet down the title at large, in which the reader will perceive that this is quite a different thing from what he might expect, which will ſerve to ſupport what has been advanced in the former note, concerning the careleſſneſs of Bale and his tranſcribers. 'Libertates 'Eccleſiæ S. Johannis de Beverlik, cum Privilegiis 'Apoſtolicis, & Epiſcopalibus, quas Magiſter Alueredus Sacriſta ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, de Anglico in Latinum tranſtulit. In hoc tractatulo dantur Cartæ Saxonicæ R. R. Adelſtani, Eadwardi Confeſſoris, & 'Willelmi, quas fecerunt eidem Eccleſiæ, ſed ab imperito Exſcriptore mendoſe ſcriptæ. *i. e. The Liberties of the Church of St John of Beverley, with the Privileges granted by the Apoſtolick See, or by Biſhops, tranſlated out of Saxon into Latin, by Maſter Alured, Sacriſt of the ſaid Church. In this Treatiſe are contained the Saxon Charters of the Kings Adelſtan, Edward the Confeſſor, and William (the Conqueror) granted by them to this Church, but through want of Skill in the Tranſcriber, are full of Miſtakes* (9).' Thus it appears, that this is not a life of St John of Beverley, but a collection of records.

(9) Biblioth. Cotton OTHO c. xvi. cod. Chartaceus, 4*to*.

[*C*] *We have given anſwers in their proper place.*] Mr Thompſon, out of zeal for the credit of Jeffrey of Monmouth, maintains that our Alfred, according to the common opinion, really tranſcribed his book, or abridged it. But foreſeeing the dates were againſt him, all antient authors placing Jeffrey later in point of time than our author, he ventures to aſſert, that Jeffrey's hiſtory was publiſhed ſome time between the years 1123 and 1128, becauſe, ſays he, Alfred copied it in this laſt year (10). By this method a man may prove any thing, for in ſhort he does nothing more than ſuppoſe what he ſhould prove to be true, and then offers his ſuppoſition as a proof to his readers. I will in few words, ſhow firſt, that his ſuppoſition is groundleſs, and ſecondly, that there is good authority to prove (11), our author was not thought a tranſcriber, by writers, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward III. Henry of Huntingdon publiſhed his hiſtory late in the reign of Henry I, yet it is confeſſed he did not meet with Jeffrey's book till after that publication (12). William of Malmeſbury, who alſo wrote before Jeffrey, as Jeffrey himſelf confeſſes, is not ſaid to have publiſhed his hiſtory ſo early, as Mr Thompſon places the publication of Jeffrey's. We know that Malmeſbury wrote a ſequel to his hiſtory, which begins in the twenty-ſixth year of Henry I, that is, in 1125, and before this time it is certain, that Jeffrey's book had not ſeen the light (13). Beſides, Jeffrey was made Biſhop of St Aſaph, in 1551 (14); is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his friends were ſo long before they thought of him, when his book had been in vogue 20 or 30 years? Add to this, that Jeffrey himſelf plainly overturns this ſuppoſition, by the compliment he pays to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, in his dedication, which I ſhall tranſcribe from Mr Thompſon's own tranſlation (15): 'To you 'therefore, Robert Earl of Glouceſter, this work humbly ſues for the favour of being ſo corrected by your 'advice, that it may not be thought the poor offſpring of Jeffrey of Monmouth, but when poliſhed 'by your refined wit and judgment, the production of 'him who had Henry the glorious King of England 'for his father, and whom we ſee an accompliſhed 'ſcholar, and philoſopher, as well as a brave ſoldier, 'and expert commander; ſo that Britain with joy ac'knowledges, that in you, ſhe enjoys another Henry.' Does not this paſſage clearly intimate that King Henry was then dead? Now that Prince deceaſed in 1135 (16), and our author finiſhed his hiſtory in 1128. So much for Mr Thompſon's ſuppoſition. Ralph Higden in his Polychronicon, cites Jeffrey ſometimes, Alfred ſometimes, and ſometimes he quotes them both together (17), would he have done this, if he had thought Alfred a mere tranſcriber, and if he was not thought ſo almoſt 400 years ago, why ſhould we think him ſo now. Biſhop Nicholſon ſays, that probably all the four treatiſes aſcribed to our Alfred might well be ſtiled, Defloratione Galfredi, *i. e. Extracts from Jeffrey* (18), but this was only that Prelate's gueſs, who had a mighty knack at characterizing authors he never ſaw, and we have fully proved that he gueſſed wrong; and to do him juſtice, what he afterwards ſays, fully proves that he much doubted whether Alfred ever ſaw Jeffrey's book at all, and for this good reaſon, becauſe he was as early a writer as himſelf (19). This the Biſhop ſuſpected, and we apprehend is now put out of queſtion by Mr Hearne's publication of his work.

(10) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 30.

(11) Ran. Higd. in Polychron.

(12) See the Preface to his works.

(13) See Camden's Collection.

(14) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 29.

(15) Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory, p. 2, 3.

(16) Stowe, Hollingſhead, &c.

(17) XX Script. à Thoma Gale edit. p. 479.

(18) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 57.

(19) Ibid.

E

ALSOP (VINCENT) a Northamptonſhire man, educated in St John's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*a*). He received Deacons orders from a Biſhop, after which he went down into Rutlandſhire, and ſettled at Oakham, where he was an aſſiſtant to the maſter of the free-ſchool. As he was a man of ſprightly pleaſant wit, he fell there into indifferent company, but was reclaimed by the frequent admonitions of the reverend Mr Benjamin King (*b*). He afterwards married that gentleman's daughter, and becoming a convert to his principles received ordination in the Preſbyterian way, not being ſatisfied with that which he had from the Biſhop [*A*]. He

(*a*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 487. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 743.

(*b*) Calamy, ibid.

[*A*] *With that which he had from the Biſhop.*] As this is a very remarkable paſſage, it may not be amiſs to cite Dr Calamy's account, in his own words. 'I have been informed, *ſays he*, by a very worthy perſon, that he had it from Mr Benjamin King of Oke'ham in Rutland, (who was Mr Alſop's father-in-law) that the ſaid Mr Alſop was ordained by a 'Biſhop; and not being ſatisfied with that ordination, 'was afterwards ordained by Preſbyters. I cannot 'queſtion the truth of this paſſage, when I conſider 'the way of it's conveyance, and therefore, I ſuppoſe 'the reaſon of it muſt be this, That the Biſhop only 'admitted

He was ſettled at Wilbee in the county of Northampton, whence he was ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity (*c*). After this he ventured to preach ſometimes at Oakham, and at Wellingborough where he lived, and was once ſix months in priſon for praying by a ſick perſon (*d*). A book he writ againſt Dr Sherlock in a humorous ſtyle, made him well known to the world, and induced Mr Cawton, an eminent Nonconformiſt in Weſtminſter, to recommend him to his congregation for his ſucceſſor. On receiving this call, he quitted Northamptonſhire and came to London, where he preached conſtantly, and wrote ſeveral pieces which were extremely well received by the publick (*e*). His living in the neighbourhood of the court, expoſed him to many inconveniences; however he had the good fortune to eſcape impriſonment and fines, by an odd accident, which was, the informers not knowing his Chriſtian name, which for this reaſon he ſtudiouſly concealed (*f*). Wood, who mentions him more than once, took his name to be Benjamin; probably from the ſameneſs of *Ben* and *Vin*, in their ſound. His ſufferings however ended with the reign of Charles II, or at leaſt in the beginning of the next reign, when Mr Alſop's ſon engaging in treaſonable practices, was freely pardoned by King James (*g*). After this our divine went frequently to Court, and is generally ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who drew the addreſs to that Prince, for his general indulgence [*B*]. • After the Revolution, Mr Alſop gave very publick teſtimonies of his affection for the government, yet upon all occaſions he ſpoke very reſpectfully of King James, and retained a very high ſenſe of his clemency, in ſparing his only ſon (*b*). The remainder of his life he ſpent in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, preaching once every Lord's Day, had a Thurſday lecture, and was beſides one of the lecturers at Pinner's-hall (*i*). He lived to be a very old man, and preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt [*C*]. On grave ſubjects he wrote with a becoming ſerioufneſs; but where wit might properly be ſhewn, he diſplayed his to great advantage (*k*). Anthony Wood indeed repreſents him as a man of mean parts, and meer pretender to genteel raillery (*l*). But Dr South, who was full as good a judge of men as Wood, underſtood wit and language much better, and was by no means partial to the Nonconformiſts, allows our author his due praiſe (*m*). Mr Alſop died full of days, on the eighth of May, 1703 (*n*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr Slater, and his memory will be always preſerved by his own learned and elegant writings. Of theſe the moſt remarkable are, 1. *Antiſozzo:* in vindication of ſome great truths oppoſed by Dr William Sherlock, 8*vo*, 1675. 2. *Melius Inquirendum:* in anſwer to Dr Goodman's *Compaſſionate Enquiry*, 8*vo*, 1679. 3. *The Miſchief of Impoſitions:* in anſwer to Dr Stillingfleet's *Miſchief of Separation*, 1680. 4. *Duty and Intereſt united in Praiſe and Prayer for Kings*, September 8, 1695. 5. *Practical Godlineſs, the Ornament of Religion*, 8*vo*, 1696. 6. *God*

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 397.

(*g*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) See his Antiſozzo, in anſwer to Dr Sherlock.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 634.

(*n*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 489.

'admitted him into Deacons Orders, and upon this 'ſuppoſition, he might think that ordination defective, 'ſo as to need ſomething farther, in order to his be- 'ing capacitated for ſome miniſterial acts, which Dea- 'cons are not called to. And yet, at the ſame time 'I am very ſenſible, that ſome of the ejected mini- 'ſters had no other ordination than that, and thought 'it to be ſufficient. Allowance may be very well 'made for different ſentiments in ſuch things as theſe, 'among perſons of worth and eminence (1).'

(1) Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 634.

[*B*] *Drew the addreſs to that Prince for his indulgence.*] This addreſs is now become ſo ſcarce, as to be a kind of curioſity, and therefore, I think it cannot be amiſs to reprint it here from an authentick copy. It was preſented by the following miniſters, Mr Hurſt, Mr Cheſter, Mr Slater, Mr Cox, Mr Roſwell, Mr Turner, Mr Franklin, Mr Deal, and Mr Reynolds. The title was, *The Humble Addreſs of the Preſbyterians*; and thus it ran.

'*May it pleaſe your Moſt Sacred Majeſty*

'TO believe the thankfulneſs of our hearts, be- 'yond any expreſſions of our lips or pens, for 'your moſt gracious declaration of liberty for us, in 'the worſhip of God, which we truſt we ſhall ever 'value above our property, as that, without which 'we could enjoy nothing which we could call our 'own, without the greateſt uneaſineſs imaginable: 'But your majeſty having in the ſame declaration alſo 'ſecured that unto us both by your royal word and 'act: What could your majeſty have done more for 'us? Or what is left for us further to aſk of the 'King? And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed your moſt 'excellent majeſty, to give this ſafe port to your poor 'ſubjects, ſo long toſſed with tempeſts, and juſtly to 'believe that loyalty is not entailed to a party, as we 'hope we ſhall ever juſtify the credit which your ma- 'jeſty's charity in that point hath given us; ſo we 'ſhall not ceaſe to bow our knees to the God whom 'we ſerve, and by whom Kings reign, beſeeching 'him to recompenſe this royal favour to your majeſty, 'with length of days, uninterrupted health, felicity 'in your royal relations, ſucceſs in your great councils 'and affairs, and finally, with the moſt glorious li- 'berty of the ſons of God, heartily crying, as with 'one voice, Let the King live for ever. Subſcribed 'on the behalf of ourſelves and the reſt of our 'perſuaſion.'

The King's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

'I Have already found two good effects of my de- 'claration; the eaſing and pleaſing my ſubjects 'you ſpake of, and my reſtoring to God, the empire 'over conſcience: it has been my judgment a long 'time, that none has, or ought to have, any power 'over the conſcience but God. I underſtand, there 'are ſome jealouſies among my ſubjects, that I have 'done this in a deſign: But you look like gentlemen 'of too great ingenuity to entertain any ſuch ſuſpicion. 'Gentlemen, I proteſt before God, and I deſire you 'to tell all manner of people of all perſwaſions, as 'you have opportunity to converſe with them, that 'I have no other deſign than that I have ſpoke of. 'And, gentlemen, I hope to live to ſee the day, when 'you ſhall as well have Magna Charta for the liberty 'of conſcience, as you have had for your properties. 'And now, gentlemen, do you ſo preach to your 'hearers as they may be good Chriſtians, and then, I 'do not queſtion but they will be good ſubjects (2).'

(2) See Biſhop Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 510. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 488.

[*C*] *Preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt.*] We owe alſo this particular to Dr Calamy, who delivers himſelf in theſe words. 'I was very ſtrictly examined by him 'before my ordination; at which time it falling to 'my lot to make and defend a Latin Theſis, upon 'this queſtion, (which he himſelf gave me) *An Chriſtus 'Officio Sacerdotali fungatur in Cælis tantum?* He '(for argument's ſake, as is the way of the ſchools) 'oppoſed me with all the vigour, ſmartneſs, and 'fluency of a young man, though he was then conſi- 'derably advanced in years. This was in the year '1694, when Mr Joſeph Bennet, Mr Tho. Reynolds, 'Mr Joſeph

6. *God in the Mount:* A Sermon on the wonderful Deliverance of his Majeſty from Aſſaſſination, and the Nation from Invaſion. 7. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter on the Publick Faſt*, December 19, 1701. 8. *A Sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners.* 9. *A Faithful Reproof to a Falſe Report, with reference to the Differences among the United Miniſters in London*, 8vo. With ſeveral Sermons in the *Morning Exerciſe.*

'Mr Joſeph Hill, Mr Ebenezer Bradſhaw, Mr 'Joſhua Bayes, Mr King of Rumford, and I, were 'publickly ordained, in the diſſenting place of wor- 'ſhip by Little St Helens: The perſons who aſſiſted 'in, and carried on the ſolemnity, being Dr Samuel 'Anneſley, Mr Richard Stretton, Mr Vincent Alſop, 'Mr (afterwards Dr) Daniel Williams, Mr Matthew 'Silveſter, and Mr Thomas Kentiſh, and this was the 'firſt publick ordination among the Diſſenters in the 'city, from the time of the taking place of the act of 'Uniformity (3).' E

(3) Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 635.

AMBROSE (ISAAC), a noted Preſbyterian Teacher in the times of the Uſurpation, and author of ſeveral pieces [*A*], was a clergyman's ſon, and deſcended from the *Ambroſes* of *Ambroſe-hall*, in Lancaſhire. In the beginning of the year 1621, he was admitted a Batteler of Brazen-noſe-college in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards he took holy orders, and officiated in ſome little cure in his own country. Being in very low circumſtances, he was often obliged to the bounty of William, Earl of Bedford, for the relief of himſelf and his family; and, Mr Wood thinks, that Lord procured him to be inſerted in the liſt of his Majeſty's preachers appointed for the county of Lancaſter. Afterwards, upon the change of the times in 1641, he left the Church of England, and went over to the Preſbyterian party, took the *Covenant*, and became a preacher of the Goſpel at Garſtang, and afterwards at Preſton in his own country. He was very zealous and very active againſt the clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church; eſpecially when he was appointed aſſiſtant to the commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they then called *ſcandalous and ignorant miniſters and ſchool-maſters.* It is ſaid, he died ſuddenly of an apoplexy (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 334, 335.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] 1. Prima, Media, *and* Ultima, *or, The Firſt, Middle, and laſt Things; wherein are ſet forth*; I. *The Doctrine of Regeneration, or the New Birth.* II. *The Practice of Sanctification, in the Means, Duties, Ordinances, both private and publick, for Continuance and Increaſe of a godly Life.* III. *Certain Meditations of Man's Miſery, in his Life, Death, Judgment, and Execution; as alſo of God's Mercy in our Redemption and Salvation.* The *Prima* and *Ultima*, were printed at London, in 1640, in quarto. The *Media*, taken chiefly out of the writings of the moſt eminent practical Divines, was firſt printed at London (with the *Prima* and *Ultima*) in 1650, in quarto; and afterwards in 1659, in quarto. To which is added, a Sermon on *Redeeming the Time*, preached at Preſton, January 4, 1657, at the funeral of Lady Margaret Houghton. The authors, whom he abridges in the *Media*, were moſtly Separatiſts. The book was licenſed by Mr Charles Herle, and recommended to the world by John Angier, Thomas Johnſon, and John Waite, B. D. in their reſpective epiſtles prefixed to it. At length all three were printed together at London, in 1674, in a large folio, with a print of the author, aged fifty-nine. The book was reprinted in 1682, and again in 1689, both editions in folio. 2. *Looking upon Jeſus. A View of the everlaſting Goſpel, or the Soul's eyeing of Jeſus as carrying on the great Work of Man's Salvation.* London, 1658, 4*to*. In the penning of which piece, Mr Wood tells us, he took great delight, it being a ſubject, as the author himſelf complains, almoſt wholly neglected by others. 3. *War with Devils, Miniſtration of, and Communication with, Angels*; printed with the former. At the end of this treatiſe are ſubjoined two letters, the firſt written by Richard Baxter, dated London, November 29, 1661; and the other by William Cole, dated Preſton, October 8, 1661 (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS (*a*), or AURELIUS AMBROSIUS (*b*), a famous General of the antient Britons, and afterwards King, was of Roman extraction [*A*], and commonly ſuppoſed to be ſon of one of the Kings, elected by the Britons after the Romans had left the iſland (*c*). He was educated at the court of Aldroen King of Armorica; who, at the requeſt of the Britons, ſent him over (*d*), at the head of ten thouſand men, to aſſiſt them againſt the Saxons, whom Vortigern their King had invited into Britain (*e*). Ambroſius's ſucceſs againſt the Saxons was ſo conſiderable, that the Britons choſe him for their King (*f*), obliging Vortigern to yield to him all the weſtern part of the kingdom, divided by the Roman high-way called *Watling-ſtreet.* Some time after, the Britons being diſcontented with Vortigern, and having withdrawn their allegiance from him, that unhappy Prince retired to a caſtle in Wales; where being beſieged by Ambroſius, and the caſtle taking fire, he periſhed in the flames (*g*), and left his rival ſole monarch of Britain (*h*), who now took upon him the imperial purple after the manner of the Roman Emperors. Geoffrey of Monmouth

(*a*) Gildæ Epiſt. de excidio & conqueſtu Britanniæ, ſect. 25, 26. & Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 16.

(*b*) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 1.

(*c*) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Lond. 1685, p. 319.

(*d*) About the year 457.

(*e*) See the article VORTIGERN.

(*f*) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 2.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) An. 476.

[*A*] *He was of Roman extraction.*] 'Common 'opinion (ſays Mr Milton) but grounded chiefly on 'the Britiſh fables, makes this Ambroſius to be the 'younger ſon of that Conſtantine, whoſe eldeſt was 'Conſtance the Monk: who both loſt their lives 'abroad uſurping the empire. But the expreſs words 'both of Gildas and Bede aſſure us, that the parents 'of this Ambroſius, having here borne regal dignity, 'were ſlain in the Pictiſh wars and commotions in the 'iſland (1).' Gildas's words here referred to are theſe: 'Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto (qui 'ſolus fortè Romanæ gentis tantæ tempeſtatis colliſioni, occiſis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum 'indutis, ſuperfuerat ——) vires capeſſunt (2). *i. e.* 'They recover ſtrength under the command of Ambro- 'ſius Aurelianus, a man of great virtues, who per- 'haps was the only ſurviving Prince of Roman ex- 'traction; his parents, who bore the ſovereign cha- 'racter, having been ſlain during the commotions of 'thoſe times.' Bede has borrowed theſe words with a ſlight variation. *Utebantur eo tempore Duce Ambroſio Aureliano, viro modeſto, qui ſolus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempeſtati ſuperfuerat, occiſis in eadem parentibus regium nomen & inſigne ferentibus* (3).

(1) Milton's History of England, B. iii. an. 446.

(2) Gildæ Epiſt. de excidio &c. Britanniæ, ſect. 25.

(3) Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 16.

mouth pretends (*i*), that Ambrosius built *Stone-henge* near Salisbury in Wiltshire [*B*], in memory of three hundred British Lords, who were massacred by the Saxon General Hengist (*k*). He distinguished himself highly by his valour and conduct against the enemies of his country [*C*]; and took occasion to regulate the affairs of the Church [*D*], which

(*i*) Ubi supra, c. 12.

(*k*) See the article HENGIST.

[*B*] *It is said, Ambrosius built Stone-henge near Salisbury in Wiltshire.*] Geoffrey of Monmouth fables, that Ambrosius, coming to a monastery near Kaercaradoc, now Salisbury, where the three hundred British Lords massacred by Hengist lay buried, and resolving to perpetuate the memory of this action by some remarkable building, ordered his workmen to prepare a large quantity of stones and other materials. But having, at the instigation of Tremounus Archbishop of Caer-leon, consulted the famous Merlin, that magician advised him to send over to Ireland for certain great stones, which were called Chorea Gigantum. *i. e. The Giant's Dance*, and which were to be found placed in a circle on a hill called *Kill* : having been brought thither by certain giants from the farthest borders of Africa, at the time when the country was inhabited by giants. Whereupon Uther Pendragon, Ambrosius's brother, and a body of forces, were sent into Ireland to fetch these stones; but were opposed in their attempt by Gillomanius King of the country, who at first derided the folly of the Britons in undertaking so ridiculous an expedition, but afterwards resolved to frustrate their design. Nevertheless the Britons, having vanquished that Prince in battle, found means to bring away the stones, though not without great difficulty, and through the direction and assistance of Merlin, who had accompanied them. These wonderful stones, by order of Ambrosius, were placed over the graves of the British Lords, and are what is now called Stone-henge (4). Alexander Necham celebrates this fable in the following verses (5):

(4) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.

(5) In Poemate De divinæ Sapientiæ laudibus.

Nobilis est lapidum structura, chorea gigantum:
Ars experta suum posse peregit opus.
Quod ne prodiret in lucem segnius, artem
Se, viresque suas consuluisse reor.
Hoc opus adscribit Merlino garrula fama;
Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
Illa congerie fertur decorata fuisse
Tellus, quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves.
Hinc tantum munus suscepit Hibernia gaudens:
Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla satis.
Nam respersus aquis magnam transfudit in illas
Vim, queis curari sæpius æger eget.
Uther Pendragon molem tranvexit ad Ambri
Fines, de victo victor ab hoste means.
O quot nobilium, quot corpora sacra virorum
Illic Hengisti proditione jacent!
Intercepta fuit gens inclyta, gens generosa;
Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta nimis.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions this British fable. 'Juxta 'Britannicam historiam *(says he)* lapides istos Rex 'Britonum Aurelius Ambrosius, divina Merlini dili-'gentia, de Hibernia in Britanniam advehi procuravit; '& ut tanti facinoris egregium aliquod memoriale re-'linqueret, eodem ordine & arte quâ prius, in loco 'constituit, ubi occultis Saxonum cultris Britanniæ flos 'cecidit, & sub pacis obtentu, nequitiæ telis, male 'tuta regni juventus occubuit (6). ——— *According 'to the British history, Ambrosius King of the Britons, 'by the advice and assistance of the enchanter Merlin, 'procured these stones to be brought from Ireland into 'Britain; and that he might leave some remarkable 'monument of so base an action, he ranged them in the 'same order, in which they had been disposed before, 'on the very spot, where the flower of the British 'youth, not suspecting any treachery, fell by the con-'cealed daggers of the Saxons, under the pretence of 'peace and friendship.*' Polydore Vergil assigns another origin of Stone-henge. He tells us, it was erected by the Britons as a monument to their General Ambrosius, on the place where he fell in battle, to perpetuate the memory of his glorious actions, and services done to his country. *Britannus duci suo Ambrosio de republica bene merito magnificum posuit sepulchrum, factum ad formam coronæ, ex magnis quadratis lapidibus, eo loco ubi pugnando ceciderat; ut tanti ducis virtus ne oblivione eorum, qui tunc erant, aut reticentia posterorum insepulta esset* (7). And in John of Tinmouth (8), the place, which is now called Stone-henge, is styled 'Mons Ambrosii, *Ambrosius's Hill.*' I shall only observe, that both these stories are rejected by our best antiquarians, though they are by no means agreed as to the true origin of that famous piece of antiquity.

(6) Girald. Cambrens. Topograph. distinct. 2. c. 18.

(7) Polyd. Vergil. Anglic. Hist. l. 3. p. 78. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(8) Joan. Tinmuthens. in vit. Dubricii.

[*C*] *He distinguished himself by his valour and conduct against the enemies of his country.*] Some time after the ravage and burning of the island, the Saxons gave over pursuing the Britons, and marched back to their head-quarters. But, the enemy being out of sight, the Britons began to recover their spirits, to peep out of their hiding-places, and draw into a body. And having resolved upon an attempt to recover their country, they unanimously, in the first place, implored the protection of heaven: then, under the conduct of Ambrosius, they marched up into the country, gave the enemy battle, and providentially defeated them. After this victory, the fortunes of the Britons and Saxons were various, and seemed to hang in suspence, until the battle of Bannesdon near Bath, in which the Saxons were entirely routed, about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain. *At ubi hostilis exercitus, exterminatis dispersisque insulæ indigenis, domum reversus est, cæperunt illi paulatim vires animosque resumere, emergentes de latibulis quibus abditi fuerant, & unanimo consensu auxilium cæleste precantes, ne usque ad internecionem usquequaque delerentur. ——— Hoc ergo duce (sc.* Ambrosio Aureliano*) vires capessunt Britones, & victores provocantes ad prælium, victoriam ipsi, Deo favente, suscipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, quadragesimo circiter & quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam* (9).

(9) Bede, ubi supra.

[*D*] *He regulated the affairs of the Church.*] After the Britons had defeated the Saxons, and obliged them to retire a good way Northward, Ambrosius is said to have convened the Princes and great men at York; where he gave orders for repairing the churches destroyed by the Saxons, and restoring the exercise of religion to it's former lustre (10). This, though reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of no great credit, yet, in the opinion of the learned Dr Stillingfleet (11), is agreeable enough to probability. Besides, it is confirmed by Matthew of Westminster (12), who highly applauds the great zeal of Ambrosius in repairing the churches, encouraging the clergy, and restoring the honour of religion. The Monmouth historian adds (13), that, in a council of the Britons, Ambrosius gave directions for two metropolitans to supply the vacancies of York and Caer-leon, Sampson being promoted to the former, and Dubricius to the latter. Hector Boethius likewise tells us (14), that Ambrosius restored the churches, re-called the clergy, and established the exercise of true religion; that he broke in pieces the images of the Heathen gods, and severely punished their Priests. And he adds, that some of the Saxons, whom this Prince had permitted to remain in Britain, though they outwardly professed themselves Christians, yet continued privately to offer sacrifice to their idols; which thing being discovered, their Priests were seized, and scourged, and all of them without pity burnt at the stake. *Christi Templa Ambrosii piâ operâ restituta; Pontifices Sacerdotesque suas sunt vocati in sedes; vera religio undique culta; deorum gentilium statuæ effractæ; qui gentilitatis sacerdotes inventi in Britannia, diris suppliciis affecti ——— Verum Saxonum nonnulli in Britannia Ambrosio permittente remanentes, Christianam ementientes religionem, clam idolis litabant: quâ re compertâ, capti sacrificuli, cæsi loris, ullâ fine commiseratione ad unum sunt cremati.* Here may be inserted the following unpolished verses of Gotfrid of Viterbo (15), in which, at the same time that he celebrates Ambrosius for restoring peace to his country, and regulating affairs both in Church and State, he accuses him of a persecuting spirit, and of favouring Jews and Heretics, particularly the Manichæans.

(10) Galfr. Monumeth. ubi supra, c. 9.

(11) Antiquities of the British Churches. c. 5.

(12) Flores Histor. An. 488.

(13) Ibid. c. 12.

(14) Hist. Scot. l. viii.

(15) Chron. part. xviii. apud Usserii Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Lond. 1687, p. 243.

which were in extreme diſorder occaſioned by thoſe wars (*l*). The Monmouth hiſtorian, who gives this Prince a very advantageous character [*E*], tells us, he was poiſoned at Wincheſter by one Eopa a Saxon, diſguiſed as a phyſician, and hired for that purpoſe by Paſcentius one of the ſons of Vortigern (*m*): but the generally received opinion is, that he was killed in a battle, which he loſt, in the year 508, againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals [*F*].

(*l*) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(*m*) Ibid. c. 14.

Aurelius primogenitus, regnique monarchus,
Sic Pacis ſancita facit, ſic proſpicit actus;
Ut reparet patriæ gaudia lata quies.
Confovet optima, diſſipat horrida, regia norma;
Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat:
Rex erat, imò pater, geſta paterna patent.
Attamen admiſſa patris feritate patrizat:
Nam prius inflixa renovat tormenta remiſſa,
Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
Æmulus ipſe Dei, populi fit tutor Hebræi,
(*) Al. Arria. * Atria ſcripta vehit, ſectamque fovet Manichæi;
Catholicique rei prorſus habentur ei.
Poſt annos paucos, poſt multa pericula rerum,
Suſcipit Aurelius fatum finemque dierum;
Juſtus apud proceres, ſed reus ante Deum.

[*E*] *Geoffrey of Monmouth gives Ambroſius a very advantageous character.*] Let us cite that hiſtorian's words. 'Tanta virtus & audacia viro inerat; quod 'cum Galliarum partes frequentaret, non erat alter 'qui cum illo congredi auderet. Nam ſi congreſſum 'feciſſet, vel hoſtem ex equo proſternebat, vel haſtam 'in fruſta confringebat. Præterea largus erat in dandis, ſedulus in divinis obſequiis, modeſtus in cunctis, & ſuper omnia mendacium vitans. Fortis pedes, fortior eques, & ad regandum exercitum doctus (16). '——— *He was a man of ſuch bravery and courage, 'that, when he was in Gaul, no one durſt enter the 'liſts with him: for he was ſure to unhorſe his antagoniſt, or to break his ſpear into ſhivers. He was 'moreover generous in beſtowing, careful in the performance of religious duties, moderate in all things, 'and more eſpecially abhorred a lye. He was ſtrong 'on foot, ſtronger on horſeback, and perfectly qualified 'to command an army.'

(16) Galf. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 3.

[*F*] *He was killed in a battle, which he loſt —— againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals.*] This battle was fought near a place, thence called by the Saxons *Cerdick's-ford*, afterwards *Cerdeford*, and now by contraction *Chardford*. Here the Britons and Saxons engaged; and the former giving ground, Ambroſius, now grown old and infirm, endeavoured in vain to rally them; and in the fury of his deſpair threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, where his glorious life was crowned with an honourable death (17). Upon this occaſion the hiſtorians give Ambroſius the name of Nazaleod or Natanleod. It is true, this appellation has induced many to believe, that Ambroſius is not here meant, but ſome other Britiſh King. But the opinion of Camden (18), and other good authors, who make Ambroſius and Nazaleod to be the ſame, is to be preferred. For it is agreed by the beſt hiſtorians, that this Prince was ſlain in fight. But, from the beginning of his reign, we find no battle, in which a Britiſh Monarch was killed, but that of the year 508, in which Ambroſius fell. And this Prince was too remarkable for hiſtorians to neglect mentioning his death, if it happened on any other occaſion.

(17) H. Hunt. Hiſt. l. ii. apud Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 312, 313.

(18) Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 133.

T

AMES (WILLIAM) a Divine in the reigns of King James and King Charles I, famous for his caſuiſtical and controverſial writings; but much more ſo abroad, than in his native country; for he lived many years in foreign parts, and there ended his days: yet as foreigners, who therefore have endeavoured to give account of him and his works, have done it ſo imperfectly, and Bayle among the reſt; we ſhall attempt to ſay ſomething of him more complete. He was deſcended from the antient family of that name, which remains in Norfolk and Somerſetſhire, and was born in the year *1576*. He was educated at Chriſt-Church-college in Cambridge, under the famous Mr William Perkins, who died in 1602; from whom, probably, imbibing ſome Calviniſtical tenets, he became afterwards very diſtinguiſhable for maintaining the ſame; inſomuch, that he gave ſome diſguſt to certain perſons in that univerſity, while he was therein fellow of the college aforeſaid. One inſtance whereof is given us by Dr Fuller (*a*), who informs us, 'That 'about the year 1610-11, this Mr Ames, preaching at St Mary's, or, to uſe his own 'expreſſion, having the place of a *Watchman* for an hour in the *tower* of the univerſity (*b*), 'took occaſion to inveigh againſt the liberty taken at that time; eſpecially in thoſe 'colleges which had *Lords of Miſrule*, a Pagan relique; which, he ſaid, as Polydore 'Vergil has obſerved (*c*), remains only in England. Hence he proceeded to condemn all 'playing at cards and dice; affirming, that the latter in all ages was accounted the device 'of the Devil; and that as God invented the one and twenty letters, whereof he made 'the Bible, the Devil, ſaith an author (*d*), found out the one and twenty ſpots on the 'die; that canon law forbad the uſe thereof, ſeeing, *Inventio Diaboli, nullâ conſuetudine 'poteſt validari* (*e*). His ſermon, continues our author, gave much offence to many of 'his auditors; the rather becauſe in him there was a concurrence of much Nonconformity; 'inſomuch, that to prevent an expulſion from Dr Val. Cary, the Maſter, he fairly forſook 'the college, which proved unto him neither loſs nor diſgrace; being, not long after, by the 'States of Frieſland, choſen Profeſſor of their univerſity.' It may not be improbable, that upon the rigour wherewith Archbiſhop Bancroft preſſed Conformity on the Puritans, for their ſeparation from the Church, many learned men of them retired into the Low Countries; where Engliſh churches were erected, after the Preſbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. But that 'the reverend and learned Dr William Ames, 'one of the moſt acute controverſial writers of his age,' as a late author ſtyles him (*f*), ſettled with the Engliſh church at the Hague, before that Archbiſhop's death; or, as he writes more expreſsly in another place, that he fled from the perſecution of that Archbiſhop, and became miniſter of the Engliſh church there (*g*), does not ſtrictly ſort with chronology; becauſe the Archbiſhop appears by his monumental inſcription (*h*), to have died ſome months before that ſermon above was preached by Mr Ames, at St Mary's. And Bayle ſays, he publiſhed his book in favour of Puritaniſm the ſame year in

(*a*) Hiſt. of the University of Cambridge, fol. 1655. p. 159.

(*b*) Letter from W. Ames to a friend, MS.

(*c*) Lib. v. c. 2.

(*d*) Antonius.

(*e*) Langecruchius in Speculo.

(*f*) Dan. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, &c. Vol. II, 1733, p. 47.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 265.

(*h*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 790.

in England. It might not however, be long after, that he went to the Hague; for in 1613, his diſpute with Grevinchovius, Miniſter at Rotterdam, appeared in print. From thence we are told, he was invited by the States of Frieſland, to the divinity chair in the univerſity of Franeker; which he filled with univerſal reputation for many years. He was at the ſynod of Dort in 1618, and informed King James's Ambaſſador, from time to time, of the debates of that aſſembly (*i*). After he had been at leaſt twelve years in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, he reſigned his profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an invitation to the Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too ſharp for him, who was troubled with ſuch a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every winter would be his laſt. Beſides, he was deſirous of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many years. He held many publick diſputes, publiſhed many learned books, and was a very popular man in all this time; but as his writings were publiſhed abroad, and it is difficult to come at the firſt editions, ſo as to mention them diſtinctly, according to the courſe of publication, we ſhall caſt them in a note together at the latter end. Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, but lived not to publiſh it himſelf; for his conſtitution was ſo ſhattered, that the air of Holland did him no ſervice, upon which he determined to remove to New England; but his aſthma returning, at the beginning of the winter, put an end to his life at Rotterdam; where he was buried on the fourteenth of November, N. S. 1633 (*). Next ſpring his wife and children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable library of Books, which was a rich treaſure to the ſaid country at that time. He was a very learned Divine, concludes my laſt cited author; a ſtrict Calviniſt in doctrine, and of the perſwaſion of the Independents, with regard to the ſubordination and power of Claſſes and Synods (*k*). The ſame year he died, the laſt book he wrote aforeſaid was publiſhed, we ſuppoſe at Rotterdam, for no place is mentioned. The editor informs us, that 'with the coming forth of this book into the light, the learned and famous author, 'Dr Ames, left the light, or darkneſs rather, of this world. And though his name, 'in this controverſy, was hitherto concealed, yet that which was generally but imagined 'before, (that the *Reply*, and this *Freſh Suit*, to Dr Burgeſs's *Rejoynder*, were his work) 'is now certainly known to be his. It pleads truth ſuccinctly and perſpicuouſly, as 'indeed his vein in all his writings and diſcourſes did moſt admirably lead him to do. 'Concluding, that he ſhewed himſelf a pattern of holineſs, a burning and ſhining light, 'a lamp of learning and arts, a champion for truth, eſpecially while he was, for the ſpace 'of twelve years at leaſt, in the Doctor's chair at Franeker, *&c.* (*l*)' After this advertiſement follows a copper print of him, in a little black ſilk cap, thin piqued beard, ruff about his neck, and a cloak over his ſhoulder. The inſcription round it mentions him to be fifty-ſeven years of age, in the year aforeſaid of his death. On the back of this picture is a teſtimony by S. O, aſſerting, 'That the Doctor's books are famous in all 'Europe; upon which many have come to him out of Hungary, Poland, Pruſſia, and 'Flanders, to be educated; as ſundry ſtudents in our land, can teſtify: and I myſelf, 'and divers others have heard them affirm, they would not have ſtayed there, but for the 'liking they had of him.' Of theſe works, there is alſo in this book a catalogue; which, becauſe ſhort and imperfect, we ſhall, in a note below, enlarge [*A*]; and conclude with mentioning

(*i*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*) Henning Witte, in his Diarium Biographicum, places his death erroneouſly ſix years later.

(*k*) D. Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Dr Ames's Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies, &c. 4*to*, 1633, in Advertiſement to the Reader.

[*A*] *In a note below enlarge.*] 1. *Sermons* preached at St Mary's in Cambridge, *&c.* when, or whether printed, we know not. 2. *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus*, 8*vo*. 1610. and in Engliſh, at London, 4*to*. 1641, containing the chief doctrines of the Puritans. 3. *Diſceptatio Scholaſtica* inter *Nic. Grevinchovium* & *Gul. Ameſium*, *&c.* 8vo. Amſt. 1613, concerning Arminius's opinions of election, *&c.* 4. *Diſput. inter Ameſium* & *N. Grevinchovium*, *&c.* Roterd. 8*vo*. 1615, Lugd. Bat. 1617, 1633, *&c.* about reconciliation by the death of Chriſt, *&c.* 5. *Coronis ad Collationem Hagienſem*, 12*mo*. Lugd. Bat. 1618, 1628, 1630. confuting the anſwers given by the Arminians to the Dutch paſtors. 6. *Medulla Theologica*, 12*mo*. Franek. 1623. Amſt. 1627, 1628, 1634, 1641; alſo in Engliſh, Lond. 12*mo*. 7. *Explicatio Utriuſque Epiſtolæ S. Petri*. 12*mo*. Amſt. 1625, 1635; the ſame in Engliſh, Lond. 4*to*. 8. *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 8*vo*. Franek. 1626; againſt the Socinians. 9. *Bellarminus enervatus*, *&c.* 8*vo*. Amſt. 1627, 1628. Oxon. 1629. Lond. 1633, *&c.* 10. *De Conſcientia*, *&c.* 12*mo*. Amſt. 1630, 1631, 1643; and in Engliſh with this title; A Treatiſe on Conſcience, with the Power and Caſes thereof, Lond. 4*to*. 1643. 11. *Antiſynodalia*, *&c.* 12*mo*. Franek. 1629. Amſt. 1633; againſt the Remonſtrants. 12. *Demonſtratio Logicæ veræ*, 12*mo*. Lugd. Bat. 1632. 13. *Diſputatio Theologica*, ibid. againſt Metaphyſicks. 14. *Technometria*, *&c.* Amſt. 8*vo*. 1632, or the purpoſe and bounds of arts. 15. *A Reply to Biſhop Morton* (*). 16. *A Freſh Suit againſt Human Ceremonies in God's Worſhip: or, a Treplication upon Dr Burgeſs's Rejoinder for Dr Morton*, 4*to*. 1633. 17. *A firſt and ſecond Manuduction*. 18. *Reſcriptio ad Reſponſum Grevinchovii de Redemptione Generali*, 8*vo*. Lugd. Bat. 1634. 19. *Chriſtianæ Catecheſeos Sciographia*, 8*vo*. Franek. 1635. 20. *Lectiones in omnes Pſalmos Davidis*, *&c.* 8*vo*, Amſt. 1635, & Lond. 1647. Beſides ſome Prefaces, *&c.* to the writings of others; as before a book compiled by Dr W. Twiſſe (1); and a few other ſcattered pieces, not mentioned in any catalogue of his books. His Latin works were reprinted in an uniform edition, with a preface by Matthias Nethenus (2). A year after his death, John Canne, the leader of the Engliſh Browniſts at Amſterdam, publiſhed a treatiſe, in anſwer to Dr Ames, Mr Daryl, and Mr Bradſhaw (3). But ſeveral other books there are in print, which maintain the Doctor's tenets, and build themſelves much on his authority; as that, publiſhed the ſame year by Caſpar Streſo, intituled, *Reſponſ. pro Ameſio, ad Diſputationem J. Bodſacci* (4); and more particularly another, written not long after his death, by an Engliſh preacher at Amſterdam, in reply to ſome approver of promiſcuous baptiſm; where much diſtinction ſeems paid to Dr Ames, for his not allowing thereof; alſo ſhewing his fitneſs for the paſtoral office; his judgment of the power by which the Church ought to be governed, and his opinion of ſynods and claſſes: wherewith the ſaid author confirms his own arguments. Herein is alſo ſome juſtification of Dr Ames, for his removal from Franeker to the Engliſh aſſembly at Rotterdam; and an account of what works he was author of: which, had it been now at hand, might have perhaps ſome how improved the catalogue above.

(*) To his *Defence of three Ceremonies*, *&c.* the Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, 4*to*, 1610. The *Reply* was printed 4*to*, 1622, which ſeems to have produced *Duplicatio Adverſus Repliçam Mortoni*, 8vo, Col. 163.., and this to have been followed by the *Freſh Suit*, or *Treplication*, next mentioned.

(1) Vindiciæ Gratiæ, Poteſtatis, ac Providentiæ Dei. h. e. Reſponſio ad Examen, lib. Perkinſiani de Predeſtinatione, a Jac. Arminio inſtitutum. lib. iii. Amſt. fol. 1632.

(2) Amſt. 5 Tom. 8vo, 1658.

(3) The Neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the principles of the Nonconformiſts, *&c.* 4*to*, 1634.

(4) Octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1634.

mentioning two or three authors more of the name, to prevent their being confounded with him [*B*].

[*B*] *To prevent their being confounded with him.*] One of them, named alſo William Ames, was a Divine, and publiſher of ſome tracts; but, indeed, later in time; he was a Maſter of Arts, and in 1651, preached a ſermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, John Kendrick, which was ſoon after printed (5). Whether this was ſon of the former, we are not poſitive; nor whether he was the ſame with that William Ames, who was a Quaker, at Amſterdam, and publiſher of many books; from 1657, to 1677, and after; fourteen whereof, written in Dutch, may be more particularly ſeen in the author who has taken the pains to preſerve their titles (6). Another of this ſurname, was Edward Ames, ſtiled Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, and author of two ſermons, called The Proteſtant Peace-maker; with a Poſtſcript or Notes on Mr Baxter's, and ſome other late writings for peace, 4*to*. Lond. 1682 (7). But that he was Biſhop of the ſaid See at this date of that work, does not clearly appear in the ſucceſſion of Iriſh Biſhops: for Dr Edward Wetenhall is ſaid to have held the ſame, from 1678, to the year 1699, and then was ſucceeded by Dr Dive Downes (8). G

(5) Intituled, The Saint's Security againſt Seducing Spirits: preached at St Pauls before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1651. By W. Ames, M. A. 4*to*, Lond. 1652.

(6) John Whiting's Catalogue of the *Friends* books, 8*vo*, Lond. 1708. p. 217, &c.

(7) Catal. Impreſſ. Libror. Biblioth. Bodleianæ. fol. Oxon. 1738, Tom I. p. 41.

(8) Sir James Ware's Antiq. & Hiſt. of Ireland, edit. fol. 1714, under the Archbiſhops of Caſſel, p. 37.

ANDERSON Sir (EDMUND) is ſaid by the Oxford antiquary, to have been a younger brother of a genteel family, in the pariſh of Broughton in Lincolnſhire (*a*). Another writer ſays, it was at Flixborough in Lincolnſhire (*b*). However the family which was originally from Scotland, had firſt retired into Northumberland, and from thence paſſed into Lincolnſhire (*), where Thomas Anderſon, Eſq; father to our Edmund, muſt have been poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable eſtate, ſince he left this younger ſon of his a thouſand pounds to begin the world with, which in thoſe days was a very conſiderable ſum (*c*). After perfecting his grammatical ſtudies in the country, he ſpent ſome time at Oxford, in Lincoln-college, from whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he read law with great aſſiduity, and in due time became a Barriſter. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, he was both Lent and Summer reader; and in the ſixteenth of the Queen, Double reader (*d*). Notes of which readings, are yet extant in MS (*e*). In the nineteenth of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed the Queen's Serjeant at Law. Some time after, but the date I no where find, he became Judge, or, as I take it, one of the Juſtices of Aſſize. For in 1581, he went the Norfolk circuit, and at Bury exerted himſelf againſt the famous Browne, who was the author of thoſe opinions, which were afterwards maintained by a ſect, called from him Browniſts. For this conduct of Judge Anderſon, Dr Edmund Freke, then Biſhop of Norwich, wrote a letter to the Treaſurer Burleigh, deſiring that the ſaid Judge might receive the Queen's thanks, which it is very probable he had, becauſe our Judge ever afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee, in the ſupport of the Eſtabliſhed Church (*f*). In the ſpring of the year 1582, he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and took his place there, on the fourth day of May, in a manner ſo particular, that one cannot doubt the reader's being pleaſed with the account thereof inſerted in the notes [*A*]. In the year following he received the honour of knighthood. In 1586, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for trying Mary, Queen of Scots, and on the twelfth of October the ſame year, he ſat in judgment upon her, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, he ſat again in the Star-chamber, when ſentence was pronounced againſt that Queen (*g*). In 1587, he ſat in the Star-chamber on Secretary Daviſon, who was there charged with iſſuing the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's command, and without her knowledge. After the cauſe had been heard, Sir Roger Manwood then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave his opinion firſt, wherein he extolled the Queen's clemency, which he ſaid Daviſon had inconſiderately prevented, wherefore he was for fining him ten thouſand pounds, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure. Our Chief Juſtice ſpoke next, he ſaid that Daviſon had done *Juſtum, non Juſte*, that is, *He had done what was right, not in a due manner*; otherwiſe

(*) Ex Stem. penes Dom. Edm. Anderſon, Bar.

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 328, edit. 1721.

(*b*) *Anglorum Speculum*: or, England's Worthies, p. 460, Lond. 1684, 8*vo*.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 803, Lond. 1670, 2d edit. 8*vo*.

(*d*) E Regiſtro Hoſpicii Interior. Templi, fol. 149, 150, 165.

(*e*) See note [*D*].

(*f*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 16.

(*g*) Camdeni Annal. 1586.

[*A*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] This account is taken from a letter, written by Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to the Lord Treaſurer (Burleigh) that part of it which relates to our Sage in the law, ran thus. 'On 'Saturday in the morning, my Lord Chancellor did 'awhile ſtand at the Chancery bar, on the ſide of the 'hall. And ſoon after that the Juſtices of the Com'mon-Pleas were ſet, his Lordſhip came to the Com'mon-Pleas, and there ſate down. And all the ſer'jeants ſtanding at the bar, my Lord Chancellor 'called Anderſon by name, declared unto him her 'Majeſty's good likings and opinion of him, and of 'the place and dignity her Majeſty had called him 'unto. And then my Lord Chancellor made a ſhort 'diſcourſe, what the duty and office of a good Ju'ſtice was. And in the end, his Lordſhip called him 'up into the midſt of the court; and then Mr An'derſon kneeling, his commiſſion was read: and that 'done, his Lordſhip took the patent into his hand; 'and then the clerk of the crown, Powle, did read 'him his oath. And after, he himſelf read the oath 'of Supremacy, and ſo kiſſed the book. And my 'Lord Chancellor took him by the hand, and placed 'him upon the bench. And then Father Benloos, be'cauſe he was antient, did put a ſhort caſe. And 'then Serjeant Fleetwood put the next. To the firſt, 'my new Lord Chief Juſtice did himſelf only argue. 'But to the next that Fleetwood put, both he and 'the reſidue of the bench did argue. And I aſſure 'your Lordſhip, added the Recorder, he argued very 'learnedly; and with great facility delivered his 'mind. And this one thing was noted in him, that 'he diſpatched more orders, and anſwered more dif'ficult caſes, in that one forenoon, than were diſpatched 'in a whole week in the time of his predeceſſors.' The Recorder farther remarks in this letter, another ſingularity in theſe words. 'My Lord, under *Bene'dicite*, there runneth a marvellous ſpeech over all 'London, that greater ſums of money were offered (to 'whom I know not) than I may well write of, by 'one of the Exchequer; and all was for this office of 'Lord Chief Juſtice. If it were true, the party did 'not well; if it were not true, the firſt reporters were 'much to blame, to ſcandalize ſuch an officer of her 'Majeſty; by which means he is grown into a greater 'diſcredit, than may be in a ſhort time eaſily forgot'ten.' Adding (to the Lord Treaſurer's honour) 'That it was almoſt in every man's mouth, that his 'Lordſhip, after that he had underſtanding of the of'fering of ſuch a maſs of money, was the means of 'keeping him from that cuſhion;' concluding, 'Truly, 'my Lord, it was well done (1).'

(1) Strype's Anna's, Vol. III. p. 139.

otherwiſe he thought him no bad man (*b*). As this was a very buſy reign, and as our Chief Juſtice was held one of the moſt learned ſages of the law, he had much employment therein; it being the peculiar policy of Queen Elizabeth's adminiſtration, to do all things with the greateſt form, and where the matter would admit of it, with all the countenance from the law that could be given. For this reaſon, in the proceedings againſt thoſe, who endeavoured to ſet up the Geneva diſcipline, in a manner by force, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon was frequently made uſe of, and as he diſcharged his truſt with great zeal, ſo in the caſe of Udal, a Puritan miniſter, who was confined in the year 1589, tried and condemned the year following, our Judge is ſeverely cenſured by Mr Peirce (*i*), as one who endeavoured to trick that worthy man out of his life, with what reaſon the reader will judge from the account given in the note [*B*]. It is highly probable, that the Judge himſelf was ſenſible of the ill will his proceedings againſt theſe ſort of people drew upon him, but it does not appear that it gave him any great pain; ſince in 1596, we have an account of his going the northern circuit, wherein he behaved himſelf exactly in the ſame way [*C*], declaring in his charges, that ſuch perſons as oppoſed

(*b*) Camd. A. D. 1587. Lloyd, p. 803. England's Worthies. p. 460.

(*i*) Vindication of the Diſſenters, Lond. 1717, 8*vo*, p. 129.

[*B*] *From the account given in the note.*] We ſhall, as it is our duty, ſet down the whole of this matter fairly, and in our author's own words. On the 13th of January, 1589-90, Mr Udal apppeared at the Lord Cobham's houſe, before the Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurſt, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, Dr John Young, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Mr Forteſcue, Mr Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor; Dr Aubery, and Dr Lewin. I am careful to ſet down their names, that they may be remembered as they deſerve. The Biſhop aſked him whether he had the allowance of the Biſhop of the dioceſe to go to Newcaſtle? Udal told him, there was no Biſhop at that time in that dioceſe. Then, ſays the Biſhop, you ſhould have gone to the Archbiſhop; but, ſays Udal, there was no Archbiſhop at York neither. This matter then dropped; though afterwards Mr Forteſcue, thinking he would cramp him, brought it about again. You are, ſays he, very cunning in the law; I pray you, by what law did you preach at Newcaſtle, being forbidden at Kingſton? To which Udal anſwered, he knew no law againſt it, ſeeing it was the official, Dr Hone, who ſilenced him, whoſe authority reached not out of his Archdeaconry. And ſo there was an end of that matter, which was too impertinent to have been ſtarted; but only as they would have been glad of any occaſion of worrying him; then the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon told him, he was called thither to anſwer concerning certain books, thought to be of his writing. He told them, if it was any of Martin's books (as my Lord Chamberlain's letters imported) he had cleared himſelf at Lambeth a year and a half before, from being the author of them. Then was he queſtioned, whether he was the author of the Demonſtration, or the Dialogue; to which he refuſed to anſwer. When he was aſked why he would clear himſelf of Martin and not of theſe: he ſaid, becauſe he would not be thought to handle the cauſe of diſcipline as Martin did; but he thought otherwiſe of the books now mentioned, and cared not, though they ſhould be fathered upon him. He ſaid likewiſe, he thought the author, for any thing he knew, did well; and he knew he was inquired after to be puniſhed, and therefore he thought it his duty to hinder the finding him out, which he could not better do than this: for if every one ſuſpected denyed it, the author, at length, muſt needs be found out. The Lord Anderſon then urged him: Why dare you not confeſs it, if you be the author of it? Dare you not ſtand to your own doings? to this he thus anſwered: I profeſſed before that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them, but whether I made them or no, I will not anſwer; neither if any other book of that argument whatſoever, goeth without name, if you ſhould aſk me for the reaſons alledged before. Beſides that, if I were the author, I think that by law, I need not anſwer. That is true, ſays Anderſon, if it concerned the loſs of your life. Oh barbarous wickedneſs! to urge and ſcrew him by ſuch arts as theſe to witneſs againſt himſelf, and to inſinuate the matter did not touch his life, when the deſign was to try him for his life, as they afterwards did and condemned him. Well, Udal anſwered him thus: I pray your Lordſhip, doth not the law ſay generally; No man ſhall be put to anſwer without preſentment before juſtices, or matter of record, or by due proceſs, and writ original, *&c. A.* 42. *Edw.* 3. *cap.* III. that is law, ſays Anderſon, and it is not Law. I underſtand you not, my Lord, ſays Udal: 'tis a ſtatute which is in force, if it be not repealed; and ſo that Lord's mouth was ſtopped for a while, and he was relieved by ſome of his auxiliaries (2).

As to the caſe of Mr Udal, the reader will find it at large, under his article in this Dictionary; but as to what relates to the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, it is but reaſonable to diſcuſs that matter here. All that is ſaid above is taken from Udal's trial, which was publiſhed by himſelf or his friends, and therefore it might be queſtioned, whether this be ſtrict evidence againſt the Chief Juſtice. But admit it were ſo; he ſat here as one of the Queen's commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and therefore, what he ſays muſt be conſidered as ſaid in that capacity. The anſwer, with reſpect to the ſtatute, is very obſcure. Another writer, who pretends to tranſcribe Mr Peirce (3), tells us, the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, *That is law if it be not repealed*; this is clear and plain, and in favour of the priſoner. As to the exclamation in the foregoing account, it ſeems to be not altogether well founded; and, without breach of charity, one may venture to ſay, that it has no foundation at all. For it ſtands on this ſuppoſition: that the Chief Juſtice then knew, that there was an intention to try Udal for his life; a thing altogether improbable. This examination was in January, and he was not tried till the 24th of July following. Mr Neal indeed, would help this matter a little better out; for he, inſtead of Peirce's exclamation, inſerts this reflection: *And yet the Juſtice tried and condemned him for his life* (4), which is a direct falſhood, inaſmuch, as the Judges who tried him, were Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering; neither was he condemned when he was convicted, but at the Lent aſſizes following; and then by Serjeant Puckering, and not Sir E. Anderſon; ſo that on the whole, though this caſe may prove that our Chief Juſtice was a vehement man againſt Puritans, yet it proves nothing as to his endeavouring to take away Udal's life.

(2) Pierce's Vindication, Part i. p. 129, 130.

(3) Mr Neal in his Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 509.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Behaved himſelf exactly in the ſame way.*] After the buſineſs of Hacket and Coppinger, which in thoſe days was thought the firſt ſtirrings of rebellion, in favour of the Geneva diſcipline, the Judges were very ſevere upon Separatiſts; and our Chief Juſtice, to whom the law was a guide in all things, certainly carried this matter pretty far: we have ſtill remaining the following account of his proceedings at Lincoln aſſizes, which, as a proof of our impartiality, we ſhall ſet down at large. 'Since my Lord Anderſon hath ob-
'tained to ride this circuit, the miniſtry is grown into
'intolerable contempt; which is univerſally imputed
'unto him, both by thoſe that would, and thoſe
'that would not have it ſo. I am not ignorant how
'dangerous it is to ſpeak the truth of mighty men, and
'how unlawful it is, by the word of God, to malign
'the rulers of the people. Neither, I thank God,
'have I any affection to blot paper with depraving
'words; and therefore, I will report to you what is
'done and no further. My Lord Anderſon, in his
'firſt and ſecond charge at Lincoln, inſinuated with
'wonderful vehemency, that the country is troubled
'with Browniſts, with Diſciplinarians, as he called
'them; and erectors of Preſbyteries. I ſpeak the
'truth to you, Sir, having been at Alford theſe four-
'teen years, I never heard of any Browniſt, but only
'one Thomas Man, who preſently fled upon his
'ſchiſm: nor do know any miniſter or other in all this
'country, that doth ſo much as favour the erecting
'of a preſbytery. Neither are the people made ac-
'quainted

oppoſed the Eſtabliſhed Church, oppoſed her Majeſty's authority, who was Supreme in caſes as well eccleſiaſtical, as civil, and were, in that light enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of the publick peace; wherefore of ſuch he directed the grand-juries to enquire, that they might be puniſhed (*k*). He was indeed a very rigid lawyer, one who governed himſelf entirely by ſtatutes, and thought only that to be right which was law. This appeared very ſignally in his conduct at the trial of Henry Cuffe, who was Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex, where the Attorney-General charging the priſoner ſyllogiſtically, and Cuffe anſwering him in the ſame ſtyle, L. C. J. Anderſon ſaid ſmartly, *I ſit here to judge of Law, and not of Logick*, and directed Mr Attorney to preſs the ſtatute of Edward III, which was that on which Mr Cuffe was indicted (*l*). His ſternneſs made him more feared than loved; however, as an able lawyer, and a Judge of great experience, he kept his poſt, in the execution of which he was reputed ſevere and ſtrict in the obſervation of what was taught in courts, and laid down as law by Reports; but this ought to be conſidered as a vulgar opinion, only grounded on his known attachment to the conſtitution, and his high notions of the reaſonableneſs of our laws, for otherwiſe we have his expreſs declaration to the contrary, and that he neither expected precedents in all caſes, nor would be bound by them where he ſaw they were not founded upon juſtice, but would act as if there were no ſuch precedents (*m*) [*D*]. His ſteadineſs was ſo great, that he valued no intereſt at court, nor would be driven from what he thought right, by any authority whatever, as manifeſtly appeared in the caſe of Cavendiſh, wherein he defied the powerful Earl of Leiceſter, and got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative (*n*) [*E*]. Neither was it in his own caſe alone

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 267.

(*l*) Camd. Ann. A. D. 1600. England's Worthies, p. 460. Lloyd, p. 805.

(*m*) Goldeſborough Reports, p. 96.

(*n*) Le Neve's MS. Vol. III. p. 359.

'quainted with the controverſy of diſcipline, in all Lindſey coaſt, that I can perceive. For men have 'enough to do, to ſtand by that religion which her 'bleſſed Majeſty hath approved unto us, by her ex- 'preſs laws. Nevertheleſs, the ill affected people, 'upon the occaſion of theſe two charges, do think all 'religion will be made Browniſm. And this judge, 'with ſo much wrath, ſo many oaths, and ſuch re- 'proachful revilings upon the bench, carrieth himſelf, 'that there is offence taken at it by perſons of princi- 'pal credit and note, throughout all the circuits. If 'he take information from covert Papiſts of the ſtate 'of the Church there, how lamentable ſhall our caſe 'be. There have been aſſays given to extend the ſta- 'tute of recuſancy, to thoſe that go to hear ſermons 'elſewhere, though at other times they frequent their 'own church, and hear divine ſervice moſt dutifully. 'In his charge this laſt time, he called the preachers 'knaves; ſaying that they would ſtart up in the pulpit, 'and ſpeak againſt every body. And whereas, there 'was the laſt Lent obtained by Lord Clinton, and the 'Deputy-lieutenants, for thoſe parts, with other Ju- 'ſtices, the Biſhop's allowance, with certain condi- 'tions for a meeting to be held at Lowth, to ſpend 'the whole day in the hearing of the Word, wherein 'men might faſt if they would; and thereupon certain 'preachers being moved by them, preached there; he 'urged thereupon, the ſtatute for conventicles, and 'animated the grand-jury accordingly; affirming that 'he would complain to her Majeſty of any, (though 'never ſo great) which ſhould ſhew themſelves diſcon- 'tented with the jury for any ſuch matter. The de- 'meanor of him and the other judge, as they ſit by 'turns upon the jail, is quite oppoſite. And thoſe 'who are maliciouſly affected, when Mr Juſtice Clinch 'ſitteth upon the jail, do labour to adjourn their com- 'plaints (though they be before upon the file) to the 'next aſſize. And the gentlemen, in the ſeveral 'ſhires, are endangered by this means to be caſt into 'a faction. The beſt is, that there is little faction 'likely to grow among the miniſters hereby. For 'howſoever they differ otherwiſe, they hold this to 'be the common cauſe; and do heartily wiſh a more 'chriſtian proceeding. Now the reaſon why a faction 'is like to grow in the one, and not in the other, is 'very evident; and that is this; that there are very 'few in the miniſtry which are Papiſts in their hearts. 'And the moſt muſt needs love the common cauſe of 'religion: for the other ſort you are wiſe enough to 'conſider the difference.' Theſe paſſages are taken from a letter, written by a perſon unknown of the clergy, to a perſon of quality (5). Mr Neal, in his hiſtory of the Puritans, citing a paſſage from this letter, quotes Strype ſimply in his margin (6), which muſt naturally miſlead the reader, becauſe there is not one word ſaid of it's being only a citation in Strype. This is a material thing. For if the Chief Juſtice was violent on the one hand, this letter-writer is no leſs partial on the other; and therefore it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh, that this was a charge brought againſt the Chief Juſtice, and not any concluſion of Mr Strype's founded on hearing the evidence on both ſides.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. IV, p. 267.

(6) Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 589.

[*D*] *Would act as if there were no ſuch precedents.*] This fact we learn from the Reports in his time, publiſhed by Mr Goldeſborough. 'The caſe of the 'Reſceit was moved again; and *Shuttleworth* ſaid, 'that he cannot be received, becauſe he is named in 'the writ, and ſaid that he had ſearched all the books, 'and there is not one caſe, where he which is named 'in the writ, may be received. *Anderſon*. What of 'that? Shall not we give judgment becauſe it is not 'adjudged in the books before? We will give judgment 'according to reaſon, and if there be no reaſon in the 'books, I will not regard them (7).'

(7) Goldeſborough's Reports, 4*to*, 1653, p. 96.

[*E*] *Got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative.*] The caſe was this, one Mr Cavendiſh, who was a creature of the Earl of Leiceſter's, had procured by his intereſt the Queen's letters patents, for making out writs of Superſedeas upon Exigents in the court of Common-Pleas, and a meſſage was ſent to the Judges to admit him to that office, with which, as they conceived, the Queen had no right to grant any ſuch patent, they did not comply. Upon this, Mr Cavendiſh, by the aſſiſtance of his patron, obtained a letter from the Queen to quicken them, which however did not produce what was expected from it. The courtier however purſued his point, and obtained another letter under the Queen's ſignet and ſign manual, conceived in the following terms: 'Truſty 'and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we 'granted to our truſty and well beloved ſervant '*Richard Cavendiſh*, Eſq; by our letters patents, 'under our great ſeal of England, the making, and 'writing of all Superſedeas's upon Exigent, iſſuing out 'of our Court of Common-Pleas, and have divers 'times ſent unto you for his admittance into the 'ſaid office, as well by meſſage delivered by perſons 'near about us, as otherwiſe, which nevertheleſs hath 'been neglected; in conſideration whereof, we, for 'that our ſaid ſervant was to depart into the Low 'Countries for a ſeaſon, gave commandment for the 'ſequeſtration *de les profits* of the ſaid office, until our 'further pleaſure therein ſhould be declared, where- 'fore for that we look for ſome more dutiful regard 'to be had by you of our prerogative royal, we have 'thought good to ſignify our further pleaſure unto 'you in this behalf, which is, that our ſaid ſervant 'be no longer withholden from the benefit and uſe 'of our ſaid grant: and theſe are therefore to will 'and command you, and every of you, that imme- 'diately, upon the ſight thereof, without any further 'delay, you cauſe preſent payment to be made unto 'him, or to his aſſign, of all the foreſaid profits, 'ſince the day of our ſaid grant upon bond, with 'condition, that if from time of his admiſſion into 'the ſaid office, he, his deputy or deputies, ſhall by 'virtue of our ſaid grant, hold and enjoy the ſame, 'without lawful eviction or recovery thereof, out of 'the hands of him or his deputy or deputies, by 'any other pretended title to the making and writing

'the

alone that he ſhewed this firmneſs, but in concurrence with his brethren, he remonſtrated boldly againſt ſuch acts of power as were but too common in thoſe days, and that too with effect, as appears by that memorable remonſtrance recorded by him in his Reports, and which ought to claim a place in our hiſtory [F]. On the acceſſion of King James I, he was continued in his office by that Monarch (o), and held it in all upwards of twenty-four years, to the time of his death, which fell out at London, Auguſt 1, 1605 (p). His body was interred on the fifteenth of September following, at Eyworth in Bedfordſhire, with great funeral pomp; and in his office he was ſucceeded by Sir Francis Gawdy (q). His works are ſtill, and have been always, eſteemed by lawyers; and therefore an account is given of them in a note [G]. Our Chief Juſtice married (r) Magdalen, daughter of Nicholas Smith of Annables in Hertfordſhire, by whom he was remarkably happy in his iſſue, which were three ſons, Edward, Francis, William, and ſix daughters, two of which died young. Of thoſe that ſurvived, Elizabeth married Sir Hatton Farmer, Knt. anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Pontefract; Griſelda eſpouſed Sir John Shefeld, Knt. from whom deſcended the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire. Catherine became the wife of Sir George Booth, Bart. anceſtor to the Earls of Warrington; and Margaret, by Sir Thomas Monſon, Bart. eſtabliſhed the family of the Lords Monſon. As for the ſons, Edward the eldeſt died without iſſue. Francis the ſecond ſon was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and his youngeſt ſon by his ſecond wife, Sir John Anderſon, of St Ives, in the county of Huntington, was created Baronet in 1628 (s). William, the Chief Juſtice's youngeſt ſon, left one ſon Edmond, who was created Baronet by King Charles II, and his family ſtill flouriſhes at Kiln-wick Piercy, in the eaſt riding of Yorkſhire (t). Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir

(o) Parent. 1 Jacob. p. 24.

(p) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 141.

(q) Dugdale's Chronic. Series p. 162.

(r) Ex Stem. prædict. pen. Dom. Edmond. Anderſon.

(s) See the funeral Certificate Book of William Camden, Eſq; Clarencieux in the College of Arms marked I. 16. fol. 212.

(t) By information from the rev. Mr Wilkinſon.

'the ſaid writs, that then the ſaid obligation to be 'void, &c. And furthermore our will and pleaſure 'is, and thereunto we will and command you, that 'upon our ſaid ſervant offering of himſelf unto you 'in our ſaid court, this next term, you preſently, 'without any further delay, admit him unto the uſe, 'execution, and profits, of the ſaid office, according 'to our ſaid grant, for that we be nothing ignorant, 'that if any of your clerks, have any ſuch title or 'intereſt as they pretend, both our laws lie open 'for their remedy, and alſo they be perſons both for 'wealth and ſkill, able to recover their own right if 'any ſuch be: in conſideration whereof, we look that 'you and every of you, ſhould thankfully fulfil our 'commandment therein, and then our letters ſhall 'be your warrant, &c. Given under, &c. the 'twenty-firſt day of April, 1587, *ann.* 29 Eliz.' This letter was delivered in the preſence of the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Leiceſter, in the beginning of Eaſter term in the ſaid year, and the Judges deſired time to conſider of it, and then anſwered, that they could not comply with the letter, becauſe it was inconſiſtent with their duty, and to their oaths of office. The Queen upon this appointed the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, and the Maſter of the Rolls, to hear this matter, and the Queen's Serjeant having ſet forth her prerogative, it was ſhewn by the Judges, that they could not grant offices by virtue of the Queen's letters, where it did not appear to them that ſhe had a power to grant, and that as the Judges were bound by their oaths of office, ſo her Majeſty was reſtrained by her coronation oath, from ſuch arbitrary interpoſitions, with which her Majeſty was ſatisfied (8).

(8) Anderſon's Reports, P. i. p. 152—158.

[F] *Claim a place in our hiſtory.*] The Chief Juſtice tells us in his Reports, that many people being committed to different priſons without good cauſe, and being releaſed by the courts of King's Bench and Common-Pleas, notwithſtanding the endeavours of great men to the contrary, it was reſolved to endeavour the obtaining ſome remedy, and with this view the Judges drew up the following paper. 'We her Majeſty's Juſtices of 'both the Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, deſire 'your Lordſhips, that by ſome good means, ſome 'order may be taken, that her Highneſs's ſubjects 'may not be committed nor detained in priſon by 'commandment of any Nobleman or Counſellor, 'againſt the laws of the realm, either elſe to help us 'to have acceſs to her Majeſty, to the end to become 'ſuitors to her for the ſame.

'For divers have been impriſoned, for ſuing ordinary actions and ſuits at the common law, until they 'have been conſtrained to leave the ſame againſt their 'will, and put the ſame to order, albeit judgment 'and execution have been had therein to their great 'loſſes and griefs.

'For the aid of which perſons, her Majeſty's writs 'have ſundry times been directed to divers perſons, 'having the cuſtody of ſuch perſons unlawfully im-priſoned, upon which writs no good or lawful cauſe 'of impriſonment, hath been returned or certified: 'whereupon according to the laws, they have been 'diſcharged from their impriſonment.

'Some of which perſons ſo delivered, have been 'again committed to priſon in ſecret places, and not 'to any common or ordinary priſons, or lawful officer, as Sheriff, or other lawfully authorized, to 'have, or keep a goal; ſo that upon complaint made 'for their delivery, the Queen's courts cannot learn to 'whom to direct her Majeſty's writs, and by this 'means juſtice cannot be done.

'And moreover divers officers, and Serjeants of '*London*, have been many times committed to priſon, 'for lawfully executing her Majeſty's writs, ſued forth 'of her Majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, and thereby 'her Majeſty's ſubjects and officers ſo terrified, as they 'dare not ſue, or execute her Majeſty's laws, her writs 'and commandments.

'Divers others have been ſent for by Purſuivants 'and brought to London from their dwellings, and 'by unlawful impriſonment have been conſtrained, 'not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but have alſo 'been compelled to pay the Purſuivants ſo bringing ſuch 'perſons, great ſums of money.

'All which upon complaint, the Judges are bound 'by office and oath, to relieve and help, by and according to her Majeſty's laws.

'And where it pleaſed your Lordſhips to will divers of us, to ſet down in what caſes a perſon ſent 'to cuſtody by her Majeſty, her council, ſome one or 'two of them are to be detained in priſon, and not 'delivered by her Majeſty's Courts or Judges, we think 'that if any perſon be committed by her Majeſty's 'commandment from her perſon, or by order from her 'Council-board, or if any one or two of her council 'commit one for high-treaſon, ſuch perſons, ſo in 'the caſe before committed, may not be delivered by 'any of her courts without due trial by the law, and 'judgment of acquittal had.

'Nevertheleſs the Judges may award the Queen's 'writs, to bring the bodies of ſuch perſons before 'them, and if upon return thereof, the cauſes of their 'commitment be certified to the Judges as it ought 'to be, then the Judges in the caſes before ought not 'to deliver him, but to remand the priſoner to the 'place from whence he came.

'Which cannot conveniently be done, unleſs notice 'of the cauſe in generality, or elſe eſpecially, be given 'to the keeper or goaler that ſhall have the cuſtody 'of ſuch priſoner.

'All the Judges and Barons, &c. did ſubſcribe their 'names to theſe articles, Eaſter Term 34 Eliz. and 'deliver one to the Lord Chancellor, and one other 'to the Lord Treaſurer, after which time, there did 'follow more quietneſs than before, in the cauſes be-'forementioned (9).'

(9) Ibid. P. i. p. 297.

[G] *An account is given of them in a note.*] As to the writings of this great lawyer, beſides his readings, which

Sir Francis Anderſon beforementioned, was likewiſe raiſed to the dignity of a Baronet, in the ſixteenth of Charles II, and his honour is now poſſeſſed by his direct deſcendant, Sir (*u*) Stephen Anderſon, of Broughton in Lincolnſhire, and Eyworth in Bedfordſhire.

(*u*) By information from the family.

which are yet in manuſcript, and were lately in a publick ſale. His printed works are theſe: 1. Reports of many principal caſes argued and adjudged in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the common bench, London 1644, folio. 2. Reſolutions and judgments on the caſes and matters, agitated in all the courts of Weſtminſter, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Publiſhed by John Goldeſborough, Eſq; prothonatory of the Common Pleas, London 1653, 4*to*.

E

ANDREWS (LANCELOT), an eminent Divine, and Biſhop of Wincheſter in the reigns of James I and Charles I, was born at London, in 1565, in the pariſh of All-Hallows Barking, being deſcended from the antient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk (*a*) [*A*]. He had his education in grammar-learning, firſt in the Coopers free-ſchool at Ratcliff under Mr Ward; and afterwards in Merchant-Taylors ſchool at London, under Mr Mulcaſter. Here he made ſuch a proficiency in the learned languages, that Dr Watts, Reſidentiary of St Paul's and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who had lately founded ſome ſcholarſhips (*b*) at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, ſent him to that college, and beſtowed on him the firſt of thoſe exhibitions. After he had been three years in the univerſity, his cuſtom was to come up to London once a year, about Eaſter, to viſit his father and mother, with whom he uſually ſtayed a month; during which time, with the aſſiſtance of a maſter, he applied himſelf to the attaining ſome language or art, to which he was before a ſtranger: and by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and ſciences, and acquired a competent ſkill in moſt of the modern languages. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college [*B*]. In the mean time Hugh Price, having built Jeſus-college in Oxford, and hearing much of the fame of young Mr Andrews, appointed him one of his firſt fellows (*c*) on that foundation. Having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, in the knowlege of which he greatly excelled; inſomuch that, being choſen Catechiſt in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the Ten Commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the univerſity, and even out of the country, duly reſorted to Pembroke-chapel, as to a divinity lecture. At the ſame time, he was eſteemed ſo profound a Caſuiſt, that he was often conſulted in the niceſt and moſt difficult caſes of conſcience. And now his reputation being ſpread far and near, Henry Earl of Huntington prevailed upon him to accompany him into the North, of which he was Preſident; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he uſed a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted ſeveral Recuſants, Prieſts as well as others, to the Proteſtant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth (*d*). That Miniſter, who was unwilling ſo fine a genius ſhould be buried in the obſcurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him Reader of controverſies in the univerſity of Cambridge, aſſigned him for his maintenance the leaſe of the parſonage of Alton in Hampſhire (*e*), and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate in London. Afterwards he was choſen a Prebendary and Reſidentiary of St Paul's, as alſo Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at St Paul's, in term time. Upon the death of Dr Fulke, he was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been ſcholar and fellow: a place of more honour than profit, ſince he ſpent more upon it than he received from it, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that college [*C*]. He was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who took ſuch delight in his preaching, that ſhe firſt made him a Prebendary of Weſtminſter, in the room of Dr Richard Bancroft promoted to the ſee of London; and afterwards Dean of that church, in the room of Dr Gabriel Goodman deceaſed (*f*). Dr Andrews ſoon grew into far greater eſteem with her ſucceſſor King James I, who not only gave him the preference to all other Divines as a preacher, but likewiſe made choice of him to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies [*D*]. That King promoted him to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter,

(*a*) Mr Iſaacſon's Life of Biſhop Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, Lond. 1651.

(*b*) Since called Greek Scholarſhips.

(*c*) Mr Wood calls them Honorary or Titular Scholars. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122.

(*d*) Life of Biſhop Andrews, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) His Funeral Sermon, by the Biſhop of Ely, ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of his Sermons, in 1631, p. 18.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122. and Life of Bp Andrews, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the antient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk.*] His father, who had ſpent moſt part of his life at ſea, was, in the decline of his years, choſen maſter of the Trinity-Houſe at Deptford (1).

(1) Mr Iſaacſon's Life of Bp Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, London, 1651.

[*B*] *He was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college.*] There being at that time but one vacant fellowſhip, and Mr Dove (afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough) being then a ſcholar of the houſe, and well approved of by the ſociety; the maſter and fellows put the two young gentlemen to a tryal before them in ſome Academical exerciſes: upon the performance whereof, they preferred Mr Andrews, and elected him into the fellowſhip. However, being unwilling to loſe Mr Dove, for whom they had a great eſteem, they made him an allowance for his preſent maintenance, under the title of *Tanquam Socius* (2).

(2) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Pembroke-Hall.*] When he firſt became maſter of that college, he found it in debt, being then of a very ſmall endowment: but, by his care and management, he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treaſury, towards improving the college eſtate. By his laſt Will and Teſtament, he left to that college one thouſand pounds, to purchaſe lands for two fellowſhips, and other uſes; three hundred volumes in folio to the library, of ſuch books as were not there before; and laſtly, a gilt cup, baſon, and ewer, exactly like thoſe given three hundred years before to the college by the pious foundreſs (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *King James ——— made choice of him, to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies.*] His Majeſty having, in his *Defence of the Rights of Kings* (4), aſſerted the authority of Chriſtian

(4) Printed among his Works. p. 427.

Chicheſter, to which he was conſecrated November 3, 1605 (g). At the ſame time he made him his Lord Almoner; in which place of great truſt he behaved with ſingular fidelity, diſpoſing of the royal benevolence in the propereſt manner, and not making thoſe advantages to himſelf that he might legally and fairly have done (h). Upon the vacancy of the biſhopric of Ely, he was advanced to that ſee, and conſecrated September 22, 1609 (i). He was nominated one of his Majeſty's Privy Counſellors of England; and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended the King in his journey to that kingdom. After he had ſat nine years in that ſee, he was advanced to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and deanery of the King's chapel, February 18, 1618 (k); which two laſt preferments he held till his death. There is a pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the *Life of Mr Waller* the Poet [E]. This great prelate was in no leſs reputation and eſteem with King Charles I, than he had been with his predeceſſors. At length he departed this life, at Wincheſter-houſe in Southwark, September, 25, 1626, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age; and was buried in the pariſh-church of St Saviour's Southwark; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaſter, on which is an elegant Latin inſcription [F], written by one

(g) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. p. 58. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(h) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(i) Le Neve, ib. p. 70. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(k) Le Neve, ibid. p. 287. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

ſtian Princes over cauſes and perſons eccleſiaſtical, Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of Matthew Tortus, attacked him with great vehemence and bitterneſs. The King ſet biſhop Andrews to anſwer the Cardinal; who did it, with great ſpirit and judgment, in a piece entitled, Tortura Torti: ſive, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Reſponſio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam Sereniſſimi Potentiſſimique Principis Jacobi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro Juramento Fidelitatis, *i. e. Tortus put to the Torture: Or, An Anſwer to Matthew Tortus's Book lately publiſhed againſt the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, written by the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince James by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.* It was printed at London by Roger Barker, the King's printer, in 1609, in quarto, containing 402 pages, and dedicated to the King. The ſubſtance of what the Biſhop advances in this treatiſe, and with great ſtrength of reaſon and evidence evinces, is, that Kings have power both to call Synods and confirm them; and to do all other things, which the Emperors heretofore diligently performed, and which the Biſhops of thoſe times willingly acknowledged of right to belong to them. *Ut conſiſtat adhuc poteſtas ſua regibus, qua & Synodos convocare & confirmare poſſent; & obire reliqua omnia, quæ & olim qui Imperatores diligenter obierunt, & qui tum epiſcopi libenter agnoverunt* (5). Caſaubon (6) gives this book of Biſhop Andrews's the character of being written with great accuracy and diligence. *Exactiſſimæ fidei & diligentiæ ſcriptum.*

(5) Tortura Torti, p. 177.

(6) In Epiſt. ad Frontonem Ducæum.

[E] *A pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the Life of Mr Waller the Poet.*] That gentleman going to ſee the King at dinner, over-heard a very extraordinary converſation between his Majeſty and two Prelates, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr Neale, Biſhop of Durham, who were ſtanding behind the King's chair. 'His Ma'jeſty aſked the Biſhops; *My Lords, cannot I take my 'ſubjects money when I want it, without all this for'mality in Parliament?* The Biſhop of Durham 'readily anſwered; *God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould; 'you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Whereupon the 'King turned, and ſaid to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; '*Well, my Lord, what ſay you?* Sir, replied the Bi'ſhop, *I have no ſkill to judge of Parliamentary 'caſes.* The King anſwered; *No put-offs, my Lord; 'anſwer me preſently. Then, Sir,* ſaid he, *I think 'it lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, 'for he offers it.* Mr Waller ſaid, the company was 'pleaſed with this anſwer, and the wit of it ſeemed 'to affect the King. For a certain Lord coming in 'ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, *O my Lord, they 'ſay you* LIG *with my Lady. No, Sir,* ſays his Lord'ſhip in confuſion; *but I like her company, becauſe ſhe 'has ſo much wit. Why, then,* ſays the King, *do not 'you* LIG *with my Lord of Wincheſter there* (7)?'

(7) Life of Mr Waller, prefixed to his Works.

[F] There is on his monument, *An elegant Latin inſcription.*] It is as follows.

LECTOR,
Si Chriſtianus es, ſiſte:
Moræ pretium erit,
Non neſcire te, qui vir hic ſitus ſit.
Ejuſdem tecum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Membrum,
Sub eadem felicis Reſurrectionis ſpe,
Eandem D. Jeſu præſtolans Epiphaniam,
Sacratiſſimus Antiſtes LANCELOTUS ANDREWS,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ,
Aulæ Pembroch. Alumnorum, Sociorum, Præfectorum,
Unus, & nemini ſecundus.
Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,
Humanorum, Divinorum omnium
Infinitus Theſaurus, ſtupendum Oraculum:
Orthodoxæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ
Dictis, Scriptis, Precibus, Exemplo,
Incomparabile Propugnaculum:
Reginæ Elizabethæ à Sacris,
D. Pauli London. Reſidentiarius,
D. Petri Weſtmonaſt. Decanus,
Epiſcopus Ciceſtrenſis, Elienſis, Wintonienſis,
Regique Jacobo tum ab Eleemoſynis,
Tum ab utriuſque Regni Conſiliis,
Decanus denique Sacelli Regii.
Idem ex
Indefeſſa opera in ſtudiis,
Summa Sapientia in rebus,
Aſſidua pietate in Deum,
Profuſa largitate in Egenos,
Rara Amœnitate in ſuos,
Spectata probitate in omnes,
Æternum admirandus.
Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ ſatur,
Sed bonorum paſſim omnium cum luctu denatus,
Cælebs hinc migravit ad Aureolam cæleſtem,
Anno
Regis Caroli II°, Ætatis ſuæ LXXI°,
Chriſti M DC XXVI°.
Tantum eſt (Lector) quod te mœrentes poſteri
Nunc volebant, atque ut ex Voto tuo valeas, Dicto
Sit Deo Gloria.

i. e. 'Reader, if thou art a Chriſtian, ſtay; it will be 'worth thy tarrying, to know how great a man lies 'here. A member of the ſame Catholic Church with 'thy ſelf; under the ſame hope of a happy reſurrec'tion; and in expectation of the ſame appearance of 'our Lord Jeſus: the moſt holy Biſhop LANCELOT 'ANDREWS; born at London; educated at Cam'bridge; one of the Scholars, Fellows, and Maſters 'of Pembroke-Hall, and inferior to none: an infinite 'treaſure, an amazing oracle, of languages, arts and 'ſciences, and every branch of human and divine 'learning: an incomparable bulwark of the Orthodox 'Church of Chriſt, by his converſation, writings, 'prayers, and example. He was chaplain in ordi'nary to Queen Elizabeth; Reſidentiary of St Paul's 'in London; Dean of St Peter's Weſtminſter; Bi'ſhop, firſt of Chicheſter, then of Ely, and laſtly of 'Wincheſter; Almoner to King James, Privy-Coun'ſellor of both kingdoms, and Dean of the Royal 'Chapel. He merits eternal admiration, for his in'defatigable application to his ſtudies, his conſum'mate experience and ſkill in affairs, his conſtant 'piety towards God, his liberality and charity to the 'poor;

one of his Chaplains. Beſides the *Tortura Torti* already mentioned (*l*), Biſhop Andrews wrote *A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and *A Manual of Directions for the Viſitation of the Sick*; beſides *Sermons* [G], and ſeveral *Tracts* in Engliſh and Latin, publiſhed after his death [H]. He had a ſhare in the tranſlation of the *Pentateuch*, and the hiſtorical Books from *Joſhua* to the *firſt book* of *Chronicles* excluſively (*m*). The character of Biſhop Andrews, both publick and private, was in every reſpect great and ſingular. The author of his *Life*, ſo often referred to, celebrates in particular his great zeal and piety [I], his charity and compaſſion

(*l*) See the remark [D].

(*m*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. B. viii. p. 693.

'poor, his uncommon affability and humanity to thoſe 'about him, and his unſhaken integrity towards all. 'Full of years and reputation, to the regret of all 'good men, he died, a bachelor, and exchanged this 'life for a crown of glory; in the ſecond year of 'King Charles, the ſeventy-firſt of his age, and that 'of Chriſt 1626. Reader, farewel, and give glory 'to God.'

[G] *His ſermons*] In the volume of his ſermons, dedicated to King Charles I, there are ſeventeen on the Nativity, preached on Chriſtmas-day; eight upon Repentance and Faſting, preached on Aſhwedneſday; ſix preached in Lent; three on the Paſſion, preached on Good-Friday; eighteen on the Reſurrection, preached upon Eaſter-day; fifteen on the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, preached upon Whitſunday; eight preached on the fifth of Auguſt; ten on the fifth of November, and eleven on ſeveral occaſions. They were publiſhed by the direction of his Majeſty, and under the care and inſpection of Dr William Laud, then Biſhop of London, and Dr John Buckeridge, Biſhop of Ely; the latter of whom preached Biſhop Andrews's funeral ſermon. 'When 'the author died, *(ſay theſe editors in their dedication to the King)* your Majeſty thought it not fit his 'ſermons ſhould die with him. And though they 'could not live with all that elegance, which they 'had upon his tongue, yet you were graciouſly pleaſed 'to think a *paper-life* better than none. Upon this, 'your Majeſty gave us a ſtrict charge, that we ſhould 'overlook the papers (as well Sermons as other *Tractates*) of that reverend and worthy Prelate, and 'print all that we found perfect. Had they not come 'perfect, we ſhould not have ventured to add any 'limme unto them, leſt mixing a pen farre inferior, 'we ſhould have disfigured ſuch compleat bodies. 'Your Majeſty's firſt care was for the preſſe, that the 'work might be publick. Your ſecond was for the 'work itſelf, that it might come forth worthy the 'author; which could not be, if it came not forth 'as he left it. In purſance of theſe two, we have 'brought the work to light, and we have done it with 'care and fidelity; for as the ſermons were preached, 'ſo are they publiſhed. When he preached them, 'they had the general approbation of the court, and 'they made him famous for making them. Now 'they are printed, we hope they will have the gene'ral liking of the church, and inlarge and indeare his 'name to them that knew not him.' Dr Fuller tells us, Biſhop Andrews *was an unimitable preacher in his way, and ſuch plagiaries who have ſtolen his ſermons could never ſteal his preaching, and could make nothing of that, whereof he made all things as he deſired. Pious and pleaſant Biſhop Felton* (he adds) *his contemporary and colleague, endeavoured in vain in his ſermons to aſſimulate his ſtyle, and therefore ſaid merrily of himſelf: 'I had almoſt marred my own natural 'trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble* (8).' But however admired Biſhop Andrews's ſermons were in that age, they are not in ſuch eſteem with the critics of the preſent. For, notwithſtanding the learning and good ſenſe with which they abound, yet the affectation in the ſtyle, and compoſition, makes them no longer read with pleaſure. Even a contemporary author (9) cenſured them as *affected and ſurcharged with verbal alluſions*. And a modern writer tells us, that 'Biſhop Andrews, and the moſt emi'nent Divines in the beginning of the laſt century, 'reduced preaching to punning, and the eloquence of 'the chair to the buffoonry of the ſtage (10).'

(8) Worthies of England, Lond. p. 206, 207.

(9) Bayley, *in his* Laudenſium Autocatacriton.

(10) Mr Oldmixon, Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, p. 20.

[H] *Several tracts, publiſhed after his death.*] 1. Reſponſio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam ſereniſſimi ac potentiſſimi principis Jacobi, &c. omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus inſcriptam. *i. e. An Anſwer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately publiſhed againſt the Monitory Preface of the moſt ſerene and potent Prince King James, &c. addreſſed to all Chriſtian Monarchs, Princes, and States.* 2. *Tortura Torti* (11). 3. Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris. *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity.* 4. Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ad Divi Pauli. *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of Canterbury, at St Paul's.* 5. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majeſtate quinto Auguſti M DC VI, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem noſtrum inviſurus, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Chriſtianus Quartus Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex. *i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, Auguſt* 5, 1606, *at the time when the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince Chriſtiern IV, King of Denmark and Norway, was come into England to viſit our King.* 6. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majeſtate decimo tertio Aprilis M DC XIII, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectiſſima ſua conjuge, diſceſſurus erat Gener Regis, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum. *i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, April* 13, 1613, *when the King's Son-in-law, the moſt ſerene and potent Prince Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, was about to depart with his deareſt Conſort.* 7. Queſtionis, nunquid per jus divinum magiſtratui liceat à reo jusjurandum exigere? & id quatenus & quouſque liceat? Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ menſe Julii Anni 1591. *i. e. A Theological Determination of the queſtion, Whether the Civil Magiſtrate has a Right by the Law of God, to require an Oath of an accuſed Perſon, and how far it may be lawful; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the Month of July*, 1591. 8. De Uſuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ. *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Uſury, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge.* 9. De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ. *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge.* 10. Reſponſiones ad Petri Molinæi Epiſtolas tres, una cum Molinæi Epiſtolis. *i. e. Anſwers to three Letters of Du Moulin's, with Du Moulin's Letters.* 11. Stricturæ: *Or, A Brief Anſwer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the firſt Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to King James his Anſwer, written by Mr Caſaubon in Latin.* 12. *An Anſwer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply*, &c. 13. *A Speech, delivered in the Star-Chamber, againſt the two Judaical Opinions* (12) *of Mr Traſke.* 14. *A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning Vows, in the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's Caſe* (13). Theſe pieces were printed at London, after the author's death, by Felix Kyngſton, in 4*to*, 1629, and dedicated to King Charles I, by the Biſhops of London and Ely. There are extant, beſides, 15. *The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular*; publiſhed by John Jackſon, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. Ἀποσπασματία Sacra: *Or, A Collection of Poſthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St Paul's and St Giles's Cripplegate church.* London, 1657, fol.

(11) See the remark [D].

(12) 1. That Chriſtians are bound to abſtain from meats prohibited in Leviticus. 2. That they are bound to obſerve the Jewiſh Sabbath.

(13) That lady was convicted of diſobedience for refuſing to anſwer or be examined, on pretence ſhe had made a ſolemn vow to the contrary.

[I] *His great zeal and piety.*] Theſe were diſtinguiſhable in his private and ſecret devotions, in which he daily ſpent many hours; and in his public prayers with his family. His chapel, in which he had monthly communions, was ſo decently and reverently adorned, and the behaviour of himſelf and his family ſo pious and exemplary, that many, who came thither (even through accident) in the time of divine ſervice, were greatly affected therewith, and excited to the like reverend deportment; and ſome

compaſſion [*K*], his fidelity and integrity [*L*], his gratitude and thankfulneſs [*M*], his munificence and bounty [*N*], his hoſpitality [*O*], his humanity and affability [*P*], his modeſty [*Q*], his diligent application to ſtudy [*R*], and his talents as a preacher and a writer [*S*]. He generally hated all ſorts of vices, but more eſpecially three, which were, uſury, ſimony, and ſacrilege [*T*]. King James had ſo great an awe and veneration for him,

even deſired to end their days in Biſhop Andrews's chapel (14).

(14) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *His charity and compaſſion.*] Theſe he practiſed even before he came to great preferments, extending his charity in a liberal manner to the relief of poor pariſhioners, and priſoners; beſides his conſtant Sunday alms in his pariſh of St Giles's. But when his means became greater, his charity increaſed in a large proportion. And one thing in his manner of relieving the diſtreſſed, is remarkable, that he always gave ſtrict charge to his ſervants, whom he entruſted with the diſtribution of his bounty, not to acknowledge from whence the relief came, but give it as from a benefactor unknown. His private alms alone, in his laſt ſix years, amounted to upwards of 1300 *l.* Nor did his charity end with his life: for, by his laſt Will, he left 4000 *l.* to purchaſe 200 *l. per annum*, in land, to be diſtributed quarterly in the following manner: to aged and decayed poor men, eſpecially ſea-faring men, fifty pounds; to poor widows, the wives of one huſband, fifty pounds; to the binding of poor orphans apprentices, fifty pounds; and to the relief of poor priſoners, fifty pounds. He left beſides, to be diſtributed preſently after his death, among maid-ſervants of honeſt report, and who had ſerved one maſter or miſtreſs ſeven years, the ſum of two hundred pounds. Laſtly, a great part of his eſtate, which remained after the expences of his funeral and his legacies were diſcharged, he left to be diſtributed among his poor ſervants (15).

(15) Ibid.

[*L*] *His fidelity and integrity.*] He was ever careful to keep in good repair the houſes of all his ſpiritual preferments, and ſpent much money that way; as, upon the vicarage-houſe of St Giles's, the prebendal and deanry houſes of Weſtminſter. He expended upon the epiſcopal palace of Chicheſter above 420 *l*; upon that of Ely above 2440 *l*; and upon that of Wincheſter 2000 *l.* But his fidelity and integrity were moſt diſcoverable in his paſtoral care and government of his dioceſes. He filled the vacant preferments, which were in his own gift, with the ableſt and beſt men; and often conferred benefices on men of character and learning, who ſtood in need of them, without any ſollicitation or requeſt on their part. So that what was once ſaid of St Chryſoſtom, may be fitly applied to Biſhop Andrews: *In adminiſtratione Epiſcopatus præbuit ſe fidelem, conſtantem, & vigilantem Miniſtrum Chriſti.* Nor was he leſs faithful in the diſcharge of thoſe temporal offices, with which he was veſted. Not to mention here his conduct as head of Pembroke-hall (16), his regulation of Weſtminſter college and ſchool ſufficiently ſpeak for him. To which may be added, that, whereas by virtue of his deanry of Weſtminſter, his maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall, and his Biſhopric of Ely, the election of ſcholars into the ſchool of Weſtminſter, and from thence to the two Univerſities, as alſo of many ſcholars and fellows in Pembroke-hall, ſome in Peterhouſe, and ſome in Jeſus-college, was in his power and diſpoſal; he waved all letters of recommendation from great perſons, and, ſetting aſide all favour and affection, choſe only ſuch as in his judgment were fitteſt (17).

(16) See the remark [C].

(17) Ibid.

[*M*] *His gratitude and thankfulneſs.*] Of this virtue there were divers inſtances. Among the reſt, he gave the living of Waltham in Hampſhire to Dr Ward, ſon of his firſt ſchool-maſter. And he always retained ſo high an eſteem for his other ſchool-maſter Mr Mulcaſter, that he uſed to place him at the upper end of his table, and, after his death, cauſed his picture to be hung up over his ſtudy-door. After much enquiry concerning the kindred of Dr Watts, who had beſtowed on him his firſt ſcholarſhip at Pembroke-hall, he found but one; to whom, being a ſcholar, he gave preferments in that college; and at his death ordered, by his Will, that out of the ſcholarſhips of Dr Watts's foundation, the two fellowſhips, which he himſelf had founded at Pembroke-hall, ſhould be ſupplied, if ſuch ſcholars ſhould be found qualified for them (18).

(18) Ibid.

[*N*] *His munificence and bounty.*] After he became a Biſhop, he never viſited either of the Univerſities, but he left fifty or an hundred pounds to be diſtributed among poor ſcholars. And when King James honoured the univerſity of Cambridge with his preſence in 1617, Biſhop Andrews, who was preſent with His Majeſty at the Philoſophy-Act, ſent, at his departure, to four of the diſputants, forty pieces of gold, of two and twenty ſhillings a piece, to be divided equally among them. To theſe inſtances may be added the magnificent entertainment he gave his ſaid Majeſty at Farnham Caſtle, where in the ſpace of three days he ſpent three thouſand pounds (19).

(19) Ibid.

[*O*] *His hoſpitality.*] His table, which was always plentifully and elegantly furniſhed, was open to all perſons of quality and worth, eſpecially ſcholars and ſtrangers. And his behaviour to his gueſts was ſo courteous, and his diſcourſe ſo gravely facetious, that thoſe whom he entertained would often profeſs they never came to any man's table, where they received better ſatisfaction, and that, in reſpect to the plenty they found there, his Lordſhip kept Chriſtmas all the year (20).

(20) Ibid.

[*P*] *His humanity and affability.*] Theſe were conſpicuous, not only in his behaviour towards his gueſts (as mentioned in the laſt remark) but in his general converſation; for which he was juſtly admired by the moſt famous ſcholars both at home and abroad: ſuch as (to omit thoſe of our own nation) Caſaubon, Cluverius, Voſſius, Grotius, Du Moulin, Erpenius, and others (21).

(21) Ibid.

[*Q*] *His modeſty.*] This was ſo great, that, though the whole world took notice of his deep and profound learning, yet he was ſo far from acknowledging it, that he would often complain of his defects, profeſſing that he was but *inutilis ſervus*, nay *inutile pondus*. Being promoted to the Biſhopric of Chicheſter, he was ſo ſenſible of his inſufficiency to undergo ſuch a charge, that he cauſed to be engraven about the epiſcopal ſeal theſe words of St Paul, 'Et ad hæc 'quis idoneus? *i. e. And who is ſufficient for theſe 'Things?*' 2 Cor. ii. 16. (22).

(22) Ibid.

[*R*] *His diligent application to ſtudy.*] This can ſcarce be parallelled, if we conſider him from his childhood to his old age. Never any man ſpent ſo much time in ſtudy as this reverend Prelate. From the hour he roſe (his private devotions finiſhed) to the time he was called to dinner, which was not till twelve o'clock at the ſooneſt, he kept cloſe to his books, nor would be interrupted by any that came to ſpeak with him, or upon any occaſion, public prayer excepted. And he was ſo diſpleaſed with ſcholars, who attempted to ſpeak with him in a morning, that he would ſay, he doubted they were no true ſcholars that came to him before noon. He would ſpend two or three hours after dinner, in converſing with his gueſts, or in diſpatching his own temporal affairs, or thoſe belonging to his epiſcopal juriſdiction; and having got rid of theſe and the like avocations, he would return to his ſtudy, where he uſually ſpent the reſt of the afternoon, until bed-time. Nor was he leſs diligent in his application to ſtudy even at that time of life, when it might be expected he would have taken ſome reſpite from his former pains (23).

(23) Ibid.

[*S*] *His talents as a preacher and a writer.*] He had ſuch a dexterity at preaching, that ſome would ſay of him, he was quick again as ſoon as delivered: ſo that he was truly ſtyled *Stella Prædicantium*, and an angel in the pulpit (24). And as to his acuteneſs and profundity in controverſial writing, he ſo excelled all others of his time, that neither Bellarmin, nor any other of the Romaniſts, were ever able to anſwer what he wrote (25): ſo that, as his ſermons were inimitable, his writings were unanſwerable (26).

(24) See more of his character as a Preacher in the remark [G].

(25) See the remark [D].

(26) Ibid.

[*T*] *He hated three vices more eſpecially, Uſury, Simony, and Sacrilege.*] With reſpect to the firſt of theſe vices, he was ſo far from it himſelf, that, when his friends ſtood in need of ſuch money as he could ſpare, he lent it them freely without intereſt. As to Simony, it was ſo deteſtable to him, that for refuſing to admit ſeveral perſons to livings, whom he ſuſpected to be ſimoniacally preferred, he ſuffered much by ſuits of law; chooſing to be compelled, againſt his will, by

him, that, in his preſence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himſelf at other times (*n*). What opinion my Lord Clarendon had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he remarks, that 'if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop Andrews, or any man who underſtood 'and loved the Church, that infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not 'afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled (*o*).' Our great poet Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death (*p*). His ſtyle and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the beſt critics of the preſent (*q*).

(*n*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, B. xi. §. 46.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. i. p. 88, edit. in 8*vo*, Oxford, 1721.

(*p*) *Paradiſe Regained*, &c. Lond. 1725, 12*mo*, p. 286. Milton was but 17, when he wrote that poem.

(*q*) See the remark [*G*].

by the law, to admit them, rather than voluntarily to do that which his conſcience made a ſcruple of. So that what was ſaid of Robert of Winchelſea, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, may be applied to Biſhop Andrews: 'Beneficia eccleſiaſtica nunquam niſi doctis 'contulit; precibus & gratia nobilium fretos & ambientes ſemper repulit. *i. e. He never conferred ec-* '*cleſiaſtical preferments on any but men of learning,* '*and always rejected thoſe, who ſought for them by* '*the favour and recommendation of great men.*' His abhorrence of Sacrilege appeared from hence, that when the Biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Ely were offered him upon terms favouring that way, he utterly rejected them. And when he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, he refuſed ſeveral large ſums for the renewing of ſome leaſes, becauſe he conceived ſuch renewal would be prejudicial to his ſucceſſors (27). T

(27) Ibid.

ANDREWS, or as himſelf wrote it, ANDREWE (EUSEBIUS) a gentleman of a good family ſeated in Middleſex (*a*). He was, when young, brought into the family of Lord Capel, to whom he was afterwards Secretary. By the direction of his patron he applied himſelf to the Law, and became a Barriſter of Gray's-inn, as many authors tell us (*b*), though there ſeems to be good authority to prove his being of Lincolns-inn (*c*). However, in the year 1642, he quitted the gown, in order to take up arms for his Majeſty King Charles I, whom he ſerved in the honourable poſt of a Colonel, with great loyalty and courage, till the ſurrender of Worceſter in 1645; when, ſuppoſing the King's affairs not to be retrieved, he returned privately to London, in order to take ſome care of his own (*d*). He practiſed for ſome time privately, and it ſeems was a man of ſuch capacity, and of ſo ſteady a loyalty, that the Parliament, or rather thoſe who directed it, cauſed ſpies to be placed upon him, from almoſt his firſt coming to town, to the day of his death, or at leaſt of his apprehenſion (*e*). But theſe ſpies finding nothing to report of Colonel Andrewe, but his good affection to the royal cauſe, it was thought proper to puſh him and ſeveral others, ſince they would not of themſelves, take methods for their own ruin [*A*]. With this view, in the ſpring of the year 1649, one Mr John Barnard, who had been Major to Colonel Andrewe's regiment, and who, for his ſober behaviour and great parts, had been much in his favour (*f*), informed the Colonel, that ſome of the Reformadoes, that is, reduced officers in the Parliament's ſervice, were ſorry for what they had done, and inclined to return to their duty, and promote, as far as in their power lay, the ſervice of King Charles II. The ſame perſon brought to the acquaintance of Colonel Andrewe, Captain Holmes, and one Mr John Benſon, who were in the ſame ſituation with himſelf (*g*). When they were together, Major Barnard propoſed an attempt

(*a*) See Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. II. p. 136.

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers, for King Charles I, p. 561. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 686, a.

(*c*) His dying Speech, printed for John Clowes, 1650, 4*to*.

(*d*) See Col. Andrewe's Narrative in the State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(*e*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra. Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 82.

(*f*) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 325.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Since they would not of themſelves take methods for their own ruin.*] This practice of ſetting on foot plots, in order to take off ſuch perſons, as are eſteemed dangerous to any government, might have been in danger of wanting a proper name, if we had not been informed, that at this time it was called in England TREPANNING. The author who tells us this, tells us alſo, the import of this phraſe. *Trepan*, ſays he, *was a word newly heard in England, being a denomination of a lewd ſort of people, who proſtitute ſtrumpets under pretence of their being their wives; and having apprehended perſons of eſtates, by a ſign given in the fact, proſecuted them at law, to the recovery of great damages* (1). Thus we ſee the original of this term, and how it came to be applied in a political ſenſe. Colonel Andrewe, in a petition preſented by him to parliament, gives us ſo very juſt a deſcription of his caſe, that it will be proper to make uſe of his own words. After the ſtile of the petition, he proceeds thus: 'That your 'petitioner hath been by a confederate pack of ſet-'ters wrought into actions, which, abſtracted from 'their circumſtances, render him liable to your juſtice; 'and this done not without their further hope, that 'your petitioner, as they ſuppoſed, had intereſt to 'have drawn divers perſons of quality and fortune 'into the ſame entanglement. That failing of that 'part of their aim, the ſaid confederates did betray 'your petitioner to the Council of State, &c. (2).' A very intelligent perſon aſſures us, that Bernard and Pits, two of the witneſſes againſt Mr Andrewe, were ſuborned by Serjeant Bradſhaw, and Sir Henry Mildmay (3). But if theſe were all calumnies, there is a clear proof of the truth of this fact, which ariſes thus: Colonel Andrewe, who was a man of ſpirit and ſpoke freely, fairly charged it upon Bradſhaw at one of his examinations; who, inſtead of denying it, pretended to juſtify it by the example of other States (4). Yet was this no better than an evaſion, for under no legal government was there ever men employed to make plots, tho' ſpies have been encouraged to detect them. This policy however was found of ſuch uſe to that government, that it was practiſed as long as it ſubſiſted; what the fate was of the perſon principally employed in decoying Colonel Andrewe, the reader will ſee at the end of this article, and if he inclines to be better acquainted with the whole affair, he may meet with a very circumſtantial account of it, written by Mr Beaukley, who aſſiſted Colonel Andrewe in his impriſonment, in the State Trials (5). There is beſides a paſſage in a book written by a perſon too honeſt to deceive, and too well informed to be himſelf miſled, I mean Dr Bates, who was phyſician to O. Cromwell; there is, I ſay, a paſſage in a work of his, which too nearly concerns this matter to be omitted: for having related the various means made uſe of to weaken the Royaliſts, he ſays, 'There were alſo, a kind of '*Duckoys* and *Trepans*, of all men the moſt accurſed, 'whoſe chief ſtudy was to teaze the moſt hot-headed 'and cholerick, and who drew them thereby into ca-'pital ſnares, and when they had thus caught them, 'informed againſt them, that they might be brought 'to a tryal, or oppreſſed them with ſecret calumnies. 'Colonel Andrewe thus circumvented loſt his head: 'nor was the preſident Bradſhaw aſhamed openly 'to declare in court, that by counterfeit letters, he 'had correſponded with him in the name of the 'King' (6).

(1) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(2) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 329.

(3) Hiſtory of Independancy, p. 29, 34.

(4) State Tryals, Vol. VII, p. 328.

(5) Vol. VII. p. 324.

(6) Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 70.

attempt upon the Iſle of Ely, which he knew Colonel Andrewe had formerly meditated, when in the ſervice of King Charles I. At the ſame time he told the Colonel, that Sir John Gell, who had been formerly a Colonel in the Parliament ſervice, and who was known to have a great intereſt in his country, would aſſiſt in ſuch a deſign. After ſome diſcourſe, the eighteenth of October was mentioned as a proper day for the enterprize, becauſe it was the fair day (*b*). Some time after this, Captain Holmes brought inſtructions from Sir John Gell, to draw a petition for the payment of his arrears, which Mr Andrewe performed. Soon after he had a conference with Sir John, whereby he found all that had been reported to him of that gentleman, true. This gave him a greater confidence in the people who had hitherto tranſacted with him, inſomuch, that he ventured to make a journey into Cambridgeſhire, on purpoſe to ſee how far his ſcheme of ſurprizing the Iſle of Ely, might be practicable upon a proper occaſion (*i*). On his return however, finding the ſteps taken by his Confederates no way anſwerable to their promiſes, or his own expectations, and finding alſo that he was within the compaſs of a new law, which required all ſuch as had not taken the Proteſtation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, or ſubſcribed a late engagement, to quit the kingdom by a day prefixed, he turned his thoughts ſolely to the providing for this retreat, which was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an exile (*k*). With this view he entered into a treaty with Sir Edmund Plowden, who was proprietor of New Albion, reſolving to fix himſelf in that plantation. But on Saturday the ſixteenth of March, Major Barnard, and Captain Benſon, came to make him a viſit, wherein they told him in general terms, that there was a great deſign on foot, and that he ſhould have immediately very conſiderable advantages, if he would go over to the King in Holland, and manage what was neceſſary there for the ſervice of thoſe concerned. To which the Colonel aſſented, provided the money that was promiſed appeared to be ready (*l*). Not long after, the ſame perſons came again, aſſuring him, that there were ſeveral perſons of quality and great eſtates, in the counties of Kent, Buckingham, and Dorſet, who would draw near the town in order to further the deſign, provided thoſe they were to treat with entered into an engagement, which engagement, according to their inſtructions, and at their requeſts, he drew, and promiſed to move Sir John Gell to ſign and ſeal it, as he himſelf did (*m*) [*B*]. Colonel Andrewe accordingly mentioned it to Sir John, who abſolutely refuſed to comply with his deſire, but told him in general, that he was well affected to the King, and begged him to tell his Majeſty as much, in caſe he went over to Holland (*n*). On Monday following, Major Barnard appointed the Colonel to meet the gentlemen of the ſeveral counties beforementioned, at a certain place; but when the Colonel came there, he found nobody but Major Barnard, who produced to him certain letters, written as from the aforeſaid gentlemen, and requiring him, the Major, to come to them immediately. Thus from time to time they trifled with the Colonel, in hopes of gaining by his means Sir John Gell's ſubſcription, and actually drew Mr Andrewe as far as Graveſend, upon an aſſurance, that if he did not receive two hundred pounds there, he ſhould have his ſubſcription delivered up to him. But waiting for the performance of theſe fair promiſes, he was, on the twenty-fourth of March, apprehended at Graveſend, by Major Parker, who brought him priſoner to London (*o*). The next day he was examined by the Lord Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Thomas Scott, Eſq; who were a Committee from the Council of State. The queſtions they put to him were ſo nice and particular, that the Colonel ſaw he was betrayed, and that they knew every ſtep he had taken for four years together. He told them as much, and they did not deny it, but preſſed him to make a full and free confeſſion. Accordingly he drew a narrative of the whole affair, and laid it before them, which did not hinder their committing him on Sunday the thirtieth of March, to the Tower, for high-treaſon (*p*). From that time forwards he petitioned them frequently, but to no purpoſe, continuing a cloſe priſoner for three months compleat, notwithſtanding he alſo preſented a petition to Parliament (*q*). In the beginning of Auguſt 1650, he was brought before the High Court of Juſtice, where he was proſecuted upon his own narrative before Bradſhaw, at whoſe inſtance he had drawn it. The Attorney-General, Prideaux, treated him with very bad language, nor was it without

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 327.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 325.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 327.

(*n*) Loyalty of the Preſbyterians Vindicated, p. 95.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 324.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 329.

[*B*] *To move Sir John Gell, to ſign and ſeal it as he himſelf did.*] The judicious reader will eaſily perceive, that thoſe who ſet this mattter on foot, had more in view than the bare deſtruction of Coloniel Andrewe, and therefore it is neceſſary to explain a little what that deſign was. It is, in the firſt place, to be remarked; that immediately after the murder of the King, the affairs of the parliament were in a very doubtful poſture, and grew worſe for ſome time. The Scots had actually owned King Charles II, and were preparing to reſtore him: Sir Thomas Fairfax had laid down his commiſſion in diſcontent; but that which gave them moſt pain, was the general defection of the Preſbyterians, who had ſhown a general abhorrence of the proceedings againſt the King, and many of their miniſters had given broad indications of their wiſhing well to the King of Scots. This plot therefore was laid, to deſtroy the wiſeſt and warieſt of that party; Sir John Gell, whom it was preſumed Colonel Andrewe might draw in, and then, as Major Barnard actually told the Colonel, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir John Curſon, Sir Thomas Whitmore, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction would join them, on Sir John Gell's firſt motion. If therefore this plot had taken, the whole Preſbyterian intereſt had been undone (7), as it was, the impriſonment of Sir John Gell, and the forfeiture of his eſtate, intimidated his friends, and made way for an event, thoſe who projected this plot, never thought of; the turning out of the parliament by Cromwell, to whoſe power Bradſhaw was as great an enemy, as ever he had been to the King's, and actually ſerved as far as he could, ſuch of the royaliſts as eſcaped the high court of juſtice, when power fell into other hands (8).

(7) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 34.

(8) See Barwick's Life, p. 160.

[*C*] *Which*

without ſome difficulty, that he procured leave to offer any thing to the court; but he could not obtain permiſſion to put in his anſwer in writing, which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes (*r*) [*C*]. After this he offered to put in a ſecond and a third anſwer of the ſame date, but not being permitted, he made a noble defence by word of mouth, grounded chiefly on the illegality of the court, and which may perhaps be ſtiled, as eloquent an oration as is to be met with in our own, or any foreign language. To all which, Mr Attorney-General Prideaux made the following ſhort anſwer, viz. *That the Court was not at leiſure to take notice of his law caſes, but of his confeſſion. That he had an affection to act, though nothing acted, which was ſufficient treaſon, and for that affection he deſerved death* (*s*). On this the court pronounced ſentence againſt him, that he ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Colonel upon this, offered his reaſons at large againſt ſuch a proceeding, but to no purpoſe; and the only favour granted him was this, that upon his petition, the parliament paſſed an act, authorizing the High Court of Juſtice to iſſue their warrant for their beheading him according to his petition (*t*). This was accordingly executed on a ſcaffold on Tower-hill, upon the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1650. He died with great reſolution, as appears by the ſpeech he made to the people, of which the reader will find an extract in the notes [*D*]. He left behind him

(*r*) Ibid. p. 329, 330.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 339. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 561. Heath's Chron. p. 270.

(*t*) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 339, 340.

[*C*] *Which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes.*]

The Humble Anſwer of Euſebius Andrewe, Eſq; in his Defence, to the Proceeding againſt him, before the Honourable High Court of Juſtice, preſented the 16th Day of Auguſt, 1650.

'THE ſaid reſpondent (with the favour of this honourable court) reſerving, and praying to to be allowed the benefit and liberty of making further anſwer; offereth to this honourable court. Firſt, that by the ſtatute or charter, ſtiled Magna Charta, which is the fundamental law, and ought to be the ſtandard of the laws of England, confirmed above thirty times, and yet unrepealed; it is in the 29th chapter thereof, granted and enacted. 1. That no freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freehold or liberties, or free cuſtom, or be outlawed, or exiled, or be any otherwiſe deſtroyed; nor will we paſs upon him, or condemn him, but by a lawful judgment of his peers, and by the laws of the land, 2. We ſhall ſell to no man, nor defer to any man juſtice or right. Secondly, that by the ſtatute of 42 of Edward III, cap. 1. — 1. The great charter is commanded to be kept in all points; and 2. It is enacted, that if any ſtatute be made to the contrary, that ſhall be holden for none; which ſtatute is unrepealed. The reſpondent obſerveth, that by an act of the 26th of March, 1650, entitled, an act for eſtabliſhing an high court of juſtice; power is given to this court, to try, condemn, and cauſe execution of death to be done upon the freemen of England; according as the major number of any twelve of the members thereof ſhall judge to appertain to juſtice. And thereupon the reſpondent doth humbly infer, and offereth for law: that the ſaid act is diametrically contrary unto, and utterly inconſiſtent with, the ſaid great charter, and is therefore by the ſaid recited ſtatute, to be holden for none. That it can with no more reaſon, equity, or juſtice, hold the value and reputation of a law (the ſaid ſtatutes before recited, being in force) than if contrary to the ſecond clauſe in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta; it had been alſo enacted, that juſtice and right ſhall be deferred to all freemen, and ſold to all that will buy it. Thirdly, that upon premiſing by the petition of right, 3. Car. That contrary to the great charter, trials and executions had been had and done againſt the ſubjects, by commiſſions, martial, &c. It was therefore prayed, and by the commiſſion enacted; that, 1. No commiſſion of the like nature might be thence forth iſſued, &c. And that done, 2. To prevent, leſt any of the ſubjects ſhould be put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the Land. The reſpondent humbly obſerveth, and affirmeth; that, this court is (tho' under a different ſtile) in nature, and in the proceeding thereof, directly the ſame with the commiſſion martial; the freemen thereby, being to be tried for life, and adjudged by the major number of the commiſſioners ſitting, (as in courts of commiſſioners martial was practiſed, and was agreeable to their conſtitution) and conſequently againſt the petition of right; in which he and all the freemen of England (if it be granted there be any ſuch) hath, and have right and intereſt, and he humbly claims his right accordingly. Fourthly, that by the remonſtrance of the 15th of December, and the declaration of the 17th of January, 1641. The benefit of the laws and ordinary courts of juſtice, are the ſubjects birth-rights. By the declarations of the 12th of July, and 16th of October, 1642, The preſervation of the laws, and the due adminiſtration of juſtice, are owned to be the juſtifying cauſe of the war; and the ends of the parliament's affairs, managed by their ſwords and councils: and God's curſe is by them imprecated, in caſe they ſhould ever decline thoſe ends. By the declaration of the 17th April, 1646, promiſe was made not to interrupt the courſe of juſtice in the ordinary courts thereof. By the ordinance or votes of non-addreſſes, January 1648, it is aſſured on the parliament's behalf, that though they lay the King aſide, yet they will govern by the laws, and not interrupt the courſe of juſtice, in the ordinary courts thereof. And thereupon the reſpondent humbly inferreth, and affirmeth, that the conſtitution of this court, is a breach of that publick faith of the parliament; exhibited and pledged in the declarations and votes to the freemen of England. And upon the whole matter, the reſpondent (ſaving as aforeſaid) doth humbly affirm for law, and claim as his right. 1. That this court in defect of the validity of the act, by which it is conſtituted, hath not power againſt him, or to preſs him into a further anſwer. 2. That by virtue of Magna Charta, the petition of right, and the before recited remonſtrance and declarations, he ought not to be proceeded againſt by this court, but by an ordinary court of juſtice, and to be tried by his peers. And prays that this preſent anſwer and ſalvo may be accepted and regiſtred, and that he may be tried by his peers accordingly (9).'

(9) State Tryals, Vol. VII. p. 329, 330.

Euſ. Andrewe.

The intent of tranſcribing this paper, is to ſhow the temper and ſpirit of Colonel Andrewe, whoſe reaſons were fatal to the high court of juſtice, tho' of no ſervice to him. For upon publication of them, and the concurring judgment of all lawyers, this court grew to be ſo univerſally deteſted, and the grounds of it's illegality were ſo openly diſcuſſed, that the powers then in being, found it abſolutly neceſſary to lay it aſide.

[*D*] *The reader will find an extract in the notes.*] Colonel Andrewe was attended in his laſt moments by Dr Swadling, the ſequeſtred miniſter of St Botolph Aldgate, who had been permitted to viſit him for three days before, in which ſpace, he had ſeen ſo much of the Colonel's diſpoſition; that immediately before he ſuffered, the doctor told him, he had been rather his ſcholar than his inſtructor, and gave thanks for the many Chriſtian diſcourſes they had had together (10). Mr Andrewe, after he had been ſome time on the ſcaffold, turned to the people and made a long ſpeech, ſome paragraphs of which deſerve the reader's notice (11). 'As for my accuſers, ſaid he, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am ſorry for them, they have committed Judas hi;

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(11) Theſe are taken from the original Speech, printed in 4to by John Clowes, Lond. 1650.

him an only daughter, Mavilda Andrewe, to whom he bequeathed a great deal of good advice, and a very narrow fortune (*u*). At his condemnation, one of his judges was heard to ſay, *Alas poor Innocent!* As for the reſt of the perſons concerned with him, they met with different fates. Sir John Gell had behaved ſo wiſely, that they could not touch his life. However they condemned him to perpetual impriſonment, and to loſe all his eſtate (*w*). Captain Aſhley was ſentenced to be beheaded, but was pardoned by the Parliament. Captain Benſon was ſentenced to be hanged, and was accordingly executed on the ſeventh of October, 1650 (*x*). Major Barnard, the evidence who had drawn all theſe gentlemen into this ſnare, had for his reward three hundred pounds in money, and a troop of horſe (*y*). But this did not hinder his receiving a more proper gratification four years afterwards, when, for robbing Colonel Winthorp's houſe at Weſtminſter, he ſuffered an infamous death at Tyburn (*z*).

(*u*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 437.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 474.

(*y*) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 29, 34.

(*z*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 563.

'his crime; but I wiſh and pray for them Peter's 'tears, that by Peter's repentance, they may eſcape 'Judas his puniſhment, and I wiſh other people ſo 'happy, they may be taken up betimes, before they 'have drunk more blood of Chriſtian men poſſibly 'leſs deſerving than myſelf. It is true, there have 'been ſeveral addreſſes made for mercy, and I will 'put the obſtruction of it, upon nothing more than 'my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit (I have 'not glorified him in my life) I might do it in 'my death, which I am content to do. I profeſs, 'in the face of God, particular malice to any one 'of the ſtate or parliament, to do them a bodily 'injury, I had none. For the cauſe in which I had 'a great while waited, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it, hath laid no ſcruple upon my conſcience, it was on principles of law: the knowledge whereof I profeſs, and on principles of religion, my judgment ſatisfied, my conſcience rectified, that I have purſued thoſe ways, for which, I bleſs God, I find no blackneſs upon 'my conſcience, nor have I put it into the bead-roll of my ſins. I will not preſume to decide controverſies; I deſire God to honour himſelf in proſpering that ſide that hath right with it, and that 'you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall 'enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſs 'here; in my converſation in the world, I do not 'know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that 'there is ſuch a perſon to whom I have a regret; 'but if there be any, whom I cannot recollect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, 'as freely, as if I had named them by name; I 'freely forgive them, being in free peace with all 'the world, as I deſire God, for Chriſt's, ſake to 'be at peace with me. For the buſineſs of death, 'it is a ſad ſentence in itſelf, if men conſult with 'fleſh and blood. But truly, without boaſting I ſay 'it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have 'not to this minute, had one conſultation with the 'fleſh, about the blow of the ax, or one thought 'of the ax more than as my paſſport to glory. 'I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſs to thoſe under whoſe power I am, 'that they have ſent me hither, to a place however 'of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, 'ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my 'birth and qualification; and this courteſie of theirs, 'hath much helped towards the pacification of my 'mind. I ſhall deſire God, that thoſe gentlemen 'in that ſad bead-roll, to be tried by the high 'court of juſtice, that they may find, that really 'there is, that is nominal in the act, an high court 'of juſtice, a court of right juſtice, hath in it's 'righteouſneſs, though not in it's ſeverity, no more 'clouded with the teſtimony of thoſe who ſell blood 'for profit. Father, forgive them, and forgive me, 'as I forgive them. I deſire now that you will 'pray for me, and not give over praying till the 'hour of death, not till the minute of death, for 'the hour is come already; that as I have a very 'great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of 'your prayers, to help thoſe angels that are to convey my ſoul to Heaven; and I doubt not, but I 'ſhall there ſee my Saviour, my gallant maſter the 'King of England, and another maſter whom I much 'honoured, my Lord Capel; hoping this day to ſee 'Chriſt in the preſence of the Father, the King 'in the preſence of him, and my Lord Capel in 'the preſence of them all, and myſelf there to rejoice with all other ſaints and angels forevermore.' —He gave the executioner three pounds, being all he had. Before he lay down upon the block, he ſpoke again to the people thus, *There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it, and may that mercy which is in your hearts, fall into your own boſoms when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you join with me in prayer.* Then he prayed (leaning on the ſcaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr Swadling, then taking leave of the Sheriffs, his friends, and acquaintances, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the block, kneeling down ſaid, *let me try the block*, which he did, after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, *when I ſay Lord Jeſus receive me*, executioner, do thine office. Then kiſſing the ax he laid down, and with as much undaunted and yet Chriſtian courage as could be in man, did expoſe his throat to the fatal ax, his life to the executioner, and commended his ſoul into the hands of God, as into the hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer; ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

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ANNAND (WILLIAM), Dean of Edinburgh in Scotland, the ſon of William Annand, miniſter of Air, the Head-burgh Royal of the ſhire of Air, in the dioceſe of Glaſgow, was born at Air in 1633. Five years after, his father was obliged to quit Scotland with his family, on account of their loyalty to the King, and adherence to the epiſcopal government eſtabliſhed by law in that country. In 1651, young Annand was admitted a ſcholar in Univerſity-College in Oxford; and though he was put under the care of a Preſbyterian tutor, yet he took all occaſions to be preſent at the ſermons preached by the loyal divines in and near Oxford. In 1656, being then Bachelor of Arts, he received holy orders from the hands of Dr Thomas Fulwar, Biſhop of Ardfert, or Kerry, in Ireland, and was appointed preacher at Weſton on the Green, near Biceſter, in Oxfordſhire, where he met with great encouragement from Sir Francis Norris, Lord of that manor. After he had taken his degree of Maſter of Arts, he was preſented to the Vicarage of Leighton-Buzzard in Bedfordſhire; where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his edifying manner of preaching, till 1662, when he went into Scotland, in quality of chaplain to John Earl of Middleton, the King's High-Commiſſioner to the Church of that kingdom. In the latter end of the year 1663, he was inſtituted to the Tolbooth church at Edinburgh, and from thence was removed ſome years after to the Trone church of

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that city, which is likewiſe a Prebend. In April 1676, he was nominated by the King to the Deanry of Edinburgh; and in 1685 he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of St Andrew. He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly thoſe mentioned below [*A*]. Dr Annand died the 13th of June 1689, and was honourably interred in the Grey-friers church in Edinburgh (*a*) [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 832, 833.

[*A*] *His works*] 1. Fides Catholica, or *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in eighteen grand Ordinances, referring to the word, ſacraments, and prayer, in purity, number, and nature, catholicly maintained, and publicly taught againſt heretics of all ſorts.* Lond. 1661-2, 4*to*. 2. *Solutions of many proper and profitable queſtions, ſuitable to the nature of each ordinance*, &c. printed with the *Fides Catholica*. 3. Panem Quotidianum, or *A ſhort Diſcourſe tending to prove the legality, decency, and expediency, of ſet forms of prayers in the Churches of Chriſt, with a particular Defence of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.* Lond. 1661, 4*to*. 4. Pater Noſter; *Our Father: or The Lord's Prayer explained, the ſenſe thereof, and duties therein, from ſcripture, hiſtory, and the Fathers, methodically cleared, and ſuccinctly opened.* London, 1670, 8*vo*. 5. Myſterium Pietatis, or *The Myſtery of Godlineſs*, &c. Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 6. Doxologia, *or Glory to the Father, the Church's hymn, reduced to glorifying the Trinity.* Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 7. Dualitas, or *A twofold ſubject diſplayed and opened, conduceable to godlineſs and peace in order: firſt*, Lex loquens, *the honour and dignity of magiſtracy, with the duties thereupon*, &c. *Secondly*, Duorum Unitas, or *The agreement of magiſtracy and miniſtry at the election of the honourable magiſtrates at Edinburgh, and opening of the Dioceſan Synod of the Reverend Clergy there.* Edinb. 1674, 4*to*.

[*B*] *He died the 13th of June*, 1689, &c.] As his life was pious and devout, ſo his ſickneſs and death afforded great conſolation to thoſe, who attended him in his laſt moments. He received the communion from the hands of Dr Alexander Monro, principal of the college of Edinburgh, aſſiſted by Dr Strachan profeſſor of Divinity; at which time he lamented with tears the overthrow of their Church, ſaying, *he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland, yet hoped others would live to ſee it reſtored.* He was buried without a funeral ſermon, which was not permitted by the Preſbyterians, in whoſe hands the magiſtracy then was (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ANNESLEY (ARTHUR) Earl of Angleſey, and Lord Privy-Seal, in the reign of King Charles II. He was the ſon of Sir Francis Anneſley, Baronet, Lord Mount Norris, and Viſcount Valentia in the kingdom of Ireland: By his firſt wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Phillips, of Picton caſtle in Pembrokeſhire (*a*). He was born on the 10th of July 1614, in Fiſh-Shamble-ſtreet in the city of Dublin, and was publickly chriſtened on the 20th of the ſame month, in the pariſh church of St John in the ſame city, the Lord Chicheſter, then Deputy of Ireland, being his Godfather, from whom he received the name of Arthur (*b*). He continued in Ireland till he was ten years old, and was then removed into England, where he remained about ſix years, and was then ſent to the univerſity of Oxford. There he became a Fellow-Commoner in Magdalen-college, where he was placed under the care of an experienced tutor in 1630, he purſued his ſtudies in this place three or four years, enjoying, during that ſpace, the friendſhip and converſation of Dr Frewen, then Preſident of that college, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, the celebrated Dr Hammond, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, himſelf being always conſidered as a young Man of great hopes, and an honour to his college (*c*). Sir Peter Pett affirms, in a book addreſſed to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, that he performed his exerciſe for a degree in that univerſity with general applauſe (*d*), but of this Anthony Wood takes no notice. In 1634 he was removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he ſtudied the Law with great ſucceſs, till his father thought fit to ſend him to travel (*e*). He made the tour of Europe, and continued ſome time at Rome, whence he returned into England in 1640 (*f*). He was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Radnor, in that parliament, which ſat at Weſtminſter the 3d of November, in the ſame year, but he quickly loſt his ſeat by a vote of the houſe that Charles Price, Eſq; was duly elected for that county. In the beginning of the civil war, Mr Anneſley inclined to the royal cauſe, and actually ſat in the parliament held at Oxford 1643 (*g*), but afterwards he reconciled himſelf ſo effectually to the parliament, as to be taken into their favour and confidence; his eſtate and quality, but above all, his great abilities, and general reputation, rendering him every way fit for the offices with which they entruſted him. The firſt of theſe was going as commiſſioner into Ulſter in the year 1645, by authority, under the great Seal of England (*b*). It was certainly a very difficult taſk, that Mr Anneſley and his fellow commiſſioners undertook, conſidering the Scotch forces under General Monroe had been long in poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, and had brought the Engliſh intereſt very low. However, Mr Anneſley, who was not then much above thirty years of age, managed all things ſo dexterouſly, and with ſo perfect a judgment, both in civil and military affairs, that the great rebel Owen Roe O'Neil was diſappointed in his deſigns, both on this province and that of Connaught. The Popiſh Archbiſhop of Tuam, who was the great oracle of his party, and whoſe councils had hitherto been very ſucceſsful, was not only taken priſoner, but his papers ſeized, and his foreign correſpondence diſcovered, whereby all the deſigns of the rebels were broken, and vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt (*i*) [*A*]. The parliament had ſent commiſſioners to treat with the

(*a*) Peerage of England by Arth. Collins, Vol. II. p. 328, edit. 1741.

(*b*) The Happy Future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, Lond. 1688, fol. p. 3.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 189.

(*d*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 3.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Collin's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(*f*) Happy Future State of England, p. 4.

(*g*) Liſt of the Members of the Long Parliament 1640, as alſo of the Oxford Parliament 1643.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

(*i*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 4. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 535.

[*A*] *Vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt.*] It ought not to be aſcribed to any defection from his loyalty, that Mr Anneſley accepted of this commiſſion. In thoſe times of confuſion, a deſire of rendering ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtants of Ireland, might well induce a man to do any thing within the bounds of his duty, to anſwer ſo laudable a purpoſe. How well, in ſo nice a juncture, he fulfilled all that could be expected from his fidelity to the parliament, and this without wounding in the leaſt his duty to his Majeſty, King Charles I, appears ſufficiently from the publick hiſtories of thoſe times (1); but never ſo pathetically as in his own words, in a paper addreſſed to King Charles II, in anſwer to a complaint of the Duke of Ormond's. Having taken notice, that the Duke had, in his paper, maliciouſly

(1) *Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, by Dr* Borlace, Lond. 1680, fol. p. 151.

the Marquis of Ormond, for the delivery up of Dublin, but without ſucceſs; but the ſtate of affairs making it neceſſary to renew their correſpondence with him, they made choice of a ſecond committee, conſiſting of men, who in their judgment, were more agreeable to him, and at the head of this commiſſion Mr Anneſley was placed (*k*). Theſe commiſſioners landed at Dublin on the 7th of June 1647, and were ſo ſucceſsful in their negotiations, that in a few days a treaty was concluded between them and the Lord Lieutenant; it was ſigned on the 19th of that month, and very ſoon after, Dublin was put into the hands of the parliament. This was certainly a very ſignal ſervice, not only to thoſe who employed him, but to the whole Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, which was then on the very point of being extinguiſhed. However, after the commiſſioners aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not able to hinder them from doing many things againſt his judgment, and therefore ought not to be blamed for thoſe irregularities, which were ſuch as the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe (*l*) [*B*]. Mr

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 71.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 603.

liciouſly inſinuated, that they were of oppoſite parties in the Iriſh wars, he goes on thus. 'The Earl (for 'Mr Anneſley was then Earl of Angleſey) was (under the authority his late Majeſty had entruſted both 'houſes of parliament with, for ordering and governing the affairs in Ireland, after the horrid rebellion 'began) inſtrumental there, to preſerve the Britiſh and 'Proteſtant intereſt, countries, and garriſons, from being ſwallowed up by Owen O'Neill's barbarous army; or falling into the bloody Iriſh hands. He alſo 'held correſpondence with, and offered aſſiſtance to, 'the then Marquis of Ormond, to preſerve the Engliſh 'and ſave the city of Dublin, and other Engliſh garriſons and quarters, from the treacherous Iriſh, who 'broke all faith with the Marquis. He likewiſe ſent 'to the Marquis the late King's Majeſty's poſitive prohibition in writing, againſt making any peace, or 'having at all further dealing with the Iriſh; and 'uſed his moſt earneſt perſuaſions herein, foreſeeing it 'would be deſtructive to the Engliſh, and miſchievous 'to the late King; and ſtill offered aſſiſtance to the 'Marquis, to encourage him in vigorouſly oppoſing the 'Iriſh, and to enable him to diſappoint their treachery, 'and the conſequence of their Faith-breaking (2).' As to that letter of the King's, it was dated the 11th of June 1646, and was tranſmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, incloſed in a letter from Mr Anneſley, General Monroe, and Colonel Beale, dated the 22d of June. To this letter the Marquis of Ormond wrote the following anſwer, which ſhews how early a diſtaſte he had to Mr Anneſley, and on what cauſes.

(2) True Account of the whole proceedings betwixt his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, Lond. 1682. fol. p. 9.

'WE do acknowledge the receipt of a letter from 'you, dated the 22d of June laſt, which 'came to us by the conveyance of Sir Theophilus 'Jones, Knt. not long after the date thereof; and in 'the ſaid letter, we found encloſed one ſigned by his 'Majeſty, bearing date the 11th of June; as alſo one 'directed to the Lord Folliott. To that ſigned by his 'Majeſty, our anſwer had been long ſince ſent; but 'that as well by your ſeveral letters (wherein you declare in effect, that no diſpatch from us ſhall be permitted to paſs by you to his Majeſty, unleſs you be made acquainted therewith) as by other printed papers, and ſeveral concurring circumſtances, we find 'ſo little hope of receiving his Majeſty's free pleaſure, 'touching his affairs and ſervants here, that we have 'great cauſe to fear, even the ſafety of any meſſengers 'of truſt we ſhould ſend. But as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe 'God to afford us clear and uninterrupted ways of addreſs to his Majeſty, we hope to give him fitting accounts of all his commands, directed to us his Lieutenants, which title (by the way we hold fit to obſerve unto you) his Majeſty is pleaſed to give us, 'though you in the ſeveral letters directed by you unto us, are not pleaſed ſo to ſtile us. The letter to 'the Lord Folliot was delivered to him unbroken open, 'as we believe he would have told you before you receive theſe our letters: though we conceive we might 'in all reſpects have juſtified the peruſal thereof, better 'than any ſubject (not authorized in that behalf by his 'Majeſty) can juſtify the attempting to look into the 'contents of any diſpatches ſent to his Majeſty, and 'better than we could juſtify the imparting ſuch our 'diſpatches to you. And ſo we remain; from his 'Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the 18th of July, '1646 (3).'

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 590.

ORMOND.

[*B*] *As the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe.*] Mr Thomas Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, tells us, that by this treaty the Proteſtants were to be ſecured in their eſtates, all who had paid contribution to be protected in their perſons and fortunes, all who had a mind to go with the Marquis out of Ireland, to have paſſes; and the Popiſh recuſants who had not adhered to the rebels, to be encouraged to continue in their habitations, and in enjoyment of their eſtates, in confidence of the favour of the parliament, according as they ſhould demean themſelves in the preſent ſervice. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Marquis ſhould receive the ſum of 13877 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* which he had borrowed for the uſe of the garriſon. Of this, 3000 *l.* was to be paid down, and bills of exchange were to be given him for the reſt, drawn on ſufficient men in France or Holland; one moiety at fifteen days after ſight, and the other at ſix months. But the Hiſtorian ſays, the commiſſioners were not ſo exact in this reſpect as they ought to have been. The 3000 *l.* in money was not brought, and the Marquis was forced to leave his Lady in Dublin to receive it, and diſcharge the debts to which they were aſſigned. Bills were indeed brought for the reſt, but not accepted; and he was forced to ſend Theodore Schout and Peter Wybrants, two Dublin merchants, to Holland, to ſee the firſt accepted and paid. The commiſſioners indeed paſſed their words, that he ſhould be no ſufferer, for want of acceptance of the bills, and that he might depend upon the honour and faith of the parliament. He acquieſced with a ſeeming readineſs in thoſe aſſurances, but found by experience, that bodies of men are not the moſt religious obſervers of their word. The bill for the firſt half was indeed paid; but the treaſurers of goldſmith's hall, who had drawn the ſecond on their correſpondent in Holland, had, before it was preſented, taken care by letters of advice, to forbid the acceptance of it, ſo that it was returned proteſted. In vain were the parliament, and the committee of Derby-houſe, ſollicited by the Marquis himſelf, during near ſix months ſtay that he made in England, and by Sir George Lane and others afterwards; they paid only ſome part of it at laſt to Mr Maule, a friend of Sir John Clotworthy's, and others of his creditors, who had an intereſt in them, without his conſent; but after all that they did in this reſpect, out of regard to others 1515 *l.* ſtill remained, and was never paid in any manner. The Marquis of Ormond had put off the delivery of the Regalia, till July 28, in hopes of getting time to receive from England a permiſſion to carry men into foreign ſervice, and to take meaſures for their levies and tranſportation. The commiſſioners did not care he ſhould continue there ſo long; and to make his ſtay uneaſy, they, on July 14, placed guards on Lord Taaffe, Col. John Barry, and Miles Power, and iſſued orders for apprehending Sir Edmond Verney, the Colonels George Vane, Edward Hammond, and others. When the Marquis complained of this breach of the articles, they did not offer to aſſign a reaſon for their proceeding, but told him, they were competent judges, and would allow no body elſe to judge of their actions. On the 16th, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the caſtle, and deliver the Regalia within four days. He found that they were uneaſy whilſt the caſtle continued in his poſſeſſion, and was guarded by his own ſoldiers, purſuant to the ſtipulation in that behalf; and therefore as his remove at that time was inconvenient, he accommodated the buſineſs with them, by conſenting to leave immediately the ſecuring of the caſtle to them, and deferring the ceremonial part of quitting the ſword till the ſet time (4). We have an account ſomewhat different from this, in the paper referred

Mr Anneſley, not liking his ſituation, returned ſpeedily home, where he found all things in confuſion, the government being on the very point of diſſolution, which however did not diſcourage him from doing all that lay in his power to ſerve his country; and though he did this without effect (*m*), yet ſure it is very unjuſt to charge him with it as an offence, as Wood does, who repreſents him as an abſolute time-ſerver (*n*), though he was one of the ſecluded members, and as eminent for oppoſing the illegal things done after the murder of the King, as any man in the nation, who had not born arms in his ſervice. After the death of Cromwell, when the Rump reſumed their old power, Mr Anneſley, though he doubted whether the parliament was not diſſolved by the death of the King, reſolved to get into the houſe if it was poſſible, in which good deſign he got ſeveral worthy gentlemen to concur with him, but with little ſucceſs, though managed with great wiſdom and ſpirit, ſuch as ſufficiently declared what his real ſentiments were, and how much he had the re-ſettling of the conſtitution at heart (*o*). In the confuſions which followed, he had little or no ſhare, as being too well known to be truſted either by the Rump, or the army; and beſides, ſhrewdly ſuſpected of knowing at leaſt of Sir George Booth's inſurrection, if not concerned in it. But when things began to take a better turn, by the reſtoring the ſecluded Members to their ſeats, February 21, 1660, Mr Anneſley began again to make a figure, and to appear in his old character, that of a true patriot (*p*). In this he appeared with ſuch luſtre, that he was choſen Preſident of the new council of ſtate, having at that time a correſpondence with his Majeſty, King Charles II, then in exile; which coſt him the life of his dear brother who was drowned, ſtepping into a packet-boat with letters for his Majeſty (*q*) [C]. Immediately after the Reſtoration, viz. on the twentieth of April 1661, he

(*m*) See the Vindication of the ſecluded Members by Wm Prynne. Hiſtory of Independency, firſt three parts. England's Confuſion, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England. Heath's Chronicle. Memoirs of Col Legg, a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Dartmouth.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 419.

(*p*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion by the Earl of Clarendon. Hiſt. of Independency. P. iv. p. 39. Heath's Chronic. P. iv. p. 437.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 439.

ferred to in the former note, which it will be likewiſe neceſſary for the reader to ſee, as it contains abundance of curious particulars, and relates ſtrictly to the perſonal hiſtory of this illuſtrious nobleman. 'After the 'peace made by the Lord Lieutenant (notwithſtanding 'the informations beforementioned) with the Iriſh 'confederate rebels, and their ſhameful and treacherous breach of it, with deſign and endeavour to ſurprize the Marquis, and all the Engliſh garriſons in 'Leinſter; and after they had ſo handled their buſineſs, 'as to get the commiſſioners of parliament to be rejected and ſent away by the Marquis; he the ſaid 'Earl, (then Mr Anneſley) upon a ſecond invitation of 'the Marquis to the parliament, (upon the Iriſh rebels 'continued breaches and treacheries) went again for 'Ireland, after he had uſed all his intereſt to perſuade 'them to ſend again, though they were very unwilling; 'and it was much oppoſed by reaſon of the former unexpected diſappointment; and was the chief employed in commiſſion from the parliament, with an 'army of horſe and foot, furniſhed with all things neceſſary to deliver the Marquis and Engliſh from the 'Iriſh treacheries and deſigns, and to receive the city 'of Dublin, and other garriſons, into the parliament's 'cuſtody, who were truſted, and able to preſerve the 'ſame for the Crown, if we could agree upon articles 'for that purpoſe, which, by the bleſſing of God, the 'Earl did, to the Marquis, and the late Lord Chancellor, Euſtace, (whom the Marquis chiefly truſted 'therein) their great ſatisfaction, as well as his 'own, and the Engliſh and Proteſtants. And after he 'and the reſt of the commiſſioners had received the city 'of Dublin, and other garriſons, and conveyed the 'Marquis with the honour due to his quality, to the 'Sea-ſide, to take ſhipping for England, as the articles gave leave; and had ſpent ſome time to lay the 'foundations, which after happily ſucceeded, for the 'total reduction of the Iriſh, and breaking their curſed 'confederacy, and powerful treachery, and final ſubduing them to the crown of England, with the forfeiture of all their eſtates, for the ſatisfaction of adventurers, and ſoldiers, and the vaſt increaſe of the 'revenue of the crown; the Earl returned for England, as he had leave to do, before he went. Where, 'by his intereſt in parliament, he ſecured to the Marquis, the 13,000 *l.* &c. agreed by the articles for 'the ſurrender of Dublin, &c. to be paid to him, 'though much endeavour was uſed by the Lady Vicounteſs Moore, and others, upon legal pretences to 'deprive him of it; ſo that he loſt not one penny of 'it, and then the ſaid Marquis thought, and held the ſaid Earl his real friend, and a punctual performer of 'publick faith (5).'

(5) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Anglesey, P. 6.

[C] *With letters for his Majeſty.*] It cannot be ſuppoſed, that theſe diſpatches were of ordinary importance, which were committed to the care of young Mr Anneſley; and beſides, whoever conſiders the cautiouſneſs of Monk, and the little weight that declared royaliſts had at the time of the diſſolution of the Rump, muſt be perſwaded that ſuch as were then entruſted with the executive part of the government, muſt have had a conſiderable, if not the largeſt, ſhare in compleating that work. However, let us hear what Mr Wood ſays. After taking notice of Mr Anneſley's going to Ireland, he proceeds thus. 'He returned 'into England, complied with the parliament, Oliver 'Cromwell, and his party, took the oath called the 'Engagement, as before he had the Covenant: but 'when he ſaw that King Charles II, would be reſtored to his kingdoms, he then, when he perceived 'it could not be hindered, ſtruck in, and became inſtrumental for the recalling of him home, as many 'of his perſwaſion did, and thereupon, they ſoothed 'themſelves up, and gave it out publickly, that they 'were as inſtrumental in that matter, as the beſt of 'the royal party; nay, they ſtuck not to ſay, that if 'it was not by their endeavours, his Majeſty would 'not have been reſtored. At that time, he was made 'a privy counſellor, and to ſhew his zeal for his Majeſty's cauſe, he procured himſelf to be put in among the number of thoſe juſtices, or judges, to ſit 'firſt at Hicks's-Hall, and afterwards at the Old 'Baily, on the Regicides, where one of them, named 'Adrian Scrope, did reflect upon him, as it was by 'all there preſent ſuppoſed, and on others too, as 'having before been miſled, as well as himſelf (6).' The falſhood of almoſt every fact, advanced in this charge, might be demonſtrated from the moſt authentick pieces publiſhed at that very time, ſuch as the pamphlet, entitled, *England's Confuſion: Or, a true and impartial Relation of the late Traverſes of State in England, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England:* in which, among other things, there is a very warm letter to William Lenthall, Speaker to the Rump, from Mr Anneſley, expoſtulating with him, on account of his being excluded the Houſe, for not taking the Engagement (7), which Wood affirms he had taken. Clement Walker, in his four parts of the Hiſtory of Independency, gives a large account of Mr Anneſley's active endeavours againſt the uſurped powers, when they were in the zenith of their authority. His very ſitting in judgment on the Regicides, which Mr Wood ſo baſely miſrepreſents, was an act of the greateſt honour and loyalty. He foreſaw, that ſome of thoſe unhappy men would plead the authority of parliament, to juſtify that execrable action; and indeed, General Harriſon did ſo, upon which, Mr Anneſley roſe up, and in an excellent ſpeech, ſhewed all who were preſent, the vanity of that pretence; explained the nature of the quarrel between King and Parliament at the beginning, and the difference between ſubjects ſtruggling for their juſt liberties, and wickedly depoſing, or murdering their lawful Prince, which he proved no parliament could ſanctify; and alſo that in the preſent caſe, this infamous action was not abetted by an eighth part of the Houſe of Commons, the Houſe of Lords being ejected, ſo that the odium of it, could not with any colour of reaſon be

(6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789.

(7) Page 13.

thrown

he was raiſed to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Anneſley of Newport Pagnel, in the county of Bucks; as alſo of an Earl, by the ſtyle of * * * * * * * which ſome little time afterwards was changed for that of Angleſey (*r*). In the preamble of the patent, notice is expreſsly taken of the ſignal ſervices rendered by him in the King's Reſtoration (*s*); nay ſome tell us, that his Lordſhip might then have been Prime-Miniſter if he had not declined it (*t*) to avoid envy; however he had always a conſiderable ſhare in the King's favour; and was heard with great attention at council, and in the houſe of Lords. He certainly ſhewed his extreme deteſtation of the King's murder, by his ſitting in judgment on the Regicides at Hick's-Hall, and the Old-Baily, though the Oxford Hiſtorian reflects upon this, inſinuating that he had been as deep in thoſe matters as the perſons then tried, which is a palpable falſity (*u*). Many reflections of this ſort he bore in his life-time with great conſtancy, or rather indifference, being deſirous of diſcharging his duty to his King and Country without hurting others, and without being ſollicitous of making great advantages to himſelf, yet as he ſerved a generous maſter, he received from him offices both of profit and of truſt. In 1667 he was made Treaſurer of the Navy; and on the fourth of February 1671-2, his Majeſty in council was pleaſed to appoint the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Angleſey, the Lord Holles, the Lord Aſhley Cooper, and Mr Secretary Trevor, or any three of them, to be a committee, to peruſe and reviſe all the papers and writings, concerning the ſettlement of Ireland, from the firſt to the laſt, and to make an abſtract of the ſtate thereof in writing (*w*). And accordingly, on the twelfth of June 1672, they made their report at large, which was the foundation of a commiſſion, dated the firſt of Auguſt 1672, to Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, Earl of Angleſey, Lords Aſhley and Holles, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Thomas Chickley, to inſpect the ſettlement of Ireland, and all proceedings in order thereunto. And this was followed by another commiſſion of the ſeventeenth of January 1672, to Prince Rupert, &c. whereunto the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Shaftſbury, and the Lord Treaſurer, Clifford, were added to inſpect the affairs of Ireland, viz. the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and the execution of them, and the diſpoſing of forfeited lands, and the ſtate of his Majeſty's revenue, &c. After which, by reaſon of his ſingular prudence and fidelity, he had the great office of Lord Privy-Seal conferred on him the twenty-ſecond of April 1673 (*x*), and all this, notwithſtanding a great variety of attempts made to prejudice him, as well in the King's, as in the publick opinion; all which he not only effectually defeated by clearly expoſing them, and manifeſting his own innocence, but alſo turned them to his advantage, ſo as to riſe more by the intrigues of his enemies, than by any art of his own (*y*). The long experience his Lordſhip had of men and things, rendered him ſo true a judge of merit, that he could diſcover it in men of all perſwaſions, and his freedom from prejudice ſuch, that he could hate it in none, how different ſoever from himſelf in religious, or political opinions (*z*). This noble diſpoſition, rendered him liable to a formidable attack, during the time of the Popiſh plot; when to have behaved with decency towards the Roman Catholicks of any rank, was ſufficient to ſtigmatize the ſincereſt Proteſtant, with the dangerous character of being a favourer of Papiſts. One Dangerfield, whoſe name will be tranſmitted to late poſterity, as a diſcoverer of plots, true and falſe, on the twentieth of October 1680, charged his Lordſhip in an information delivered upon oath, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, with endeavouring to ſtifle evidence, with relation to the Popiſh plot, and to promote the belief of a Preſbyterian one, with many other things alike probable, or rather alike improbable, yet ſo far credited at that time as to receive countenance from the houſe (*a*). The trouble he received from this baſe attack, did not hinder him from ſpeaking his opinion freely of thoſe matters in the Houſe of Lords, particularly in relation to the Iriſh plot, of which he declared his abſolute diſbelief, when few durſt own they ſuſpected it (*b*), notwithſtanding the apparent marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it [*D*]. His charity for men of all religions, did not however abate either his zeal for the

(*r*) As the author of this article has been informed by a late learned Antiquary.

(*s*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479, Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340.

(*t*) Happy Future State of England, p. 5.

(*u*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 341.

(*y*) See note [*D*].

(*z*) Happy Future State of England, p. 16.

(*a*) See his Narrative of the ſame date, publiſhed by order of the Houſe of Commons.

(*b*) Happy Future State of England, p. 205.

thrown on that parliament which began the war (8). The Earl of Clarendon, in his hiſtory, hath done right to this noble perſon, as far as his knowledge extended. But perhaps, the reader will be beſt ſatisfied from what the Earl of Angleſey himſelf ſaid, of his tranſactions in thoſe times, in the memorial to King Charles II, which has been more than once mentioned. He therein affirms, the part he acted, was 'To preſerve the 'Church in it's legal eſtabliſhment to the laſt, to de- 'fend the King and the Laws, againſt Uſurpation, 'and arbitrary Government, to adventure his Eſtate 'and Life, to ſave his from execrable Murder, and 'never to ſit ſtill, till he and his friends, His late Ma- 'jeſty's, and Your faithful ſubjects, had compaſſed 'your Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, with the appa- 'rent and imminent Hazard of their Lives; where- 'of, the ſaid Duke, *i. e.* Ormond, had vaſt Benefits 'without Danger (9).'

(8) Heath's Chronicle, p. 436.

(9) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, p. 11.

[*D*] *Marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it.*] The Houſe of Commons voted *nem. con.* that there was an Iriſh plot, and in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of Angleſey, was the ſingle Lord who diſſented from a vote to the ſame purpoſe. His ſenſe of things at that time, expoſed this noble Lord to great inconveniences, for the Houſe of Commons ordered Dangerfield's information of the 20th of October, 1680, to be printed, wherein the Earl was charged with encouraging Dugdale to recant what he had ſworn, and promiſing to harbour him in his houſe, and that his Lordſhip's Prieſt ſhould accompany and watch him (10). If this was true, then the Earl of Angleſey was a Papiſt, which is not over credible, for many reaſons; and amongſt others, for this, that the very witneſs he is here ſworn to have tampered with, had before ſworn in his narrative, concerning the Popiſh plot, that if the deſigns of the Papiſts had ſucceeded, Sir William Gage, was to have been Lord Privy-Seal (11). So that we muſt ſuppoſe, not only that the Earl of Angleſey conſpired againſt the King and the Conſtitution, but alſo againſt himſelf; and that while he, as a Papiſt, was doing all this for the Papiſts, they were contriving to give his poſt to another,

(10) The Happy Future State of England, p. 35.

(11) See Dugdale's

the Proteſtant cauſe, or his affection for the true intereſt of his country. The Earl of Caſtlehaven, thought fit in the year 1680 to write his Memoirs, wherein he took a great deal of pains, to repreſent the general rebellion in Ireland, in the lighteſt colours poſſible, and as if it had been far from univerſal at firſt; and that it was made ſo, at leaſt as much by the meaſures purſued by ſuch as ought to have ſuppreſſed them, as by any ill intention of the Catholicks concerned in it (*c*). The Earl of Angleſey having received thoſe Memoirs from their author, thought fit to write ſome animadverſions upon them, which he did in a letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein he takes notice of abundance of remarkable paſſages in thoſe diſtracted times; and, as his ſubject led him, delivered his opinion freely in reſpect to the Duke of Ormond, and his management of affairs in that kingdom (*d*). This letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven was written in Auguſt 1680, but was not publiſhed till 1681. The Duke of Ormond, about a year afterwards, expoſtulated with the Lord Privy-Seal, on this ſubject, by letter, to which the Earl replied; and there the matter reſted, as the reader will be informed in the notes [*E*]. In 1682, when the nation was in a high ferment, the Earl drew up a very

(*c*) Memoirs concerning the Wars of Ireland, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Caſtlehaven, Lond. 1680. 12*mo*.

(*d*) The title of his book was, A Letter from a perſon of honour in the country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven; being Obſervations and Reflections upon his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland. London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1682.

another, who could do nothing for them at all. But this was not all, for the zealous Earl of Eſſex charged him in the Houſe of Lords, with being prayed for by name, in the maſs-houſes in Ireland; to which the Earl of Angleſey anſwered, that he believed it was not ſo; but if the Jews in their Synagogues, or the Turks in their Moſques, would pray for him unaſked, he ſhould be glad to be the better for their devotion (12). This ſpleen againſt the Earl roſe at laſt ſo high, that Sir William Jones, when he was propoſing to the Houſe of Commons attacking ſeveral of the King's Miniſters, was pleaſed to glance at Angleſey, in theſe words: 'There is another in the council, a 'Nobleman too, among the King's Miniſters, and a 'Lawyer, but if we cannot reach him, do not im- 'peach him (13).' Theſe were ſtrange times to live in, when the then Earl of Halifax, who always oppoſed Popiſh councils, was judged an enemy to his country for promoting them; and the Earl of Radnor, was thought to decline in his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, merely becauſe he could not ſwallow all the abſurdities which were grafted on the Popiſh plot (14). It was however particularly hard on the Earl of Angleſey, to be ſuſpected as a favourer of Popery, ſince he was before in diſgrace with the warm churchmen, on ſuſpicion of his favouring the Nonconformiſts. Beſides, in all his conduct both before and after the Reſtoration, he manifeſted a high diſlike of the Papiſts, as a party, though he was very kind and civil to ſuch as he judged worthy men amongſt them; nor did he alter his conduct, even after all this clamour, but perſiſted in his old opinion, that there might be good men among the Papiſts, though in that reſpect they were not good Papiſts; and this he labours hard to prove, in that book which goes under the title of his Memoirs. Sir P. Pett informs us, that the Earl, when Mr Anneſley, diſobliged the Popiſh party exceſſively, by the pains he took to defeat their ſchemes, and to ſecure the perſon of General Lambert, one of the King's Judges, and who oppoſed to the laſt, the return of King Charles II, and yet, was at the bottom a jeſuited Papiſt, of which one circumſtance appeared; for being condemned to perpetual impriſonment, a little before the Popiſh plot broke out, an application was made to the King for procuring his diſcharge, and an eminent Popiſh Peer offered to be ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour (15). However this matter might be, certainly, if the whole tenor of a man's life and conduct could prove any thing, it ought to be believed, that the Earl of Angleſey was any thing rather than a Papiſt. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a man of ſo much moderation, as to be in the good graces of no party, though in the time of their diſtreſs, he was tender towards the ſufferers of all parties.

(12) Happy Future State of England, p. 266.

(13) Ibid. p. 267.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. p. 28.

[*E*] *As the reader will be informed in the notes.*] As theſe letters are very curious, and yet are not to be met with in the large account of the diſpute between theſe two noble perſons; the reader will be doubtleſs well pleaſed to meet with them here. That from the Duke to the Earl of Angleſey, was dated from Dublin, November 12, 1681, and ran thus.

My Lord,

'IT is now, I think, more than a year, ſince I 'firſt ſaw a little book, written by way of letter, 'called Obſervations and Reflections, on my Lord of 'Caſtlehaven's Memoirs: wherein, though there are 'ſome things that might lead the reader to believe 'that your Lordſhip was the author, yet there were 'many more I thought impoſſible ſhould come from 'you; for it affirms many matters of fact poſitively, 'which are eaſily and authentically to be diſproved; 'and from thoſe matters of fact, groſsly miſtaken, it 'deduces conſequences, raiſes inferences, and ſcatters 'glances injurious to the memory of the dead, and 'the honour of ſome living. Among thoſe, that, by 'the bleſſing of God, are yet living, I find myſelf 'worſt treated. Twenty years after King's Reſtoration, and forty after the beginning of the Iriſh Re- 'bellion, as if it had been all that while reſerved for 'me, and for ſuch times as theſe, we are fallen into; 'when calumny (though the matter of it be never ſo 'groundleſs and improbable) meets with credulity; 'and when liberty is taken to aſperſe men, and re- 'preſent them to the world, under the monſtrous and 'odious figures of Papiſts, or popiſhly affected; not 'becauſe they are ſo thought, by thoſe that employ 'the repreſenters, but becauſe they are known to be 'too good Proteſtants, and too loyal ſubjects, to join 'in the deſtruction of the Crown and Church: be- 'ſides, the treatiſe came forth, and muſt have been 'written, when I had but newly received repeated 'aſſurances of the continuance of your friendſhip to 'me; wherein, as in one of your letters you are 'pleaſed to ſay, you had never made a falſe ſtep; for 'theſe reaſons, I was not willing to believe that book 'to be of your Lordſhip's compoſing, and hoped 'ſome of the ſuborned libellers of the age, had en- 'deavoured to imitate your Lordſhip, and not you 'them: But I was, in a while after, firſt, by my ſon 'Arran, and afterwards by the bearer, Sir Robert 'Reading, aſſured your Lordſhip had owned to them, 'that the piece was your's, but profeſſed the publication 'to be without your order; and that you did not in- 'tend to do, or think that you had done, me any 'injury, or prejudice: if your Lordſhip really thought 'ſo, the publication might have been owned, as well 'as what was publiſhed; but then let the world 'judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dan- 'gerous tools in your hands? When I was thus aſſured 'your Lordſhip was the author, it coſt me ſome 'thoughts how to vindicate truth, my maſter the late 'King, myſelf, my actions, and family, all reflected 'on, and traduced by that pamphlet: I found myſelf 'engaged in the ſervice of our preſent King, and 'that in a time of difficulty and danger, and in ſuch 'times, for the moſt part, it has been my lot to be 'employed in publick affairs; and though I had not 'been ſo taken up, yet I well knew that writing up- 'on ſuch occaſions is no more my talent, than it is my 'delight; and, to ſay truth, my indiſpoſition to 'the exerciſe, might help to perſwade me, that the 'book, though honoured with your Lordſhip's name, 'would, after it had performed it's office in Coffee- 'houſes, and ſerved your Lordſhip's deſign in that 'conjuncture, expire, as writings of that nature and 'force uſually do: and herein I reſted without 'troubling myſelf, or any body elſe, with animadver- 'ſions on your Lordſhip's miſtakes, which are ſo 'many, and ſo obvious, that I wonder how you could 'fall into them. I will add to this, that I have been 'in expectation, that by this time your Compleat Hi- 'ſtory would have come forth; wherein, if I may 'judge by the pattern, I have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, 'that

very particular Remonſtrance, dated April the twenty-ſeventh, the ſame year, and preſented it to his Majeſty. It was very warm and very loyal; it and yet was far from being well received, for reaſons of which the reader will be able to judge, from the extracts we have

'that neither the ſubject, or myſelf, will be more 'juſtly dealt with, than in that occaſional eſſay; and, 'I would have been glad to have ſeen all my work 'before me, in caſe I ſhould think fit to make a work 'of it. The delay of your publiſhing that hiſtory, 'and the conſideration of your Lordſhip's age and 'mine, are the occaſions of this letter; whereby, I 'inform you, that as no man now alive is better able 'than I am, to give an account of the principal tran-'ſactions during the Rebellion in Ireland; ſo no man 'is poſſeſſed of more authentick commiſſions, inſtru-'ments, and papers, all which, or tranſcripts of them, 'you might have commanded before you ſet forth 'your reflections. But, poſſibly, to have ſtayed for 'them, might have loſt you a ſeaſonble opportunity 'of publiſhing your abhorrence of the Iriſh Rebellion, 'and your zeal againſt Popery: what your Lordſhip 'might then have had, you may yet have, becauſe I 'had rather help to prevent than detect errors, but 'then, I muſt firſt know to what particular part of your 'hiſtory you deſire information, and how you deliver 'thoſe parts to the world, and to poſterity. If after 'this offer, your Lordſhip ſhall proceed to the conclu-'ſion, and publication of your hiſtory, and not ac-'cept of it, I muſt, before-hand, appeal from you, 'as from an incompetent judge of my actions, and a 'partially engaged and unfaithful hiſtorian.'

ORMOND.

The Earl of Angleſey's anſwer was as follows.

My Lord,

'YOUR Grace's of the 12th of November, I 'received towards the end of that month, and 'was not a little ſurprized, after being threatened a-'bove a year, with your Grace's anſwers, to the Ob-'ſervations and Reflections on my Lord Caſtlehaven's 'Memoirs, which your Grace takes notice you had 'ſeen above a year before, to find them only moſt 'ſatyrically burleſqued, and my intentions in the writ-'ing of them, moſt unnaturally miſinterpreted, and 'misjudged, without giving inſtance of any one par-'ticular, which could ſo much tranſport your Grace, 'or intereſt you to judge of a letter of mine to ano-'ther, with ſo invective heat and miſtake. Your 'Grace's letter, therefore, conſiſting only of generals, 'I can no otherwiſe adapt my anſwer, (after a moſt 'ſerious reviſion of my book upon this occaſion) but 'by giving the reverſe of your Grace's ſtrained and 'erroneous affirmatives, by my plain and true nega-'tives; till your Grace ſhall adminiſter occaſion, by 'communicating the particular animadverſions, your 'Grace hath been ſo long (as I hear) about. The rea-'ſons leading your Grace to believe it impoſſible I 'could be the author of that diſcourſe, I cannot ad-'mit, though they import a fair opinion of me; and 'that in the beginning of your letter, your Grace had 'better thoughts than when your hand was in and 'heated. I do therefore abſolutely deny, that I af-'firm any matter of fact, poſitively in that book, 'which are eaſily, or authentically (or at all) to be 'diſproved. Or that, from thoſe matters of fact, 'groſsly miſtaken, it deduces conſequences, raiſes in-'ferences, and ſcatters glances injurious to the me-'mory of the dead, and the honour of ſome living; 'among which, your Grace finds your ſelf worſt 'treated. This being ſo, your Grace's unjuſt infe-'rences from the time of it's writing, and the miſ-'judging the deſign of the author, give no coun-'tenance, or occaſion, to your Grace's rhetorical cha-'racter of the times, though I joyn in all, but the 'opinion your Grace ſeems to have taken up, that 'there is a plot (other than that of the Papiſts) to 'deſtroy the Crown and Church; a diſcovery worthy 'the making, if your Grace knows and believes what 'you write; but how I am concerned to have 'it mentioned to me, I know not, your Grace can 'beſt tell what you intend to inſinuate thereby. 'Theſe are your Grace's reaſons, why you were 'not willing to believe that book of my compo-'ſing; yet you cannot leave me without a ſting, 'in your expreſſing the hopes which ſucceeded them, 'viz. That ſome of the ſuborned libellers of the age, 'had endeavoured to imitate me, and not I them. 'Whether I ſhould imitate ſuborned libellers, or 'they me, would be all one for my reputation; be-'cauſe I were groſsly criminal in the firſt, and muſt 'have been ſo before in your Grace's opinion, or 'they could not imitate me in the ſecond: your 'Grace will want inſtances in both, except this of 'your own making; and therefore, there muſt be 'ſome other reaſon why your Grace did not believe '(if really you did not) that diſcourſe to be of my 'compoſure. But this admitted for truth, (as it is 'undoubtedly) your Grace, in the next place, calls 'the world to judge, whether pen, ink, and pa-'per, are not dangerous tools in my hands. I 'remember the times, when they were ſerviceable 'to the King's Reſtoration, and conſtant ſervice of 'the crown, or craved in aid by your Grace, that 'you did not account them ſo: and it is much to 'my ſafety, that they are not ſo in your Grace's 'hands, though I find them as ſharp there, as in 'any man's alive. Your Grace being at length aſ-'ſured I was the author, your next care was to 'ſpend ſome thoughts to vindicate truth, the late 'King, yourſelf, your actions, and family, all re-'flected upon and traduced (as your Grace is pleaſed 'to fancy) by that pamphlet. But your Grace had 'no cauſe to trouble your thoughts with ſuch vin-'dications, unleſs you could ſhew, where in that 'book they are reflected upon and traduced, no 'ſuch thing occurring to me, (upon the ſtricteſt re-'viſal) nor ever ſhall be objected to me with juſtice 'and truth. After your Grace hath brought it to 'the Coffee-Houſes, (where I believe it never was, 'till your Grace preferred it to that office) and 'where you have doomed it to expire, as writings 'of that nature and force uſe (you ſay) to do, (for 'which I ſhall not be at all concerned) you reſted, 'without troubling yourſelf or any body elſe with 'animadverſions upon my miſtakes, which your Grace 'is pleaſed to ſay, are ſo many and ſo obvious, '(though you name none, nor do they occur to o-'thers) that you wonder how I could fall into them. 'If your Grace believes yourſelf in this, you 'ſeem to have forgot the long time you ſpent in 'conſidering and animadverting upon that deſpica-'ble pamphlet, with your labours whereon I was 'threatned by ſome of your Grace's relations for 'many months; and your Grace hath redeemed the 'delay, by the virulent general reflections you have 'now ſent me, which yet I doubt not will evapo-'rate or ſhrink to nothing, when your Grace ſhall 'ſeek for inſtances to back them, whereof if you 'can find any, I claim in juſtice they may be ſent 'me. Your Grace adds, that you have been in ex-'pectation, that by this time my compleat Hiſ-'tory would have come forth, wherein (if you may 'judge by the pattern) your Grace ſaith, you have 'juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that neither the ſubject, nor 'yourſelf, will be more juſtly dealt with than in 'that occaſional Eſſay; and therefore, offer me all 'the helps of authentick commiſſions, tranſactions, 'and papers, your Grace is poſſeſſed of, whereof 'you inform me none hath more. This is an an-'ticipating jealouſy, which no man living can have 'ground for, and when my hiſtory ſhall be com-'pleated, (which is now delayed for thoſe aſſiſtances 'your Grace is ſo well able, and ſo freely offers to 'afford me) though my weakneſs may be expoſed, 'my integrity and impartiality ſhall appear, and your 'unjuſt ſuſpicion will, I doubt not, ceaſe, if truth 'may be welcome to you, and not accounted one 'of the dangerous inſtruments in my hand; by which 'having incurred your anger and enmity in the firſt 'Eſſay, I have ſlender hopes to be more acceptable 'in the ſecond; though I reſolve to hold to the 'firſt approved law of a good and faithful hiſtorian, 'which is, that he ſhould not dare to ſay any thing 'that is falſe; and that he dare not but ſay any 'thing that is true; that there be not ſo much as 'ſuſpicion of favour or hatred in his writing. And 'this might give a ſuperſedeas to your Grace's un-'reaſonable appeal before a Gravamen, though I ne-

'ver

have made out of that piece (e) [F]. It was not however thought proper to remove him from his high office on this account, and therefore in the month of June 1682, the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was prevailed upon to exhibit a charge againſt the Lord Privy-Seal, on account of his reflections on the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This produced a ſharp diſpute between thoſe two Peers, which ended in the Earl of Angleſey's loſing his place of Lord Privy-Seal, though it certainly raiſed his reputation; his very enemies being forced to confeſs, that he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated (f) [G]. After this misfortune, which happened in Auguſt 1682, his Lordſhip remained

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 341.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

'ver intended, by relating the truth of things paſt, 'to become a judge of your Grace's or any other 'man's actions, but barely *Res geſtas narrare*, for 'the information, correction, and inſtruction of this 'age and poſterity. Your Grace deſiring to know 'to what particular parts of my hiſtory I would have 'information, I ſhall at preſent only mention theſe. 'The intrigues of the ceſſation and commiſſions for 'them, and the two peaces of 1646 and 1648, 'forced upon the King by the rebellious Iriſh. The 'grounds and tranſactions about depriving Sir William 'Parſons from being one of the Lords Juſtices, and 'then diſmiſſing him; Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treaſurer; Sir John Temple, Maſter of the Rolls; Sir 'Robert Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. 'from the council table. The myſtery of Glamorgan's peace and his puniſhment, the ſeveral ungrateful expulſions of your Grace, by the confederate Roman Catholicks. The paſſages concerning the parliament's preſent of a jewel to your 'Grace. The battles, reliefs, ſieges, and chief encounters, in your Grace's time. The proceedings 'between your Grace and the Roman Catholick Aſſembly of the clergy in 1666, with the commiſſion 'for their ſitting. The plot for ſurprizing the caſtle of 'Dublin, in which Warren and others were concerned 'with the examinations and what offenders were executed, &c. and any thing elſe your Grace judgeth of 'import, to have conveyed to poſterity. Other parts 'of the hiſtory ſhall be propoſed to your Grace in 'my progreſs, and before I put my laſt hand to it, 'with a reſolution, that though I may have been 'ſometimes miſtaken in judgment, yet as I never 'did promote the report of a matter of fact, which 'I knew to be falſe, ſo I never would. Which I 'am induced the rather to mention, becauſe your 'Grace ſaith, you had rather help to prevent than 'to detect errors (16).'

(16) Tranſcribed from a Collection of State Papers belonging formerly to John Lord Sommers.

ANGLESEY.

[F] *From the extracts we have made out that piece.*] This Memorial was intituled, *The Account of Arthur Earl of Angleſey, Lord Privy-Seal to your moſt excellent Majeſty, of the true State of your Majeſty's Government and Kingdoms*, April 27, 1682. In one part whereof he ſays, The fatal cauſe of all our miſchiefs preſent, or apprehended, and which, if not by wiſdom antedated, may raiſe a fire, which may burn and conſume to the very foundations, is the unhappy perverſion of the Duke of York (the next heir to the crown in one point of religion); which naturally raiſes jealouſy of the power, deſigns, and practices, of the old enemies of our religion and liberties, and undermines and emaſculates the courage and conſtancy, even of those and their poſterity, who have been as faithful [illegible] and ſuffered as much for, the crown, as any the moſt pleaſed, or contented in our impending miſeries can pretend to have done (17), and concludes in theſe words, Though your Majeſty is in your own perſon above the reach of law, and ſoveraign of all your people, yet the law is your maſter and inſtructer how to govern; and your ſubjects aſſure themſelves, you will never attempt the enervating that Law by which you are King, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by a ſolemn oath upon your Throne, been obliged in a moſt glorious preſence of your people to the maintenance of; and that therefore, you will look upon any that ſhall propoſe or adviſe to the contrary, as unfit perſons to be near you; and on thoſe who ſhall perſuade you it is lawful, as ſordid flatterers, and the worſt and moſt dangerous enemies you and your kingdoms have. What I ſet before your Majeſty, I have written freely, and like a ſworn faithful Counſellor; perhaps not like a wiſe man, with regard to myſelf, as they ſtand; but I have diſcharged my duty, and ſhall account it a reward, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to read, what I durſt not but write, and which I beſeech God to give a bleſſing to (18).

(17) Page 16.

(18) Tranſcribed from the Collection beforementioned.

[G] *That he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated.*] The Earl of Angleſey himſelf cauſed a diſtinct narrative of the whole affair, relating to his diſpute with the Duke of Ormond, before the Privy-Council, and his being thereupon deprived of the Privy-Seal, to be printed for the ſatisfaction of the world. The ſum of the matter was this, On the 17th of *June*, 1682, James Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Steward, repreſented to his Majeſty in Council, the injuries he ſuppoſed to be done him by the Lord Privy-Seal, in his book publiſhed againſt the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This repreſentation being read openly before the Council, then ſitting at Hampton-Court, his Majeſty declared, that he would hear the matter thereof in Council, and did order that a copy of the ſaid repreſentation ſhould be delivered to Angleſey, and that he appear and make anſwer thereunto, at a Council to be holden at Whitehall, on the 23d of the ſaid month. In obedience to this, Angleſey, though much troubled with the gout, appeared, made a ſhort ſpeech to his Majeſty, in vindication of himſelf, bandied the matter with Ormond, and then put in his anſwer to Ormond's repreſentation, or complaint againſt him. Theſe things being done, another Council was held *July* 13, at which time, Ormond delivering a paper to the board, containing ſeveral charges againſt him, it was then ordered, that a copy of it ſhould be ſent to Angleſey, and that he return an anſwer thereunto on the 20th of the ſaid month at Hampton-Court. But no Council being then held (notwithſtanding Angleſey had made anſwer to Ormond's particular charges againſt him the next day) the matter was deferred till the 27th of the ſaid month. Another Council being therefore held there the ſame day, the charges and anſwers were debated; which done, and the Lords concerned being withdrawn, this reſolution paſſed by the Council on Angleſey's letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, viz. That it was a ſcandalous libel againſt his late Majeſty, againſt his now Majeſty, and againſt the Government. When the parties, or Lords concerned, were called in again, the Lord Chancellor only told Angleſey, that the King conceived him faulty in the clauſe, p. 32, of the ſaid letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein the committees of the Parliament of Ireland were mentioned, as having been in the intrigues of the Popiſh faction at Court. After which a farther hearing was appointed, to be on the 3d of *Auguſt* following, but Angleſey continuing extreme ill of the gout, and finding himſelf prejudged by the reſolution of the Council, on the 27th of July, he wrote a letter on the 2d of *Auguſt* to his Majeſty; which being openly read in Council the next day, he did in ſome manner (as it was ſaid) reſent it, for ſome paſſages therein, yet nothing appeared inferred to be done thereupon. Afterwards the Earl of Caſtlehaven, (James Touchet) was called in ſeveral times, and queſtioned about his Memoirs; which he acknowledging to be his, the ſaid book in concluſion, was by his Majeſty and Council judged to be a ſcandalous libel againſt the Government. On the 9th of the ſaid month of *Auguſt* 1682, the Privy-Seal, by command from his Majeſty, was taken away from Angleſey, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, without any farther hearing, and was given to George Marquis of Halifax (19). From theſe circumſtances, even Wood could collect that this noble Earl was hardly treated, yet he could not prevail upon himſelf to ſay as much, but ſets it down as a report, *he was moved many thought unjuſtly*. A more candid and much better informed writer, tho' he as ſeldom allows his heroe to be wrong as any man living, yet upon this occaſion ſwayed by

(19) See the Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Angleſey. Alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 790.

mained pretty much at his country ſeat at Blechingdon, in Oxfordſhire, where he devoted his time to his ſtudies, and meddled very little with publick affairs, yet did he not entirely abandon buſineſs, much leſs diſcover any pique or diſreſpect towards the Royal Family, on account of what he had ſuffered; but behaved with ſo much temper and duty, that, without betraying or even diſſembling his principles, he recovered the favour of King James II, ſo that it is generally believed he would if he had lived a month longer have been declared Lord Chancellor of England (*g*). But this, as we have obſerved, was prevented by his death, which happened April the 6th 1686, at his houſe in Drury-Lane, without any long ſickneſs, by a quinſy, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him a numerous poſterity (*h*) [*H*]. It is not eaſy to ſay any thing worthy of ſo great a man's character, and yet ſomething is neceſſary to compleat the deſign of this life, and to give the reader ſome idea of the mind of this great man, as well as his fortune. As he had an excellent and univerſal education, becoming the heir of a noble family, ſo he was always remarkably prone to learning, and to the encouragement of learned men. He was well read in the Claſſicks, and perfectly verſed, not only in the Greek and Roman hiſtory, but in the ſpirit and policy of thoſe famous nations. His intercourſe however with foreign writers, did not hinder him from retaining a ſuperior paſſion for all the branches of learning, which had any reſpect to his country. He had ſtudied the laws with ſuch diligence, as to be ſtiled and eſteemed a lawyer, even by the moſt conceited lawyers of his time (*i*). In hiſtory he was a very great critick, and with reſpect to records, and whatever elſe fell under the conſideration of a judicious antiquary, no man of his time deſerved greater reputation than he; he was alſo well verſed in the civil and cannon law, underſtood Church hiſtory perfectly, and was a great Divine. His writings, which are extant, will fully ſupport all that has been hitherto ſaid; and the world would have ſtill higher proofs of his Lordſhip's great learning and abilities, if the largeſt and moſt valuable of all his works had not been unluckily loſt, or, as ſome ſay, injuriouſly deſtroyed (*k*). However, as Anthony Wood, who never ſpeaks well of this nobleman, but againſt his will, allows that he had a ſmooth, ſharp, and keen pen, I preſume no-body will doubt it (*l*) [*I*]. As to the aſperſions

(*g*) See Sir P. Pett's Dedication of the Earl of Angleſey's Memoirs, to the Lord Altham his Lordſhip's ſon.

(*h*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

(*i*) Happy Future State of England, p. 267.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 789.

by the weight of evidence, he tells the ſtory fairly and plainly thus. Lord Angleſey had for many years enjoyed the poſt of Lord Privy-Seal, a poſt much envied, and which the Earl of Halifax, Mr Edward Seymour (who was thought to ſtand faireſt for it) and others, thought very convenient for themſelves. The King did not care to remove an old ſervant without ſome pretence; ſo that when the Duke of Ormond came over, the affair of the letter was revived, and a complaint was preſented againſt the author of it to the Council. The matter was there examined, ſo far as it affected the memory of the late King; for nothing perſonal to the Duke of Ormond ever came under their conſideration. As the expediency of the ceſſation in 1643, was the chief ſubject of the debate, and as that matter has been fully cleared up in this hiſtory, I have no occaſion to enter farther into this diſpute, which ended in what was probably reſolved before, the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Angleſey from the Council board, and removing him from the charge of the Privy-Seal (20).

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 521.

[*H*] *Leaving behind him a numerous poſterity.*] His lordſhip married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir James Altham, of Oxey in the county of Hertford, Knight, one of the Barons of the court of Exchequer, a Lady of exemplary prudence and piety, who died April 12, 1692; and by her he had ſeven ſons, and ſix daughters; of the ſons, four died young. James ſucceeded his father in his honours. Altham, was created Baron of Altham in the kingdom of Ireland, by patent dated 14 Feb. 1680. Richard the third ſon, ſucceeded to the title of Altham, by the demiſe of his brother without iſſue, and his poſterity are now Earls of Angleſey alſo: for the daughters, Dorothy married Richard Power, Earl of Tir-oen in the kingdom of Ireland. Elizabeth became the wife of Alexander Macdonald, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Antrim in the kingdom of Ireland. Frances, the third daughter, to Francis Windham, Eſq; of Felbridge in the county of Norfolk, and afterwards to John Thompſon, Baron of Haverſham in the county of Bucks; Philippa, the fourth Daughter, was firſt the wife of Charles Lord Mohun, and afterwards to Thomas Coward, Eſq; Serjeant at Law. Lady Anne, the fifth daughter, married Mr Baker; and Lady Bridget died young (21).

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 343.

[*I*] *I preſume no body will doubt it.*] The reader may judge himſelf of this, from the extracts we have given him. His Lordſhip publiſhed in his life-time the following pieces. 1. *The Truth unveiled, in behalf of the Church of England; being a Vindication of Mr John Standiſh's Sermon, preached before the King, and publiſhed by His Majeſty's Command*, London, 1676, 4*to*. To which is added, *A ſhort Treatiſe on the Subject of Tranſubſtantiation*. 2. *A Letter from a Perſon of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, being Obſervations and Reflections on his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland*, London, 1681. 8*vo*. 3. *A true Account of the whole Proceedings between James Duke of Ormond, and Arthur Earl of Angleſey, before the King and his Council, &c.* London, 1682, *Folio*. 4. *A Letter of Remarks upon Jovian*, London, 1683, 4*to*. Beſides theſe, he wrote many other things, ſome of which were publiſhed after his deceaſe; as 5. *The Privileges of the Houſe of Lords and Commons, argued and ſtated in two Conferences between both Houſes, April 19th, and 22d*, 1671. To which is added, *A Diſcourſe, wherein the Rights of the Houſe of Lords are truly aſſerted. With learned Remarks on the ſeeming Arguments, and pretended Precedents, offered at that time againſt their Lordſhips: Written by the Right Honourable Arthur Earl of Angleſey, Lord Privy-Seal*. Theſe conferences were principally managed by the Earl, and were concerning a bill for impoſitions on merchandize, &c. And a reſolution, the Commons in a conference communicated to the Lords, that there is a fundamental right in that houſe alone, in bills of rates and impoſitions on merchandize, as to the matter, the meaſure, and time. Whereupon the Lords in parliament, on full conſideration thereof, and of the whole conference, came to this reſolution, *nem. con.* That the power exerciſed in the Houſe of Peers, in making the amendments and abatements in the bill entitled, An act for additional impoſition on ſeveral foreign commodities, and for encouragement of ſeveral commodities and manufactures of this kingdom, both as to matter, meaſure, and time, concerning the rates and impoſitions on merchandize, is a fundamental, inherent, and undoubted right of the Houſe of Peers, from which they cannot depart. This reſolution produced another conference, which the Earl began, and aſſerted the right of the Houſe of Lords, in learned remarks on the ſaid two conferences. (6). *The King's right of indulgence in ſpiritual matters, with the equity thereof aſſerted.* London 1688. 4to. This was publiſhed by Henry Care, the year before that in the title page. (7) *Memoirs, intermixt with moral, political, and hiſtorical obſervations by way of diſcourſe, in a letter to Sir Peter Pett*, London

aſperſions thrown on his memory, by a reverend Prelate his contemporary, they would have deſerved a more particular conſideration, if it had been uſual for that conſcientious writer, to have given good characters of any of his acquaintance, or to have avoided characterizing ſuch as he had little or no acquaintance with; however as this work ought not to contain either apologies or panegyricks, the words of that grave Author (*m*) are ſet down in the notes, with only a few remarks ſubmitted to the cenſure of the peruſer [*K*]. We will conclude our account of this noble perſon, with obſerving, that he was one of the firſt Engliſh Peers, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by collecting a fine library, which he performed with great care, as well as at a large expence, and as he was deſirous that ſo noble a collection might not be quickly diſſipated, but remain in his family, he cauſed it to be diſpoſed in a manner ſuitable to it's worth, in a particular apartment in Angleſey houſe (*n*). But theſe precautions proved fruitleſs, as his Lordſhip's good intentions likewiſe did; his books within a few months after his deceaſe being expoſed to publick ſale by Mr Millington, a famous auctioneer (*o*). Yet this ſale was attended with an accident, which will hinder it's being ever forgot, I mean the diſcovery of the Earl's famous Memorandum in the blank leaf of an Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or the pourtraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his ſolitudes and ſufferings, in order to diſabuſe the world as to the true author of that book, who according to that memorandum was not King Charles I, but Biſhop Gauden, which produced a long controverſy managed by various hands, and in ſeveral books. To enter into a particular detail of ſo perplexed an affair, would take up too much room, but the reader will find the original memorandum, and ſome remarks thereupon, which are not be met with elſewhere, in the notes [*L*]. As this noble family of Angleſey, had a very honourable beginning in

(*m*) Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 791. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 342.

(*o*) A true Account of the author of a book intituled, Eikon Paſilike, by Dr Walker, Lond. 1692, 4*to*, p. 23.

London 1693. 8vo. This was written in anſwer to a book we have often cited, entitled, *The happy future ſtate of England*, penned by way of letter to the Earl of Angleſey by the ſaid Sir Peter Pett, who was Advocate-General of England, a very learned perſon, and a great admirer of our noble author. Beſides theſe ſome very valuable pieces have been loſt, particularly, *The hiſtory of the late commotions and troubles of Ireland, from the Rebellion in* 1641, *till the Reſtoration of the King in* 1660, which contained all the treaties, negotiations, ſieges, battles, and other memorable tranſactions during that time. Beſides certain large and learned diſcourſes againſt the errors of Popery written in his lordſhip's younger years, and which many of his friends would have perſwaded him to have publiſhed at the time of the Popiſh plot, but this, by the advice of Sir P. Pett, he declined.

[*K*] *Submitted to the cenſure of the peruſer*] The character referred to in the text, is to be found in the Biſhop of Saliſbury's hiſtory of his own times, where it runs thus, 'Another man very near of the ſame ſort, 'who paſſed through many great employments, was 'Anneſley advanced to be Earl of Angleſey; who had 'much more knowledge (than Shaftſbury) and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty 'of ſpeaking indefatigably upon every ſubject; but he 'ſpoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was 'not good at raillery for he was always attempting it. 'He underſtood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our conſtitution. He 'was capable of great application; and was a man of 'a grave deportment; but ſtuck at nothing, and was 'aſhamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any man on any ſide; and he ſeemed to have 'no regard to common decencies; but ſold every thing 'that was in his power; and ſold himſelf ſo often, that 'at laſt the price fell ſo low that he grew uſeleſs. —— His Lordſhip afterwards adds, 'theſe five whom I 'have named laſt, viz. Shaftſbury, Angleſey, Hollis, 'Mancheſter, Radnor, had the chief hand in engaging 'the nation in the deſign of the Reſtoration. They 'had great credit chiefly with the Preſbyterian party, 'and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of 'that great turn was owing to them: and they were 'put in great poſts by the Earl of Clarendon's means. 'By which he loſt moſt of the Cavaliers, who could 'not bear the ſeeing ſuch men ſo highly advanced, 'and ſo much truſted (22).' It ſeems that in the Biſhop's opinion this noble Lord was a man of great parts, deep knowledge in the law, and was perfectly acquainted with our conſtitution. It is likewiſe owned that he had a large ſhare in the King's Reſtoration, and for that reaſon, the Earl of Clarendon thought it neceſſary he ſhould have a large ſhare in the adminiſtration. Theſe conceſſions without farther help deſtroy the probability, and indeed, I think, in a good meaſure, the poſſibility, of the cruel reflections contained in the character having any grounds in fact. For how can it be imagined, that a bad man, bad to ſuch a degree as to preſerve no regard for decency, ſhould preſerve the King's confidence and the higheſt employments for two and twenty years together, and at laſt riſe in reputation by being removed? Is it poſſible to believe that Parliaments which went ſuch lengths, and upon ſuch ſlight grounds as they did againſt the Earl of Danby, and other miniſters, ſhould not attack a man who minded nothing but getting, without any reſpect to virtue or even to appearances! can it be ſuppoſed that if this was really the caſe, the Rev. Prelate could not have added inſtances to his accuſation, or ought we in juſtice or charity to give any credit to what he ſays without them? But after all, this, like moſt parts of the Biſhop's book, is capable of being refuted by better authority. He charges the Earl with being a corrupt man. Now, he had two offices in which this muſt have appeared. He was Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland for many years, and at laſt a committee was appointed to inſpect the management of the treaſury in that kingdom, with a deſign, if poſſible, to fix a charge upon this very nobleman, and yet they were forced to acquit him, as his antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond informs us in a repreſentation he made to the King, in which alſo he ſuggeſts, that from the ſatisfaction his Majeſty received from this enquiry, as to the honour and integrity of the Earl of Angleſey, he was induced to truſt him in the high office of Lord Privy-Seal (23). In this office again if he had been really a man inclined to corruption, he muſt certainly have had great opportunities, and yet, when his enemies had gained credit enough to ſtrip him of it, we have ſeen what a poor pretence was made uſe of for that purpoſe, when if the Biſhop's ſtory had been true, they muſt have had many juſt and even legal cauſes to have aſſigned for his removal, in their power. Then again, as to his being inconſiderable before his death, Anthony Wood, who cared as little for the Earl of Angleſey as Biſhop Burnet, owns that he ſtood well with King James II, and that in this particular he was not miſinformed, I can prove from a paſſage in the Earl's own diary. 'March 8, '1685, Spent moſt at home in buſineſs, and Duty; '(*i. e.* prayer) in the evening was private with the 'Lord Sunderland, my good friend; and then was 'with the King a full hour at Mr Chiffinche's, who 'was very kind, free, and open in diſcourſe, ſaid he 'would not be prieſt-ridden: Read a letter of the late 'King, ſaid I ſhould be welcome to him (24).' In ſhort, from the Reſtoration to the day of his death, the Earl of Angleſey was barely four years out of employment, moſt of which he ſpent in retirement, and died, when every body expected he ſhould have been Chancellor, the higheſt office to which the King could raiſe him, and yet the good Biſhop tells us, he was fallen ſo low as to be both contemptible and uſeleſs (25).

(22) Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

(23) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume, p. 85.

(24) Tranſcribed from the Earl's Diary in the cuſtody of Mr Ryley, June 17, 1693.

[*L*] *Which are not to be met with elſewhere, in the notes.*] To begin this note regularly we muſt produce the paper itſelf, which Mr Millington ſhewed to ſome people, and which ran in theſe words. 'King Charles 'II, and the Duke of York, did both (in the laſt ſeſſions

(25) Obſervations on the Characters inſerted in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, communicated to the author of this article.

in this worthy perſon, ſo it has flouriſhed ever ſince, and produced ſome very great men and true patriots. James, who ſucceeded his father in 1686, deceaſed in 1690, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James, who married her Grace the late Ducheſs of Buckinghamſhire. He died in the beginning of the year 1702, and was ſucceeded by his brother John Earl of Angleſey, who was Vice-Treaſurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaſter of the forces in Ireland. He deceaſed in the year 1710, and was ſucceeded by his brother Arthur, who, while he ſat in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the weight and eloquence of his ſpeeches, and was always heard after his acceſſion to the title of Earl of Angleſey, with the utmoſt attention and reſpect in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. On the death of Queen Anne, he was made choice of by King George I, to be one of the Lords Juſtices till he arrived from Hanover; after which he was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and on the third of January 1714-15, (with Henry Hyde, then Earl of Rocheſter) again made Joint-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Treaſurer at war. On the death of the Duke of Mancheſter, he was on the ninth of February 1701-2, in full ſenate unanimouſly elected High Steward of the univerſity of Cambridge, where he had his education; and had been one of their repreſentatives in three ſeveral Parliaments, whilſt he was a Commoner. He deceaſed the thirty-firſt

' of Parliament, 1675, when I ſhewed them in the Lords ' houſe, the written copy of this book, wherein are ' ſome corrections and alterations, (written with the ' late King Charles I's own hand) aſſure me, that this ' was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by ' Dr Gauden Biſhop of Exeter; which I here inſert, ' for the undeceiving others in this point, by atteſting ' ſo much under my hand (26).'

(26) Walker's True Account of the Author of the Eikon Baſilike.

ANGLESEY.

On the firſt publiſhing of this memorandum, it made a very great noiſe, and, as we ſay in the text, abundance of books were wrote about it. It would take up more room than we have to ſpare to examine the whole of this controverſy, but one branch of it ſeems particularly to require our notice, *viz.* Whether this memorandum ought to be eſteemed genuine? againſt which ſeveral arguments have been produced. Firſt it is to be obſerved that this was written while the Earl of Angleſey was Lord Privy-Seal, and he was wont to ſubſcribe Angleſey P. S. C. The King and the Duke of York were living, and therefore in decency he would have wrote his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs. If to this it be replied, that he uſed Charles II and Duke of York for the ſake of exactneſs, this can never be admitted, becauſe he ſtiles Dr Gauden, Biſhop of Exeter, though he died Biſhop of Worceſter. Add to this, that the memorandum itſelf is not dated, though it muſt have been written either in 1675 or 1676 (27). There is however another circumſtance, which has never yet been taken notice of with reſpect to this memorandum, and which ſeems to affect the credit of it in a very ſenſible manner. It has been ſhewn before, how Sir Peter Pett came to write ſo long a letter to the Earl of Angleſey. In this very letter Sir Peter hath this paſſage. ' My Lord, there is another kind of power in- ' herent in you, and that you cannot part with, ſuch ' a power as King Charles I, in his Eikon Baſilike ' affixes to the character of his favourite, when he ſays ' he looked on the Earl of Strafford as a Gentleman ' whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather a- ' fraid, than aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt ' affairs of ſtate. Your very reputation for power is ' power, for that engageth thoſe to adhere to you, ' who want protection (28).' Though this book was publiſhed two years after the Earl of Angleſey's death, yet it was printed long before, and the Earl had it in his ſtudy. He alſo wrote an anſwer to it, which he deſigned ſhould have been printed and bound up with it, and in this anſwer he takes particular notice of a very remarkable paſſage in the letter, freely differing from Sir Peter in many of his ſentiments, and ſometimes correcting his miſtakes, as for inſtance in the following paſſage of the Earl's anſwer. ' It here occurs ' to me to obſerve to you, that after an *erratum* of the ' preſs in p. 38 of your Diſcourſe: Namely, where ' you are referred to p. 325 in the *Advocate of Con- ' ſcience Liberty*, inſtead of p. 225, you make the laſt ' letter of D'Oſſat's to be from Rome, *Anno* 1596, ' and I ſuppoſe you happened to do ſo, by caſting your ' eye on the old date of the laſt letter but one, printed ' in the volume of his letters in folio of the Paris edi- ' tion, *Anno* 1625, and finding it to be *Anno* 1596. ' But it came not into your mind then, to obſerve that ' the laſt of his letters as they are ranged in order was ' the 199th and in the end of book 9th, and which ' was to Villeroy from Rome, March 6th, *Anno* 1604, ' and in which year he died, as you rightly refer to ' his epitaph to ſhew (29).' Yet as nice and circumſpect as this ſhews the Earl to have been, we find no notice at all taken of this paſſage cited from the King's book, but his friend is left in his error if it was one, though he ſets him right in twenty things of leſs conſequence in his anſwer to his letter, which takes up 550 pages in octavo. There are only two things that can be ſaid in anſwer to this, *viz.* That either Lord Angleſey had acquainted his friend with this before, and therefore a repetition was needleſs, or elſe that the Earl thought it inexpedient to publiſh ſuch a thing to the world. But whoever conſiders the matter a moment, will diſcern that neither of theſe excuſes can be admitted. For if Sir P. Pett knew or believed the book not to be the King's, his citation and application of the character of the Earl of Strafford from thence would have been impertinent. On the other hand, who can heſitate at believing that the Earl would as ſoon have publiſhed this fact, having ſo fair an opportunity in his printed letter to Sir P. Pett, as leave it in a memorandum, when that memorandum was deſigned for the undeceiving others in that point? To ſuch as are unacquainted with the books cited in this note, there may appear ſome deficiency in this argument, but whoever takes the pains to read the folio letter and the octavo anſwer, will gain ſo thorough an acquaintance with the temper and diſpoſition of the writers, as will convince him that on ſuch a point as this, one or other of them could not have been ſilent, if the fact mentioned in the memorandum had fallen within the compaſs of his knowledge. It is very true that Biſhop Burnet tells pretty near the ſame ſtory, for he affirms, that, in 1673, the Duke of York told him the book was not his Father's, but was written by Dr Gauden, who after the Reſtoration brought the Duke of Somerſet and the Earl of Northampton to the King and himſelf, and vouched their knowledge of it's being of that Doctor's writing, and this the Biſhop tells us was the reaſon that Gauden obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, notwithſtanding he had taken the Covenant, and was oppoſed by Biſhop Sheldon, and others, for that reaſon (30). It happens unluckily for this ſtory, that the Duke of Somerſet, after a long illneſs, was at reſt in his grave before Dr Gauden was made a Biſhop; and it is alſo obſervable, that the Earl of Southampton was dead too, before the ſtory was told by the Duke of York to the Biſhop. Beſides this there are two other unlucky circumſtances, one that the Biſhop did not believe the Duke himſelf, becauſe having inquired of the Earl of Louthian, a zealous Preſbyterian, who knew King Charles I. very well and lov'd him very little, about this very matter, the Earl told him he was ſure it was the King's book, becauſe he had often heard his Majeſty deliver periods of it in his diſcourſe (31). The other unlucky circumſtance is, that the Biſhop has hinted a reaſon why no body elſe ought to believe the Duke, and which would deſtroy the credit of the Earl of Angleſey's memorandum if it were really his; for the Rev. Prelate informs us, that the Duke of York told him this ſtory of Dr Gauden, on his preſſing him with paſſages againſt Popery out of his Father's book. If theſe Brothers were both Papiſts, as the greateſt part of the world ſuppoſes they were then is there no great reaſon

(27) See the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. 4to, 1711.

(28) Happy Future State of England, p. 24.

(29) Angleſey's Memoirs, P. 346.

(30) Bp Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 50.

(31) Id. ibid.

thirty-first of March 1737, and was succeeded in his title by his couſin Lord Altham, of the Kingdom of Ireland (*p*).

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 344.

reaſon to wonder they ſhould deſire the book in queſtion to be aſcribed to any body rather than King Charles I. But we may be left to wonder after all; how the Earl of Angleſey ſhould forget that Dr Gauden was Biſhop of Worceſter, as well as Exeter; when there is good reaſon to believe, that it was in conſequence of this noble Earl's ſollicitations Dr Gauden was tranſlated from this Biſhoprick to that (32). E

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 366, in the notes.

ANNESLEY or ANELEY, (SAMUEL) a very eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſter. He was the ſon of John Aneley, of Hareley, in Warwickſhire; where his family were poſſeſſed of a pretty good eſtate (*a*) [*A*]; and was born about the year 1620, and his father dying when he was four years old, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was a very prudent and religious woman (*b*). In Michaelmas term 1635, he was admitted a Student in Queen's College at Oxford (*c*), where at the uſual times, he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Maſter of Arts (*d*). While he was in the Univerſity, he was particularly remarkable, for temperance and induſtry. He commonly drank nothing but water, and though he is ſaid to have been but of ſlow parts, yet he ſupplied this defect in nature, by prodigious application (*e*). He was from his youth inclined to the Miniſtry, and his deſires we are told were much fortified by a dream of his, which was, that being a miniſter, he was ſent for by the Biſhop of London, who condemned him to be burnt for a Martyr (*f*). In all probability this dream which he had in his childhood, might be owing to his reading the writings of John Fox, which in thoſe days were put into moſt young people's hands. There is ſome diſpute as to his receiving Holy Orders, that is to ſay, whether he had them from a Biſhop, or according to the Preſbyterian way, and as there is authority on both ſides, the point muſt by diſcuſſed in a note [*B*]. In 1644, he became chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral of the Parliament's fleet (*g*). In proceſs of time his own behaviour, and the great intereſt he had with ſuch as were then in power, procured him a very good eſtabliſhment at Cliffe in Kent (*h*). Here he ſucceeded Doctor Griffith Higges, who was ejected for his loyalty. This was a very conſiderable living, having not only a revenue of between three or four hundred pounds *per annum*, but being alſo a Peculiar, a great juriſdiction belonged to the incumbent, who therefore holds a court, wherein all things relating to wills, marriage contracts, *&c.* are decided (*i*). The people of the pariſh were it ſeems extremely fond of Dr Higges, and therefore treated his ſucceſſor but very roughly, whereupon Mr Anneſley told them, 'That 'if they conceived him to be biaſſed by the value of ſo conſiderable a living, they 'were exceedingly miſtaken; that he came amongſt them with an intent to do good 'to their ſouls, and that he was reſolved to ſtay, how ill ſoever they uſed him, till he 'had fitted them for the reception of a better miniſter; which, whenever it happened, 'he would leave them, notwithſtanding the great value of the living (*k*).' On the twenty-ſixth of July 1648, he preached the faſt ſermon before the Houſe of Commons, which by their order was printed (*l*) [*C*]. About this time alſo he was honoured with the title of Doctor of Laws, by the Univerſity of Oxford (*m*), which has given occaſion to ſome very ſevere reflections [*D*]. The ſame year, viz. the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, he

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(*b*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. III. p. 65.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 39.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 967.

(*k*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

[*A*] *Poſſeſſed of a good eſtate.*] It was the misfortune of this gentleman, to live in ſuch times, as, generally ſpeaking, engage men to become of ſome party or other, which is ſure to expoſe them to the hatred of all parties except that of which they are. This is the true reaſon why there is ſcarce a fact which relates to him uncontroverted. In the firſt place there is no ſmall doubt about his name. Certain it is that he himſelf wrote it Anneſley (1); and Dr Calamy aſſures us, that Arthur Anneſley, the firſt Earl of Angleſey, was his relation (2). Yet the Oxford Antiquary tells us, that he was entred of the univerſity of Oxford by the name of Samuel Aneley (3), the ſon of John Aneley, and he cites the regiſter in ſupport of this (4). He adds, that our author wrote himſelf afterwards, and was called by the name of Anneſley becauſe it was a noble name (5). In order to have given ſome light into this matter, I have enquired after the Family of Aneley, but I cannot find that there is ſuch a one in Warwickſhire, or at leaſt if there be ſuch a one it can be of no great note, neither to ſay the truth do I find that there is any family of the Anneſley's ſettled there (6). Yet after all, as Mr Wood allows our author to have been a man of probity, I cannot but ſuppoſe he wrote his name as it ſhould be.

(1) See the certificates in the third Vol. of Calamy, and the Doctor's Will in note [*E*].

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 73.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966.

(4) Lib. Matric. PP. fol. 95. b.

(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(6) See the ſecond edition of Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

[*B*] *Muſt be diſcuſſed in a note.*] We have it on the authority of Mr Wood, that our author took holy orders from a Biſhop (7). Doctor Calamy informs us, that he had Preſbyterian ordination, and he proves it by a certificate dated the 18th of December, 1644, ſubſcribed by ſeven Preſbyterian miniſters. By this certificate it appears, that the intent of his ordination was that he might officiate as a chaplain in a Man of War call'd the Globe (8). At firſt ſight theſe facts ſeem to be directly oppoſite, yet I cannot avoid informing the reader that it is not abſolutely impoſſible both may be true. I ſay this becauſe there were in thoſe days inſtances of perſons, who, notwithſtanding their being ordained by Biſhops, deſired to be re-ordained by Preſbyters. Yet I cannot think that this was our author's caſe, for this plain reaſon, that he was but juſt of age to receive orders when he took this certificate.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. c. 967.

(8) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

[*C*] *Which by their order was printed.*] It was this ſermon that raiſed Dr Anneſley ſo many enemies who have purſued him even beyond the grave. His text was Job xxvii. 5, 6. *God forbid that I ſhould juſtify you: Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt and will not let it go, my heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live* (9). In this ſermon he inveighed againſt the King, then a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, excited the Parliament to do juſtice upon him inſtead of treating with him any more, and at the ſame time highly extolled the Covenant. It is plain that the Houſe were very well pleaſed with his diſcourſe, by their ordering it to be printed; neither can it be denied, that Dr Anneſly took the Engagement and went all the lengths with the party, which is the grounds of Mr Wood's bitterneſs againſt him (10).

(9) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Some very ſevere reflections.*] Mr Wood ſays that our author had the degree of Doctor of Laws to qualify him the better for holding his courts as Rector of Cliffe in Kent (11). Dr Calamy gives quite another reaſon, he ſays that the Earl of Warwick having ſeveral chaplains who were Doctors, was deſirous that Mr Anneſley ſhould be a Doctor too (12). As they diſagree in this, ſo they do in every thing elſe; for Wood aſſerts, that Dr Anneſley's contemporaries

(10) Expreſſed in every thing he ſays of him in his Hiſtory of Oxford Writers.

(11) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(12) Vol. III. p. 67.

he went to sea with his Patron the Earl of Warwick, who was employed in giving chase to that part of the English navy which went over to the then Prince, afterwards King Charles the II (*n*). The Doctor continued at sea till the tenth of December in the same year, when he returned to London (*o*). Some time after this, he quitted his Kentish living, much against the will of his parishioners, that he might keep the promise he had made them, when they were in another disposition (*p*). In 1657, he was nominated by Oliver Lord Protector, Lecturer at St Paul's (*q*), and afterwards, viz. in 1658, was presented by Richard Lord Protector, to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate (*r*). But this presentation growing quickly useless, he in 1660 procured another from the trustees for the maintenance of ministers (*s*), being also a commissioner for the approbation and admission of Ministers of the Gospel, after the Presbyterian manner (*t*). His second presentation growing as much out of date as the first, he, before the end of the year, viz. August the twenty-eighth 1660, obtained a third presentation of a more legal stamp from King Charles the II (*u*). Yet even this did not keep him there long, for in 1662 he was ejected for Non-conformity (*w*). It is said that the Earl of Anglesey, who was his near relation, took some pains to perswade him to conform, and even offered him a considerable preferment in the Church, in case he would have complied with his request (*x*), but the Doctor refused, and continued to preach privately during that King's reign, and so long as King James the II sat on the throne. His Non-conformity we are told created him troubles, but no inward uneasiness (*y*). His goods were distrained for keeping a Conventicle, but Dr Calamy remarks it as the Judgment of God, that a Justice of Peace died, as he was signing a warrant to apprehend him (*z*). As he had a very strong constitution, so he laboured earnestly in the work of his ministry for no less than fifty-five years (*a*). At last, in the year 1696, he was attacked by a painful distemper, which after seventeen weeks intolerable torture, put an end to his life the last day of that year (*b*). He had the reputation of being a warm pathetick preacher, as well as a pious, prudent, and very charitable divine, laying by the tenth part of his income, whatever it was, for the use of the poor [*E*]. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Daniel Williams, and as to his writings they are mentioned in the notes [*F*].

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, P. i. p. 176. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 67.

(*o*) Id. ibid.

(*p*) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 47.

(*q*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 68.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 69.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 70.

(*t*) See the Ordinance of Parliament.

(*u*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 71.

(*w*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 967.

(*x*) Calamy, Vol. III. p. 73.

(*y*) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 515.

(*z*) Calamy, Vol. II. p. 48.

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

raries in Queen's Coll. looked upon the giving him this degree as the most scandalous thing in nature, because they knew he was utterly unacquainted with law; nay, he tells us that some of the gravest fellows there, particularly Dr Barlow, said often in his hearing, that if this gentleman could then have told what the Pandects were, he should freely have had their vote to go out Doctor of Laws. But so it was, continues Wood, that for his money, and favour of those in authority, he had that degree conferred upon him, as others then had degrees in other faculties that knew little or nothing of learning, to the great disgrace of the university (13). The Oxford Antiquary was so fond of this story, that he put it not only into his history of Oxford writers, but also into his account of the graduates of Oxford (14), and it has been transcribed by Dr Walker, without losing any of his circumstances (15). Dr Calamy complains heavily of this, tho' he has passed a severe censure on Dr Higges, the Doctor's predecessor at Cliffe, with as little reason (16). The truth of the matter is, that this degree was bestowed at the command of Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the university, who acted there with boundless authority, and therefore these are usually stiled the Pembrokian Creations, and, as Wood says, were in general scandalous enough.

(13) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(14) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 66.

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, P. i. p. 142. P. ii. p. 39.

(16) Vol. II. p. 48.

[*E*] *For the use of the poor.*] Dr Calamy's character of him is so full, that it deserves to be transcribed (17), *He had*, says he, *a large soul and a flaming zeal, and his usefulness was very extensive. He had the care of all the churches upon him, and was the chief instrument in the education and subsistance of several Ministers, whose useful labours the church had otherwise wanted. He was the main support of the morning lecture, for which so many have cause to be thankful to God, and after the death of old Mr* Care, *he took the care of it upon himself; in the last* 30 *years of his life, he had great peace of mind from the assurance of God's covenant love. For several years indeed before that he walked in darkness and was disconsolate, which is no unusual thing with such as are converted in their childhood, whose change being not so remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be questioned, but in his last illness, he was full of comfort.* To this character of Dr Calamy, let us add our author's Will, because it is very short, and at the same time very remarkable (18).

(17) Id. Ibid.

(18) Turner's remarkable Providences, ch. 143.

In the name of God, Amen. I Dr Samuel Annesley of the Liberty of Norton Folgate, in the County of Middlesex, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, being through mercy in health of body and mind, do make this my last will and testament concerning my earthly pittance. For my soul I dare humbly say, it is, through Grace, devoted unto God otherwise than by legacy, when it may live here no longer: And I do believe that my body, after it's sleeping a while in Jesus, shall be re-united to my Soul, that they may both be for ever with the Lord.

Of what I shall leave behind me, I make this short disposal: My just debts being paid, I give to each of my children one shilling, and all the rest to be equally divided between my son Benjamin Annesley, my daughter Judith Annesley, and my daughter Ann Annesley, whom I make my Executors of this my last will and testament, revoking all former, and confirming this with my hand and seal this 29th day of March, 1693.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY.

[*F*] *They are mentioned in the notes.*] He hath not left much in print. He published a sermon before the house of Commons in 1648. Two sermons he preached at St Paul's about *Communion with God*, in 1655. A Sermon at St Laurence Jewry, to the Gentlemen Natives of Wiltshire, Nov. 9, 1654. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise* at St. Giles's, *on the Covenant of Grace*. He published the *Morning Exercise* at Cripplegate in 1661. And hath a Sermon there which begins the whole; upon *being universally and exactly conscientious*. He also published and prefaced the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise* at Cripplegate, *anno* 1674, and begins it with a Sermon upon *Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds*. He hath also a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise against Popery, against Popish Pardons and Indulgences*. He afterwards published and prefaced *the Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions*, in 1683; and begins it with a Sermon shewing *how the adherent Vanity of every Condition, is most effectually abated by serious Godliness*: And in 1690, he published and prefaced the fourth Volume of *Casuistical Morning Exercises*; which he begins with a Sermon shewing, *how we may give Christ a satisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Ministry of the Word*. He wrote likewise the Life of Mr Thomas Brand, which was published with his Funeral Sermon. A Funeral Sermon for Mr William Whitaker; and besides all these, he wrote a Preface to Mr Richard Allein's *Instructions about Heart Work*: And joined with Dr Owen in a Preface to Mr Elisha Coles's *Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty*.

ANSELM, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, was an Italian by birth, being born in the year 1033, at Aoſt, a town at the foot of the Alps, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. He was deſcended of a conſiderable family: his father's name was Gundulphus, and his mother's Hemeberga (*a*). After he had gone through a courſe of ſtudies, and travelled for ſome time in Burgundy and France, he took the monaſtic habit in the abbey of Becc in Normandy, of which Lanfranc, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*), was then Prior. At that time Anſelm was no more than twenty-ſeven years of age. Three years after, when Lanfranc was made Abbot of Caen, Anſelm ſucceeded him in the priory of Becc; and when Herluin, Abbot of that monaſtery, died, Anſelm was promoted to the abbacy. About the year 1092, Anſelm came over into England, being invited thither by Hugh Earl of Cheſter, who requeſted his aſſiſtance in his ſickneſs. Soon after his arrival, William Rufus, falling ſick at Glouceſter, and being preſſed to fill up the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant above four years [*A*], thought fit to nominate Anſelm; who with much difficulty was prevailed upon to accept that dignity [*B*]. Before his conſecration, he gained a promiſe from the King for the reſtitution of all the lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of that ſee in Lanfranc's time. And thus having ſecured the temporalities of the archbiſhopric, and done homage to the King, he was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the fourth of December 1093 (*c*). Soon after his conſecration, the King intending to wreſt the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, and endeavouring to raiſe what money he could for that purpoſe, Anſelm made him an offer of five hundred pounds; which the King thinking too little refuſed to accept, and the Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure [*C*]. About that time, he had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London, touching the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe (*d*) [*D*]. The next year, the King being ready to embark for Normandy, Anſelm

(*a*) Baron. Annal. Tom. II. an. 1093.

(*b*) Lanfranc was Anſelm's immediate predeceſſor in that ſee

(*c*) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuar. Hiſtor. Novor. Lond. 1623. lib. i. p. 20.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 22.

[*A*] *The See of Canterbury had been vacant above four years.*] Archbiſhop Lanfranc died in May 1089, and Anſelm ſucceeded him in December 1093. During the vacancy of the See, the profits were returned into the Exchequer. The King, it ſeems, at that time, was much influenced by one Ranulph, a Clergyman, who, tho' a Norman and of mean extraction, had a great ſhare in the King's favour, and at laſt roſe to the poſt of Prime Miniſter. This man, having gained the King's ear by flattering his vices, miſled him in the adminiſtration, and put him upon ſeveral arbitrary and oppreſſive expedients. Among others, one was, to ſeize the revenues of a church, upon the death of a Biſhop or Abbot; allowing the Dean and Chapter, or Convent, but a ſlender penſion for maintenance (1). But the King, falling ſick, began to be touched with remorſe of conſcience, and to recollect the miſmanagements of his reign. Among other oppreſſions, he was particularly afflicted for the injury he had done the Church and Kingdom in keeping the See of Canterbury, and ſome others, vacant. The Biſhops and other great Men took this opportunity to entreat the King to fill up the vacant Sees; and Anſelm, who then lived in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, being ſent for to court, to aſſiſt the King in his illneſs, was pitched upon by the King as a proper perſon, and accordingly nominated to the See of Canterbury (2).

(1) Orderic. Vital. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. viii. p. 678.

(2) Eadmer. Hiſtor. Nov. l. i. p. 16.

[*B*] *He was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept that dignity.*] He expreſſed great uneaſineſs at this promotion; and when he was hurried into the King's preſence, to receive inveſtiture by delivery of the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, he made all the decent oppoſition imaginable. The Biſhops expoſtulated with him upon his refuſal, telling him, 'That his modeſty 'was no better than a plain deſertion of his duty; 'that things were in the utmoſt confuſion; that all 'ſorts of diſorders prevailed in the Church, and 'Chriſtianity was almoſt exterminated by the licentiouſneſs and tyranny of the adminiſtration: that, 'ſince the remedy of theſe evils was now in his 'power, the declining to make uſe of it was hardly 'reconcileable to conſcience, or the character of an 'honeſt man; and that the preferring his own eaſe 'and quiet to the public ſervice of religion, was a 'very indefenſible motive.' Anſelm, in excuſe of himſelf, alledged, 'That he had not health and vi'gour ſufficient for ſo weighty a charge; that his 'inclination was entirely for the cloyſter, and that 'he had always declined concerning himſelf in ſecu'lar affairs.' He deſired therefore, 'They would not 'endeavour to drag him out of his repoſe, and force 'him upon his averſion.' He added, *I am Abbot of a Monaſtery in a foreign dominion; I am bound to canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of that province; I owe allegiance to the Prince of the country; and am likewiſe obliged to aſſiſt my convent to the beſt of my power. Things ſtanding thus, I am not at liberty to quit the monaſtery without the conſent of the Monks, nor to diſengage from my Prince without his permiſſion; nor to withdraw myſelf from the juriſdiction of my ſpiritual father the Biſhop, unleſs he is pleaſed to diſcharge me.* Finding him perſiſt in his refuſal, they forced him into the King's preſence, who aſked him in a very pathetical manner, 'Why he endeavour'ed to ruin him in the other world; which would in'fallibly follow, in caſe he died before the archbiſhop'rick was filled.' When no arguments could prevail, the Biſhops and thoſe who were preſent clapped the paſtoral ſtaff into his hands, ſhouted for his election, and bore him by force into the church, where *Te Deum* was ſung upon the occaſion. But, notwithſtanding all this ſolemnity, Anſelm would not acquieſce, till the King had written to the Duke of Normandy, the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Monaſtery of Becc, and procured him a diſcharge from the obligations above-mentioned (3).

(3) Id. Ib. p. 17.

[*C*] *The Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure.*] When the King heard of the intended ſum, he was pleaſed at firſt; but afterwards ſome of the courtiers, diſaffected to the Archbiſhop, repreſenting it as too trifling an acknowledgment, he refuſed to accept it. This temper of the court ſurprized Anſelm, who thereupon went to the King, and addreſſed him in this manner: 'Sir, I intreat your Highneſs would be pleaſ'ed to accept the preſent I ſent you; it will not be 'the laſt acknowledgment your Archbiſhop will make 'you: And I humbly conceive, 'tis both more ſervice'able and more honourable for your Highneſs to re'ceive a leſſer ſum from me with my conſent, than to 'extort a greater by force and violence; for voluntary 'payments will be more frequent in their return. If 'your Highneſs allows me the freedom and privilege 'of my ſtation, my perſon and all that belongs to me 'will be at your ſervice; but if I am treated like a 'ſlave, I ſhall be obliged to ſtand off, and keep my 'fortune to myſelf.' This frank declaration greatly diſguſted the King, who bid him take his Money and be gone. The Archbiſhop, not being in a condition at that time to double the ſum, as the King expected, without racking his tenants, deſiſted after a ſecond offer, and gave the Money to the poor (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*D*] *He had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London about the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe.*] The Archbiſhop was preparing to conſecrate a church, in one of his manours, built by his predeceſſor Lanfranc. The town, called Berga, lay within the dioceſe of London; the Biſhop of which See ſent down two Prebendaries to claim the right of conſecration. Upon this the Archbiſhop conſulted Wulſtan Biſhop of Worceſter, who, being the only Engliſh or Saxon Biſhop then living, was thought the beſt qualified to pronounce upon the controverſy. This prelate giving his

Anſelm waited upon him, and deſired his leave to convene a national Synod, in which the diſorders of the Church and State, and the general diſſolution of manners, might be remedied: but the King refuſed his requeſt, and even treated him very roughly; whereupon the Archbiſhop and his retinue withdrew from court (e) [E]. Another cauſe of diſcontent between the King and the Archbiſhop, was, Anſelm's deſiring leave to go to Rome, to receive the pall from Pope Urban II, whom the King of England did not acknowledge as Pope, being more inclined to favour the party of his competitor Guibert. This miſunderſtanding occaſioned great diſputes; and, to put an end to the controverſy, a council or convention was held at Rockingham caſtle [F]; the iſſue of which was, that the majority of the Biſhops, being either gained or over-awed by the Court, threw up their canonical obedience, and renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop [G]. Hereupon Anſelm deſired a paſſport, to go beyond the ſea, till the preſent miſunderſtandings could be made up. But the King abſolutely refuſed this requeſt, and would only conſent, that there ſhould be a kind of truce or ſuſpenſion of the affair from March to Whitſuntide [H], during which interval the difference was to ſleep. But, long before the expiration of this term, the King broke through the agreement, baniſhed ſeveral clergymen who were Anſelm's favourites, and miſerably harraſſed the tenants of his ſee. Whitſuntide being come, and the Biſhops having in vain endeavoured to ſoften Anſelm into a compliance; the King, with the advice of

(e) Id. ibid.

A. D. 1094.

A. D. 1095.

opinion in favour of the Archbiſhop's pretenſions, Anſelm went on with the conſecration, performed divine ſervice, and executed other parts of his function, in all the towns belonging to the See of London, without moving for the conſent of the dioceſan (5).

(5) Id. ib. p. 22.

[E] *The Archbiſhop ——— withdrew from court.*] Our Prelate began to reflect, that the King's diſpleaſure towards him might prevent his acting in his ſtation with advantage to the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he applied to the Biſhops, to entreat the King to receive him into favour. But the King being inexorable, the Biſhops adviſed him to make his Majeſty a freſh offer of five hundred pounds, with a promiſe of as much more as ſoon as it could be raiſed. To which Anſelm replied, 'That this method 'might prove very unfortunate; that the King might 'probably be angry again e'er long, upon the ſame 'proſpect; that the tenants of the archbiſhoprick had 'been miſerably harraſſed ſince the death of his pre-'deceſſor; and that to take any more from them 'would be their utter undoing.' *Beſides*, ſays he, *God forbid I ſhould do any thing to make the world believe my Sovereign's favour is mercenary. I owe the King allegiance, and ought to be tender of his honour. How then can I be true to theſe engagements, if I go about to bring an ill report upon his juſtice, and offer to buy his friendſhip with a little money, like a horſe in a fair? At this rate royal favour would be valued no higher than the proportion of the ſum. But far be it from me to undervalue a thing of that dignity, and to put ſo paltry a conſideration in balance againſt it. Your way therefore will be, to perſuade the King not to ſet a price upon his reconciliation, but to receive me upon frank and honourable terms, and treat me as his ſpiritual Father: And for my part I am ready to pay him the duty of a ſubject. But as for the money, ſince he was pleaſed to refuſe it, I have given it to the poor, and have now nothing to offer of that kind.* This being reported to the King, he appeared very angry, and declared, 'He 'would never look upon Anſelm as his ghoſtly Father; 'that he hated his prayers and benedictions, and there-'fore he might go whither he pleaſed.' *Upon this*, ſays Eadmer (6), who was one of Anſelm's retinue, *we withdrew from Court.*

(6) Ubi ſupra.

[F] *A council ——— was held at Rockingham Caſtle.*] In this aſſembly, Anſelm, opening his cauſe, told them with what reluctancy he had accepted the Archbiſhoprick; that he had made an expreſs reſerve of his obedience to Pope Urban; and that he was now brought under difficulties upon that ſcore. He therefore deſired their advice how to act in ſuch a manner, as neither to fail in his allegiance to the King, nor in his duty to the holy See. The Biſhops were of opinion, he ought to reſign himſelf wholly to the King's pleaſure. They told him, there was a general complaint againſt him, for intrenching upon the King's prerogative; and that it would be prudence in him to wave his regard for Urban; that Biſhop (for they would not call him Pope) being in no condition to do him either good or harm. To this Anſelm returned, that he was engaged to be no farther the King's ſubject than the laws of Chriſtianity would give him leave; that as he was willing *to render unto Cæſar the things that were Cæſar's*, ſo he muſt likewiſe take in the other part of the precept, and *give unto God that which was God's.* Hereupon William Biſhop of Durham, a court prelate, who had inflamed the difference, and managed the argument for the King, inſiſted, that the nomination of the Pope to the ſubject was the principal jewel of the crown, and that by this privilege the Kings of England were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom (7).

(7) Eadmer. ib. p. 28, 29.

[G] *The Biſhops renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop.*] The King would have had them gone farther, brought him to his trial, and depoſed him in the council. But the Biſhops refuſed to carry their reſentment againſt him ſo far. As for Anſelm, when he heard that his ſuffragans had diſclaimed him, he complained greatly of their ill treatment of him, and demanded the regard due to a Metropolitan. In a letter, which he wrote to the Iriſh Biſhops about that time, he expreſſes the great uneaſineſs this uſage gave him, and deſires they would put up their prayers on his behalf, 'That God would inſpire him with fortitude and re-'ſolution, to preſerve the government of the Church, 'and appear boldly againſt diſorder and licentiouſneſs.' And in the cloſe of the letter, *If there happen*, ſays he, *any difficulty in your country about the conſecration of Biſhops, or any other matter relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, I deſire you would inform me of the caſe, and take the aſſiſtance of the beſt advice I can give you* (8). It is remarkable, that when the King applied to the temporal nobility, to engage them to follow the example of the Biſhops, and diſclaim Anſelm, they unanimouſly refuſed to do ſo; and this generous declaration of the Barons in favour of the Archbiſhop, made the ſervile compliance of the Biſhops appear the more ſcandalous and unjuſtifiable (9).

(8) Dacherius, Spiceleg. T. IX. p. 123.

(9) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

[H] *A truce, or ſuſpenſion of the affair, from March to Whitſuntide, was agreed upon.*] During this interval, Walter, Biſhop of Alba, was ſent by Urban into England, attended by two clergymen, who officiated in the King's chapel. Theſe eccleſiaſtics had been privately diſpatched to Rome, to enquire into the late election, and examine which of the two pretenders, Guibert or Urban, was canonically choſen. Theſe agents, finding the right lay in Urban, applied to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend the King the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's pall. This was the King's point; who thought, by getting the pall into his poſſeſſion, he ſhould be able to manage the Archbiſhop (10). The Pope complied ſo far, as to ſend the Biſhop of Alba to the King with the pall, but with ſecret orders concerning the diſpoſal of it. This prelate, arriving at the Engliſh court, diſcourſed very agreeably to the King, making him believe the Pope was entirely in his intereſt. Whereupon William ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope in all his dominions. After he had thus far gratified the See of Rome, he began to treat with the Legate about the deprivation of Anſelm; but was greatly diſappointed, when that prelate aſſured him the deſign was impracticable. However it was now too late to go back; and therefore, to ſet the beſt face upon the matter, he reſolved, ſince he could not have his revenge upon Anſelm, to drop the diſpute, and pretend himſelf reconciled (11).

(10) Id. ib. l. ii. p. 32.

(11) Ibid.

[I] *The*

of his great men, received him into favour upon his own terms; and, becauſe Anſelm perſiſted in refuſing to receive the pall from the King's hands, it was at laſt agreed, that the Pope's Nuntio, who had brought the pall into England (*f*), ſhould carry it down to Canterbury, and lay it upon the altar of the cathedral; from whence Anſelm was to receive it, as if it had been put into his hands by St Peter himſelf. Things being thus adjuſted, the Archbiſhop went to Canterbury, and received the pall with great ſolemnity, the June following (*g*). And now it was generally hoped, that all occaſion of difference between the King and the Archbiſhop was removed: but it appeared ſoon after, that the reconciliation on the King's part was not ſincere. For William, having marched his forces into Wales, and brought that country to ſubmiſſion, took that opportunity to quarrel with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota the Archbiſhop had furniſhed for that expedition (*h*) [*I*]. Finding therefore his authority too weak to oppoſe the corruptions of the times, he reſolved to go in perſon to Rome, and conſult the Pope. But the King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom, ſeemed ſurprized at the requeſt, and gave him a flat denial (*i*) [*K*]. Notwithſtanding which, the Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage [*L*], and accordingly embarked at Dover. But when the King heard that he had croſſed the channel, he ſeized upon the archbiſhopric, and made every thing void which Anſelm had done (*k*). The Archbiſhop got ſafe to Rome, and was honourably received by the Pope. After a ſhort ſtay in that city, he accompanied the Pope to a country ſeat near Capua, whither his Holineſs retired on account of the unhealthfulneſs of the town. And here Anſelm wrote a book, in which he gave an account of the reaſon of our Saviour's Incarnation. The Pope wrote to the King of England in a ſtrain of authority, enjoining him to re-inſtate Anſelm in all the profits and privileges of his See. Anſelm likewiſe wrote into England upon the ſame ſubject (*l*). As for the King, he endeavoured to get Anſelm diſcountenanced abroad, and wrote to Roger Duke of Apulia, and others, to that purpoſe (*m*). But he had not credit enough, it ſeems, to gain his point: for Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came [*M*]. This famous Archbiſhop was very ſerviceable to the Pope in the council of Bari, which was held to oppoſe the errors of the Greek Church, with reſpect to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt (*n*). In this Synod, Anſelm anſwered the objections of the Greeks, and managed the argument with ſo much judgment, learning, and penetration, that he ſilenced his adverſaries, and gave general ſatisfaction to the Weſtern Church. This argument was afterwards digeſted by him into a Tract [*N*], and is extant among his other works (*o*). In the ſame council Anſelm generouſly

(*f*) See the remark [*H*].

(*g*) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, l. ii. p. 33.

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 35.

A. D. 1097.

(*i*) Id. ib. p. 39.

(*k*) Id. ib. p. 41, 44.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 45.

(*m*) Ibid.

A. D. 1098.

(*n*) In this Synod the Pope gave Anſelm the title of Alterius Orbis Papa, *i. e. Pope of the other World*, meaning *England*.

(*o*) See the remark [*FF*].

[*I*] *The King quarrelled with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota he had furniſhed for the Welſh expedition.*] The King complained, that the Archbiſhop had failed in his proportion, and that his men were neither well accoutred, nor fit for the ſervice. He even threatned to have him tried for a miſdemeanour, and ordered him to be ready to make his appearance upon the firſt ſummons. Anſelm thought ſilence the beſt expedient upon this occaſion, and therefore returned no anſwer to the King's meſſage (12).

(12) Id. ib. p. 37.

[*K*] *The King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom —— gave him a flat denial.*] He added, 'That he did by no means underſtand the 'reaſon of ſuch a voyage; that he could not think 'Anſelm ſo far guilty of any crime, as to ſtand in 'need of the Pope's abſolution: and, as for conſulting 'him, he had that good opinion of the Archbiſhop's 'judgment, that he thought him every jot as well 'qualified to give the Pope advice, as to receive any 'from him.' Anſelm renewed his petition in vain; and deſpairing to obtain the King's leave, he ſent for the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Saliſbury, and Bath, who were then at court, and told them, 'That 'it belonged more particularly to their office, to ad'here to the intereſt of religion: If therefore they 'would ſtand by him, upon this occaſion, and be firm 'to the ſervice of the Church, he would lay his inten'tions before them, and be governed by their advice.' They deſired a little time for deliberation; and having conſulted together, they returned to him with the following anſwer: 'My Lord, we know you to be a very 'religious and holy man, and that your converſation is 'wholly in Heaven; but as for ourſelves, we muſt con'feſs, our relations and ſecular intereſt are a clog upon 'us, inſomuch that we cannot riſe up to thoſe ſeraphic 'flights, nor trample upon the world with the noble 'contempt that you do. If you pleaſe to ſtoop to our 'infirmities, and content yourſelf with our methods 'and management, we will ſollicit your cauſe with the 'ſame heartineſs we do our own, and aſſiſt you to the 'utmoſt of our power. But if you are all ſpirituality, 'and have nothing but the Church in view, all we can 'do is to preſerve our former regards to you, and 'that with a reſerve of acting nothing, which may 'intrench upon our allegiance to the King.' After this conference with the Biſhops, the King ſent another meſſage to him, expoſtulating with him upon breach of duty in leaving the kingdom without the royal permiſſion. Whereupon Anſelm went to court, and, according to his cuſtomary privilege, ſeating himſelf at the King's right-hand, would have entered upon his juſtification: But the King perſiſted in his denial of leave, and the Archbiſhop left the court, reſolved upon his voyage (13).

(13) Id. ib. p. 39.

[*L*] *The Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage.*] At his parting from the court, he told the King, 'He 'was now juſt ready to ſet forward; that if he could 'have gained his permiſſion, he conceived it might 'have been more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and 'more ſatisfactory to all good people: But ſince it 'proved otherwiſe, he muſt acquieſce in the misfor'tune, and ſhould always have the ſame regard for 'the welfare of the King's ſoul: That now, not 'knowing when he ſhould wait upon his Highneſs 'again, he was ready to recommend him to God 'Almighty, and to diſmiſs him with the ſame ſo'lemnity of good wiſhes that were owing from a 'ſpiritual father to a ſon, he had ſo great an affection 'for; and which a King of England ought to re'ceive from an Archbiſhop of Canterbury.' *And therefore, unleſs your Highneſs rejects it*, ſays he, *I am ready to give you my bleſſing.* The King replying, *he did not refuſe it*, Anſelm roſe up, and making the ſign of the croſs over the King's head, who bowed at that ceremony, took his leave; the King and all the court admiring the reſolution and unconcernedneſs of his behaviour (14).

(14) Id. ib. p. 41.

[*M*] *Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came.*] Finding his preaching had a good effect on his audiences in Italy, he deſired leave of the Pope to reſign his Archbiſhopric, believing he might be more ſerviceable to the world in a more private ſtation. The Pope would by no means conſent to ſuch a ſtep, but charged him, upon his obedience, never to drop his title, or quit his ſtation (15).

(15) Id. ib. p. 45.

[*N*] *This argument was digeſted by him into a Tract.*] Baronius's remark upon this diſcourſe of Anſelm's deſerves to be remembered. He takes notice, that

generouſly interpoſed, and prevented the Pope from pronouncing ſentence of excommunication againſt the King of England, for his frequent outrages on religion (*p*). After the Synod of Bari was ended, the Pope and Anſelm returned to Rome, where an Ambaſſador from the King of England was arrived, in order to diſprove Anſelm's allegations and complaints againſt his maſter [*O*]. And, the better to effect his purpoſe, he tried the intereſt of his purſe; and partly by preſents, and partly by promiſes, he bribed the court of Rome to deſert Anſelm (*q*) [*P*]. The Archbiſhop, perceiving how matters went, would have returned to Lyons, but the Pope would not part with him; and, to ſweeten him after his diſappointment, lodged him in a noble palace, where his Holineſs made him frequent viſits. About that time, the Pope having ſummoned a Council to ſit at Rome [*Q*], Anſelm had a very honourable ſeat aſſigned him and his ſucceſſors; this being the firſt time of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury's appearing at a Roman Synod (*r*). When the Council broke up, Anſelm immediately left Rome, and returned to Lyons, where he was entertained for ſome time by Hugo the Archbiſhop. He ſtaid there till he heard the news of King William's and Pope Urban's death, which happened not long after (*s*). Henry I, the new King of England, having reſtored the Sees of Canterbury, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury, which had been ſeized by his predeceſſor; Anſelm was ſollicited to return into England; and being come as far Clugny, an Agent from the King met him with a letter inviting him to return to his archbiſhopric [*R*]. In this letter the King excuſed himſelf for not ſtaying till Anſelm's return, and being crowned by another Prelate. The Archbiſhop, being arrived in England, was received with extraordinary reſpect by the King and the people. And thus far matters went ſmoothly enough. But when it was required of Anſelm, that he ſhould be re-inveſted by the King, and do the cuſtomary homage of his predeceſſors, he refuſed to comply, alledging the canons of the late Synod at Rome about inveſtitures (*t*) [*S*]. The King was greatly diſguſted at Anſelm's non-compliance: however, not being well ſettled on the throne, he was unwilling to come to a rupture. It was agreed therefore that the diſpute ſhould reſt till the Eaſter following; and in the mean time both parties were to ſend their agents to Rome, to try if they could perſuade the Pope to diſpenſe with the canons of the late Synod in relation to inveſtitures. About this time Anſelm ſummoned a Synod to meet at Lambeth [*T*], on occaſion of the King's

(*p*) Eadmer. ibid.

(*q*) Id. ibid. p. 52.

A. D. 1099.

(*r*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*s*) Eadmer. ubi ſupra. l. iii. p. 55.

(*t*) Id. ib.

that the Archbiſhop, in this tract, does not make uſe of the authorities either of the Greek or Latin fathers: not of the Latins, becauſe the Greeks excepted againſt their teſtimony, as being friends and parties; nor of the Greeks, becauſe, when they were cited againſt them, they uſed to object againſt the credit and authenticneſs of the copy. Anſelm therefore, truſting to the goodneſs of the cauſe, took none of theſe auxiliaries into the ſervice, but had recourſe ſolely to the Scriptures, and confuted his adverſaries from thence (16).

(16) Baron. Annal. T. II. ad. an. 1097.

[*O*] *The Engliſh ambaſſador endeavoured to diſprove Anſelm's allegations, and complaints againſt his maſter.*] This miniſter told the Pope, that his maſter was ſurprized at his Holineſs's order for re-inſtating Anſelm in his Archbiſhopric, ſince he had poſitively acquainted that Prelate what he muſt expect, in caſe he quitted the realm without his Majeſty's leave. The Pope aſked the Ambaſſador, if he had any thing farther in his inſtructions againſt Anſelm? He anſwered, nothing. 'Could you then (ſaid the Pope) think it worth your 'while to take ſo long and tedious a journey, only 'to acquaint me, that your Primate has been de'prived of his See for appealing to St Peter's chair? 'If you have any regard for you maſter, return and 'tell him, that unleſs he will venture the higheſt cen'ſure of the Church, his method will be forthwith to 'reſtore Anſelm to all his rights and properties.' The Ambaſſador, being ſhocked with this anſwer, told the Pope, he had ſomething farther to communicate; and deſired a private audience, in which he found means to ſoften his Holineſs, and prevail upon him to relax a little in his demands (17).

(17) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 52.

[*P*] *The Engliſh Ambaſſador bribed the Court of Rome to deſert Anſelm.*] This ſtory is modeſtly told by Eadmer (18) in a few words. But William of Malmſbury enlarges with more freedom upon the prevarication of the Court of Rome. He tells us (19), the Pope was under ſome difficulty and irreſolution about the matter; that for ſome time his Holineſs hung in ſuſpence between conſcience and intereſt, but was at laſt overbalanced by the conſideration of a good preſent. And here Malmſbury declaims with a great deal of honeſty and ſatire againſt the prevalency of money; and frankly acknowledges, that it was ſcandalous in a perſon of his Holineſs's ſtation and character to proſtitute his honour and conſcience, and depart from juſtice for the ſake of a little pelf.

(18) Ibid.

(19) De Geſtis Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

[*Q*] *The Pope ſummoned a council to meet at Rome.*] When the canons of this council were agreed on, and drawn up, the Pope ordered Reingerius, Biſhop of Lucca, to publiſh them to the aſſembly. This Prelate, after he had gone through part of his commiſſion, ſeemed on a ſudden to be greatly diſturbed; and breaking off the reading of the canons, he cried out: 'What will become of us? We are loading the 'people with new precepts and articles of duty; but 'do not relieve thoſe, who apply to us for protec'tion. The whole world is ſurprized at this con'duct, and complains, that the head of the Church 'does not ſympathize with the members.' Then he expreſsly mentioned Anſelm's caſe, and remonſtrated againſt the delays in doing him juſtice. Here the Pope interpoſed, and deſired him to forbear, with a promiſe that matters ſhould be rectified. Reingerius, being a man of warmth and zeal, replied, 'twas fit it ſhould be ſo; for God would not paſs over the neglect: and when he had ſaid this, he went on with the publication of the canons (20).

(20) Eadmer. ib.

[*R*] *The King ſent him a letter, inviting him to return to his Archbiſhopric.*] The learned reader will find King Henry's letter to Anſelm, in the collection of that Prelate's letters (21), and in Mr Collier's collection of Records, N. 14. at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

(21) Anſelm. Epiſtolar. l. iii. Epiſt. 41. A. D. 1100.

[*S*] *Anſelm alledged the canons of the Synod of Rome about inveſtitures.*] This Synod excommunicated all lay perſons, who ſhould give inveſtitures for abbies or cathedrals; and all eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould receive inveſtitures from lay hands, or came under the tenure of homage for any eccleſiaſtical promotion, were put under the ſame cenſure (22).

(22) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*T*] *Anſelm called a Synod at Lambeth.*] The King being generally cenſured for intending to marry the Princeſs Maud, who was ſuppoſed to have embraced a religious life, that Lady applied herſelf upon this occaſion to Archbiſhop Anſelm, and deſired his advice. The Archbiſhop objected the common report to her, and declared, that no motive whatſoever ſhould prevail with him to diſengage her from her vow to Almighty God. The Princeſs denied there had been any ſuch engagement, and alledged that, though ſhe had indeed worn a veil, it was againſt her inclination, being forced thereto by her aunt Chriſtian, who had put a piece of black cloth about her head, to prevent her being violated by the Normans. She added, that her father, ſeeing her veiled, broke out into a paſſion, and tore the veil in pieces, proteſting that he deſigned her

King's intended marriage with Maud or Matilda, eldeſt daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland. In this Synod it was determined, that the King might lawfully marry that Princeſs, notwithſtanding ſhe was generally reported to be a Nun, having worn the veil, and had her education in a religious houſe (*u*). Soon after this marriage, Anſelm was of ſignal ſervice to King Henry againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy [*U*], who had invaded England, and landed with a formidable army at Portſmouth. For the Archbiſhop not only furniſhed the King with a large body of men, but was very active likewiſe in preventing a revolt of the great men from him (*w*). The agents, ſent by the King and the Archbiſhop to Rome, being returned, brought with them a letter from Pope Paſchal to the King (*x*), in which his Holineſs abſolutely refuſed to diſpenſe with the Canons concerning inveſtitures. The King, on his part, reſolved not to give up what for ſome reigns had paſſed for part of the royal prerogative. And thus the difference was kept on foot between the King and Anſelm. In this diſpute the majority of the Biſhops and temporal nobility were on the Court ſide; and ſome of them were very earneſt with the King, to break entirely with the See of Rome (*y*). However it was not thought adviſeable to proceed to an open rupture without trying a farther expedient; and therefore freſh agents were diſpatched by the King to Rome, with inſtructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to depart from his former declaration, and relax in the point of inveſtitures, or to be content with the baniſhment of Anſelm, and to loſe the obedience of the Engliſh, and the yearly profits accruing from that kingdom. At the ſame time Anſelm diſpatched two Monks, to inform the Pope of the menaces of the Engliſh Court. But the King's Embaſſadors could not prevail with the Pope to recede from his declaration; his Holineſs proteſting he would ſooner loſe his life than cancel the decrees of the Holy Fathers (*z*) [*W*]: which reſolution he ſignified by letters to the King and Anſelm. Soon after, the King, having convened the great men of the kingdom at London, ſent Anſelm word, that he muſt either comply with the uſages of his father's reign, or quit England. But, the agents diſagreeing in their report of the Pope's anſwer (*aa*), Anſelm thought proper not to return a poſitive anſwer till farther information. And thus the controverſy ſlept for the preſent (*bb*). The next year a national Synod was held under Anſelm at St Peter's Weſtminſter; at which the King and the principal nobility were preſent (*cc*). The year following the King was pleaſed to relent, and deſire Anſelm to take a journey to Rome, to try if he could perſuade the Pope to relax. Anſelm, at the requeſt of the Biſhops and the Barons, undertook the voyage (*dd*). At the ſame time the King diſpatched one William Warelwaſt to Rome. This agent, arriving there before Anſelm, ſollicited for the King, his maſter: but to no purpoſe; for the Pope perſiſted in refuſing to grant the King the right of inveſtiture. But at the ſame time his Holineſs wrote a very ceremonious letter to the King of England, entreating him to wave the conteſt, and promiſing all imaginable compliance in other matters (*ee*). Anſelm, having taken leave of the Court of Rome, returned to Lyons, where he received a ſharp and reprimanding letter from a Monk, acquainting him with the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury [*X*]. During the Archbiſhop's ſtay at Lyons, the King ſent

(*u*) Id. ib. p. 56, 57, 58.

(*w*) Id. ib. p. 59.

(*x*) Id. ib. p. 59, 60, 61.

(*y*) Id. ib. p. 63.

(*z*) Id. ib. p. 64.

(*aa*) See the remark [*U*].

(*bb*) Eadmer. ib. p. 65.

A. D. 1102.

(*cc*) Id. ibid.

(*dd*) Id. ib. p. 70.

(*ee*) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77.

her for marriage, and not for a nunnery. Anſelm thought this caſe too weighty to reſt upon his ſingle judgment, and therefore brought it before the Synod of Lambeth; in which, the truth of the Princeſs's allegations being ſufficiently proved, the aſſembly was of opinion, that the Princeſs Maud was under no neceſſity of being a nun, but might diſpoſe of her perſon as ſhe thought fit. Accordingly that Lady was married to the King. And, to prevent calumny and miſreport, when the wedding was ſolemnized, and a great concourſe of the nobility and people were aſſembled about the church, Anſelm, ſeating himſelf higher than the reſt, gave them an account of what had been decreed in the Synod, and demanded if they had any thing to object to it? Whereupon they unanimouſly cried out, that the matter was rightly ſettled (23).

(23) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 56, 57, 58.

[*U*] *Anſelm was very ſerviceable to King Henry, againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy.*] That Duke, being diſappointed in his expectations from the Engliſh, was contented to ſign an agreement; by which he renounced his pretenſions to the crown, and accepted a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks in lieu of it. And this he did the more readily, becauſe he was well aſſured that Anſelm would excommunicate him for an invader, in caſe he refuſed to comply (24).

(24) Id. ibid. p. 59.

[*W*] *The Pope declared, he would ſooner loſe his life, than cancel the decrees of the holy fathers.*] It is remarkable, that the agents diſagreed in their report of the Pope's anſwer. The Biſhops, ſent by the King, declared, that his Holineſs, at a private audience, had given them aſſurance, that, provided the King managed in other points to the ſatisfaction of the Court of Rome, he would indulge his Highneſs in the privilege of inveſtitures, and not excommunicate him for giving Biſhops and Abbots the paſtoral ſtaff: that the reaſon why this favour was not expreſſed in the Bull, was, that it might not come to the notice of other Princes, who would be apt to inſiſt upon the ſame privilege. On the other hand, Anſelm's agents proteſted, that the Pope had given no anſwer by word of mouth in contradiction to his own letters. To this the King's Ambaſſadors replied, that the matter was ſecretly concerted, and without the privity of Anſelm's agents. This diſagreement between the agents occaſioned a diviſion among the great men. Some maintained, that the teſtimony of the Monks ought to be received, and that the Pope's hand and ſeal were not to be queſtioned. Others were of opinion, that the evidence of three Biſhops ought to be taken before that of a ſcroll of parchment blacked over with ink, with a bit of lead at the end of it (25).

(25) Id. ibid. p. 65.

[*X*] *A letter from a Monk, deſcribing the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury.*] This Monk, whoſe name Eadmer does not mention, tells the Archbiſhop, 'That all places were over-run with 'violence and injuſtice, that the churches were har- 'raſſed and oppreſſed, the poor plundered, and the 'conſecrated virgins violated: that if the Archbiſhop 'had maintained the antient diſcipline, this diſorder 'had not happened: that his quitting the kingdom 'gave great advantages to the enemies of religion: 'that he, who has undertaken the management of the 'helm, ought by no means to quit the veſſel at the 'approach of a ſtorm, but keep faſter to his poſt than 'ever: that 'tis poſſible, at the great day he may 'be aſhamed of his exceſſive caution, when he ſhall 'ſee ſo many brave governors of the Church, who 'ſtood by their flocks in time of danger. How glo- 'rious then will be the memory of the holy Biſhop

ſent another embaſſy to Rome, to try if he could prevail with the Pope to bring Anſelm to a ſubmiſſion. But the Pope, inſtead of being gained, excommunicated ſome of the Engliſh court, who had diſſuaded the King from parting with the inveſtitures. How-
(ff) Id. ib. p. 78, 79. ever his Holineſs declined pronouncing any cenſure againſt the King (ff). Anſelm, perceiving the Court of Rome dilatory in it's proceedings, removed from Lyons, and made a viſit to the Counteſs Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, at her caſtle in Blois. This lady enquiring into the buſineſs of Anſelm's journey, he told her that, after a great deal of patience and expectation, he muſt now be forced to excommunicate the King of England. The Counteſs was extremely concerned for her brother, and wrote to the Pope to procure an accommodation. The King, who was come into Normandy, hearing that Anſelm deſigned to excommunicate him, deſired his ſiſter to bring him with her into Normandy, with a promiſe of condeſcenſion in ſeveral articles. To this Anſelm agreed, and waited upon the King at a caſtle called *L'Aigle*, where the King reſtored to him the revenues of the archbiſhopric, but would not permit him to come into England, unleſs he would comply in the affair of the inveſtitures: which Anſelm refuſing to do continued in France, till the matter was once more laid before the
(gg) Id. ib. p. 80. Pope (gg). And now the Engliſh Biſhops, who had taken part with the Court againſt Anſelm, began to change their minds, as appears by their letter directed to him in Normandy [Y]. In this letter, after having ſet forth the deplorable ſtate of the Church, they preſs him to come over with all ſpeed, promiſing to ſtand by him, and pay him the regard due to his character: it is ſubſcribed by Gerrard Archbiſhop of York, Robert Biſhop of Cheſter, Herbert Biſhop of Norwich, Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter,
(bb) Id. ib. p. 84. Samſon Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Elect of Wincheſter (bb). Anſelm expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this conduct of the Biſhops, but acquainted them that it was not in his power to return, till he was farther informed of the proceedings of the Court of Rome. In the mean time, being informed, that the King had fined ſome of the clergy for a late breach of the canons [Z], he wrote to his Highneſs to complain of that ſtretch of his prerogative [AA]. At length the Embaſſadors returned from Rome,
A. D. 1106. and brought with them a deciſion more agreeable than the former: for now the Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King [BB]; and though he would not give up the point of inveſtitures, yet he diſpenſed ſo far as to give the
(ii) Eadmer. ib. p. 77. Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities (ii) [CC]. The King, who

‘ St Ambroſe, who maintained the authority of his ‘ character to the Emperor Theodoſius's face, and re- ‘ fuſed him entrance into the church, till he had qua- ‘ lified himſelf by repentance? What change in affairs ‘ might not ſuch holy zeal, ſuch heroic fortitude, ‘ produce?’ He proceeds to tell the Archbiſhop, ‘ That the blackeſt proſpect of torture and death ‘ could not have excuſed his withdrawing himſelf? ‘ What therefore could be ſaid, when this was not his ‘ caſe? His liberty had not been taken from him, ‘ nor his perſon inſulted: he ſeemed to have been ‘ frightened out of the kingdom by the menaces of a ‘ ſingle courtier; and by thus going had left open the ‘ gates to the enemy, and let in the wolves upon the ‘ ſheep.’ He takes the freedom to acquaint the Archbiſhop, ‘ That his conduct had proved a very un- ‘ fortunate precedent; that the courage of his ſuffra- ‘ gans was ſunk by their Primate's cowardice. Indeed ‘ what is to be expected, when a General quits the ‘ field?’ He therefore exhorts Anſelm ‘ to return im- ‘ mediately to his province, where he will find a great ‘ many perſons ready to eſpouſe the intereſt of reli-
(26) Id. ib. l. iv. p. 77. ‘ gion, and ſtand by him (26).’

[Y] *The letter of the Engliſh Biſhops, directed to Anſelm in Normandy.*] This letter is extant in Eadmer (27), and in Mr Collier's collection of *Records*, No. 15, at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

(27) Ubi ſupra, p. 84.

[Z] *The King had fined the Clergy for a late breach of the canons.*] Eadmer, in enumerating ſeveral grievances relating more particularly to the Church, tells
(28) Id. ib. p. 83. us (28), that the Prieſts and ſecular canons, who had been enjoined celibacy by the late ſynod of London, had taken the opportunity of Anſelm's abſence to break through the injunction, and many of them were married. The King, who took every method of collecting money, made his advantage of this behaviour of the clergy, and forced them to fine for the liberty they had taken.

[AA] *The Archbiſhop ——— wrote to the King, to complain of the ſtretch of his prerogative.*] In his letter, he remonſtrates, that the Prince's interpoſing ſo far in eccleſiaſtical matters was unprecedented in the Church of God: that the correction of Prieſts for violation of the canons belonged only to their reſpective Ordinaries. He therefore intreats the King not to break in upon the government of the Church, telling him, that the money, raiſed by ſo indefenſible an expedient, would prove unſerviceable to his purpoſe, and endanger his ſoul. Laſtly, he deſires his Highneſs to remember, that he had taken him into his protection, and reſtored him to the profits and privileges of his Archbiſhopric; and that the puniſhing the miſdemeanors of the clergy was a peculiar branch of his juriſdiction; the ſpiritual adminiſtration and authority being more eſſential to his character, than any temporal privilege and property whatever (29).

(29) Id. ib. p. 85.

[BB] *The Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King.*] In a letter, which Pope Paſchal wrote upon this occaſion to Anſelm, he tells him, ‘ That he imputes the King's tractableneſs and ‘ good diſpoſition to the effect of his (the Archbiſhop's) ‘ prayers.’ He deſires him ‘ Not to be ſurprized at ‘ his condeſcenſions to the Engliſh court; that it was ‘ only done out of a pious motive to recover them ‘ from their error, and fix them more firm to their ‘ duty: that he who would lift another up muſt ne- ‘ ceſſarily ſtoop his own body: that this bending po- ‘ ſture, though it may ſeem to tend towards a fall, ‘ does by no means throw a man off his legs.’ His Holineſs therefore ‘ Abſolves thoſe, who lay under ‘ excommunication about the matter in diſpute, and ‘ gives Anſelm leave to communicate with ſuch as had ‘ received inveſtitures from the crown (30).’

(30) Id. ib. p. 77.

[CC] *The Pope would not give up the point of inveſtitures, but diſpenſed ſo far as to give the Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities.*] As the diſpute concerning the right of inveſtiture is the moſt material circumſtance in the life of Archbiſhop Anſelm, I ſhall here give the reader the ſtate of the queſtion, as it is drawn up by a judicious and accurate hiſtorian. ‘ I begin (ſays our author (31)) with ‘ laying it down as a fact, which appears to me in- ‘ conteſtable, that from the reign of Charlemagne, ‘ ſovereign Princes took upon them to give the in- ‘ veſtiture of the greater benefices by the ring and ‘ paſtoral ſtaff. Gregory VII was the firſt who en- ‘ deavoured to take from them this right, towards ‘ the end of the XIth century. The Popes, his ſuc- ‘ ceſſors, continued the proſecution of this deſign with ‘ the ſame zeal. It muſt be allowed, that Princes ‘ themſelves gave but too frequent occaſions to the ‘ Popes to cry out againſt the abuſes of this prero- ‘ gative. Under pretence that the Biſhops and Abbots

(31) M. Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre. lib. vi. Etat de l'Egliſe.

‘ could

who was highly pleaſed with this condeſcenſion in the Pope, ſent immediately to invite Anſelm into England: but the meſſenger finding him ſick, the King himſelf went over into Normandy, and made him a viſit at the abbey of Becc; where all differences between them were perfectly adjuſted. And now Anſelm, being recovered from his ſickneſs, embarked for England, and, landing at Dover, was received with extraordinary marks of welcome. To omit other circumſtances of reſpect, the Queen herſelf travelled before him upon the road, to provide for his better entertainment (*kk*). From this time very little remarkable happened in the life of this famous Archbiſhop, excepting only his conteſt with Thomas elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency upon the ſee of Canterbury (*ll*) [*DD*]. Before the termination of this diſpute, Anſelm died at Canterbury, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his prelacy, on the twenty-firſt of April, A. D. 1109. This great Prelate was author of ſeveral pieces. The largeſt edition of his works is that publiſhed by Father Gerberon (*mm*). It is divided into three parts. The firſt of theſe, containing Dogmatical Tracts, is entitled *Monologia* [*EE*]. The ſecond part contains practical and devotional Tracts. The third part takes in Anſelm's Letters in four books. I ſhall

(*kk*) Id. ib. p. 83.

(*ll*) Id. ib. p. 97.

(*mm*) At Paris, 1675. There had been four preceding editions: the 1st at Nuremberg, 1491; the 2d at Cologne, 1573; the 3d at Cologne, 1612; and the 4th at Lyons, 1630. Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. 11. an. 1093.

'could not take poſſeſſion of their benefices before 'they had received the inveſtiture of them, they pub- 'licly ſold the biſhoprics and abbeys to the higheſt 'bidder. I ſay, they ſold them: for, though the 'elections might ſeem to be agreeable to the canons, 'the ſovereigns nevertheleſs were maſters of them, 'ſince they had it in their power to refuſe inveſtiture 'to thoſe who were not agreeable to them. By this 'means they were ſufficiently enabled to procure the 'election of thoſe whom they recommended, there 'being no eccleſiaſtic who deſired to be a Biſhop or 'an Abbot, without enjoying the temporalities an- 'nexed to the benefice. In order therefore to be 'choſen, it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the 'Prince; after which the Biſhop or Abbot, even be- 'fore conſecration, received the inveſtiture in the 'manner already mentioned. Beſides that ſimony had 'too often a place in elections made after this man- 'ner, there was another reaſon which ſeemed to 'juſtify the Popes in their endeavours to aboliſh the 'inveſtitures. This was, that Princes, by inveſting 'eccleſiaſtics in a manner different from that which 'was practiſed with reſpect to the laity, and even be- 'fore their conſecration, ſeemed to aſſume the privi- 'lege of conferring on them the character. This the 'Popes called a manifeſt uſurpation upon the rights of 'the Church. Indeed one cannot but diſcover ſome- 'thing like it in this practice, on account of the two 'characters which were confounded in the Biſhop 'elect, namely that of a miniſter of the Church, 'and that of a temporal Lord of lands annexed to 'the benefice. If the Popes and the Princes had 'acted fairely, they would carefully have diſtinguiſhed 'theſe two characters: on the contrary, they found 'their reſpective advantages in confounding them. 'Hence Princes got the elections into their power, 'and hence alſo the Popes took occaſion to diſpute 'with Sovereigns the right they were in poſſeſſion of. 'And therefore all the conteſts between Princes and 'the Popes upon this ſubject aroſe, properly ſpeaking, 'from this confuſion. The former ſaid, they could 'not ſuffer any perſon to poſſeſs lands dependent on 'their crown, without having received the inveſtiture 'thereof from their hands.' The Popes on their ſide 'maintained, that it was not reaſonable that Princes 'ſhould interpoſe in elections, or confer a character, 'which it belonged to the Church alone to give. 'Both parties were equally diſtant from the true ſtate 'of the queſtion. It was very poſſible for a man to 'be a Biſhop or an Abbot, without holding lands of 'the crown; in which caſe Princes could pretend to 'nothing. On the other ſide, Princes could receive 'no prejudice by the ſpiritual character's being con- 'ferred without their conſent, ſince they had it in 'their power to take their own precautions, before 'they put the Prelates in poſſeſſion of the temporali- 'ties. But it was impoſſible to reduce them to this 'point, in the diſpoſition they were in of making no 'conceſſions on either ſide. Thus it plainly appears, 'that the temperament, which Paſchal II and Henry I 'followed, was a very reaſonable one, and no ways 'prejudicial to the rights of the Church or the 'King.'

[*DD*] *He had a conteſt with Thomas, elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency on the See of Canterbury.*] Thomas, elect of York, not moving for his conſecration at Canterbury ſo ſoon as was expected, Anſelm put him in mind of this delay in a letter, in which he acquainted him, that, according to the canons, a Biſhop's ſee ought not to be vacant above three months. He enjoins him therefore to come to Canterbury, within a time prefixed for that purpoſe; and in caſe he ſhall fail to make his appearance, Anſelm declares, that the juriſdiction of the province of York belongs to himſelf, and that he ſhall manage accordingly (32). Thomas making dilatory excuſes, and ſending an unſatisfactory anſwer, Anſelm wrote to Pope Paſchal to ſtop his Pall, 'till his Holineſs ſhould be informed by letter, that Thomas had received his conſecration, and made the cuſtomary profeſſion of canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (33). The Pope wrote him an anſwer, and promiſed to ſatisfy his requeſt (34). It ſeems, Thomas and the Chapter of York were in concert to throw off the uſual acknowledgment to the See of Canterbury, and ſet up for an independent province. They conceived the preſent juncture, if rightly managed, very favourable to their deſign. For now Anſelm was grown old, and not likely to live much longer; and therefore if Thomas could invent any colourable delays, and put off his conſecration till after Anſelm's death, the point might probably be carried: for it was believed the See of Canterbury would not immediately be filled; and if Thomas was conſecrated during the vacancy, the profeſſion of canonical obedience might be ſlipped, there being no Archbiſhop of Canterbury to demand it of him. Anſelm ſaw through this deſign; and therefore, finding himſelf near his end, he endeavoured to countermine the Elect of York, and ſecure the rights of his own See to poſterity. To this purpoſe he wrote another letter to Thomas, in which he commands him, in the name of God, not to preſume to execute any part of his epiſcopal office, till he ſhall have returned to his duty, and made the cuſtomary ſubmiſſions to the See of Canterbury. At the ſame time he wrote to all the Biſhops, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, not to conſecrate him themſelves, nor communicate with him in caſe he ſhould be conſecrated by any foreign prelate (35). Anſelm died before the termination of this affair. After his death, the Biſhops unanimouſly reſolving to obey his laſt directions, and the King concurring in opinion with them, Thomas thought fit to comply; and having made his ſubmiſſion to the See of Canterbury, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of York. This made the clergy ſay among themſelves, that Anſelm was now become a kind of Guardian Angel to the Church (36).

(32) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 97.

(33) Id. ib. p. 98, 99.

(34) Id. ib. p. 100.

(35) Id. ib. p. 102.

(36) Id. ib. p. 103, 104.

[*EE*] *The firſt, containing dogmatical tracts, is intituled* Monologia.] It is ſo called, becauſe it is thrown into the form of ſoliloquy and meditation, and repreſents a perſon, who reaſons with himſelf in ſearch of divine truths, and explains them in order as they are diſcovered. It begins with a treatiſe concerning the exiſtence of God, of his attributes, and of the holy Trinity. In this diviſion the author treats likewiſe of the fall of the Devil, of Original Sin, and of the reaſons why God created man. He examines likewiſe the liberty of the will, and ſhews the conſiſtency of this freedom with the divine Preſcience (37).

(37) Du Pin, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. ii. p. 93, &c.

[*FF*] *A*

I ſhall give the reader a more particular liſt of this author's works in the remark [*FF*], and ſhall ſubjoin the learned Mr Du Pin's judgment concerning them [*GG*]. As to the character of Archbiſhop Anſelm, it may be partly collected from the circumſtances of his life above recited. He has been much praiſed for the reſolution he ſhewed in the diſputes he had with William Rufus and Henry I. Where he believed the rights of the Church, and the intereſt of religion, concerned, no greatneſs, no menaces of Princes, nor proſpect of danger, could diſcourage him in the purſuit of his point [*HH*]. Malmſbury tells us (*nn*), he was a perſon of great ſtrictneſs and ſelf-denial: his temper and ſedateneſs were ſuch, that, after he turned Monk, he never was heard to utter the leaſt reproachful word. This Archbiſhop was the firſt who reſtrained the Engliſh clergy from marrying [*II*]. He was canonized in the reign of Henry VII, at the inſtance of Cardinal Morton, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*oo*). Johannes Sariſburienſis, who wrote the *Life* of Archbiſhop Anſelm, has recorded ſeveral miracles ſaid to be wrought by him. Particularly he tells us, that a Flemiſh nobleman was cured of a Leproſy by drinking the water, in which Anſelm had waſhed his hands in celebrating the Maſs: that he extinguiſhed fires, calmed tempeſts, and healed diſeaſes, only by making the ſign of the croſs: that he reſcued a hare, which had taken refuge under his horſe's feet, by commanding the dogs not to purſue her any more: that two ſoldiers were cured of an ague, by taſting the crumbs of ſome bread he had been eating: that

(*nn*) De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. ubi ſupra, p. 229.

(*oo*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Archiepiſc. Cantuar. A. D. 1109.

[*FF*] *A more particular liſt of Anſelm's works.*] I. Epiſtolarum libri iv. *i. e. Four books of letters.* II. Monologium ſeu Soliloquium. *i. e. A monology or ſoliloquy.* III. Proſologium ſeu Alloquium. *i. e. A proſology or addreſs.* IV. Liber incerti autoris pro inſipiente adverſus Anſelmi Proſologium. *i. e. The book of an uncertain author, for the fool, againſt Anſelm's* Proſologium. V. Liber contra inſipientem, ſeu Apologeticus adverſus librum precedentem. *i. e. An apology againſt the fool, in anſwer to the foregoing book.* VI. Dialogus de veritate. *i. e. A dialogue concerning truth.* VII. Dialogus de libero arbitrio. *i. e. A dialogue concerning free will.* VIII. Dialogus de caſu Diaboli. *i. e. A dialogue concerning the fall of the Devil.* IX. Diſputatio Dialectica de Grammatica. *i. e. A logical diſputation concerning grammar.* X. Tractatus de ſacramento Altaris, ſeu de corpore et ſanguine Domini. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the ſacrament of the altar, or of the body and blood of our Lord.* XI. Liber de Fide, ſeu de Incarnatione verbi. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning faith, or of the incarnation of the word.* XII. De Nuptiis conſanguineorum. *i. e. Of the marriages of thoſe who are a-kin by blood.* XIII. Libri ii. contra Gentiles, Cur Deus Homo. *i. e. Two books againſt the heathens, ſhewing why God was made man.* XIV. De Proceſſione Spiritus Sancti, contra Græcos. *i. e. Of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, in oppoſition to the Greeks.* XV. De conceptu Virginali activo, et peccato originali. *i. e. Of the Virgin's active conception, and of original ſin.* XVI. Fragmenta variorum Anſelmi Tractatuum de conceptu Virginali paſſivo. *i. e. Fragments of divers treatiſes written by Anſelm, concerning the Virgin's paſſive conception.* XVII. De tribus Walleranni queſtionibus ac præſertim de fermento et azymo. *i. e. Of Walleran's three queſtions, and eſpecially of leaven and unleaven.* XVIII. De Sacramentorum diverſitate. *Of the difference of the ſacraments.* XIX. Concordia Præſcientiæ, Prædeſtinationis, et Gratiæ cum Libertate. *i. e. Preſcience, predeſtination, and grace conſiſtent with free will.* XX. Liber de voluntate Dei. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the will of God.* XXI. Meditationum libri x. *i. e. Ten books of meditations.* XXII. Liber de Salute Animæ. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the ſalvation of the ſoul.* XXIII. Meditatio ad ſororem de beneficiis Dei. *i. e. A meditation on the mercies of God, addreſſed to his Siſter.* XXIV. Meditatio de paſſione Chriſti. *i. e. A meditation on the paſſion of Chriſt.* XXV. Alloquia cæleſtia, ſive Faculæ piorum Affectuum, &c. *i. e. Heavenly addreſſes, pious breathings, &c.* XXVI. Mantiſſa Meditationum et Orationum in quinque partes tributa. *i. e. Additional meditations and Orations, in five parts.* XXVII. Hymni et Pſalterium in commemoratione Deiparæ. *i. e. Hymns and a Pſalter in commemoration of the Mother of God.* XXVIII. Liber de excellentia glorioſæ Virginis Mariæ. *i. e. A treatiſe on the excellency of the glorious Virgin Mary* (38). XXIX. Liber de quatuor virtutibus B. Mariæ, ejuſque ſublimitate. *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the four virtues of the bleſſed Virgin, and her ſublimity* (39). XXX. Paſſio SS. Guigneri ſive Fingaris, Pialæ, et Sociorum. *i. e. The paſſion of St Guigner or Fingar, St Piala, and their companions.* XXXI. Liber Exhortationum ad centemptum temporalium, et deſiderium æternorum. *i. e. A book of exhortations to the contempt of things that are temporal, and a deſire after thoſe that are eternal.* XXXII. Admonitio pro moribundo. *i. e. A warning for a ſick man.* XXXIII. Paræneſis ad Virginem lapſam. *i. e. An exhortation to a lapſed Virgin.* XXXIV. Sermo ſive Liber de Beatitudine. *i. e. A diſcourſe on happineſs.* XXXV. Homilia in illud, Introiit Jeſus in quoddam Caſtellum. *i. e. An homily on Jeſus's entering into a certain caſtle.* XXXVI. Homiliæ in aliquot Evangelia. *i. e. Homilies on ſome of the Goſpels.* XXXVII. Carmen de contemptu mundi, et alia Carmina. *i. e. A Poem on the contempt of the world, and other poems.* There are ſome other pieces aſcribed to Anſelm in the edition of Cologn, 1612; and in the edition of Lyons, 1630: but they are generally thought to be ſuppoſititious (40).

(38) Bellarmin denies that this book was written by Anſelm; and Father Gerberon aſcribes it to Eadmer.

(39) This piece is likewiſe aſcribed by F. Gerberon to Eadmer.

(40) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. 11. an 1093.

[*GG*] *M. Du Pin's judgment concerning Anſelm's works.*] 'We do not find (ſays that learned critic) 'any eccleſiaſtical writers before St Anſelm, who 'wrote after ſo ſcholaſtic a manner, ſtarted ſo many 'metaphyſical queſtions, or argued with the appear-'ance of ſo much logic and acuteneſs as he has 'done. He is alſo the firſt, who compoſed long 'prayers in the form of meditations. His letters 'are written in a leſs elaborate ſtyle, neither are 'they ſo correct as his other works. His exhorta-'tions are plain Homilies, interſperſed with a great 'many myſtical notions, in which there is neither 'much rhetoric nor morality. He does not ſeem 'to have been a great maſter in Poſitive Divinity: 'however he had read St Auguſtin's works, and 'borrowed many principles from them, which he 'makes uſe of in his reaſonings upon ſubjects of 'Divinity (41).

(41) Du Pin, ubi ſupra.

[*HH*] *No proſpect of danger could diſcourage him from purſuing his point.*] This is evident from the whole hiſtory of his life, particularly his conteſt with King William Rufus, about the acknowledging Pope Urban, and with King Henry I, about the right of Inveſtitures. As to the former of theſe diſputes, tho' Fox (42) blames him for his oppoſition to the King, yet Anſelm ſeems to have had the right ſide of the queſtion. For if we conſider the conſtitution of the Engliſh Church in that age, we ſhall find, that the Pope had at leaſt a patriarchal power in England; and conſequently the Engliſh Biſhops were obliged to pay him a ſuitable acknowledgment. This patriarchal power reſulting from the privilege of his See, the King had no right to deprive him of it, or to diſcharge Anſelm from acknowledging him under that character of ſuperiority. But tho' the Archbiſhop was right in the principles upon which he acted in this affair, it is poſſible he might be too obſtinate in other caſes of leſs conſequence; as, in his refuſing to gratify King William Rufus with the payment of a thouſand pounds. Upon the whole, tho' the prejudices of the age he lived in might miſlead him in ſome points, yet he ſeems to have been a perſon of great probity and conſcience.

(42) Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. I. p. 241.

[*II*] *Archbiſhop Anſelm was the firſt, who reſtrained the Engliſh clergy from marrying.*] This was done in the national Synod held at Weſtminſter,

that, by praying to God, he produced a ſpring of excellent water at the very top of a hill, for the relief of certain villagers; and that a ſhip, in which he ſailed, having a large hole in one of her planks, nevertheleſs took in no water ſo long as the holy man was on board. The ſame author tells us, that this holy Archbiſhop continued to work miracles after his death: particularly that a Monk of the church of Canterbury was reſtored to health by paying his devotions at the tomb of St Anſelm: that one born blind, deaf, and dumb, received ſight, hearing, and ſpeech, by the ſame means: that a ſoldier was cured of a dropſy by winding the Saint's girdle about his body; and that the ſame girdle was ſucceſsfully applied to the aſſiſtance of women in childbirth *(pp)*.

(pp) Johan. Sarisbur. de vita Anſelmi, paſſim.

ſter, A. D. 1102; the fourth canon of which provides, 'that no Archdeacon, Prieſt, Deacon, or 'Canon, ſhould be allowed to marry, or live with 'his wife already married.' This liberty was not denied the Engliſh Prieſts till this Synod (43).

(43) Henr. Hunting. Hiſtor. l. xvii. fol. 217.

ANTHONY or ANTONY, (Dr FRANCIS) a very learned Phyſician and Chemiſt of the laſt century. His father was an eminent Goldſmith in the city of London, and had an employment of conſiderable value in the Jewel-Office under the reign of Queen Elizabeth *(a)*. This ſon of his was born April 16, 1550; and having been carefully inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning while at home, was about the year 1569, ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied with great diligence and ſucceſs, and ſome time in the year 1574 took the degree of Maſter of Arts *(b)*. It appears from his own writings, that he applied himſelf for many years that he ſtudied in that univerſity, to the theory and practice of Chemiſtry, with ſedulous induſtry, and made no ſmall progreſs *(c)*. It is not at all clear from any memoirs that have reached our hands, when he left Cambridge, and came up to London; but it ſeems highly probable, that it was not before he attained the age of forty. He began ſoon after his arrival to publiſh to the world the effects of his chemical ſtudies, and in the year 1598, ſent abroad his firſt treatiſe, concerning the excellency of a medicine drawn from gold *(d)*; but not having taken the neceſſary precautions of addreſſing himſelf to the College of Phyſicians, for their licence, he fell under their diſpleaſure, and being ſome time in the year 1600, ſummoned before the Preſident and Cenſors, he confeſſed that he had practiſed Phyſick in London for ſomewhat more than ſix months, and had cured twenty perſons, or more, of ſeveral diſeaſes, to whom he had given purging and vomiting phyſick, and to others, a diaphoretick medicine, prepared from gold and mercury, as their caſe required; but withal acknowledged that he had no licence, and being examined in ſeveral parts of phyſick, and found inexpert, he was interdicted practice. About a month after he was committed to the Counter-priſon, and fined in the ſum of five pounds *propter illicitam Praxin*, that is for preſcribing phyſick againſt the ſtatutes and privilege of the College, but upon his application to the Lord Chief Juſtice, he was ſet at liberty, which gave ſo great umbrage to the College, that the Preſident and one of the Cenſors waited on the Chief Juſtice, to requeſt his favour in defending and preſerving the college privileges; upon which Mr Anthony ſubmitted himſelf, promiſed to pay his fine, and was forbid practice *(e)*. But not long after he was accuſed again for practiſing phyſick, and upon his own confeſſion was fined five pounds; which fine, on his refuſing to pay it, was increaſed to twenty pounds, and he committed to priſon till he paid it, neither were the College ſatisfied with this, but commenced a ſuit at law againſt him in the name of the Queen, as well as of the College, in which they prevailed, and obtained judgment againſt him; but after ſome time, were prevailed upon by the intreaties of his wife, to remit their ſhare of the penalty, as appears by their warrant to the keeper of the Priſon for his diſcharge, dated under the college ſeal, the ſixth of Auguſt, 1602 *(f)*. After his releaſe, he ſeems to have met with conſiderable patrons, who were able to protect him from the authority of the College; and though Dr Goodall tells us, that this learned ſociety thought him weak and ignorant in phyſick, yet it ſeems there were other learned bodies of another opinion; ſince after all theſe cenſures, and being toſſed about from priſon to priſon, he became Doctor of Phyſick in our own univerſities *(g)*. This did not hinder new complaints being brought againſt him, by Dr Taylor, and another Phyſician, who grounded their proceedings chiefly on his giving a certain Noſtrum, which he called *Aurum potabile*, or *potable gold*, and which he repreſented to the world, as an univerſal medicine. There were at this time alſo ſeveral things written againſt him, and his manner of practice, inſinuating that he was very inaccurate in his method of philoſophizing, that the virtues of metals as to phyſical uſes were very uncertain, and that the boaſted effects of his medicine were deſtitute of proof. Dr Anthony, upon this, publiſhed a very learned and modeſt defence of himſelf and his *Aurum potabile* in Latin, written with great decency, much ſkill in chemiſtry, and with an apparent knowledge in the theory and hiſtory of phyſick. This book which he publiſhed, in 1610 [*A*], was printed at the univerſity preſs of Cambridge, and had a very

(a) Athen. Oxon. fol. 1721, Vol. I. col. 513.

(b) MS. Account of Dr Anthony and his *Aurum Potabile*.

(c) Aſſertio Potabilis Auri, p. 4—13.

(d) The title of which Treatiſe was: Fr. Antonii Londinenſis Panacæa Aurea. Hamburgi, 1598. 8*vo*.

(e) Goodall's Royal College of Phyſicians, p. 349, 350.

(f) In the book beforementioned, p. 351.

(g) Ibid. 349.

[*A*] *Which he publiſhed in* 1610.] The title of this book at large runs thus, *Medicinæ Chymicæ, et veri potabilis Auri aſſertio, ex Lucubrationibus Fra. Anthonii Londinenſis, in Medicina Doctoris. Cantabrigiæ, ex Officina Cantrello Legge Celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographi.* 4*to*. id eſt, *A Defence of Chemical Phyſick in the true potable Gold made by Francis Anthony of London, Doctor in Phyſick.* After the Dedication, there follows a very ſhort Preface, wherein the author tells his readers, That after inexpreſſible labour, watching, and expence, he had, through the bleſſing of God, attained all he ſought for in his enquiries. But now when

a very florid dedication to King James prefixed. He likewiſe annexed ſuch certificates of cures, under the hands of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and ſome too of the Faculty, that it very plainly appeared, he did not by any means deſerve to be treated as an ignorant emperick, or a mere pretender to Chemiſtry. His book however was quickly anſwered, and the controverſy about *aurum potabile* grew ſo warm (*h*), that he was obliged to publiſhed another apology in the Engliſh language, which however was alſo tranſlated into Latin, and is ſtill in great eſteem abroad (*i*), yet here at home it was far enough from anſwering the Doctor's expectation, for it did not at all abate the oppoſition formed againſt his practice by the Faculty, or allay that bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings [*B*]. But, conſidered in another light, it

(*h*) See Dr Milward's Circular Letter, p 33.

(*i*) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. III. p. 103.

when he ſhould have reaped the fruits of his labour, he complains that ſome envious perſon had ſown tares with his wheat, whence he was under a neceſſity of writing this apologetical diſcourſe, wherein his intention was to prove, that himſelf was no impoſtor, and that there were both truth and certainty in that ſcience, which had particularly engroſſed his ſtudies. This treatiſe is but very ſhort, but withal very methodical, and extreamly fit to remove thoſe prejudices which his enemies had very induſtriouſly infuſed into the minds of the learned, for chiefly to them this Latin diſcourſe related. It is divided into ſeven chapters. In the firſt he enquires *whether there be ſuch a thing as potable gold?* In this chapter he diſplays his great reading, and perfect acquaintance with the writings of the moſt eminent Philoſophers, Phyſicians, and Chemiſts. He cites from their own works their teſtimonies *pro* and *con* in this matter, and in the end concludes from their concurring ſentiments (under certain reſtrictions), That there are very great virtues in metals, and there may poſſibly be diſcovered an *aurum potabile*, or potable gold, of excellent uſe in medicine. In the ſecond chapter he endeavours to prove in the rational way, *that there really are great virtues both for preſerving health and curing diſeaſes in the mineral kingdom.* The third chapter *explains the ſuperior virtues of gold.* In this chapter alſo he obviates an objection, which he ſuppoſes might be raiſed from the extravagant promiſes of the Spargyric Philoſophers, obſerving juſtly, that lyes are not to prejudice the truth, and that tho' many may have failed in their operations on this metal, or may have boaſted of more than they could perform; yet this is no proof that others might not arrive at what they ſought, or might not make diſcoveries which theſe men had no acquaintance with. In the fourth chapter *he treats of the great myſtery of diſſolving and diſtilling Gold.* This is the moſt laboured part of the treatiſe, and herein the author very fairly and accurately relates the whole proceſs of his *aurum potabile*, concealing only the method by which it is diſſolved, and in which he aſſures us, he made uſe of no corroſive liquors, whence all thoſe miſchievous conſequences flow, which have juſtly brought many metalline preparations into diſrepute. After all he affirms, that his medicine is a kind of extract or honey of gold, capable of being diſſolved in any liquor whatſoever, whence he thinks it may juſtly be ſtiled potable. Here again he mentions the common objection, that there is an affinity between the *aurum potabile* and the Philoſopher's Stone, whence the diſcovering of either is judged to be impracticable. In anſwer to this, he does not deny the tranſmutation of metals, but he ſhews that there is a real diſtinction between the operation of which he ſpeaks, and the ſo much talked of tranſmuting powder or Philoſopher's Stone, and that the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the one, doth not either infer or conclude the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the other. The fifth chapter is ſpent in *offers to his adverſaries of ſhewing the whole operation to proper and unſuſpected witneſſes.* This he preſumes will take away all doubts and jealouſies, and ſilence all ſuſpicions and evil inſinuations. In the ſixth chapter he labours to prove, *That* aurum potabile *may well be called the Univerſal Medicine.* He deſcribes it's manner of acting, it's power of preſerving health, of cheriſhing the natural heat, comforting the bowels, invigorating the blood, promoting ſecretions and evacuations, after which, he ſhows how it acts in aſſiſting nature to free the human body from diſeaſes. The laſt chapter *enumerates the ſeveral diſtempers which this* aurum potabile *cures.* Such as frequent and dangerous vomitings, all ſorts of fluxes, ſtoppages of urine and diabetes, putrid and epidemick fevers; nay, even the plague itſelf, as he aſſerts to have been demonſtrated by experience in the Plague which depopulated the city of London in the year 1602. He alſo inſiſts on it's curing palſies, and aſſures us, that though it be an anodyne, yet it is without any ſtupifying quality. He then adds four certificates, the firſt is ſigned by Thomas (it ſhould be George) Lewkner, Doctor of Phyſick (1). It relates to a cure performed on the Doctor's daughter-in-law; by the Biſhop of Wincheſter's recommending the *aurum potabile*. She had been long in a declining way, and at the time the *aurum potabile* was exhibited in convulſions; yet in the ſpace of half an hour, all theſe extraordinary ſymptoms ceaſed, and ſhe was able to eat fleſh, which in the ſpace of a month ſhe had not taſted. The ſecond is dated at Barkhamſtead, the 13th of Auguſt, 1609, and is ſubſcribed H. Cary. In it we are told, that a new diſeaſe had then lately ſhewed itſelf in Hertfordſhire, which occaſioned ſuch pains in the head, ſtomach, and bones, as threw the patient into a kind of phrenſy, but upon giving a ſmall quantity of the *aurum potabile*, the ſymptoms ceaſed, or if it was given in time, they were prevented. From this letter we learn the price of the medicine, which was five ſhillings an ounce. The third is ſubſcribed by Walter Haſtings, it is dated December 10, 1609, from Kirby. The laſt is from Lewis Lewkner, whom I take to have been Sir Lewis Lewkner, brother to Dr George Lewkner (2): It is dated January the 7th, the ſame year with the reſt, and contains an account of a wonderful cure performed on the Counteſs of Dorcheſter. This our author's book was anſwered the next year after it was publiſhed, by Dr Matthew Gwinne, of the College of Phyſicians, London. The title of his work ran thus, *Aurum non Aurum, ſive Adverſaria in aſſertorem Chymiæ, ſed veræ Medicinæ deſertorem Franciſcum Anthonium. Lond.* 1611. 4*to*. i. e. *Gold not Gold, or Remarks on the Treatiſe written by Francis Anthony, a Defender of Chymiſtry, but a deſerter of True Phyſick* (3). Beſides this book of Dr Gwinne's, there were other treatiſes written by the learned againſt Dr Anthony's diſcourſe on his *aurum potabile*. Amongſt the reſt Dr John Cotta, of whom we ſhall make large mention in the next note, wrote a full and direct anſwer, which, by the perſuaſion of our author's friends, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide, though on the reviving the diſpute it was afterwards publiſhed (4).

(1) So it is corrected in my MS. account.

(2) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 229.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 513.

(4) See the preface to Dr Cotta's Ant-Apology.

[*B*] *That bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings.*] The Engliſh Treatiſe publiſhed by Dr Anthony, was called an *Apology in defence of his Medicine, ſtiled* Aurum Potabile. *Lond.* 1616, 4to. In this treatiſe was involved moſt of the arguments printed in the Latin diſcourſe, but with great variations, and ſome additions, particularly in the rational proofs of the univerſality of this medicine. For inſtance, he obſerves that the very beſt Phyſicians allow to certain medicines ſeveral and ſeparate virtues, whence he would conclude, that it is poſſible there may be a medicine having ſtill more virtues than any they are acquainted with; nay, which may indeed have them all. He obſerves farther, That all diſeaſes are no more than ſo many perturbations of the natural temper of the human frame, and therefore, if any medicine can be contrived of ſo friendly a nature to the temperament of the human body, as to ſupport it when taken in health, and aſſiſt in reſtoring it if altered by accident, then will this medicine deſerve to be ſtiled *univerſal*. A third reaſon he offers, is from the cordial nature of gold, which he ſupports from the authorities of various eminent writers, and from the known and undeniable qualities of his potable gold. Many other things he ſays of the ſame kind, and in the cloſe, adds a much larger collection of certificates of great cures. Amongſt theſe there are two, which ſeem to bear a little hard on one Dr Cotta, a Phyſician at Northampton, in as much as they ſay, That a patient of his, Sir William Samuel, had been cured by *aurum potabile*, after he had been a long

it proved very advantageous to him, for it procured the general good-will of ordinary readers, and contributed exceedingly to ſupport and extend his practice, notwithſtanding all the pains taken to decry it. Yet what chiefly contributed to maintain his own reputation, and thereby reflected credit on his medicine, was his unblemiſhed character in private life. For our Dr Anthony was a man of unaffected piety, untainted probity, of eaſy addreſs, great modeſty, and boundleſs charity; which procured him many friends, and left it not in the power of his enemies to attack any part of his conduct, except that of diſpenſing a medicine, of which they had no opinion *(k)*. It is not either in our inclination, or agreeable to the deſign of this work, to enter deeply into this controverſy, but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that though much has been ſaid to diſcredit the uſe of gold in medicine, yet ſome very able and ingenious men, have written very plauſibly in ſupport of thoſe principles on which Dr Anthony's practice was founded; an inſtance of which we ſhall give in the notes, from a deſervedly admired, and altogether unſuſpected author [*C*]. It is very natural for the curioſity of the world to be raiſed by the high pretences of chemical writers, who at the ſame time affect a very myſterious ſecrecy, for which reaſon, it will not be thought improper, ſince it ſo happens that we have it in our power, to reveal this boaſted medicine, and give the true proceſs of our author's *Aurum potabile*, which is accordingly placed in the notes [*D*]. The age in which Dr Anthony flouriſhed was very favourable to his notions,

(*k*) MS. Account of Dr Anthony.

a long time under Dr Cotta's care, and had by his directions taken a great deal of phyſick. This Doctor being naturally a warm man, and having a ready wit, no ſooner ſaw this Apology attended with theſe certificates, but he ſet pen to paper, in order to vindicate himſelf in his practice. Whoever reads Dr Cotta's writings, will acknowledge the juſtneſs of the character here given him, and yet this angry gentleman did not immediately ſend abroad his performance, as might naturally have been expected from a man of his temper. He finiſhed his treatiſe in 1616, the ſame year that Dr Anthony publiſhed his Apology. He then ſhewed it to ſome Doctors at London, from whence he ſent it to Oxford to be printed, with a dedication prefixed, to the gentlemen of the Faculty in that univerſity. But Dr Anthony's friends applying themſelves to Dr Cotta, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive full ſatisfaction for the injury ſuppoſed to have been done to his character as a Phyſician, the work was ſtayed at the preſs, and a treaty of accommodation was ſet on foot. It appears to have laſted about ſeven years, and then the quarrel broke out afreſh. Upon this Dr Cotta publiſhed his long conſidered piece, under the following title, *Cotta contra Antonizm, or an Ant-Antony, or an Ant-Apology, manifeſting Dr Antony his Apology for* Aurum potabile, *in true and equal balance of right reaſon to be falſe and counterfeit, by John Cotta, Doctor in Phyſick. At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps*, Anno Dom. 1623, 4to. This work conſiſts of ten chapters, is written in a paſſionate, waſpiſh ſtile, embroidered with variety of quotations, and interſperſed both with Latin and Engliſh verſes. Here we find great pains taken to refute Dr Anthony's reaſons, to obſervate his proofs, and to draw both the credit of the medicine and of the phyſician into queſtion. As this anſwer was publiſhed in the very year Dr Anthony died, it could not be replied to. However, there is no reaſon to think that it much prejudiced the reputation of the *Aurum potabile*, the whole being rather a play upon words, and a diſplay of what it's author thought wit, than a clear and intelligible anſwer to the book which Dr Anthony had publiſhed. Beſides, Dr Cotta requires what was very unreaſonable, a diſcovery of the diſſolving liquor, wherein lay the whole ſecret, otherwiſe he ſaid, it would not be plain, that no corroſive ingredient were uſed; whereas Dr Anthony rightly noted, that this might be eaſily known from the effects of the medicine. Beſides, the pains taken, as Dr Cotta confeſſes, by ſome worthy and eminent Doctors of London, and ſome illuſtrious and learned Doctors of Oxford, to hinder his treatiſe from being publiſhed, muſt have ſlowed, either from a ſenſe of Dr Anthony's being in the right, or from an apprehenſion that this piece would not prove him in the wrong, either of which deſtroys the credit of this cenſure. On the whole, we may reſt ſatisfied, that the grand objection about the diſſolving liquor, ought not to have any great weight. The following note will ſhew, that there really is ſuch a liquor, and that Dr Anthony's might be a uſeful, nay, and an excellent medicine, notwithſtanding all that Cotta and his other adverſaries ſaid againſt it. Tho' on the other hand, it is highly likely, that the inventor and his party, carried the thing too far; however, between them both, the medicine ſeems now to be loſt, tho' this article will remain a proof, That Dr Anthony firſt aſſerted, the poſſibility of making an *Aurum potabile* in England.

[*C*] *A deſervedly admired and altogether unſuſpected author.*] This author is the famous Robert Boyle, Eſq; who ſpeaking of certain preparations from gold, that were made by two foreign Phyſicians, proceeds thus (5), 'Tho' I have been long prejudiced 'againſt the pretended *aurum potabile*, and other 'boaſted preparations of gold, for moſt of which I 'have ſtill no great eſteem; yet I ſaw ſuch extraor-'dinary and ſurpriſing effects from the tincture of 'gold I ſpeak of, upon perſons of great note, with 'whom I was particularly acquainted, both before 'they fell deſperately ſick, and after their ſtrange 'recovery, that I could not but change my opinion 'for a very favourable one, as to ſome preparations 'of gold. But tho' this ſimple medicine can only 'be made in ſmall quantities, and that too not with-'out a great deal of pains and time, I can ſpeak 'thus circumſtantially of it, becauſe by the kindneſs 'of the artiſts, and the pains I had beſtowed in work-'ing upon the ſame ſubject they uſe for their *men-'ſtruum*, I ſo far knew and partly ſaw the prepara-'tion of it, as to apply what has been ſaid to the 'preſent occaſion. There is here but a ſingle ingre-'dient aſſociated to the gold, and that comes from 'above, and is reputed one of the ſimpleſt bodies in 'nature, two or three ounces of which may be taken 'altogether unprepared without the leaſt inconveni-'ence. Yet the doſe of this almoſt inſipid medicine 'that was given to one old courtier in a violent apo-'plexy, after other remedies had by ſkilful men been 'uſed in vain, was but ſix or eight drops. In ano-'ther very ancient and corpulent perſon the doſe was 'greater; the tincture being then more unripe and 'diluted: But the effect was as ſudden, tho' the pa-'tient were not bled; and tho' there was not in 'either of theſe caſes any remarkably ſenſible evacua-'tion made. The two perſons thus recovered are 'yet alive. The ſame medicine a while after ſaved 'the life of another gentleman whom I knew, that 'having lain above twenty-two days ſick of an ill-'conditioned fever, was condemned by three Phyſi-'cians; one whereof told me, That he could not 'out-live the next morning; yet upon taking a large 'doſe of this tincture he was preſently relieved; and 'from that time found a ſenſible amendment, and 'afterwards recovered his health, which he now en-'joys, tho' he was then reputed to be fourſcore years 'old. I could relate ſome other odd effects of this 'remedy; but the preſent may ſuffice to alleviate a 'prejudice againſt medicines, made of ſo fixed and 'ſuppoſed unalterable a metal as gold.'

(5) Boyle's Abridgmen by Shaw, Vol. III. p. 586.

[*D*] *Accordingly placed in the notes.*] This account of Dr Francis Anthony's method of making his *aurum potabile* was tranſcribed from his own manuſcript, which was once in the poſſeſſion of a Chemiſt well known to the author of this life from whom he had it. The ſecret was long in Dr Anthony's family, and very beneficial to them, but in all probability loſt it's credit by being given in too great doſes, or by unſkilful hands.

notions, ſince Chemiſtry was then full as much admired, though perhaps not ſo well underſtood as at preſent. He had therefore a very extenſive and beneficial practice, which enabled him to live hoſpitably at his houſe in Bartholomew-Cloſe, and to be very liberal in his alms to the poor. He died on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1623, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age (*l*), and was buried in the church of St Bartholomew the Great, in the iſle which joins to the north ſide of the chancel, where a handſome monument has been erected to his memory, with a very remarkable inſcription (*m*) [*E*]. Our author was twice married, and by his laſt wife, whoſe name was Elizabeth, he had two ſons, John and Charles, both Phyſicians; the former ſold his father's *Aurum potabile*, and lived by it very handſomely, the latter ſettled in the town of Bedford, where he attained the character of a learned, honeſt, and induſtrious man in his profeſſion (*n*).

(*l*) See the inſcription on his tomb in note [*E*].

(*m*) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. Book iii. p. 236.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 514.

hands. The reader hath in this note, the whole of Dr Anthony's receipt without the ſmalleſt alteration or omiſſion.

'There ſeems to be no reaſon at all, why we 'ſhould imagine the mineral kingdom leſs uſeful to 'mankind than the vegetable or animal, and ſuch as 'have treated our doctrine with contempt, have had 'a large ſhare of that credulity, which they imputed 'to others. The ſulphurs of metals, if it be poſſible 'to extract them, muſt be very efficacious for me-'dicinal purpoſes, becauſe we ſee them frequently 'produce very deadly and dangerous conſequences 'when roughly treated. The vigour of ſuch prepa-'rations when rightly directed, will be proportionate 'to the force of their poiſons when not artificially 'managed. But we are not only taught this by the 'light of reaſon, and the authority of Spargyrick phi-'loſophers. Experience has ſhewn us, that out of lead 'many profitable medicines are made, more out of 'iron, and from copper, or vitriol which is but the ruſt 'of copper, moſt of all; I mean moſt of all that are 'in common uſe. If from moſt or from all other 'metals medicines are made, why ſhould it appear 'ſo ſtrange, that we attempt ſomething of the ſame 'kind from gold; or what reaſon is there to con-'ceit, that all the learned and great men who have 'written ſo much, and in ſuch ſtrong terms of the 'virtues of gold, ſhould be either cheated them-'ſelves or intend to cheat others?

'According to the ableſt writers on theſe ſubjects, 'the great difficulty in making gold uſeful in me-'dicine, conſiſts in opening it to ſuch a degree, as that 'it's ſulphur may become active, and work upon the 'humours in the human body. To open it there 'are required a liquor and a ſalt which together 'compoſe the *menſtruum*. Both theſe may be pre-'pared after the following manner.

The Philoſophick Vinegar.

'Take 6 gallons of the ſtrongeſt red wine vinegar, 'and ſet as many Stills at work at a time as your 'Balneum will hold. Throw away the firſt pint that 'comes over, waſh and wipe the Still, and then put 'in that which was diſtilled, putting away always 'the firſt pint for 5 times, ſo out of a gallon you 'ſhall have 3 pints, and out of the whole 6 gallons '10 quarts of ſpirit of vinegar, which keep in glaſs 'bottles well corked with a leather over it.

The Philoſophick Salt.

'Take an iron pan, like a dripping pan, and hav-'ing made it red hot, put into it as much as you 'will of block-tin, and ſtir it continually, until it 'turns to a kind of aſhes or calx, and keep the fire 'up to a good height all the time, which may be 'half a day or fifteen hours, ſome of theſe aſhes will 'look red, which is a ſign the operation is well per-'formed. Theſe aſhes thus obtained keep in a glaſs 'cloſe covered.

The Proceſs for diſſolving Gold.

'Take 4 ounces of theſe aſhes, and of the ſpirit 'of vinegar 3 pints, put them in a glaſs like an uri-'nal, and let the aſhes be put in firſt. Lute the 'veſſel, ſet it in a hot bath for 10 days, then take 'it out and ſet it to cool, ſhaking it every 2 hours, 'and in three days all the dregs will fall to the 'bottom. Let that which is clear be drawn off into 'a glaſs baſon by 2 or 3 woollen threads, then diſ-'till it; to this diſtilled water put 4 ounces of freſh 'aſhes, put alſo a quart of ſpirit of vinegar on the 'firſt aſhes; lute the glaſs as before, ſet it in a hot 'bath, and let it digeſt 10 days, filtre this and diſtil 'as before; thirdly, put on that aſhes a pint of ſpirit 'of vinegar, ſet it in the hot bath 10 days filtre and 'diſtil it, after the third infuſion throw away the 'aſhes. Take this diſtilled water, pour it on freſh 'aſhes, keeping the weight and order in fuſions, fil-'terings, and diſtillations 7 times, then the ſpirit will 'be well impregnated with the ſalt and you have the '*menſtruum* ſought.

'Take an ounce of pure gold in the ingot, file it 'into ſmall duſt, put it into a crucible with as much 'white ſalt as will near fill the pot, and let it ſtand in 'a moderate heat 4 hours, then take it out and grind 'it on a Painter's ſtone, return it from thence to the 'crucible, calcine and grind it again 4 or 5 times till 'it looks red and blue, and then it is fit for uſe. Put it 'next into a glaſs baſon, pour upon it ſcalding hot wa-'ter, ſtir and decant it, till the water when ſettled has 'no taſte of ſalt, which will take 2 or 3 days. By 'this operation you will have 16 or 17 grains of a 'very fine white calx, which will ſwim on the top of 'the water, and may be eaſily blown over into another 'baſon, and the water being evaporated by a gentle 'heat, it will remain a white powder. By repeating 'the calcination and grinding, the whole ounce of 'gold may be reduced into ſuch a calx.

'Take an ounce of this calx, put it in a urinal, pour 'upon it half a pint of the *menſtruum*, lute it cloſe and 'ſet it in a hot bath ſix days, ſhaking it often every 'day, let it cool 3 days and then pour it gently off. 'Take this liquor, put it into a glaſs Still, and with a 'gentle fire, evaporate it, till it becomes of the con-'ſiſtency of honey, then remove the fire, take out the 'contents, put them into a glaſs baſon, and with the 'bottom of another round glaſs, grind them to pow-'der. Put this powder into a urinal containing about 'a pint, and add ſomewhat more than half a pint of 'rectified ſpirit of wine; ſet it in a cold place for 10 'days, ſhaking it often for the firſt 7 days, but after-'wards let it ſtand without ſhaking and the tincture 'will appear of a fine red. By putting a bare half pint 'of rectified ſpirit of wine on the dregs a ſecond tinc-'ture may be drawn, and if this be very high coloured 'you may draw a third. Put all theſe coloured liquors 'together, diſtil them, and there will be left behind a 'clammy ſubſtance of the conſiſtence of honey, one 'ounce of which put into a quart of pure canary wine 'is my *Aurum potabile*.'

[*E*] *A very remarkable inſcription.*] This inſcription runs thus (6).

(6) Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. iii. p. 236.

Sacred to the Memory of the worthy and learned
Francis Anthony, Doctor in Phyſick.

There needs no Verſe to beautify thy Praiſe,
Or keep in memory thy ſpotleſs Name,
Religion, Virtue, and thy Skill did raiſe
A threefold Pillar to thy laſting Fame.
Though pois'nous Envy ever ſought to blaſte,
Or hide the Fruits of thy Intention;
Yet ſhall all they commend that high deſign
Of pureſt Gold to make a Medicine,
That feel thy Help by that thy rare Invention.

He died the 26 May 1623; his Age 74, his loving Son John Anthony, Doctor in Phyſick, left this Remembrance of his Sorrow. E

ARABELLA (STUART), commonly called the Lady Arabella, ſo often talked of for a Queen, that cuſtom ſeems to have given her a right to an article in this manner under her Chriſtian name, as that by which our hiſtorians diſtinguiſh her. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who was younger brother to Henry Lord Darnley, father to King James VI of Scotland, and firſt of England; by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, Knt (*a*). She was born as near as can be computed, in the year 1577, and educated at London, under the eye of the old Counteſs of Lenox, her grand-mother. She was far from being either beautiful in her perſon, or from being diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualities of mind (*b*), and yet ſhe met with many admirers, on account of her royal deſcent, and near relation to the Crown of England [*A*]. Her father dying in the year 1579, and leaving her thereby ſole heireſs, as ſome underſtood of the Houſe of Lenox, ſeveral matches were thought of for her at home and abroad (*c*). Her couſin, King James inclined to have married her to Lord Eſme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom before his marriage, he conſidered as his heir, but this match was prevented by Queen Elizabeth, though it was certainly a very fit one in all reſpects (*d*) [*B*]. As the Engliſh ſucceſſion was at this time very problematical, the great Powers on the Continent formed many deſigns about it, and thought of many huſbands for the Lady Arabella, ſuch as the Duke of Savoy, a Prince of the houſe of Farneſe, and others (*e*). In the mean time this Lady had ſome thoughts of marrying herſelf at home, as a celebrated writer informs us, to a ſon of the Earl of Northumberland's (*f*), but it is not credible that this took effect, though he ſays it did privately [*C*]. The very attempt procured her Queen Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, who confined her for it. In the mean time her title to the crown, ſuch as it was, became the ſubject, amongſt many others, of Father Perſons's famous book, wherein are all the arguments for and againſt her, and which ſerved to divulge her name and deſcent all over Europe (*g*), and yet this book was not very favourable to her intereſt [*D*]. On the death of the Queen ſome malecontents framed

(*a*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 201.

(*b*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*c*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, Amſterdam, 1732, 12*mo*. Vol. V. p. 44.

(*d*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(*e*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Tempor. edit. 1620, fol. Tom. V. p. 1056.

(*g*) A Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England, publiſhed under the name of R. Dolman, p. 98, of the ſecond part.

[*A*] *Royal deſcent and near relation to the Crown of England.*] In this note we ſhall inform the reader, how this Lady ſtood allied to both the Royal Families. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that the Earls of Lenox, of the name of Stuart, were deſcended from Walter, the ſecond of that name, High-Steward of Scotland, anceſtor alſo to the Royal Family. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, in the reign of King James V, of Scotland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the French ſervice in Italy, where he gained great reputation. Coming into Scotland after that King's death, he, through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, came to be ſo embarraſſed with thoſe who had the adminiſtration of affairs at home, and was alſo upon ſuch bad terms with the houſe of Guiſe, who governed all in France, that he found himſelf obliged to retire into England in the year 1543, and to put himſelf under the protection of King Henry VIII, who afforded him a moſt kind and gracious reception, and ſome time afterwards married him to his neice, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Queen of Scotland, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, her ſecond huſband. By this Lady Margaret Douglas, Matthew Earl of Lenox had two ſons, Henry, Lord Darnley, father to James VI, King of Scotland, who was murdered in the ſaid Earl's life-time, and Charles, who on the death of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, in 1571, ſucceeded him in his title, and who dying in 1576, in the 21ſt year of his age, left behind him this Lady Arabella, or rather Arbella his only child (1). Thus it appears, that by her father's ſide ſhe was firſt couſin to King James VI, and nearly allied to Queen Elizabeth, as being deſcended in the fourth degree from Henry VII, grandfather to the ſaid Queen.

(1) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 260, 261. See alſo Rymer's Fœdera, Hollinſhead, Stowe, &c.

[*B*] *A very fit one in all reſpects.*] The perſon propoſed by King James for the huſband of this young Lady, was her couſin, being the ſon of John, Lord Aubigny (2), brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, grandfather to the Lady Arabella. It is true, the title of Lenox, belonged of right to Lord Robert Stuart, the uncle of this nobleman, and his father's elder brother, but he willingly reſigning his claim, King James VI created Eſme, Lord Aubigny, Duke of Lenox (3), and looking upon him as the heir male of his family, he would willingly have married him to this Lady Arabella, his neareſt relation. But Queen Elizabeth, who did not care to ſee her heirs multiplied in her life-time, refuſed to conſent to this marriage, under pretence that the Duke of Lenox was a Papiſt, which however was falſe, and this refuſal of her's, gave King James very great diſtaſte (4).

(2) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 4.

(3) Crawford, ubi ſupra, p. 262.

(4) Winwood, ubi ſupra. Crawford, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Though he ſays it did, privately.*] The account Thuanus gives us of this matter, runs thus, *Angli quidam Proceres, &c.* 'Some Engliſh Lords, and 'other perſons, on whom Elizabeth had conferred 'honours, either out of favour, or as a reward for 'their ſervices, ſeeing a new King and a foreigner, 'coming from Scotland, and fearing that by this 'change, they ſhould be deprived of thoſe dignities, 'which they expected, reſolved among themſelves to 'kill the King, after which Arbella, who, during 'the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been ſecretly 'married to the ſon of the Earl of Northumberland, 'and was for that reaſon put into priſon, and had 'been ſince ſet at liberty, and was preſent at the 'Queen's funeral, was to be made Queen, and to be 'married to the Duke of Savoy with the conſent of 'Philip III,' *i. e.* King of Spain (5).

(5) Hiſt. ſui Temp. Tom. V. p. 1056.

[*D*] *Was not very favourable to her intereſt.*] The book referred to in the text, ſtates at large the arguments for and againſt Lady Arabella's claim to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Firſt her deſcent is ſet down, which having been cleared in a former note, need not be repeated here. Secondly, ſaith that author, it is alledged in her behalf, That ſhe is an Engliſh woman, born in England, and of parents who at the time of their birth were of Engliſh allegiance, wherein ſhe goeth before the King of Scots, as hath been ſeen; as alſo in this other principal point, that by her admiſſion no ſuch inconvenience can be feared of bringing in ſtrangers, or cauſing troubles or ſedition within the realm, as in the pretence of the Scottiſh King hath been conſidered: And this, in effect, is all that I have heard alledged for her. But againſt her, by other competitors and their friends, I have heard diverſe arguments of no ſmall importance and conſideration produced; whereof the firſt is, that which before hath been alledged againſt the King of Scotland, to wit, That neither of them is properly of the houſe of Lancaſter. The ſecond impediment againſt the Lady Arbella, is the famous teſtament of King Henry VIII, and the two acts of parliament for authorizing the ſame; by all which it is pretended, that the houſe of Suffolk is preferred before this other of Scotland. A third argument is, For that there is yet living one of the houſe of Suffolk, that is nearer by a degree to the ſtem, to wit, Henry VII, (to whom, after the deceaſe of her Majeſty that now is, we muſt return) than is the Lady Arabella, or the King of Scots, and that is the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, mother to the preſent Earl of Derby, who was daughter to Lady Eleanor, daughter of Queen Mary of France, that was ſecond daughter of King Henry VII; ſo as this Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, is but in the third degree from the ſaid Henry, whereas both the King of Scotland and Arabella, in the fourth; and conſequently, ſhe is next in propinquity

framed an odd design of disturbing the publick peace, and amongst other branches of their dark scheme, one was to seize the Lady Arabella, and to cover their proceedings by the sanction of her title, intending also to have married her to some English Nobleman, the more to increase their interest, and the better to please the people (*b*). But this conspiracy was fatal to none but it's authors, and those who conversed with them; being speedily defeated, many taken and some executed. As for the Lady Arabella, *it does not appear that she had any knowledge of this engagement in her behalf (i), whatever it was, for domestick writers are perplexed, and foreign historians run into absurdities when they endeavour to explain it [E]. She continued at liberty, and in some kind* of favour at court, though her circumstances were narrow till the latter end of the year 1608,

(*b*) Annals of the reign of King James I, p. 27.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 183.

pinquity of blood, and how greatly this propinquity hath been favoured in such cases, though they were of the younger Line, might be proved from many examples. Fourthly, lastly, and most strongly of all, they do argue against the title of the Lady Arabella, affirming, that the descent is not free from bastardy, which they prove first, for that Queen Margaret, soon after the death of her first husband, King James IV, married secretly one Stuart, Lord of Annandale; which Stuart was alive long after her marriage with Douglas; and consequently, this second marriage with Douglas (Stuart being alive) could not be lawful; which they do prove also another way, for that they say, it is most certain, and to be made evident, that the said Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, had another wife also alive, when he married the said Queen: which points they say were so publick, as they came to King Henry's ears; whereupon, he sent into Scotland, the Lord William Howard, brother to the old Duke of Norfolk, and father to the present Lord Admiral of England, to enquire of these points, and the said Lord Howard found them to be true, and so he reported, not only to the King, but also afterwards many times to others, and namely, to Queen Mary, to whom he was Lord Chamberlain, and to diverse others, of whom many be yet living, which can and will testify the same, upon the relation they heard from the said Lord William's own mouth; whereupon, King Henry was greatly offended, and would have hindered the marriage between his said sister and Douglas, but that they were married in secret, and had consummated their marriage before this was known, or that the thing could be prevented, which is thought was one especial cause and motive also to the King afterward, to put back the issue of his said sister of Scotland, as by his forenamed testament is pretended; and this touching Arabella's title by propinquity of birth (6). ——— In another part of his book, speaking of the interest of the several competitors, he delivers himself thus. 'I do not know to 'whom the Protestant party is particularly devoted 'at this day, more than to the rest, though the 'house of Hartford was wont to be much favoured 'by them, but of later years, little speech hath been 'thereof, but rather of Arabella for whom the 'Lord Treasurer is said especially to be at this present, though for himself, it be held somewhat 'doubtful, whether he be more fast to the Protestant, 'or to the Puritan; but if the Protestant party should 'be divided, then their forces will be the less (7).' At the close of his book, he delivers the following judgment of her pretensions. ——— 'As for Ara-'bella, in that she is a young Lady, she is thereby 'fit to procure good wills and affections, and in that 'she is unmarried, she may perhaps by her marriage 'join some other title with her own, and thereby also 'friends. But of herself, she is nothing at all allied 'with the nobility of England; and except it be the 'Earl of Shrewsbury, in respect of friendship to his 'old mother-in-law, that is, grandmother to the 'Lady, I see not what Nobleman in England hath 'any band of kindred, or alliance, to follow her. 'And as for her title, it seemeth as doubtful as the 'rest, if not more, as by that which hath been said 'before, hath appeared. And for her religion, I 'I know it not, but probably it can be no great mo-'tive, either against her, or for her, for that, by all 'likelyhood, it may be supposed to be as tender, 'green, and flexible yet, as is her age and sex, and 'to be wrought hereafter, and settled according to 'future events and times (8).' ——— The reader must observe, that this book was published in the year 1594, the dedication to the Earl of Essex, being dated the last day of the preceding year.

(6) Conference about the next succession to the crown of England, Part ii. p. 97.

(7) Ibid. Part ii. p. 185.

(8) Ibid. p. 191.

[E] *When they endeavour to explain it.*] The great Cardinal D'Ossat, in a letter of his to King Henry IV, of France, dated from Rome, October 26, 1601, gives a long and distinct account of several schemes then on foot, for disposing of the English succession to any body, rather than King James VI, of Scotland. He observes, that the Pope first thought of the Duke of Parma, as being of his own family, and sought to advance him, under colour of his descent, from a bastard of King Edward IV. In case, however, this was found impracticable, his Holiness was content to join his interest, with that of the Lady Arbella; but inasmuch as the Duke of Parma was married, he was for permitting his brother Cardinal Farnese, to espouse the Lady, and, in her right, to become King of England. He then speaks of Father Persons's book, and sets it in it's true light; but seems to give a little too much into that wild notion, that a rebellion might be raised in England, in support of the Cardinal's pretended title (9). ——— I cannot help taking notice, that the celebrated M. Amelot, in a note of his on this letter, makes a great mistake, though he was a learned and judicious writer. He tells us, 'That in 'the Lady Arbella's party, were all those English 'Lords, who had been the judges of Queen Mary, 'and who, fearing lest the King of Scotland her son, 'should revenge her death upon them, if ever he ac-'ceeded to the Crown of England, intended to 'marry Arbella with the Earl of Hertford, to ex-'clude King James from the succession (10).' ——— The authors of the General Dictionary, having cited this passage, say, *This is probable enough, though Amelot quotes no authority for it* (11). But with their leave, the fact is absolutely false, none of Queen Mary's judges were of Arabella's party, buton the contrary, many amongst the Papists were the Lady Arabella's friends. The truth of the matter was this, Sir Walter Raleigh, on King James's coming to the crown, drew up a memorial, wherein he charged Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High-Treasurer of England, with having, in conjunction with his father, a deep concern in the murder of the Queen of Scots. By this step, he hoped to establish his own, and to destroy Cecil's credit. But he was mistaken, the King continued to confide in his rival, and forbid Raleigh's attendance (12). This threw him into that conspiracy, which was fatal to him, and according to the charge of the Attorney-General, against Raleigh at his trial, it seems the plot was to seize the person of the King, to set up the Lady Arabella, with the title of Queen, and to govern the kingdom in her name, by assistance from Spain. Raleigh denied all this, and with respect to him, there was no sort of proof, or even colour of proof. At this trial, Lord Cecil delivered himself thus in court. *Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech, she is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King.* Then the Earl of Nottingham, who stood by the Lady Arabella, said, *The Lady doth here protest upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she willed me to tell the court.* This was farther confirmed by Lord Cecil, who, when the Earl of Nottingham had done speaking, proceeded thus. *The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella, to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to disgrace her. She doubted it was but a trick. But Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith, that my Lord moved him to procure Arabella to write to the King of Spain, but he affirms, that he never did move her, as his brother devised* (13).

(9) Lettres de Cardinal D'Ossat, Vol. V. p. 44.

(10) Ibid. p. 46.

(11) See the article ARBELLA in the second Volume.

(12) Arthur Wilson's Life of King James I, in Kennet's compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 663.

(13) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 103, Lond. 1719.

[F] *In*

1608, when ſome way or other ſhe drew upon her King James's diſpleaſure (*k*). However, at Chriſtmas, when there was much mirth and good-humour at court, ſhe was again taken into favour, had a ſervice of plate preſented to her of the value of two hundred pounds, a thouſand marks given her to pay her debts, and ſome addition made to her annual income (*l*). This ſeems to have been done, in order to have gained her to the intereſt of the court, and to put the notions of marriage ſhe had entertained out of her head, all which however proved ineffectual; for in the beginning of the month of February 1609, ſhe was detected in an intrigue with Mr William Seymour, ſon to the Lord Beauchamp, and grandſon to the Earl of Hertford, to whom, notwithſtanding, ſhe was privately married, ſome time afterwards (*m*). Upon this diſcovery, they were both carried before the Council, and ſeverely reprimanded, and then diſmiſſed. In the ſummer of the year 1610, the marriage broke out, whereupon the Lady was ſent into cloſe cuſtody, at the houſe of Sir Thomas Parry, in Lambeth; and Mr Seymour was committed to the Tower for his contempt, in marrying a Lady of the Royal Family, without the King's leave (*n*). It does not appear that this confinement was attended with any great ſeverity to either, for the Lady was allowed the uſe of Sir Thomas Parry's houſe and gardens, and the like gentleneſs, in regard to his high quality, was ſhewn to Mr Seymour [*F*]. Some intercourſe they had by letters, which after a time was diſcovered, and a reſolution taken thereupon to ſend the Lady to Durham, a reſolution which threw her into deep affliction. Upon this, by the interpoſition of friends, ſhe and her huſband concerted a ſcheme for their eſcape, which was ſucceſsfully executed in the beginning, though it ended unluckily (*o*). The Lady, under the care of Sir James Crofts, was at the houſe of Mr Conyers, at Highgate, from whence ſhe was to have gone the next day to Durham, on which ſhe put a fair countenance now, notwithſtanding the trouble ſhe had before ſhewn. This made her keepers the more eaſy, and gave her an opportunity of diſguiſing herſelf, which ſhe did on Monday the third of June, 1611, by drawing over her pettycoats a pair of large French-faſhioned hoſe, putting on a man's doublet, a peruke which covered her hair, a hat, black cloak, ruſſet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her ſide. Thus equipped, ſhe walked out between three and four with Mr Markham. They went a mile and half to a little inn, where a perſon attended with their horſes. The lady by that time ſhe came thither, was ſo weak and faint, that the hoſtler, who held the ſtirrup when ſhe mounted, ſaid that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. Riding however ſo raiſed her ſpirits, that by the time ſhe came to Blackwall, ſhe was pretty well recovered; there they found waiting for them two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their perſons, in which they haſted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come ſo far, they bid the watermen row on to Graveſend; there, the poor fellows were deſirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Lee, yet being almoſt tired by the way, they were forced to lie ſtill at Tilbury, whilſt the rowers went on ſhore to refreſh themſelves; then they proceeded to Lee, and by that time the day appeared, and they diſcovered a ſhip at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor expecting Mr Seymour, but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoiſted ſail and put to ſea. In the mean time Mr Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth ſuit, walked alone without ſuſpicion, from his lodging out at the great weſt door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought his billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower-wharf, by the Warders of the ſouth gate, and ſo to the iron gate, where one Rodney was ready with a pair of oars to receive him. When they came to Lee, and found that the French ſhip was gone, the billows riſing high, they hired a fiſherman for twenty ſhillings, to put them on board a certain ſhip, that they ſaw under ſail. That ſhip they found not to be it they looked for, ſo they made forwards to the next under ſail, which was a ſhip from Newcaſtle. This with much ado they hired for forty pounds, to carry them to Calais, and

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 117.

(*l*) Ibidem, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*o*) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702.

[*F*] *In regard to his high quality was ſhewn to Mr Seymour.*] This gentleman was the ſecond ſon of the Lord Beauchamp, eldeſt ſon and heir to the Earl of Hertford, by the lady Catharine, who was the eldeſt ſurviving daughter of the Lady Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France and younger daughter to King Henry VII. Thus this gentleman was very nearly allied to the Royal Family, and a ſort of title of his Grandfather's to the crown, is mentioned in Perſons's Book before taken notice of (14). But that ever there was a deſign of marrying the Lady Arabella to the old Earl of Hertford, as Mr Amelot aſſerts is ſcarce credible, but is very likely this was miſtaken, for the very match which took effect, ſince the plain deſign of it was to unite the claims of the Lady Arabella, with thoſe of the houſe of Hertford, and very probably, the relation this had to Lord Cobham's ſcheme mentioned in the laſt note, might alarm the court, and this will ſtill appear the more likely, if we conſider what is ſaid, in a ſubſequent proclamation on the commitment of theſe noble perſons. At the coming of Mr Seymour to the Tower, Mr Melvin, a Miniſter, a priſoner there for Nonconformity, ſaluted him in this elegent diſtich.

Communis tecum mihi Cauſa eſt Carceris, Arabella tibi Cauſa eſt, Araque Sacra mihi (15).

(15) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 201.

The wit conſiſts in the alluſion, grounded on the Lady's name, ſignifying in Latin, a fair Altar, and Melvin being committed for the cauſe of God's Altar, at leaſt in his own opinion. This renders it almoſt impoſſible to tranſlate theſe lines into Engliſh, without injuring either the ſenſe or the ſpirit, which is the beſt excuſe that can be made for the following attempt.

From the ſame Cauſe, *my* Woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *ſacred* mine.

(14) Conference touching the ſucceſſion of the crown, P. ii. p. 102.

[G] *Which*

and the Maſter performed his bargain, whereby Mr Seymour eſcaped, and continued in Flanders. On Tueſday in the afternoon, my Lord Treaſurer being advertiſed that the Lady Arabella had made an eſcape, ſent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to ſet ſtrict guard over Mr Seymour, which he, ſays my author, promiſed, after his *yare* manner, *he would thoroughly do, that he would* (*p*); but coming to the priſoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before. A pink being diſpatched from the Downs into Calais road, ſeized the French bark, and brought back the Lady and thoſe with her (*q*), but before this was known, the proclamation iſſued, which the reader will find in the notes [*G*]. As ſoon as ſhe was brought to town, ſhe was, after examination, committed to the Tower, declaring that ſhe was not ſo ſorry for her own reſtraint, as ſhe ſhould be glad if Mr Seymour eſcaped, for whoſe welfare, ſhe affirmed ſhe was more concerned than for her own (*r*). Her aunt, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, was likewiſe committed, on ſuſpicion of having prompted the Lady Arabella, not only to her eſcape, but to other things, it being known, that ſhe had amaſſed upwards of twenty thouſand pounds in ready money (*s*). The Earl of Shrewſbury was confined to his houſe, and the old Earl of Hertford ſent for from his ſeat (*t*). By degrees things grew cooler, and though it was known that Mr Seymour continued in the Netherlands, yet the court made no farther applications to the Arch-Duke about him (*u*). In the beginning of the year 1612, a new ſtorm began to break out, for the Lady Arabella, either preſſed at an examination, or of her own free will, made ſome extraordinary diſcoveries, upon which ſome quick ſteps would have been taken, had it not ſhortly after appeared, that her misfortunes had turned her head, and that, conſequently, no uſe could be made of the evidence of a perſon out of her ſenſes (*w*). However, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, who before had leave to attend her huſband in his ſickneſs, was very cloſely ſhut up, and the court was amuſed with abundance of ſtrange ſtories, which wore out by degrees, and the poor Lady Arabella languiſhed in her confinement till the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1615, when her life and ſorrows ended together (*x*), as is well obſerved in an elegant epitaph, written by a right reverend author [*H*]. Even in her grave this poor lady was not at peace, a report being ſpread that ſhe was poiſoned, becauſe ſhe happened to die within two years of Sir Thomas Overbury (*y*). A writer of great reputation has put this circumſtance in much too ſtrong a light, for it was a ſuſpicion at moſt, and never had the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof (*z*) [*I*]. As for her huſband, Sir William Seymour, he ſoon

(*p*) Letter from Mr John More, to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the third Volume of his Letters, p. 279, 280.

(*q*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 29.

(*r*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 280.

(*s*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh family, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*t*) Letter from the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, to Mr Trumbull, dated 11 June, 1611, in a MS. collection belonging to the rev. Dr Knipe.

(*u*) Ibid. The reader muſt obſerve, that Mr Trumbull was then Reſident at Bruſſels.

(*w*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 429.

(*x*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 31.

(*y*) Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702, 703. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 392. Rapin Hiſt. D'Angleterre Tom. VII. p. 102.

(*z*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

[*G*] *Which the reader will find in the notes.*] 'Whereas we are given to underſtand, that the 'Lady Arbella and William Seymour, ſecond ſon 'to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great 'and henious offences, committed the one to the Tower 'of London, and the other to a ſpecial guard, have 'found means by the wicked practices of diverſe lewd 'perſons, as namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, 'and others, to break priſon, and make eſcape on 'Monday the third of June, with an intent to tranſ'port themſelves into foreign parts. We doe hereby 'ſtraightly charge and command all perſons what'ſoever, upon their allegiance and duty, not only 'to forbeare to receave, harbor, or aſſiſt them in 'their paſſage any way, as they will anſwer it at 'their parilles, but upon the like charge and pain, 'to uſe the beſt means they can for their appre'henſion and keeping them in ſafe cuſtody, which 'we will take as an acceptable ſervice. Given at 'Greenwich, the fowerth daie of June. *Per ipſum Re*'*gem* (16).'

(16) Pat. 9 Jac. I, p. 10. dorſ. apud Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 710. edit 2d, 1711.

[*H*] *In an elegant Epitaph, written by a Right Rev. author.*] The prelate hinted at, was Dr Richard Corbet, Lord Biſhop of Norwich. His verſes are ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by herſelf, and the laſt line alludes to her being buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

On the Lady Arabella.

How do I thank thee, death, and bleſs thy power,
That I have paſt the guard, and ſcap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my Epitaph,
And a ſmall coffin my poor carcaſe hath;
For at thy charge, both ſoul and body were
Enlarg'd at laſt, ſecur'd from hope and fear.
That amongſt Saints, this amongſt Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim, my death hath paid (17).

(17) Poems by the right revd. Dr R. Corbet, &c. Lond. 1672, 12mo, p. 128.

[*I*] *Had not the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof.*] The author here meant, is the celebrated Sir Bulſtrode Whitlock, whoſe Memorials of Engliſh affairs, from the ſuppoſed expedition of Brute, to the end of the reign of King James I, were publiſhed by the famous William Pen, with a recommendatory preface by Dr Wellwood. He having under the year 1616, given a long account of the poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and the ſuſpicion there was, that Sir Thomas had a hand in poiſoning Prince Henry, immediately adds. 'The Lady Arabella, Daughter to Charles Stuart, 'younger brother to the King's father, having mar'ried Sir William Seymour, Son of the Lord Beau'Beauchamp, and grandchild to the Earl of Hert'ford, both allied to the crown, and committed to 'the Tower, deſigned an eſcape by diſguiſes. But 'the poor Lady fearful, and ſtaying beyond the 'hour at which they were to meet; her huſband 'went to ſea without her, leaving notice for her to 'follow; but ſhe was apprehended, and brought 'back to the Tower where ſhe died; which ſet 'mens tongues and fears on work, that ſhe went 'the ſame way (18).' It is plain all these facts are aſſembled under a wrong year, viz. The year after the Lady was dead, and that no notice is taken of the diſtance of time in which they happened, though there was no leſs than four years between her impriſonment and her death. What is ſtill more remarkable, and which indeed ſhews this to be an unfounded calumny, is the conſideration of the time of her death, which was after the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was diſcovered, and conſequently at a time, when practices of that ſort in the Tower were leaſt likely to be undertaken, and that ſhe had been well treated before, appears from the Earl of Somerſet's Trial, wherein he alledges, Sir William Wade was removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower, for allowing her a key, by which ſhe might have made her eſcape (19).

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

(19) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 347.

This report was at firſt in all probability, occaſioned by the precaution uſually taken by the Court in caſes of this nature; for it appears, that as ſoon as the death of this Lady was known, the Secretary of State directed his warrant to this effect.

To my very loving friend the Preſident of the College of Phyſicians in the City of LONDON.

'AFTER my hearty commendations: whereas 'the Lady Arabella is lately deceaſed in the 'Tower,

ſoon after her deceaſe, procured leave to return, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by loyally adhering to the King during the civil wars, and, ſurviving to the time of the Reſtoration, was reſtored to his great grandfather's title of Duke of Somerſet, by an Act of Parliament, which entirely cancelled his attainder; and on the giving his royal aſſent to this act, King Charles II, was pleaſed to ſay in full Parliament, what perhaps was as honourable for the family, as the title to which they are reſtored. His words were theſe, *As this is an Act of an extraordinary nature, ſo it is in favour of a perſon of no ordinary merit, he has deſerved of my father, and of myſelf, as much as any ſubject poſſibly could do; and I hope this will ſtir no man's envy, becauſe in doing it, I do no more than what a good maſter ſhould do for ſuch a ſervant* (*a*). By his lady Arabella, this noble perſon had no iſſue, but that he ſtill preſerved a warm affection for her memory, appears from hence, that he called one of his daughters by his ſecond wife, Frances, daughter and co-heireſs of Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Arabella (*b*) Seymour.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 49.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

'Tower, and that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, according to former cuſtom, upon like occaſions, when perſons of great quality do die in that place, her body ſhould be viewed by perſons of ſkill and truſt, and thereupon certificate to be made of what diſeaſe ſhe died, as to their judgment it ſhall appear: theſe are therefore to will and require you, to appoint ſome three Phyſicians of your Society, of good reputation, as well for their learning as otherwiſe, who, together with the the Phyſicians of the ſaid Lady Arabella, ſhall preſently repair unto the Tower, and there view and ſearch the corps of the ſaid Lady, and to return jointly their opinion unto me, of the nature of the diſeaſe whereof ſhe died, that we may acquaint his Majeſty therewithall. And ſo I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, this 27th of September, 1615.'

Your loving friend,
RALPH WINWOOD.

According to the King's command, ſome Phyſicians of the College met at the Tower, and upon a diligent inſpection of the Body of the Lady Arabella, were of an opinion, that the cauſe of this noble Lady's death, was a long chronical ſickneſs; that the ſpecies of her diſeaſe was a Cachexie, which daily increaſing (partly by her own neglect, and partly by her averſion to medicine) did at length bring her into a confirmed indiſpoſition of her liver and extream leanneſs, from which cauſes death muſt needs enſue. This teſtimony was ſigned by the Preſident, Regiſter, and four Fellows of the College (20).

(20) Dr Goodall's Proceedings againſt Empericks, p. 381.

E

ARBUTHNOT, a noble family in Scotland. This name was formerly ſpelt otherwiſe than at preſent, for we find that Duncan de Aberbothenoth, was witneſs to a grant of King Alexander II, to the abbey of Aberbroth, in 1242 (*a*). His direct deſcendant Sir Robert Arberthnat, was, on the ſixteenth of November 1641 (*b*), created Viſcount of Arbuthnat, which honour is enjoyed by his deſcendant to this day (*c*); the preſent Viſcount of Arbuthnat, who is leſs diſtinguiſhed by his rank than by his virtues, being eſpecially remarkable for unaffected piety, and unblemiſhed probity.

(*a*) Regiſter of Aberbroth. MS.

(*b*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 29.

(*c*) Ibid.

ARBUTHNOT (ALEXANDER) Principal of the univerſity of Aberdeen. He was the ſon of the Baron of Arbuthnat, and was born in the year 1538 (*a*). He ſtudied in the univerſity of Aberdeen, and having perfected himſelf in humanity and philoſophy, his relations ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law in France, where he was five years under the care of the famous Cujacius. Having taken the degree of Licentiate, he returned home in the year 1563, and appeared very warmly in ſupport of the Reformed Religion (*b*). At this time Queen Mary was reſident in her kingdom, but the Earl of Murray having the ſupreme direction of all things, the Reformed Church of Scotland was in a very flouriſhing condition (*c*). The friends of Mr Arbuthnot prevailed upon him to take orders, and whether he received them from a Biſhop or from Preſbyters is uncertain. In 1658, he aſſiſted as a member of the General Aſſembly, which was held in the month of July at Edinburgh (*d*). By this Aſſembly he was intruſted with the care of reviſing a book which had given offence, and directed to report his opinion of it [*A*]. A little after, he was appointed Miniſter of Arbuthnat and Logy-Buchan (*e*). The year following, *viz.* 1569, on a viſitation of the King's-college at Aberdeen, Mr Alexander Anderſon, Principal; Mr Andrew Galloway, Sub-principal; and three Regents were deprived. Their ſentence was publiſhed on the third of July, and immediately thereupon Mr Arbuthnot was made Principal of that college (*f*). He was a member alſo of the General Aſſembly which ſat at St Andrews in the year 1572 (*g*). At this time there was great ſtir about a certain ſcheme of Church government, which was called the Book of Policy. It was, in ſhort, an invention of ſome ſtateſmen, to reſtore the old titles in the Church, but with a purpoſe to retain all the temporalities formerly annexed to them, amongſt themſelves (*b*). The Aſſembly being apprized of this, appointed the Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and nineteen other Commiſſioners, of whom Mr Arbuthnot was one, to confer with the Regent in his council, but theſe conferences either

(*a*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, Book vi. p. 335.

(*b*) Id. Ibid.

(*c*) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 44.

(*d*) Petrie's Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholick Church, P. iii. cent. xvi. p. 359.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory, p. 335.

(*f*) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 45. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 369.

(*g*) Calderwood, p. 56.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 375.

[*A*] *Directed to report his opinion of it.*] This book was entituled *The Fall of the Roman Church.* It was printed by one Thomas Baſſenden, printer in Edinburgh. The exception taken at it, was, that the King had the ſtile of the ſupreme head of the Church; at the ſame time there was another complaint againſt this Baſſenden, for printing a lewd ſong at the end of the Pſalm book. On theſe matters an order was made, forbidding the printer to vend any more of his books till the offenſive title was delated, and the lewd ſong caſtrated. The Aſſembly alſo made an order, that no book ſhould be publiſhed for the future, till licenſed by commiſſioners of their appointment (1). Hence it appears, that the clergy in all countries have the like appetite for power, and that they are naturally deſirous of dictating in all points of literature.

(1) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 359.

either came to nothing, or, which is more probable, were never held (*i*). In the General Aſſembly which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of Auguſt, 1573, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was choſen Moderator (*k*). It was a very buſy meeting, and the Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner (*l*) [*B*]. In the next Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of March 1574, there was a charge brought againſt George Biſhop of Murray, for committing fornication with the Lady Ardroſs (*m*). He deſired three or four days to prepare his defence, but not appearing at the end of this ſpace, a commiſſion was granted to Mr Arbuthnot, and other Members, to cite before them the Chapter of Murray, in order to queſtion them for their certificate of life and manners, given to George Douglas their Biſhop beforementioned (*n*). In the ſame Aſſembly, Arbuthnot was named one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the juriſdiction of the Church, which ſeems to be no more than had been before done about the book of policy (*o*). This thorny buſineſs required much time and pains, but at laſt however ſome progreſs was made therein, and a plan of juriſdiction was ſtruck out. In the General Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the firſt of April 1577, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was again choſen Moderator. At this time the Aſſembly were perſuaded, upon ſome ſpecious pretences, to appoint a certain number of their members to confer in the morning with their Moderator, in order to prepare buſineſs (*p*). This Committee had the name of the Congregation, and in a ſhort time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Aſſembly had little to do but to approve their reſolutions (*q*). At the cloſe of this Aſſembly Mr Arbuthnot with other Commiſſioners was appointed to confer with the Regent, on the plan of Church policy before mentioned (*r*). In the General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh the twenty-fifth of October 1578, he was again appointed of the Committee for the ſame purpoſe, and in the latter end of the year, actually conferred with ſeveral Noblemen, and other Lay-Commiſſioners, on that important buſineſs (*s*). In 1582 Mr Arbuthnot publiſhed Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland, in which though he acted only as an Editor, yet it procured him a great deal of ill-will, and in all probabity gave his Majeſty King James VI, an ill impreſſion of him (*t*). The practice of managing things in Congregation ſtill ſubſiſting, the King forbid Mr Arbuthnot to leave his college at Aberdeen, that he might not be preſent in the Aſſembly, or direct as he was wont to do thoſe Congregations which directed that great body (*u*). This offended the miniſters very much, and they did not fail to remonſtrate thereupon to the King; however he remained firm, and they were forced to be content, what impreſſion this might make upon his mind, being a very meek and humble man, aſſiſting others at their requeſt, and not through any ambition of his own is uncertain, but a little after he began to decline in his health, and on the twentieth of October 1583, departed this life in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the college church of Aberdeen (*w*). His private character was very amiable, he was learned without pedantry, and a great encourager of learning in youth, eaſy and pleaſant in converſation, had a good taſte in poetry, was well verſed in philoſophy and the mathematicks, eminent as a lawyer, no leſs eminent as a Divine, neither wanted he conſiderable ſkill in Phyſick. In his publick character he was equally remarkable for his moderation

(*i*) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 63.

(*k*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 379.

(*l*) Calderwood, p. 63.

(*m*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382. Calderwood, p. 64.

(*n*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382.

(*o*) Calderwood, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 390.

(*q*) Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 76.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 78.

(*s*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 289. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 394.

(*t*) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 192.

(*u*) Id. ibid.

(*w*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335.

[*B*] *The Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner.*] This was eſteemed the 25th General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland; there were preſent many Earls and others of the nobility, ſome Biſhops, Superintendents, &c. John Douglas Biſhop of St Andrew's had a long charge brought againſt him, conſiſting of various heads, as, That he had admitted a Popiſh Prieſt into the miniſtry, to whom the Superintendent of Lothian had preſcribed certain injunctions, which he had not obeyed. That he, the Biſhop, had not viſited or preached for half a year; that he had collated a perſon ſuſpected of Popery to a benefice; that he had ſuffered Exerciſe (the ſame thing which in England was called prophеſying) to decay through his neglect; that he had admitted into the Church many who were uncapable, and not properly examined. To this accuſation he anſwered, That he had not admitted the Prieſt mentioned in the charge, till he had publickly abjured Popery. The Aſſembly however ordered the Prieſt to ſatisfy the injunctions preſcribed in Lothian, and in the mean time not to exerciſe his function. As to his viſiting and preaching, the Biſhop alledged he had done both while he was able; and as to the other heads of complaint, he pleaded either ignorance or inability. James Patoun was accuſed of having accepted the Epiſcopal Office, and yet declining to execute it. He was accuſed of being guilty of ſimony, in reſpect to his practices with the Earl of Argyle, and even of perjury, ſince contrary to his oath he gave receipts, where the Earl received the money. Alexander Gordon, Biſhop of Galloway, was charged with exciting the ſubjects in the city of Edinburgh to rebellion, and with refuſing to pray for the King. That being forbidden by the General Aſſembly, to meddle with the pariſh of Holyrood-houſe, he had nevertheleſs compelled the people to receive the ſacrament from him. That notwithſtanding he had ſworn to obey the King and his Regent, yet nevertheleſs he had owned another authority, and perſuaded the people ſo to do, and had given thanks in the pulpit, for the barbarous murder of Matthew Earl of Lenox the late Regent; he pleaded that all this was pardoned by the act of pacification: to which the Aſſembly replied, The States had not abſolved him who was a Biſhop from the cenſure of the Church *in Talibus*, ſo he was ordained, under the pain of excommunication, to make publick repentance three ſeveral ſundays, one in the Church of Edinburgh, another in Holyrood-houſe, and the third in the Queen's College church. Robert Poul was accuſed, That being commiſſioner to viſit Murray, he reſideth not there, nor hath viſited churches theſe two years, except the chief four he hath viſited once. He alledged want of leiſure, becauſe he was ordained to attend the College of Juſtice; whereupon the Superintendent of Lothian moveth the queſtion, Whether it be lawful by the word of God, that the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, and the adminiſtration of criminal and civil Juſtice be ſo confounded, that one man may occupy both the charges? it was anſwered, it is neither agreeable with the word of God, nor practice of the primitive Church. Theſe are ſome of the extraordinary things done in that Aſſembly; as for the reſt, they may be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (2).

(2) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 379. Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 65.

[*C*] *Some*

deration and abilities, which gained him ſuch a reputation, as drew upon him ſo many calls for advice, as made him at laſt very uneaſy. As Principal of the College of Aberdeen, he did great ſervice to the Church in particular, and to his country in general, by bringing over many to the former, and reviving that ſpirit of Literature which was much decayed in the later (*x*). Theſe employments took up ſo much of his time, that we have nothing of his writing, ſave a ſingle book of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*C*]. His countryman and contemporary Andrew Melvil (*y*) wrote an elegant epitaph on this worthy perſon, which alone would have been ſufficient to have preſerved his memory, as it certainly gives a juſt idea of his character.

(*x*) Id. ibid.

(*y*) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 120.

[*C*] *Some account will be given in the notes.*] It was printed at Edinburgh in 4*to* A. D. 1572. under this title, Orationes de Origine & Dignitate Juris. *i. e. Orations on the origin and dignity of the law.* It was eſteemed a very learned and elegant performance, as appears by a fine copy of Latin verſes (3) on it's publication, by Mr Thomas Maitland, who was equally admired as a poet and a critick. E

(3) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. II. p. 153.

ARDEN (EDWARD) deſcended of a moſt ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Parkhall, in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the year 1532, and his father dying when he was an infant of two years old, before he inherited the eſtate of the family, he became the ward of Sir George Throkmorton, of Coughton, whoſe daughter Mary he afterwards married (*b*). In all probability, it was his engagements with this family, and being bred therein, that made him ſo ſtiff a Papiſt as he was (*c*). However that be, ſucceeding his grandfather Thomas Arden, Eſq; in 1562, in the family eſtate, he married Mary (Throkmorton) and ſettled in the country (*d*), his religion impeding his preferment, and his temper inclining him to a retired life. His being a near neighbour to the great Earl of Leiceſter, occaſioned his having ſome jarrs with him, who affected to rule all things in that county (*e*). Some perſons therein, tho' of good families, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable eſtates, thought it no diſcredit to wear that nobleman's livery (*f*), which Mr Arden diſdained. In the courſe of this fatal quarrel, exceſſive inſolence on one ſide, produced ſome warm expreſſions on the other; inſomuch, that Mr Arden openly taxed the Earl with his converſing criminally with the Counteſs of Eſſex, in that Earl's life-time; and alſo inveighed againſt his pride as a thing the more inexcuſable in a nobleman newly created (*g*). Theſe taunts having exaſperated that Miniſter, he projected, or at leaſt forwarded, his deſtruction [*B*]. Mr Arden had married one of his daughters to John Somerville, Eſq; a young gentleman of an old family, and good fortune, in the ſame county (*b*) [*C*]. This Mr Somerville was a man of

(*a*) The Antiquities of Warwickſhire by Sir William Dugdale, edit. 1730. Vol. II. p. 924. col. 2. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, 4to 1641. p. 149. Johnſton Rer. Britan. lib. iii. p. 91. ſeq.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

(*c*) See Note [*B*].

(*d*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

(*e*) Gulielm. Camden. An. Rer. Brit. Reg. Eliz. Edit. Hearne, 1717. Vol. II. p. 405.

(*f*) Leiceſter's Ghoſt, 4*to*. 1641, p. 7.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 829.

[*A*] *Seated at Parkhall in Warwickſhire.*] This family may well be ſtiled ancient, ſince it was ſeated hereabouts before the Conqueſt. Turchillus in the reign of William Rufus, aſſumed, in imitation of the Normans, the ſirname of the family, de Arden, becauſe his eſtate lay in the wood lands (1). Mr Camden, and many of our authors after him, write this name Ardern (2), and it is true, that ſome branches of this family wrote it ſo (3). However, Mr Dugdale, who was beſt acquainted with theſe things, always writes it Arden, and ſo this gentleman himſelf wrote (4). Parkhall had been for three hundred years the ſeat of the Ardens, and they had attained all the honours, which really give luſtre to any Engliſh line. In the twelfth of Henry II, Henry de Arden was certified to hold five knights fees of the Earl of Warwick, and his brother Hugh as many (5). In the forty-eighth of Henry III, Thomas Arden had ſummons to attend the King in a Welſh expedition, which he did, but ſiding afterwards with the rebellious barons, was undone (6). However, in the third of Edward III, Sir Robert de Arden was allowed to fortify his houſe, and died poſſeſſed of a large eſtate (7). In the forty-eighth of Edward III, Henry de Arden of Parkhall, was conſtituted conſervator of the peace, knighted the next year, and was knight of the ſhire in the firſt of Richard II (8). Robert de Arden, in the ſixteenth of Henry VI, was ſheriff of this county and Leiceſterſhire (9). But in the thirtieth of Henry VI, he was attainted for ſiding with the houſe of York (10). His ſon Walter, married the daughter of John Hampden, Eſq; of Hampden in Buckinghamſhire (11). His ſon John Arden, married Alice daughter of Richard Bracebrigge, Eſq; of Kingſbury, in Warwickſhire, and was ſquire of the body to Henry VII (12). His ſon Thomas, married the daughter of Thomas Andrews, Eſq; by whom he had many children (13). Of theſe the eldeſt, William, married Elizabeth the daughter of Edward Conway, Eſq; by whom he had our Edward, his only ſon (14). This Edward, though his grandfather was living at his father's deceaſe, became the ward of Sir George Throkmorton (15), whoſe daughter he married, and not Sir Robert's as it ſtands in the pedigree drawn by Dugdale.

(1) E Regiſt. de Abend[illegible] Biblioth. Cotton. f. 122. b.

(2) Annal. Vol. II. p. 105.

(3) Dugd. Vol. II. p. 7.

(4) Diarium rerum geſtarum, in Turri Londinenſi.

(5) Libr. Rub. f. 104. a.

(6) Clauſ. 48. H. 3. in d. in ced.

(7) Cart. 2 Ed. 3. n. 32.

(8) Cl. 1 R. 2. in d. m. 22.

(9) Rot. F. 16. H. 6. m. 20.

(10) Eſc. 32. H. 6.

(11) Ex Autograph. penes R. Arden, Ar.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 926.

MS. R. Knipe, M.

[*B*] *Forwarded his deſtruction.*] The warm expreſſions of Mr Arden mentioned by Camden, are proofs of his averſion, but they give us no light into the cauſes of his extraordinary hatred againſt the Earl of Leiceſter. In all probability, it was owing to his love for his wife's family, who were grievouſly perſecuted by that haughty Peer. Her brother, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, was, in the opinion of the generality of the world, poiſoned at this Earl's houſe, in 1571 (16). Another brother, Sir John Throkmorton, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, he perſecuted till he broke his heart; and purſued not only all ſuch as were related to, but alſo ſuch as had a *friendſhip for, this family,* with implacable vengeance (17). Probably *this drew* ſome marks of his diſpleaſure on Mr Arden, for we ſhall ſee hereafter, the whole family was caught in one net, and all brought to ruin together (18). It ſeems clear from the ſtories of thoſe times, that the Throkmortons were a ſtirring family; inſomuch, that Camden remarks on the death of Sir Nicholas, after mentioning the common fame of his being poiſoned, that however he died, he certainly died in a critical ſeaſon, for himſelf being engaged in dangerous undertakings (19). Add to this, that Mrs Arden, who was a Throkmorton, was made a deep ſharer in her huſband's ſufferings.

(16) *Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter*, p. 80.

(17) *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*, p. 149.

(18) See Note [*E*].

(19) *Annal.* p. 221.

[*C*] *Of an old family in the ſame county.*] The Somervilles are a Norman family, and came over with the Conqueror (20). The Somervilles of Edſton, in Warwickſhire, are a branch of the Glouceſterſhire family of the ſame name, who have flouriſhed ſeveral hundred years at Aſton Somerville, in the ſaid county (21). This John Somerville came to his eſtate in 1576, and about the ſame time, married Margaret Arden, being then in his eighteenth year (22). He was of a warm fiery diſpoſition, as all writers agree, and Dugdale's account of the matter, is, that his prieſt, Hall, wrought upon his zeal for religion, and his hot temper, till he fell into this humour, which he did not deny. He came up to town in a paſſion, acted like a man diſtracted, and owned a deſign to kill the Queen, as ſoon as preſſed thereto, after his apprehenſion (23). But the beſt account duly weighed, is that of Lord Burleigh, which runs thus (24). To this number, they may, if they ſeek number, alſo add a furious

(20) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 445.

(21) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 830.

(22) Ibid.

(23) *Camden, Hollingſhead, Stowe, &c.*

(24) *Execution for Treaſon, not for Religion*, p. 22.

of a hot raſh temper, and by many thought a little crazy. He was drawn in a ſtrange manner to plot (if it may be ſo called) againſt the Queen's life; and thus the treaſon is alledged to have been tranſacted. In the Whitſun-Holydays, 1583, he with his wife was at Mr Arden's, where Hugh Hall, his father-in-law's prieſt, perſuaded him that Queen Elizabeth being an incorrigible heretick, and growing daily from bad to worſe, it would be doing God and his country good ſervice to take her life away. When the holy-days were over, he returned to his own houſe with his wife, where he grew melancholy, and irreſolute. Upon this, his wife writes to Hall, her father's prieſt, to come and ſtrengthen the man. Hall excuſes his coming, but writes at large, to encourage Somerville to proſecute what he had undertaken. This letter had it's effects, Somerville ſet out for London, but got no farther than Warwick, where, drawing his ſword and wounding ſome Proteſtants, he was inſtantly ſeized. While he was going to Warwick, his wife went over to her father's and ſhewed him and her mother Hall's treaſonable letter, which her father threw into the fire; ſo that only the hearſay of this letter, could be alledged againſt him and his wife, by Hall who wrote it, who was tried and condemned with them (*i*). But to return to Somerville. On his apprehenſion, he ſaid ſomewhat of his father and mother-in-law, and immediately orders were ſent into Warwickſhire for their being ſeized, and impriſoned (*k*). October 30, 1583, Mr Somerville was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon. November 4, Hall the prieſt was committed alſo; and on the ſeventh of the ſame month, Mr Arden (*l*). On the ſixteenth, Mary the wife of Mr Arden, Margaret their daughter, wife to Mr Somerville, and Elizabeth, the ſiſter of Mr Somerville, were committed (*m*). On the twenty-third Mr Arden was racked in the Tower, and the next day Hugh Hall the Prieſt was tortured likewiſe (*) [*D*]. By theſe methods ſome kind of evidence being brought out, on the ſixteenth of December Edward Arden, Eſq; and Mary his wife; John Somerville, Eſq; and Hugh Hall the Prieſt, were tried and convicted of high-treaſon at Guildhall, London (*n*), chiefly on Hall's confeſſion, who yet received ſentence with the reſt. On the nineteenth of December, Mr Arden and his ſon in-law Somerville, were removed from the Tower to Newgate, for a night's time only (*o*). In this ſpace, Somerville was ſtrangled by his own hands, it was given out, but, as the world believed, by ſuch as deſired to get him ſilently out of theirs (*p*). The next day, being December 20, 1583, Edward Arden was executed at Smithfield with the general pity of all ſpectators. He died with the ſame high ſpirit he had ſhewn throughout his life. After profeſſing his innocence, he owned himſelf a Papiſt, and one who died for his religion, and want of flexibility, though under colour of conſpiring againſt the State. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that Somerville was murdered, to prevent his ſhaming his proſecutors, and having thus extenuated things to ſuch as heard him, he patiently ſubmitted to an ignominious death (*q*). His execution was according to the rigour of the law, his head being ſet (as Somerville's alſo was) upon London Bridge; and his quarters upon the city gates, but the body of his ſon-in-law was interred in Moor-fields (*r*). As for Mrs Arden, ſhe was pardoned, but the Queen gave the eſtate which fell to her, by her's, and her huſband's attainder, to Mr Darcy. As for Hugh Hall, the Prieſt, he was pardoned too, but Leiceſter doubting his ſecrecy, would have engaged Chancellor Hatton to have ſent him abroad; which he refuſing, new rumours, little to that proud Earl's honour, flew about (*s*). Hollingſhead, Stowe, and ſuch writers, treat Mr Arden as a Traitor fairly convicted, and ſo have others who knew much better (*t*); but Camden was too honeſt to write thus, and there is good authority to incline our belief, that he died for being a ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject (*u*) [*E*]. His ſon and heir Robert Arden, Eſq; being

(*i*) From a MS. once Sir Simon d'Ewe's, but the ſubſtance is alſo in Speed's Chronicle, p. 1175. col. 1.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Dugd. Warwick. Vol. II. p. 829. Hollingſhead's Chron. A. D. 1583.

(*l*) Diarium rerum geſtarum in Turri Londinenſi, ad calc. Hiſt. Scotlimat. Angl. edit. Colon. Agrip. 1628. in 12*mo*.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, 1631. p. 698.

(*) Diarum rerum geſtarum. Turri Lond. ibid. Dec. 4*to*.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 698. Hollingſhead, ut ſupra.

(*o*) Stowe, p. 698.

(*p*) Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. Decemb. 1583.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 421. Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Hollingſhead, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(*t*) Execution for Treaſon and not for Religion, 4*to*, p. 22. Important Conſiderations, &c. 4*to*, p. 45.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Vol. II. p. 405. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 930, 931. Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, 8*vo*, 1727, p. 112.

furious young man of Warwickſhire, to increaſe the Kalendar of the Pope's martyrs, who of late was diſcovered, and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her Majeſty.

[*D*] *Was tortured likewiſe.*] I take this from a Diary of what paſſed in the Tower of London, from the 15th of June, 1580, to the 21ſt of June, 1585, written in Latin, added to Sanders's book *De Origene & Progreſſu Schiſmatis Anglicani*. In the preface there is a ſuccinct account of the inſtruments of torture, which were theſe, 1. The dungeon, which was without any light, twenty feet under ground. 2. A narrow room, in which a priſoner could ſcarce ſtand upright, called thence Little-eaſe. 3. The rack, an engine with pullies, whereby men were disjointed. 4. Scavenger's daughter, ſo called, it is ſuppoſed, from the inventor, it was a circle of iron, whereby the patient's Head, Hands, and Feet, where grievouſly ſtretched. 5. Hand-ſcrews. 6. Irons for the Arms. 7. Irons for the Legs. And in the Diary, the days are ſet down, on which the ſeveral priſoners mentioned therein, are ſaid to have been racked, &c. The Papiſts made loud complaints of their treatment, to all the Chriſtian world; atteſting that 1. They were perſecuted purely for conſcience ſake. 2. That they were driven to confeſs, by grievous tortures. In anſwer to theſe books, the Treaſurer Burleigh, cauſed to be written what Mr Strype calls a State Book, cited above, which treats the firſt point; and ſoon after came forth a ſecond piece intituled, *A Declaration of the favourable dealing of Her Majeſties Commiſſioners*, &c. (25): wherein it is ſaid, 'That none of them 'had been put to the rack, or torture, no not for 'treaſon, or partnerſhip of treaſon, or ſuch like, but 'where it was firſt known, or evidently probable, 'by former detections, confeſſions, or otherwiſe, that 'the party ſo racked or tortured was guilty, and did 'know and could deliver the truth of the things 'wherewith he was charged.' Which the Reverend Mr Strype, ſeems to think a full juſtification of the practice. Indubitably it ſhews there was ſuch a practice. Nay, we are farther told by Whitlock, in his Memorials, that Queen Elizabeth, diſliking the thing, or fearing it might be abuſed, forbid the putting men to the torture, on any pretence whatſoever (26). Yet we know that Mary Queen of Scots, objected to the evidence made uſe of againſt her, becauſe it was extorted by theſe methods, which have been, God be praiſed, long out of date.

(25) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 206.

(26) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, Lond. 1709, p. 254.

[*E*] *A ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject.*] In this note, I ſhall fairly ſtate the evidence in favour of this judgment, and againſt it. The annaliſts, and publick writers in thoſe times, treat Mr Arden as a notorious traitor, they could do no otherwiſe. Lord Burleigh's

being bred in one of the Inns of Court, proved a very wiſe and fortunate perſon, inſomuch, that by various ſuits he wrung from Edward Darcy, Eſq; the grantee (*x*), moſt of his father's eſtates (*y*), and by marrying Elizabeth daughter of Reginald Corbet, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, he reſtored the credit and ſplendor of this ancient family, and was ſo happy to ſee Henry Arden, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon knighted by King James, and married to Dorothy the daughter of Baſil Feilding, of Newnham, Eſq; whoſe ſon became Earl of Denbigh. The drawing this embarraſſed account out of obſcurity, cannot but be grateful to our curious readers, and will anſwer one great end of this work, the elucidating dark paſſages in Engliſh hiſtory, by a compariſon of lights, a thing not to be expected in general collections, or even in the accounts of particular reigns.

(*x*) Anderſon's Reports, p. 2.

(*y*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 931.

Burleigh's pamphlet, Apology, or State Book, charges him alſo (27). Immediately after the account of Somerville, he proceeds: *The attempt not denied by the traytor himſelf, but confeſſed, and that he was moved thereto in his wicked ſpirit, by incitements from certain ſeditious and traiterous perſons, his kinſmen and allies, and alſo by often reading ſundry ſeditious vile books, lately publiſhed againſt Her Majeſty.* There is yet ſomething ſtronger than this, *viz.* A confeſſion of the Papiſts themſelves, in a book called, *Important Conſiderations:* written and publiſhed by the ſecular Prieſts. Therein we read 'Mr Arden, and Mr Somerville, were convicted by the laws of the land, to 'have purpoſed and contrived how they might have 'laid violent hands upon Her Majeſties ſacred perſon. 'Mr Somerville's confeſſion therein, was ſo notorious, 'as it may not be either qualified or denied (28).' Yet, immediately after their death, all unprejudiced people doubted this buſineſs. Father Perſons's *Greencoat*, inſtantly interpoſed thus (29). 'What ſay you, 'to the device he had of late to intrap his well de'ſerving friend, Sir Chriſtiopher Hatton, in the 'matter of Hall, his Prieſt, whom he would have 'had Sir Chriſtopher to ſend away, and hide, being 'touched, and defected in the caſe of Arden; there'by to have drawn in Sir Chriſtopher himſelf, as 'Sir Charles Candiſh can well declare, being acceſſary 'to this plot, to overthrow Sir Chriſtopher.' In the copy I have, there is a marginal note in MS. in an old hand, referring to Dugdale and Camden. It appears from Strype, that the mouths of the people were open on this ſubject (30). Camden modeſtly, and plainly ſays (31), 'That the head of Somerville 'was turned by certain Popiſh libels to ſuch a degree, 'that breathing nothing but ſlaughter, he came up 'to town to kill the Queen, and, like a mad man, 'fell to cutting and hacking all he met. Being ap'prehended, he owned the deſign he had to kill the 'Queen. Upon this, himſelf, and, in conſequence of 'his confeſſion, Edward Arden, his Father-in-law, 'a gentleman of antient family in Warwickſhire, Mrs 'Ardern, the wife of Mr Somerville, and Hall, a 'Prieſt, were convicted as accomplices. Three days 'after, Mr Somerville was found ſtrangled in priſon, 'the next day, Mr Ardern was hanged and quartered, 'the Woman and Prieſt were ſpared. Such was the 'fate of this gentleman, who was generally thought 'to have fallen a victim to Leiceſter's reſentment; 'being circumvented by a Prieſt, whoſe evidence de'ſtroyed him. Certain it is, Leiceſter hated him not 'without cauſe, becauſe he oppoſed him all he could, 'openly inveighing againſt him as an adulterer, and 'an upſtart.' Dugdale ſays, the inhabitants of Warwickſhire who lived in thoſe days, thought him murdered by Leiceſter (32); and the author of that nobleman's life, does not deny it was ſo (33). The authors who mention this fact, are, State Writers, Papiſts, or impartial Hiſtorians. The firſt were bound to defend it, whatever they thought of it; yet they own Somerville to have been crazy. The ſecular Prieſts flattered the government, and write on this head very artfully. Arden proteſted his innocence, as all the Popiſh writers atteſt. The moderate impartial Hiſtorians own without ſcruple, he died unjuſtly, and therefore we may well ſuppoſe it true. However, to clear this matter up as much as poſſible, let us conſider a little, firſt, what appears as to the fact itſelf, and next, what credit is due to ſuch as affirm Mr Arden to have died juſtly. It is ſuggeſted, that Leiceſter prompted the Prieſt, Hall, he inſpired Mr Somerville with ſeditious notions, and thus the whole family were involved. Now all agree, that Hall was the author and mover of this treaſon, that he confeſſed and was pardoned; and Somerville, who was touched in the head, made a free confeſſion, and was in all reſpects more worthy of a pardon, was deſtined to a ſhameful death, and was perhaps cruelly murdered. This has a bad aſpect, and does not look like a free courſe of juſtice. Somerville was apprehended as he came, this looks as if they watched for him: But what ſeems to put the matter out of all doubt, is the timing of this buſineſs, juſt when the two Throkmortons were apprehended for conſpiring to ſet the Queen of Scots at liberty. So that here were a gentleman and his wife, their daughter, their ſon-in-law, and two nephews, with Mr Somerville's maiden ſiſter, all clapped into the Tower at once, and Mrs Arden ſaw her huſband, and nephew, Francis Throkmorton, tortured in one day, executed within a few weeks of each other, and her huſband's eſtate given to my Lord Leiceſter's creature. Does not this look like revenge on the Throkmortons whom that Earl openly perſecuted? Now as to the writers. In the common chronicles we look not for the ſprings of action, but bare acts; we read there that Lord Robert Dudley was made an Earl, Maſter of the Horſe, Knight of the Garter; but not a word of his murdering his wife, or Mr Arden, that would not ſuit the book. As to Lord Burleigh, he admits Somerville was mad. And Camden, who wrote by his directions, thought Arden a ſacrifice; and, all things conſidered, ſo may we. It is one thing to write, or publiſh an apology, or, as Strype bluntly calls it, a State Book, as Lord Burleigh's was, and another to frame an impartial hiſtory like Camden's. That wiſe Nobleman did what was fit for the times in the firſt, and ſuffered what was fit for the knowledge of poſterity, to be recorded in the ſecond. E

(27) Cited in note [*C*].

(28) Page 45, edit. 1688.

(29) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(30) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. [illegible]

(31) Annal. Vol. II. p. [illegible]

(32) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. p. 830.

(33) Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, 8*vo*, A. D. 1727, p. 114.

ARGALL (JOHN), author of two tracts, the one intitled *De vera pœnitentia* (*a*), the other *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam* (*b*) [*A*], was the third ſon of Thomas Argall by Margaret his wife, daughter of John Talkarne of the county of Cornwall. He was born in London, and entered a ſtudent in Chriſt-church in Oxford towards the latter end of Queen Mary's reign. He took the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1565, and was *Senior of the Act* celebrated the eighteenth of February the ſame year. Afterwards he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, and, having taken holy orders, obtained the living of Haleſworth in Suffolk. Being at a feaſt at Cheſton, a mile diſtant from that

(*a*) Printed at London, 1604, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Printed at London, 1605, 8*vo*.

[*A*] *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam.*] In this book, which Mr Wood calls *very facete and pleaſant* (1), the author ſays of himſelf, that 'whereas 'God had raiſed many of his companions and con'temporaries to high dignities in the Church, as 'Dr Thomas Bilſon to the See of Wincheſter, Dr 'Martin Heton to that of Ely, Dr Henry Robinſon 'to that of Carliſle, Dr Tobias Mathews to that 'of Durham, &c. yet he, an unworthy and poor 'old man, was ſtill detained in the chains of po'verty for his great and innumerable ſins, that he 'might repent with the prodigal ſon, and at length 'by God's favour obtain ſalvation (2).

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

(2) *Argall, Introduct. in* Poſtprædicam. *under* Simul tempore.

that town, he died ſuddenly at the table. His body was carried to Haleſworth, and buried there, October 8, 1606. During his ſtay at the univerſity, he was a noted diſputant, and a great actor of plays at Chriſt-church, particularly when the Queen was entertained there in 1566. He was eſteemed a very good ſcholar, and was ſo much devoted to his ſtudies, that he lived and died like a Philoſopher, with a thorough contempt for the things of this world (*c*).

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 331.

We likewiſe meet with one RICHARD ARGALL, a celebrated poet in the reign of King James I [*B*]; but we have no particulars of his life (*d*).

(*d*) Id. ibid.

[*B*] RICHARD ARGALL, *a celebrated poet in the reign of King James* I.] He wrote and publiſhed, I. *The Song of Songs, which was Solomon's, metaphraſed in Engliſh Heroics, by way of Dialogue.* London, 1621. in 4*to*. dedicated to Henry King, Archdeacon of Colcheſter, ſon to the Biſhop of London. II. *The Bride's Ornament; Poetical Eſſays upon a divine ſubject*, in two books. London, 1621, in 4*to*; the firſt dedicated to John Argall, Eſq; the other to Philip brother to Henry King. III. *Funeral Elegy conſecrated to the memory of his ever honoured Lord John King late Biſhop of London, &c.* 1621. He wrote alſo a book of *Meditations of Knowledge, Zeal, Temperance, Bounty, and Joy.* And another containing *Meditations of Prudence, Obedience, Meekneſs, God's Word, and Prayer.* The author intended theſe two books for the preſs at the ſame time with his poetical works: but the death of his patron, the Biſhop of London, who had greatly encouraged his ſtudies, deferred the publication of them; and whether they were afterwards publiſhed, is uncertain (3),

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

T

ARLOTTA, mother to William ſurnamed the Conqueror. In ancient hiſtorians we find her called by very different names; Abbot Bromton calls her Arlet, and ſo does the ancient chronicle of Normandy (*a*); Knyghton, Arlec (*b*); another ancient writer Herleva (*c*), which one would think was her true name, moſt of the French hiſtorians, eſpecially moderns, calling her Herleve. But writers are better agreed as to her family; for they ſay, in general, that ſhe was a Tanner's daughter. A French author of great integrity however, reports the matter differently in all reſpects. He ſays her name was Helena, and that ſhe was not the daughter of a Tanner, but of one Foubert, valet de chambre to the Duke of Normandy, which Foubert was the ſon of a Tanner (*d*). That ſhe was within one deſcent at leaſt of a perſon of that trade, appears clearly, from an inſult offered to her ſon, when he was beſieging the city of Alençon (*e*). Two and thirty of the inhabitants, when he came firſt before the place, brought certain raw hides, and tanned, or made a ſhew of tanning, them on the wall in his preſence, as well in contempt of his power, as in deriſion of his birth (*f*). Afterwards when he became maſter of the place, he cauſed the hands and feet of thoſe men to be cut off (*g*), which ſhews how much he was touched by this outrage. If this lady was really the daughter of the Duke's valet de chambre, yet ſhe was bred with her grandfather the Tanner, at *Falaiſe*, an ancient, ſtrong, and pleaſant town, in the Lower Normandy. There the Dukes of that country had a palace, to which they reſorted in times of peace for pleaſure; and were wont to make it their conſtant reſidence in time of war, on account of it's ſtrength. At this caſtle Duke Robert was in the year 1022, and being a prince of a very debonnaire diſpoſition, was preſent at a place where the young maidens of the town were dancing, and there he ſaw the fair Arlotta, and being charmed either with her beauty or behaviour, fell deſperately in love with her (*h*). She was brought to his bed that night, and our graveſt hiſtorians, ſuch as Bromton (*i*), and Knyghton (*k*), tell us, that when ſhe had undreſt herſelf, ſhe tore her ſhift from the boſom down to the bottom, for which ſhe gave this reaſon, *That it was neither decent nor fit, that what had touched her legs, ſhould come near the mouth of her lord* (*l*). From this intercourſe ſhe became with child, and during her pregnancy, had a very extraordinary dream. Malmeſbury, Knyghton, and other authors ſay, that ſhe fancied her bowels dilated themſelves over all Normandy and England (*m*). But Bromton and others tell us, that ſhe ſaw in her ſleep a tree come forth from her womb, the branches of which over-ſhaded Normandy (*n*). At the birth of the child there happened a very odd circumſtance; through haſte or careleſſneſs, he was ſuffered to fall upon the ground, whence he took up, ſome ſay, a handful of ſtraw (*o*), others of duſt, which occaſioned the midwife to predict, that he would be a King (*p*). Certain it is, that the Duke was ſo much taken with her company, that he kept her about him as if ſhe had been his wife (*q*) [*A*]; till the year 1030, when he took a reſolution of going to Jeruſalem: a thing not infrequent in thoſe days, in which it paſſed for a kind of penance. But authors ſeem to have a high opinion of this Prince's piety, when they gravely write, that it was to expiate his criminal converſation with Arlotta, which induced him to take ſo fatiguing a journey (*r*). Others think they have found a more probable cauſe, *viz.* regret for his brother Richard's death, whom he is ſaid to have poiſoned. However it was, at his departure, he cauſed his nobility to ſwear fealty to his ſon William, then a child about ſeven

(*a*) Les Chroniques & excellentz faitz des ducs, *&c.* de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi. Bromt. apud decem ſcriptor. p. 910.

(*b*) Apud decem ſcriptor. p. 2318.

(*c*) W. Gemiticenſis de Ducibus Normannis, apud Britan. *&c.* Script. a Gul. Cambdeno edit. p. 656.

(*d*) Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France, par I. du Tillet, p. 137.

(*e*) Id. p. 138.

(*f*) W. Gemeticenſis, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Du Tillet, p. 137.

(*h*) Chroniques &c. de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*i*) Ubi ſupra. p. 920.

(*k*) Ubi ſupra. p. 2319.

(*l*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*m*) G. Malmſburien. p. 95. Knyghton. p. 2318.

(*n*) Bromton, p. 910.

(*o*) Malmſb. p. 95.

(*p*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*q*) Malmſb. Bromton, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Daniel's Hiſtory of England in Kennet's collection, p. 100.

[*A*] *As if ſhe had been his wife.*] As for this Duke of Normandy, who is uſually called Robert II, the founder of the ſovereignty, being ſtiled by the French writers Robert I, though his name be commonly written Rollo, he is, by antient authors, called Rodbert, and was very remarkable for his facetious humour, as well while he continued Duke of Normandy, as in his journey to the Holy Land, which, if the account moſt writers give us of his manner of living on the road be true, might with as great propriety be ſtyled a ramble for pleaſure as a pilgrimage (1). In the text we have followed the generality of Hiſtorians, and thoſe who are moſt in eſteem, yet there want not ſome authors, who tell us, the Duke took his Herleva, not from her father nor grandfather, but from the arms of a gentleman, who had

(1) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.---lxxxv.

ſeven years old (*s*); and having appointed the Earl of Britanny to be his guardian (notwithſtanding he had ſet up a title to the duchy) and recommended him to the protection of the King of France, he ſet out on that expedition, from which he never returned, dying at Nice in Bythynia (*t*). His ſon William, on account of his birth, was ſurnamed the Baſtard; which he was ſo far from eſteeming a reflection, that he ſometimes uſed it himſelf. As for Arlotta, ſhe married, ſome ſay in the Duke's life-time, but moſt writers, after his deceaſe, a Norman gentleman whoſe name was Herlaine, who had but a very ſmall eſtate (*u*). Her ſon paid her always a great deal of reſpect, and took eſpecial care of her children by her huſband, which were three (*w*). 1. Eudo, or Odo, who, while a very young man, was made biſhop of Bayeux, and, after his brother became King of England, Earl of Kent (*x*). 2. Robert Earl of Mortagne, or as is generally written by our Engliſh authors, Moreton, made by his brother Earl of Cornwall (*y*). 3. Emma, who married the Count D'Aumale, though ſome of our Engliſh authors call him Earl of Avranches, but this I conceive to have been rather his ſurname: by which nobleman ſhe had a ſon, Hugo de Abrincis, whom the Conqueror made Earl of Cheſter (*z*).

(*s*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*t*) Bromton, Knyghton, Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Du Tillet, p. 138.

(*w*) Daniel, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See EUDO.

(*y*) See ROBERT.

(*z*) See HUGO.

(2) Hiſt. de Guillaume le Conquer. p. 13.

had made choice of her for his miſtreſs (2). Whether this be, or be not true, is not eaſily determined; nor indeed do we think it very neceſſary to determine. But as to her marriage, if that really happened before the Duke left Normandy, then we cannot but conclude that it was with his conſent; and that Arlotta behaved well towards her huſband, and maintained a tolerably fair character, we may deduce from the reſpect paid her by her ſon, and the great care he took of the reſt of her children. E

ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS), who ſuffered for rebellion in the time of King Charles II. He was deſcended of an ancient and loyal family, and his father being in the King's ſervice abroad, he was born at Nimeguen in Holland (*a*), but the time cannot be certainly diſcovered. As he grew up, he diſcovered a vigorous, martial diſpoſition, which recommended him to the acquaintance and eſteem of many perſons of quality, who looked upon him as a man of a warm heart, and a good head. He was a very ſtirring and active Royaliſt during the exile of King Charles II, which expoſed him to the malice of the Protector, Cromwell, who cauſed him to be confined a year in Lambeth-houſe, which in thoſe times was a priſon (*b*). He ſuffered greatly in this impriſonment, for the Royaliſts were at that time ſo exhauſted, that how warm ſoever their charity might be in their hearts, it's effects were but cold, and therefore Mr Armſtrong was very near ſinking under this misfortune, when by ſome accident or other, he recovered his liberty (*c*). This uſage, hard and cruel as it was, could neither break his ſpirits, nor abate his loyalty, which induced the principal friends the King had in his dominions, to make choice of him to go to his Majeſty, then at Bruſſels, with bills of exchange of great value, and other papers of ſtill greater importance, which commiſſion he executed with ſuch diligence and diſcretion, that he not only put the bills and papers ſafely into the King's hands, but brought home and delivered as ſafely the anſwers with which he was entruſted. But the Protector had ſo good intelligence, that within a week after he came back, he was ſeized and ſent to the Gatehouſe, where he ſuffered another ſharp impriſonment, and was in great danger of loſing his life (*d*). This ſervice was ſo acceptable to the King when performed, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and yet the remembrance of it was ſo far from being of any ſervice to him in his troubles, that notwithſtanding the merciful diſpoſition of the King his maſter, it was thought one principal reaſon for taking away his life [*A*]. After this he was again impriſoned in the Tower, and obtained his liberty only by the death of the Protector, and on his obtaining it, returned to the ſervice of his maſter, and was one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Royaliſts, that ſigned that excellent addreſs to the Lord General Monk, that operated ſo ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration (*e*) [*B*]. On the King's return

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times. Vol. I. p. 577.

(*b*) See Clarendon's Hiſtory, Heath's Chronicle, and the Life of Dr John Barwick.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(*d*) See his dying ſpeech in note [*H*].

(*e*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 120, 121.

[*A*] *The principal reaſon for taking away his life.*] At firſt ſight this muſt appear extreamly odd and ſtrange to the reader, but it is no very difficult matter to clear it up. It is well enough known, that the Protector had abundance of ſpies, and that his Secretary, Thurloe, was eſteemed the greateſt maſter of intelligence that ever filled that office. But the greateſt feats done in that way, were by corrupting Royaliſts, whom their neceſſities made diſhoneſt. One Manning, who was about the King's court, was detected and ſhot in the Duke of Newburg's country for his treachery, and was actually caught in the fact of writing a letter to England (1). Sir Richard Willis was another loyaliſt, who acted the ſame part, and was always impriſoned by Cromwell, to hide their intelligence on the diſcovery of the plots in which he was engaged (2). The Duke of Buckingham was deeply ſuſpected of behaving in this manner (3), and the great Chancellor Clarendon, openly charged with it by ſome perſons of tolerable credit (4). We need not wonder therefore, if the King, upon ſome ſuggeſtion of that ſort, might be brought to ſuſpect Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and on his being detected in the conſpiracy for which he ſufferered, allow himſelf to believe his old ſuſpicions were juſt, though they might have been ſtifled and forgot before that unhappy affair re-called them to his memory. Biſhop Burnet tells us this ſtory in very ſtrong terms, and therefore it will be requiſite to give it in his own words. Speaking of the ſeverity with which Sir Thomas was treated, he ſays (5), 'The 'King had publiſhed a ſtory all about the court, 'and had told it to the foreign miniſters, as the 'reaſon of this extream ſeverity againſt Armſtrong. 'He ſaid that he was ſent over by Cromwell to 'murder him beyond ſea, and that he was warned 'of it, and challenged him on it, and that upon 'his confeſſing it, he had promiſed never to ſpeak 'of it any more as long as he lived: So the King 'counting him now dead in law, thought he was 'free from that promiſe.' We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention this ſubject again, when we come to ſpeak of Sir Thomas Armſtrong's dying ſpeech; and we ſhall then ſhew, that the Biſhop's ſtory is inconſiſtent with that ſpeech, notwithſtanding he appeals to it.

(1) Clarendon's Hiſt. fol. 1732. p. 669, 670, 671.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(3) See his article in this Work.

(4) Lord Landſdown's Vindication of General Monk and Sir John Greenville.

(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

[*B*] *That operated ſo very ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration.*] Upon General Monk's coming to London, it was found requiſite, in order to accompliſh his great deſign of ſettling the nation without effuſion

return he was taken into great favour, was employed in many ſervices of importance, promoted to the rank of Liuetenant in one of the troops of horſe-guards, and was Gentleman of the Horſe to his Majeſty (*f*). The heat and vehemence of his temper, betrayed him however into ſome exceſſes, and particularly into one which was extreamly fatal to his reputation, and, but for the King's favour, might have been fatal alſo to his life. This was the killing one Mr Scroop in a play-houſe quarrel (*g*), which misfortune rendered it neceſſary, or at leaſt expedient, for him to leave the kingdom, but he did it in an honourable way, and as an attendant upon the King's natural ſon, Mr James Crofts, afterwards ſo well known to the world, by the title of Duke of Monmouth. He ſerved with him in Flanders with great reputation, and there acquired ſuch a degree of military ſkill, as made him conſidered as an active and accompliſhed officer, which made him the more dear to thoſe noblemen of a martial diſpoſition, who attached themſelves to that Duke (*b*). After the war was over he returned to England, and ſtood in all appearance in as high favour, and as great credit with the King, as ever. But this did not continue long, for the times growing troubleſome, and factions ariſing both in the Court and Country, he had the misfortune to fall into ſuch meaſures as diſobliged his maſter, drew upon him at firſt his coldneſs and diſpleaſure, and ended at laſt, in removing him from all his places, and in his total diſmiſſion from Court. The long intercourſe of friendſhip he had had with, and his great dependance on, the Duke of Monmouth, proved the firſt cauſe of his troubles, and in the end that of his ruin; he was naturally warm and zealous in whatever cauſe he engaged, and when the Court puſhed the Duke extreamly, in order to detach him from the party he had embraced, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was indefatigable in his ſervices and ſhewed ſo much vigour and conſtancy in his attachment to that unhappy Duke, as made him conſidered as one of his principal adviſers (*i*) [C]. In the conferences that afterwards happened between that Duke, the Earl

(*f*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 578.

(*g*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, fol. 1720, p. 1027.

(*b*) See the article of SCOT Duke of Monmouth.

(*i*) See this clear-up in note [C].

effuſion of blood, that all parties ſhould make publick declarations that this was their deſire; that they were truly ſenſible, as well as heartily weary of the mutations in government to which they had been expoſed, and that there was nothing they ſo ardently deſired, as the meeting of a free and conſtitutional Parliament. The Royaliſts among the reſt, declared their ſentiments in the paper here referred to, and which, as it is very ſhort, I think it may not be amiſs to inſert (6).

(6) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121.

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London.

'AFTER the miſeries of a civil war, and the many and fruitleſs attempts towards ſettlement upon ſeveral intereſts, and imaginary forms of government. It having pleaſed Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give theſe nations a probable hope of being reſtored to thoſe laws and privileges, which have been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; we do declare, that we think ourſelves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this gracious work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who as he had the courage to aſſert the publick liberty, and the prudence to carry it on againſt ſo many difficulties, has alſo had the happineſs to lead us thus far through the wilderneſs of confuſion, without paſſing the red ſea of blood; and becauſe the enemies of the publick peace have endeavoured to repreſent thoſe of the King's party, as men implacable, and ſuch as would ſacrifice the common good to their own private paſſions: we do ſincerely profeſs, that we do reflect upon our paſt ſufferings from the hands of God, and therefore do not cheriſh any violent thoughts or inclinations, to have been any way inſtrumental in them. And if the indiſcretion of any ſpirited perſons, tranſports them to expreſſions contrary to this our ſenſe, we utterly diſclaim them; and deſire that the imputation may extend no farther than the folly of the offenders. And we farther declare, that we intend by our quiet and peaceable behaviour, to teſtify our ſubmiſſion to the preſent power, as it now reſides in the council of ſtate, in expectation of the future Parliament, upon whoſe wiſdom and determinations, we truſt God will give ſuch a bleſſing, as may produce a perfect ſettlement both in Church and State.

'And as his Excellency hath not choſen the ſandy foundations of ſelf-government, but the firm rock of national intereſt, whereon to frame a ſettlement: it is our hope and prayer, that when the building comes to be raiſed, it may not, like *Rome*, have the beginning in the blood of brethren; nor like *Babel* to be interrupted by the confuſion of tongues; but that we may all ſpeak in one language, and be of one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animoſities may be thrown in and buried like rubbiſh under the foundation.'

This declaration was ſubſcribed by the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and about ſeventy more of the nobility and gentry, that had been in the King's ſervice; and therefore it is a very clear teſtimony in favour of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who ſubſcribed among the reſt, that he was at this time conſidered as a very hearty friend to the conſtitution, and as a very loyal ſervant to the King his maſter.

[C] *As one of his principal adviſers.*] The Duke of Monmouth, by the arts of the Earl of Shafteſbury and ſome other men of the ſame ſtamp, had been drawn not only to differ with the court, and to give his father, King Charles II, a great deal of uneaſineſs and diſturbance, but had alſo had recourſe to abundance of popular artifices, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people. At the time of the Oxford Parliament, there was an attempt made by the Earl of Shafteſbury, to have procured an alteration in the ſucceſſion, in the Duke's favour. This, tho' a thing of great conſequence, and in a great meaſure the baſis of all his ſubſequent proceedings, is very little known, and therefore it will contribute not a little to the clearing up the Duke's, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong's deſigns to ſet this matter in a full light. On March 24, 1680-1, the Earl of Shafteſbury demanded an audience of the King, then at Oxford, on pretence of a letter he had received, containing an expedient for ſettling the nation, and ſupplying the excluſion bill, to which his Majeſty had ſhewn himſelf exceſſively averſe (7). The Earl was accordingly introduced to his Majeſty, and his expedient propoſed, which was to ſettle the crown on the Duke of Monmouth. The King ſurprized, told the Earl he wondered, that after ſo many declarations to the contrary, he ſhould preſs him upon that ſubject. That if either with conſcience, or juſtice, or nature, he could do ſuch a thing, he would have done it before. It being reaſonable that, if he ever had a child of his own legitimate, he would much rather have him reign than his brother, or any of his brother's children. That his Majeſty was none of thoſe that grew more timorous with age; but that rather he grew more reſolute, the nearer he was to his grave. At that word, the loyal Earl was mightily concerned, and cried out, that it chilled his blood to hear of ſuch an expreſſion; telling the King, how earneſt the whole nation was for his preſervation, that in him were comprized all their ſafeties, lives, liberties, and religion, and their all. *Yes*, anſwered his Majeſty, *and yet my Lord, I am the only*

(7) Extract from a pamphlet intituled, The Lord Shafteſbury's Expedient for ſettling the Nation, diſcourſed with his Majeſty at Oxford, &c.

Earl of Shafteſbury, the Lord Howard, Lord Grey, and others, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was very buſy and aſſiduous, as appears by all the tryals in reference to what was then called a plot, and was in reality a deſign againſt the government, which was in agitation for ſeveral months, but whether it was or was not to be attempted by force, is not extreamly clear (*k*). The ſhare which Sir Thomas Armſtrong was ſuppoſed to have in it, was chiefly with reſpect to the guards, which as he had commanded, he was thought to be beſt acquainted with, and therefore, whenever the deſign of ſurprizing them came upon the carpet, he was principally conſulted. It was ſaid by the Attorney-General, at the tryal of my Lord Ruſſel, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong was one of the Council of Six (*l*), but there was no proof of it. The matter of fact which bore hardeſt upon him, and which induced the government to purſue him with ſo much eagerneſs as they did, was the poſitive proof of his being preſent at the fatal meeting at Mr Sheppard's, in the latter end of October, 1682, at which meeting, a deſign of riſing in Dorſetſhire was talked of, in which Mr Trenchard had promiſed to aſſiſt, but then declined it, to which it ſeems Sir Thomas Armſtrong was no ſtranger (*m*). He likewiſe was ſaid to have ſeen a declaration, or repreſentation of grievances, that was produced and read at this meeting, and thoſe who diſcovered this plot affirmed, that he propoſed the attacking the guards, and, in company with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, went to view them at the Savoy and the Meuſe, and on their return reported, that the guards were very remiſs in their places, and not like ſoldiers, and the thing was feaſible if they had ſtrength to do it (*n*). The Lord Ruſſel himſelf afterwards owned, that there was ſome ſuch diſcourſe as this, but that it was a ſuppoſition only, a bare enquiry, whether the thing was poſſible, and not any formed or ſettled deſign [*D*]. But the Court had no ſooner received informations of this nature againſt Sir Thomas, than they took all imaginable

(*k*) See Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot, and compare it with Ld Ruſſel's Tryal in the third volume of State Tryals.

(*l*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 712, 713.

(*m*) See Mr Sheppard's evidence in the courſe of that Tryal.

(*n*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 714.

only arbitrary man in the kingdom. But aſſure yourſelves, I intend to take a greater care of my own preſervation, and that of my people, than any of you all, that pretend to ſo much concern for the ſecurity of my perſon: and yet as careful as I am of my own preſervation, I would much ſooner loſe this life, of which you pretend to be ſuch watchful preſervers, than ever part with any of my prerogatives, or betray this place, the laws, or the religion, or alter the true ſucceſſion of the crown; it being repugnant both to conſcience and law. For that matter, replied the Earl, *let us alone, we will make a law for it.* But the King told him, *My Lord, if this is your conſcience, it is far from being mine, for this cannot be done without overthrowing all religion and law. And in fine, aſſure yourſelves that, as I love my life ſo well as to take all the care in the world to keep it with honour, ſo I do not think it of ſo great value, after fifty, to be preſerved with the forfeiture of my honour, conſcience, and the laws of the land.* But this flat declaration did not either ſatisfy the Duke or diſcourage the Earl who prompted him. On the contrary, they proſecuted their intrigues with greater eagerneſs and openneſs than ever. The Duke for that purpoſe, thought it neceſſary to make a tour through ſeveral parts of England, under colour of horſe-races and other diverſions, which alarmed the court exceedingly. An eminent hiſtorian prefaces his account of what happened in 1683, by ſaying (8), 'The Duke of 'Monmouth had been the laſt ſummer diverting him-'ſelf in the country, with Sir Thomas Armſtrong in 'his company: In his return toward London, he was 'taken into cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms at Stafford. 'The Duke received the meſſage with great preſence 'of mind, and went along with the Serjeant to Lon-'don; and offered himſelf to Mr Secretary Jenkins 'to be examined, provided there were others of the 'council preſent; but the Secretary refuſing to let any 'of the Lords attend, the Duke would not be que-'ſtioned by him; ſo the Secretary ordered a ſecond 'warrant to be drawn, for the Meſſenger's keeping 'him in longer cuſtody, which he did from Saturday 'till Monday, and then the Duke was bailed before 'Judge Raymond: His bail were the Earl of Clare, 'the Lord Grey, the Lord Ruſſel, William Leviſon 'Gower, Eſq; and John Offley, Eſq; The firſt day of 'the term he made his appearance at the King's 'Bench Bar, according to his recognizance, and clear-'ed his bail.' In all this troubleſome affair, and in all the tranſactions the Duke of Monmouth was engaged in with his party, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was conſtantly concerned, and carried moſt of his orders and meſſages.

(8) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 409.

[*D*] *The thing was poſſible, and not any formed deſign.*] It is neceſſary upon this occaſion, to give a ſuccinct account of this contrivance, againſt King Charles II's government, in which this gentleman was unluckily involved, the rather, becauſe moſt of our hiſtorians make themſelves parties in their relations, and either wholly juſtify the court, or elſe declare the whole ſtory of this deſign a forgery (9). Of theſe neither is to be done, becauſe neither can be done with truth. But in regard we have not much room to ſpare, and as we ſhall be obliged to touch this ſubject again under various articles, we ſhall be very ſhort here. The views of thoſe who were involved in this unhappy plot, appear to have regarded three different objects; by blending and confounding theſe, the court lawyers endeavoured to repreſent all as equally guilty, of which, as they fell ſhort in proof, it afforded room to ſuggeſt that none were guilty at all. In the firſt deſign, which was for a ſort of general inſurrection, in order to obtain a redreſs of grievances, all the Lords, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong, were concerned. The ſecond project, was the killing the King and Duke, in their paſſage from Newmarket to London, from a malt-houſe that ſtood upon the road, and from it's being called the Rye-houſe, gave name to the plot. The third deſign was in conſequence of this, for a fire happening at Newmarket, which obliged the King to leave that place ſuddenly and go to Cambridge, upon this, thoſe deſperate people who were in the Rye-houſe deſign, were for proceeding ſtill, and for attacking the King and Duke in their paſſage to London. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that there is ſome confuſion in the accounts we have, about the deſign of attacking the guards, for amongſt the Lords and other perſons of diſtinction, it had been *talked of*, but among the ſecond ſort of people who were engaged in the Rye-houſe ſcheme, it had been really *agreed on*. Biſhop Burnet who certainly knew this matter as well as any man, and very probably had all he ſays about it, from the mouth of Lord Ruſſel, gives the following account of the converſation at Sheppard's, which was fatal to that Lord, and to Sir Thomas Armſtrong (10). 'The 'Duke of Monmouth, ſays he, gave an appointment 'to Lord Shafteſbury, or ſome of his friends, to meet 'him, and ſome others that he ſhould bring along 'with him, at Sheppard's, a wine merchant in whom 'they had an entire confidence. The night before 'this appointment, Lord Ruſſel came to town on ac-'count of his uncle's illneſs. The Duke of Monmouth 'went to him, and told him of the appointment, and 'deſired he would go thither with him: he conſented 'the rather, becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of that 'merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord 'Grey, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong. When they 'came, they found none there, but Rumſey and Fer-'guſon, two of Lord Shafteſbury's tools that he em-'ployed: Upon which they ſeeing no better company, 'reſolved immediately to go back. But Lord Ruſſel 'called for a taſte of the wines, and while they were 'bringing it him up, Rumſey and Armſtrong fell into 'a diſcourſe of ſurprizing the guards. Rumſey fan-'cied it might be eaſily done: Armſtrong, that had

(9) See the Compleat Hiſt. of England before cited. The Examen of that Hiſtory by Roger North, Eſq; and Biſhop Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 537, 538.

imaginable pains to get him into their hands, but he having timely notice of the diſcoveries made againſt him, made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf for ſome time in England, during which he was ſo uneaſy, that Mr Hampden, who viſited him, was of opinion, he would then have diſcovered any thing to ſave his life, but either Mr Hampden was miſtaken, or Sir Thomas changed his ſentiments afterwards, and that in a very great degree, ſince he ſhewed infinitely more courage when in cuſtody, and even to his laſt breath, than any who were engaged with him in that weak and raſh deſign (*o*). After ſome time ſpent, with as much ſecrecy as poſſible in England, he withdrew into Holland, and paſſed by the name of Mr Henry Lawrence, and there thought himſelf ſafe, but Mr Chudleigh, King Charles's Miniſter there, obtaining a warrant from the States, for apprehending ſuch of the conſpirators as had fled from England; he was ſeized at Leyden by the Schout of that place, an officer not unlike our Sheriff, who delivered him up to the King's Miniſter for a preſent of five thouſand guilders, which is about five hundred pounds of our money (*p*), and he was then put on board the King's yatch called the Catharine, Captain Davies, Commander, in order to be ſent to England. He muſt have been in great confuſion, otherwiſe he might certainly have preſerved his life; ſince, as he was a native of Holland, the States, if they had been informed of it in time, would undoubtedly have protected him (*q*); but he was hurried on board by the great induſtry of the Miniſter, who was very deſirous of making his court at home, by giving ſo ſtrong a proof of his zeal and diligence, as he knew the ſeizing of Sir Thomas Armſtrong would be accounted. While this unfortunate gentleman was in Holland, an indictment was preferred againſt him in London, for high-treaſon, upon which he was outlawed, and upon his being brought home, it was reſolved to proceed againſt him upon this outlawry, without allowing him the benefit of a tryal (*r*). It was with this view, that immediately on his arrival in England, a warrant was granted for his commitment to Newgate, by Sidney Godolphin, Eſq; Secretary of State (afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England). This warrant was dated 10 June, 1684 (*s*), and upon the fourteenth of the ſame month, he was carried up to the King's-Bench-Bar at Weſtminſter, where Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney-General, moved the court for an award of execution upon the outlawry. The Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies on his motion ordered Sir Thomas Armſtrong to be arraigned on the outlawry, and demanded of him what he had to ſay, Why execution ſhould not be awarded: he pleaded the ſtatute of 6 Ed. VI, by which it was provided, that if a perſon outlawed, who was beyond the ſeas, rendered himſelf to the Chief Juſtice of England within one year, he might traverſe the indictment, or appeal, and have the benefit of a tryal, which he claimed, by rendering himſelf there at the bar within the year. The Lord Chief Juſtice however, being of opinion that his caſe was not within the ſtatute, becauſe he did not yield himſelf voluntarily, but was brought to the bar in cuſtody, was for awarding execution. Sir Thomas demanded council upon the point of law, which was refuſed him. He then obſerved, that the King had been pleaſed to offer Holloway the benefit of a tryal, if he deſired it, who was exactly in the ſame caſe with himſelf. To this the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, that what was done for Holloway, was purely through the grace and mercy of the King, who might extend the ſame favour to him if he thought fit, but that this was not the buſineſs of a court of law (*t*). The Attorney-General interpoſed, and ſaid, that the priſoner deſerved no indulgence or mercy from the King, becauſe it had appeared by the evidence given on the late conſpiracy, that after the fire at Newmarket had diſappointed the Rye-houſe ſcheme of killing the King, this gentleman was one of the perſons, that actually engaged to go, upon the King's haſty coming to town, and to deſtroy him by the way (*u*). The Lord Chief Juſtice interrupted the Attorney upon this, and told him, that they could not conſider evidence but the outlawry, upon which he awarded execution on the Friday following. There were many circumſtances of apparent hardſhip in Sir Thomas's caſe. At the time he was taken he was ſtripped of his money, ſo that when the Privy-Council offered to hear Lawyers on his behalf, he could not procure Council, having no money to fee them (*w*). He was in a manner hurried out of his life, for on the tenth of June, 1684, he was committed to Newgate; on the twelfth he was brought before the Council: this proceeding at the King's-Bench-Bar, was on the fourteenth, and the day fixed for his execution was the twentieth. He was loaded with irons in Newgate, where he was cloſely confined, and ill treated, the jaylor ſtriking his daughter, Mrs Catharine Armſtrong, while on her knees aſking him bleſſing (*x*). His other daughter, Mrs Matthews, was committed by the Lord Chief Juſtice in court, for expreſſing ſome impatience at her father's uſage, but ſhe was afterwards diſcharged without paying fees (*y*). The worſt of all was, the brutal manner in which the Chief Juſtice himſelf behaved, for upon upon Sir Thomas's ſaying that he ought to have the benefit of the law, and that he demanded no more, Jefferies, with great great indecency, anſwered, *That you ſhall have, by the grace of God. See that execution be done on Friday next, according to law. You ſhall have the full benefit of the law* (*z*). Yet the point on which the priſoner depended, and

(*o*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 578.

(*p*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 577.

(*q*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 577, 578.

(*r*) See the proceedings in the third volume of the State Tryals, p. 983.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 984.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 985.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 985.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 459.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 985.

(*z*) Ibid.

'commanded them, ſhewed him his miſtakes. This 'was no conſultation about what was to be done, 'but only about what might have been done; Lord 'Ruſſel ſpoke nothing upon the ſubject: but as ſoon 'as he had taſted his wines, they went away.'

and which was clearly set forth, in a paper tendered to the Chief Justice and Attorney-General [*E*], was certainly in his favour, and the court of King's-bench have declared as much since, in cases of the like nature, where prisoners have been admitted to a tryal (*a*) [*F*]. The chief reason why the King suffered this gentleman to be so hardly treated, was expressed by the Attorney-General, as has been before shewn; but there were besides some other reasons, with which we shall not leave the reader unacquainted [*G*]. On Friday the twentieth

(*a*) See the remarks in note [*F*].

[*E*] *Paper tendred to the Chief Justice, and Attorney-General.*] This paper was presented by the Lady Armstrong, on the behalf of her husband, to the Lord Keeper North, the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries, and Sir Robert Sawyer; and ran in the following terms (11), viz. 'My Lord, I am informed, 'that, by the common law of England, any man 'that was out-lawed in felony or treason, might 'bring a Writ of Error, to reverse his outlawry; 'which was to be granted, *ex Debito Justitiæ*. Tho' 'it may be the manner of suing for such a Writ 'of Error to the King, might be by way of petition, (as in a petition, or *Remonstrance de Droit*, for 'lands, &c.) and so it was resolved, in Ninian Melvin's Case, Co. 4. Inst. 215.

(11) State Tryals, Vol. VIII, p. 454.

'Next, by the common law, if any man were in 'England, at the time of the Exigent awarded, and 'went out of the realm after that, and before the 'outlawry pronounced, he could never assign that for 'error, that he was beyond-sea at the time of the 'pronouncing the outlawry; and the reason is, because he was here at the time of the awarding 'of the Exigent, and might reasonably have notice 'of it.

'On the other side, if any were out of England, 'during the whole process and pronounciation of the 'outlawry, it was never yet a doubt, but that was 'an error, and might be assigned for error, either 'by the party, or his heir, at the common law, 'and so continues to this day; and was not long 'since adjudged in O'Kerney's case, the Irishman, 'who came in about two years after the outlawry.

'Then comes the Statute of 5 and 6 Edw. VI, 'Cap. ii. and enlarges the law for the benefit of the 'outlawed person, and gives him liberty to assign 'for error, That he was beyond-sea, at the time 'of the outlawry pronounced; which he could not 'do by common law before the statute: and so 'continues.

'Then comes the proviso, and says, That he must 'come in within a year, and render himself to be 'entitled to the benefit of that Act; which was, to 'assign for error, that he was beyond-sea at the 'time of the outlawry pronounced.

'So that, my Lord, upon this short state of the 'law, and my husband's case, he being beyond-sea 'all the time of the process, and at the time of the 'outlawry pronounced; it is conceived, he is well entitled to assign this for error at the common law, 'without any aid of the statute, though the proviso in that statute should be ruled against him: 'which (with submission) is the opinion of many 'learned persons in the law, That he is within 'the intent and meaning of that proviso, for many 'reasons, too long to trouble your Lordship with 'now.

'Therefore, I do hope, that this case of my 'husband, being the first case that any man was 'executed upon an outlawry, (that did not desire 'it) (12), may have that weight with your Lordship, 'that it deserves; and do hope, that your Lordship 'will so advise the King, in matter of law, (whose 'Council you are) that my husband may have a 'Writ of Error granted him, and Council assigned 'him to argue these points, as the law has allowed to criminals in capital cases, with whatsoever else shall appear upon the record of outlawry produced, which as yet my husband, or any 'for him, never saw!'

(12) This refers to the Case of Holloway concerned in the same Treason, who was offered a tryal, refused it, and was executed on the Outlawry.

[*F*] *Where prisoners have been admitted to at trial.*] The statute of which this gentleman claimed the benefit, was as clear and express as any thing could be, as may appear by the following clauses read at his trial (13). 'All process of outlawry hereafter, 'to be made and had within this Realm, against 'any offenders in treason, being resiant or inhabitant out of the limits of this realm, or in any 'the parts beyond the sea, at the time of the outlawry produced against them, shall be as good and 'effectual in the law to all intents and purposes, as 'if any such offenders had been resident and dwelling 'within this realm, at the time of such process awarded, and outlawry pronounced.

(13) 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. ii. § 3 and 4.

'Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the party so hereafter be outlawed, shall within one year next after the said outlawry pronounced, or judgment given upon the said outlawry, yield himself unto the Chief Justice of 'England, for the time being, and offer to traverse 'the indictment or appeal, whereupon the said outlawry shall be pronounced as is aforesaid: That 'then he shall be received to the said traverse, and 'being thereupon found not guilty, by the verdict 'of twelve men, he shall be clearly acquitted and 'discharged of the said outlawry, and of all penalties and forfeitures by reason of the same, in as 'large and ample manner and form, as though no 'such outlawry had been made? any thing herein 'contained to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.'

Yet it does not appear, that ever this point was fully and clearly settled till very lately, and that in the following case (14). King and Johnson, Mich. 2 Geo. II. B. R. the prisoner, was allowed to be within the benefit of the proviso; and though he had escaped out of prison, and was re-taken in England, was admitted to prove himself beyond-sea, at the time of the outlawry; and, upon proving that he was then at Middleburgh in Zealand, his outlawry was reversed, and he admitted to a trial and acquitted: and on this occasion Armstrong's case was declared a precedent not fit to be followed.

(14) State Tryals, Vol. III, p. 984.

[*G*] *We shall not leave the reader unacquainted.*] There are three causes assigned for the King's severity, towards the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armstrong. I. That he had been employed by Cromwell, to assassinate him while abroad, which it seems had come to Sir Thomas Armstrong's ear; but as we shall see in the next note, it is far from being certain, either that the King actually believed this, or that Sir Thomas thought he believed it. II. The reason assigned by the Attorney-General, which was, that he was deep in the design against his person; and of this, the Lord Howard gave the following account upon oath. 'Upon reflection, I am apt to think, that 'from this time (October 1683) and not before, the 'design of way-laying the King, in his return to 'London, was first meditated, and I am the more 'confirmed in this opinion, from the consideration 'of the behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth, and 'the Lord Grey, who seemed to be very big of 'expectation, of some great thing to be attempted 'upon the day of the King's coming from Newmarket; upon which day Sir Thomas Armstrong 'was not to be found, till the King's coaches were 'come into town, and I do verily believe, he was 'to have headed the party.' Col. Rumsey, as soon as he heard of Armstrong's being taken, made oath in these words: 'Sir Thomas Armstrong did come 'to me the Sunday night after the fire at Newmarket, and told me that he just came from Ferguson; and notwithstanding the King and Duke 'were to return so soon, yet Ferguson did not doubt 'by that time to have men ready to do the business, and desired me to go with him to Ferguson's 'lodgings in his coach, which I did. When I came 'there, Ferguson told me the same, but that they 'wanted money. Upon which Sir Thomas desired 'me to lend some, and he would see me re-paid; 'and added, that if he had been in stock, he would 'have done it himself.' Bishop Sprat, who by order of the King wrote the History of this Conspiracy, having mentioned these facts, proceeds thus very probably by his Majesty's direction (15). 'After 'this, the King could not think himself in the least 'bound to go out of the way of the law, for 'shewing any distinguishing act of grace to Sir 'Thomas Armstrong, especially when it is manifest 'there was scarce a man living, who had more 'personal obligations to his Majesty, than he had, 'and

(15) Sprat's Hist. of the Rye house plot, p. 143, 144.

twentieth of June, about nine in the morning, the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex came to Newgate, and demanded their priſoner, who was immediately put into a ſledge, and drawn to the place of execution, attended by a numerous guard. He employed the time he was drawing to Tyburn, in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within ſight of the gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted-up hands and eyes, addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, till he came beneath the tree, where he remained about a quarter of an hour in the ſledge; before he aſcended the cart that ſtood ready for him, he deſired the Sheriff to admit Dr Teniſon to come to him, and having delivered a paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneeled down with the priſoner, and prayed with him about a quarter of an hour, during all which time, the priſoner preſerved a becoming and heroick countenance, little daunted with the terror of that fate he was in view of; but riſing from his devotions, he pulled off his cravat and hat, which he gave to his ſervant who attended him, and had followed him by the ſledge ſide, when kneeling down himſelf, he prayed for a ſhort time with fervency and devotion, begging pardon of his God for thoſe manifold and crying ſins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a reſignation of himſelf to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whoſe judgment-ſeat he was forthwith to appear, deſiring that the whole world would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in peace and charity. Having thus ended theſe devotions, he again ſtood up, and putting off his perriwig, he had a white cap delivered to him, which he put on; and being ſoon after tied up, the chief of his diſcourſe was addreſſed to a gentleman who ſtood by him; and after a ſhort ſpace, holding up his hands, he again renewed his prayers; his viſage little changing all the time, till the very moment the cart drew away; the executioner having pulled the cap over his eyes, he continued his prayers all the time, and even whilſt he hung, as long as life was in him, and he had the command of his lips: after he had hung about half an hour, and the executioner had diveſted him of his apparel, he was cut down according to his ſentence, his privy members burnt, his head cut off and ſhewed to the people as that of a traytor, his heart and bowels taken out, and committed to the flames, and his body quartered into four parts, which, with his head, were conveyed back to Newgate, to be diſpoſed of according to his Majeſty's pleaſure; and were afterwards publickly expoſed (*b*), his head being ſet upon Weſtminſter-Hall, between thoſe of Cromwell and Bradſhaw, one of his quarters upon Temple-Bar, two others at Alderſgate and Aldgate, and the fourth was ſent down to Stafford, for which town he had ſerved in Parliament (*c*). The paper he delivered to the Sheriffs, contains in it ſeveral curious particulars worthy of notice, and as it has been very imperfectly printed elſewhere, we have preſerved it in the notes (*d*) [*H*].

(*b*) Weſtern Martyrology: or the Bloody Aſſizes, p. 71, 72, 73.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 1043.

(*d*) It differs from that in State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 396, and which is taken from the Weſtern Martyrology, p. 73.

We

' and yet no man had made more ungrateful re-
' turns for them than he had done. Nor could his
' Majeſty forget how many other perſons, and ſome
' very near his Majeſty, Sir Thomas Armſtrong had
' been the chief inſtrument of perverting, upon which
' account, his Majeſty had reaſon to look on him
' as the author of many more treaſons beſides his
' own.' This ſeems to be clear and ſatisfactory, and is moſt like to have been the true ground of the King's proceeding. III. But Biſhop Burnet, gives quite another turn to this; he ſays (16), *The Court had a mind to proceed in a ſummary way with him, that he ſhould, by the hurry of it, be driven to ſay any thing that could ſave him.* This is viſibly that Prelate's own conjecture, and the reader, will not think it very probable; if he conſiders, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who was the laſt perſon executed for this conſpiracy, could therefore ſay very little that was not known before; and that he never appears to have had the leaſt offer of mercy made him.

(16) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 578.

[*H*] *We have preſerved it in the notes.*]

A Copy of the Paper delivered by Sir Thomas Armſtrong *to the Sheriff* (17).

(17) From a MS. belonging to the late Mr Grainger of the India Houſe.

' I THANK Almighty God, though I have had
' but a ſhort time allowed me, I find myſelf pre-
' pared for death, and my thoughts ſet on another
' world; and I truſt in God's mercy, I am well wean-
' ed from ſetting my heart on this: Yet I cannot but
' give ſo much of my little time to ſet down in writ-
' ing, my anſwers to ſome calumnies raiſed ſince my
' cloſe impriſonment, as well as what Mr Attorney
' accuſed me of at the bar. I was told a very great
' perſon ſaid, I was a ſpy of Cromwell's. I was ſent
' from England by the beſt and conſiderableſt friends
' the King had then, with bills of exchange, and let-
' ters of very great importance, to his Majeſty at Bruſ-
' ſels; I appeal to his Majeſty if I delivered them
' not ſafe, and his anſwer to them, when I returned;
' which I had not been above ſix days, but I was clap-
' ped up a cloſe Priſoner in the Gatehouſe, and in ex-
' treme danger of my life, for that journey. Before
' this, I had been a year in Lambeth houſe a priſoner;
' and after a priſoner in the Tower, when the Uſurper
' died, and near ſtarving in every one of them: very
' ill treatment for a ſpy and a penſioner! My Lord of
' Oxford, and many others of quality, will, I think,
' teſtify my innocence in this point. I proteſt before
' God, I was never a ſpy or penſioner to Cromwell or
' any other man. On Saturday laſt, I was brought
' down to the King's-Bench-Bar, on an outlawry for
' high-treaſon: I was aſked what I had to ſay for my-
' ſelf, that judgment of death ſhould not paſs? I an-
' ſwered, that I was beyond ſea when the outlawry
' came out; I thought the law allowed a writ of error
' to reverſe it: I prayed I might be allowed a trial for
' my life according to the laws of the land; I urged
' the ſtatute of Edward VI, which was expreſs for it;
' but it ſignified nothing: I was condemned and made
' a precedent, though Mr Holloway a little before had
' it offered him. I cannot but think all the world will
' conclude my caſe very different: And why was it
' refuſed me? Mr Attorney accuſed me there, for be-
' ing one of thoſe that were to kill the King, as ſoon
' as he came back from Newmarket after the fire. I
' take God to witneſs, I never was in any deſign to
' take away the King's life: neither had any man the
' impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing
' to me: neither was I ever in any deſign to alter the
' government of England. What I am accuſed of,
' I know no otherwiſe than by reports and prints:
' which I take to be uncertain, ſo that it cannot be
' expected I ſhould make particular anſwers to them.
' If I had been tried, I could have proved my Lord
' Howard's baſe reflections upon me, to be a notorious
' falſhood: for there are at leaſt ten gentlemen, be-
' ſides all the ſervants in the houſe, can prove I dined
' there that day.

' I have lived and now die of the reformed religion,
' a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the communion
' of the Church of England. I have found the great
' comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and
' through my Bleſſed Redeemer, in whom I only truſt;
' and I do verily hope, I am going to partake of that
' fulneſs of joy, which I believe is in his preſence;
' the hopes whereof do infinitely pleaſe me. I thank

God,

We are informed by Biſhop Burnet, that he prepared another paper (*e*), but thought fit to lay it aſide, for reaſons with which that Prelate ſeems to have been well acquainted, and which are likewiſe of ſuch a nature, as that they deſerve to be conſidered [*I*]. The characters given of him are very different, and yet it is very hard to ſay, whether his friends or enemies have uſed him worſt, which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is, to rely on ſuch writers as are entirely governed by party, and are influenced in what they relate, not by facts but notions. It is however requiſite that the readers ſhould ſee theſe characters, that he may be able to judge for himſelf, as to the truth of this obſervation [*K*]. After the Revolution, all the proceedings on the Rye-houſe conſpiracy were

(*e*) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

'God, I have no repining at my heart for the condi-
'tion my ſins have moſt deſervedly brought me to: I
'have deſerved much worſe at the hands of God: ſo
'that I chearfully ſubmit to this puniſhment, as being
'taken off, but a ſmall time ſooner. I do freely for-
'give all the world, even thoſe concerned in taking
'away my life. As for the ſentence of death paſſed
'upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one;
'being denied the law of the land as I think. To
'conclude, as I never had any deſign againſt the
'King's life, or the life of any man; ſo I was never
'in any deſign to alter the government. I die in
'charity with all the world; and therefore, I heartily
'pray God to bleſs the Church of Chriſt every where,
'theſe poor nations, and the King's Majeſty; and I
'heartily commend my ſoul to God's infinite mercy,
'thro' my bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.'

[*I*] *They deſerve to be conſidered.*] In the firſt place, it is very evident from the drift of Sir Thomas's ſpeech, which is very ſerious, ſolemn, and well ſuited to the occaſion, that he does by no means come up to what Biſhop Burnet aſſerts was his meaning. For after the ſtory tranſcribed from him in a former note (18), as to what the King ſhould ſay of his being employed by Cromwell to murder him, that prelate proceeds thus, '(19) Armſtrong took this heavily, and in one paper 'which I ſaw written in his own hand, the reſent-'ments upon it were ſharper than I thought became a 'dying penitent. So when that was repreſented to him 'he changed it: and in the paper he gave the Sheriffs 'he had ſoftened it much. But yet he ſhewed the 'falſhood of that report.' One cannot but ſtand amazed at this, when one conſiders the ſpeech itſelf, in which, as the reader ſees, there is not one word about his being charged with a deſign of killing the King when he went to him at Bruſſels, or any thing like it. All that it appears from his ſpeech Sir Thomas Armſtrong had heard, was his being charged with acting as a ſpy for Cromwell, which was (as he ſays) reported of him by a very great perſon, but plainly not the King, for it is to the King he appeals for his juſtification in this very point. As to another obſervation of the Biſhop's, that it was this paſſage in Armſtrong's ſpeech, that hindered the court from ordering obſervations to be made on it, as had been made on other ſpeeches; it is a very unnatural conjecture, ſince if the King had told ſuch a ſtory, he would certainly have juſtified, or elſe have directed Biſhop Sprat to have mentioned it in that part of his hiſtory of the conſpiracy, in which he particularly mentions the caſe of Armſtrong. As to the real cauſe of the court's publiſhing no reflections on this ſpeech, I really conceive it to have been the modeſty, plainneſs, and loyalty of the diſcourſe, that hindered it's being animadverted upon. Sir Thomas Armſtrong diſavows the knowledge of any deſign againſt the King's life, but ſays nothing of the diſcourſe about the guards. He thought, like Lord Ruſſel, that attacking the guards, becauſe not eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament, was neither levying war, or compaſſing his death in the eye of the law. He likewiſe affirms, that he was in no conſpiracy for ſubverting the government. One would ſuppoſe therefore, the Duke of Monmouth was in no ſuch ſchemes either, and that this was what provoked the Earl of Shafteſbury to withdraw to Holland, as finding his friends differing from each other's opinion, and purſuing various ends, which he knew muſt iſſue in diſappointing them all. It ſhould ſeem therefore on the whole, if we give entire credit to Sir Thomas's ſpeech (as indeed we ought) I ſay it ſhould ſeem as if the Duke of Monmouth and his friends, had formed ſome ſuch deſign as proved fatal to Robert, Earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and this juſtifies the diſtinction we made before, of the ſtages and ſeveral ſchemes of thoſe who were involved in this unlucky contrivance. But with reſpect to Sir Thomas's complaint as to his hard treatment, take it in any light and it muſt be allowed to be well founded: The offering Holloway his trial in the ſame condition, makes the caſe ſtill harder, and if the Attorney-General's proofs were ſo clear, that made it no leſs hard; as on the other hand, if Sir Thomas could have falſified Lord Howard's evidence, that made it hardeſt of all. But what ſhews there was ſome particular rancour againſt Armſtrong, was the indicting Mr Joſeph Hayes (20) for remitting him one hundred and fifty pounds when in Holland though outlawed, and trying him for high-treaſon, in which, however the proof failed, Mr Hayes was acquitted.

(18) See before in note [*A*].

(19) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 579.

(20) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 1067.

[*K*] *As to the truth of this obſervation.*] It was a point of great conſequence to the government, to convince the nation of the truth of this conſpiracy, and therefore the King not only publiſhed a very ſolemn declaration, in which he ſet forth moſt of the particulars, and ordered it to be read in churches, that the people in all parts of his dominions might be thoroughly informed of what it was deſired they ſhould know; but afterwards deſired Dr Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to write the hiſtory of it, which he did with ſo much accuracy and elegance, that, except it be that of Cataline, there is not perhaps a more finiſhed piece of this kind extant. His Lordſhip is particularly nice in his characters, and that which he has given to Sir Thomas Armſtrong is conceived in the following words. 'Sir 'Thomas Armſtrong a debauched atheiſtical bravo, 'one of thoſe, who, with an hypocriſy peculiar to this 'age, would have paſſed for the moſt forward reform-'ers in Church and State, whilſt they themſelves, both 'in their practice and opinions, were the greateſt cor-'rupters of virtue and all good manners (21).' Throughout the whole of that hiſtory, his Lordſhip repreſents him as the moſt ſteady, and the moſt daring of all who were concerned in this deſign; and at the very laſt, when all their ſchemes were broken, inſiſting, that if but a thouſand men could be got together, with the Duke of Monmouth at their head, there might ſtill be ſomething done, adding, that at the worſt it was better to die like men, than to be hanged like dogs (22).——— There is plainly in this character, a mixture of great as well as bad qualities, and if we conſider the view with which the Biſhop wrote, and his being immediately under the influence of the King, for his hiſtory was finiſhed in the reign of Charles II, tho' publiſhed in that of King James; I ſay, if we conſider this, we cannot but allow, that whoever reads this character, will have no mean or deſpicable opinion of the gentleman on whom it is beſtowed. But let us now ſee what Biſhop Burnet ſays of him, who profeſſed a perfect acquaintance with all who were concerned in this affair, which he treats more at large, and with apparently greater labour than any other tranſaction mentioned in his firſt volume. 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong, 'ſays he, was truſted in every thing by the Duke of 'Monmouth, and he having led a very vicious life, 'the court hoped, that he not being able to bear the 'thoughts of dying, would have diſcovered every 'thing. He ſhewed ſuch a dejection of mind while 'he was concealing himſelf, before he eſcaped out of 'England, that Hampden, who ſaw him at that time, 'told me, he believed he would certainly do any 'thing that would ſave his life. Yet all were diſappointed in him, for when he was examined before 'the council, he ſaid he knew of no plot but the Po-'piſh plot, he deſired he might have a fair trial for 'his life, which was all he aſked (23).———His car-'riage during his impriſonment and at his death, was 'far beyond what could have been imagined, he turned himſelf wholly to the thoughts of God, and of 'another ſtate, and was praying continually. He re-'joiced that he was brought to die in ſuch a manner, 'he ſaid it was ſcarce poſſible for him to have been 'awakened into a due ſenſe of his ſins, by any other 'method. His pride, and his reſentments, were then

(21) Hiſt of the Rye-houſe plot, p. 22.

(22) Ibid. p. 57, 68.

(23) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 577, 578.

were taken up with great warmth, and an enquiry was ſet on foot, to diſcover who were the promoters of the deaths of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong, which, without regard to the form of law that attended them, were in thoſe days ſtiled murders. Dame Catharine Armſtrong, who was the Earl of Clarendon's neice (*f*), ſhewed a great deal of zeal in proſecuting ſuch as had been concerned in bringing her huſband to an ignominious end, and for that purpoſe, preſented on the twelfth of November, 1689, a petition to the Houſe of Commons, in the name of herſelf and her daughters; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine the matter, and to make their report to the Houſe (*g*). They came alſo the ſame day to a reſolution, that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the ſame Committee, that they ſhould enquire, who were the Judges that gave the ſentence againſt Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who were the proſecutors of him, and who had his eſtate, and how the petitioners may have reparation; and alſo to examine, what proceedings were in order to a Writ of Error by him deſired, and how it came to be denied, and by whom. This affair being taken up with ſo much heat, and the committee being particularly directed to make their report with all convenient ſpeed, one might naturally expect this inquiry would have been attended with conſequences of an extraordinary nature. The report indeed, which was made on the nineteenth of November, promiſed as much. It was made by Mr Chriſly, who informed the Houſe, that upon a full enquiry, the Committee had come to the reſolutions mentioned in the notes [*L*]. There was about the ſame time an inquiry ſet on foot in the Houſe of Lords, to inſpect who were the adviſers and proſecutors of the murders of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Alderman Corniſh, and others, before whom ſeveral perſons were examined, and amongſt them Dame Catharine Armſtrong, widow of Sir Thomas, Mrs Jane Matthews, and Mrs Catharine Armſtrong, his daughter, but they proved no more, than the refuſing the writ of error, and the bad uſage Sir Thomas had met with, ſo that it was not looked upon as ſufficient evidence to ground any parliamentary proceeding upon, in regard to Sir Thomas, though the other attainders were reverſed (*b*). On the twentieth of January, 1689, Mr Chriſly reported from the Committee to whom the bill for reverſing the attainder of Sir Thomas Armſtrong was committed, that they had made ſome amendments to the bill, had diſcovered who were his proſecutors, and what loſſes were ſuſtained by his family, upon which Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Francis Wythins, the executors of the late Lord Jefferies, the executors of the late Mr Juſtice Walcot, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were ordered to attend the Houſe, and Mrs Matthews being called in and examined, charged Sir Robert Sawyer, who at the time of the proſecution was Attorney-General, and then a member of the Houſe, with being one of the proſecutors of her father, upon which, after ſhe was withdrawn, he was heard in his place, as to what he was able to offer in his own defence, and then withdrew (*i*). The Houſe upon a debate reſolved, that his name ſhould be added to the reſt of the proſecutors of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and at the ſame time expelled him the Houſe. On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, Sir Francis Wythins, Sir Richard Holloway, Mr Graham, and Mr Burton, were examined, and the executors of the late Lord Jefferies were likewiſe called in, and aſked what they had to ſay, Why reparation ſhould not be made out of the eſtate of the late Lord Jefferies to the family of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by his attainder. No perſons appearing as executors to the late Mr Juſtice Walcot, the Houſe was acquainted that he died inteſtate, and that he had not left an eſtate ſufficient to pay his debts (*k*). After all theſe perſons had been heard and withdrawn, Mr Blaney was called in, who gave the Houſe a large account of the proceedings in the court of King's-Bench, on the awarding execution againſt Sir Thomas Armſtrong upon the outlawry. The Houſe then proceeded upon the amendments made by the Committee to the bill, and after inſerting the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, Knt. as a proſecutor, they reſolved, that the ſum of five thouſand pounds ſhould be paid by the Judges and proſecutors of Sir Thomas Armſtrong to his widow and children, as a recompence for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, by reaſon of his attainder, and upon a debate, the bill was recommitted to the ſame Committee (*l*). But notwithſtanding all theſe vigorous reſolutions, there followed nothing from them, for the ſeſſion of Parliament ſoon after ended (*m*), and ſo the bill was loſt; and a new Parliament being called in the ſucceeding year, in which there was nothing done in matters of this nature; ſo that the attainder remained in full force, and the family of Sir

(*f*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 687.

(*g*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, *Die Martis* 12°. *Novembris*, 1689. and of the ſubſequent dates.

(*b*) State Tryals, Vol. VIII. p. 462, 463, 517, 518, 519.

(*i*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 20, 1689. The Diviſion on his Expulſion was, Yea's 131. No's 71.

(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 25, 1689.

(*l*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

'ſo entirely conquered, that one who ſaw him, ſaid to 'me, that it was not eaſy to think it was the ſame 'perſon whom he had known formerly; he received 'the ſacrament, and died in ſo good a temper, and 'with ſo much quiet in his mind, and in ſo ſerene a 'deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time 'a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of 'God (24).' It is I think hard to decide, which of the two Prelates uſed him worſt.

(24) Ibid. p. 675.

[*L*] *The reſolutions mentioned in the note.*] The reſolutions to which the Committee came, were theſe that follow, *viz.*

'I. That Sir Thomas Armſtrong's plea ought to 'have been admitted according to the ſtatute of 'Edw. VI, and that the execution of him, upon 'the attainder by outlawry, was illegal and a mur- 'der, by pretence of juſtice.

'II. That the executors and heirs of Sir Tho- 'mas Armſtrong, ought to have a reparation of their 'loſſes, out of the eſtates of thoſe that were his 'judges and proſecutors.

'III. That a Writ of Error for the reverſal of a 'judgment in felony or treaſon, is the right of the 'ſubject, and ought to be granted at his deſire; and 'is not an Act of Grace or Favour, which may be 'denied or granted at pleaſure.'

To all which Reſolves the Houſe agreed.

The

Sir Thomas Armſtrong under all the difficulties brought upon them by it, till in the ſixth of William and Mary, it was reverſed upon a writ of error (*n*) in the King's-Bench, in which the error aſſigned was, that the record of the outlawry did not mention where the court of Huſtings was held, in which he was outlawed, the words *pro civitate London*, being omitted. Of this error Sir Thomas himſelf might have taken advantage, if he could have obtained ſuch a writ, but the doctrine in law then was, that a writ of error was a writ of grace, and therefore the Lord Keeper North ſaid, it was not in him, but in the King to grant it; ſo that the ſubject gained this advantage, by the parliamentary enquiry beforementioned, *viz.* that the Houſe of Commons by their reſolution eſtabliſhed the contrary doctrine, That a writ of error is a writ of right, and not of favour, which may be granted or denied at pleaſure (*o*).

(*n*) 4 Modern Rep. p. 366.

(*o*) See the third Reſolution in note [*L*].

The Houſe being at the ſame time acquainted, that the Committee had received an account, that at the time of his deceaſe, Sir Thomas Armſtrong ſtood poſſeſſed of 300*l.* *per annum* real eſtate, bonds and ſecurities for 4800*l.* and an annuity of 500*l.*

Ordered,

'That leave be given to bring in a bill to reverſe the attainder of the ſaid Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and to make reparation to his widow and children, out of the eſtates of the judges and profecutors, and that the Bill do paſs without fees (25).' E

(25) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, *Die Martis* 29° *Novem.* 1689.

ARNULPH or EARNULPH or ERNULPH, Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reign of King Henry I, was a Frenchman by birth, and for ſome time a Monk of St Lucian de Beauvais. Obſerving ſome irregularities among his brethren, which he could neither remedy nor endure, he reſolved to quit the monaſtery; but firſt he took the advice of Lanfranc Archbiſhop of Canterbury, under whom he had ſtudied in the abbey of Bec (*a*). That Prelate, who was well acquainted with his merit, invited him over into England, and placed him in the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he lived till Lanfranc's death. Afterwards, when Anſelm came into that See, Arnulph was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury [*A*], and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough (*b*) [*B*]. In 1115, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, in the room of Radulphus or Ralph, removed to the See of Canterbury [*C*]. He ſat nine years and a few days, and died in March 1124, aged eighty-four (*c*). This Prelate wrote a book concerning the foundation, endowment, charters, laws, and other things relating to the church of Rocheſter [*D*]. There are extant beſides, Tomellus, five Epiſtola Ernulfi

(*a*) Archbiſhop Lanfranc had been Prior of that monaſtery. See his article.

(*q*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Roffenſ. an. 1115.

[*A*] *He was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury.*] Part of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbiſhop Lanfranc, being fallen to the ground, Arnulph re-built it, and beautified it with fine glaſs windows, a pavement of marble, and a painted roof; inſomuch, that it exceeded all the churches in England in magnificence. This we learn from William of Malmſbury. *Cantiæ dejectam priorem partem eccleſiæ, quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo ſplendide erexit, ut nihil tale poſſit in Anglia videri, in vitrearum feneſtrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore, in diverſicoloribus picturis, quæ mirantes oculos trahunt ad faſtigia lacunaris* (1).

(1) Malmſb. de Pontif. Angl. l. ii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

[*B*] —— *and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough.*] Malmſbury tells us, he increaſed the number of monks in that monaſtery, and regulated their behaviour: he likewiſe cleared away the rubbiſh of the old convent, which was fallen into ruins, and had almoſt built a new one; but a ſudden fire deſtroyed all he had done, and, before he could repair the damage, he was removed to the See of Rocheſter. *In Burgo Monachorum numerus auctus, religio bonis monitis confota; Ædium veterum ruderibus deturbatis, nova fundamenta jacta, culmina erecta. Eaque omnia cum vorax ignis abſumſiſſet, meditanti reficere, honos pontificalis impactus* (2).

(2) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter.*] On the day of his election, he related to the monks of Rocheſter a viſion he had had a few days before, acquainting him with his approaching election into that See. The ſtory is told us by a contemporary writer as follows. 'Qui omni favore a ſuis acceptus, 'ipſo die electionis ſuæ dixit nobis: "Sciebam, in"quit, Fratres, ante paucos dies me licet indignum "ad cathedram hujus ordinis in proximo promo"vendum. Apparuit enim mihi dormienti, cum ad"huc eſſem in loco meo, pater Gundulfus annulum "magni ponderis mihi offerens. Cumque ad grave"dinem ipſius imbecellitas mea non ſufficere videre"tur, me ad onus ejus ſtupidum et accipere renuen"tem increpavit, et poſt increpationem annulum me "recipere coëgit; deinde non apparuit." Hæc ille, 'Nos autem qui præſentes ab eo hæc audivimus, in'teleximus poſtea non fantaſticam eſſe illuſionem, 'quam vir ſanctus in ſomnis viderat; quia poſtmo'dum factus Roffenſis Epiſcopus eundem annulum re'cepit, quem Gundulfus Epiſcopus vivens Radulfo ad'huc abbati ſed futuro Epiſcopo dederat (3). —— '*Arnulph being received by the Monks with all marks* '*of reſpect, ſaid to us on the very day of his election:* "*Brethren, I had aſſurance given me a few days ago,* "*that, unworthy as I am, I ſhould ſoon be raiſed to* "*the dignity now conferred upon upon me. For as I* "*ſlept one night, Gundulphus* (*) *appeared to me, offer*"*ing me a ring of great weight; which being too* "*heavy for me, I refuſed to accept it: but he, chiding* "*me for my ſtupidity in rejecting his preſent, obliged* "*me to receive it, and then diſappeared.*" *This he* 'related to us; *and we were convinced it was no* 'fantaſtical illuſion, *which the holy man had ſeen in* 'his ſleep, *ſince, being made Biſhop of Rocheſter, he* 'received that very ring, *which Biſhop Gundulphus,* 'when alive, *had given to Ralph, then an Abbot,* 'but afterwards Biſhop.' Malmſbury tells us, that, tho' the long life of Gundulphus, and the care he took of his church, had ſcarce left any thing for his ſucceſſors to do, yet that Arnulph made daily improvements in his See. *Ibi quamvis omnia jam facta viderentur (prævenerat enim vivacitas Gundulphi omnium ſucceſſorum diligentiam) tamen ſemper aliquid comminiſci, ubi virtus eniteſcere poſſet; firmare antiqua, moliri recentia* (4).

(3) Monachus Roffenſ. de Vita Gundulfi Epiſc. Roffenſ. Pars iii. in fine.

(*) Biſhop of Rocheſter, who died in 1107, and was ſucceeded by Ralph, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Arnulph's immediate predeceſſor.

(4) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He wrote an hiſtory of the church of Rocheſter.*] It is generally known by the name of *Textus Roffenſis*, and is preſerved in the archives of the cathedral church of Rocheſter. Mr Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra* (5), has publiſhed an extract of this hiſtory, under the title of *Ernulphi Epiſcopi Roffenſis Collectanea de Rebus Eccleſiæ Roffenſis, a Prima Sedis Fundatione ad ſua Tempora. Ex Textu Roffenſi, quem compoſuit Ernulphus. i. e.* 'Collections of Ernulfus Biſhop of Rocheſter, concerning the church of Rocheſter, from the firſt foundation of the See to his own time. Taken out of the *Textus Roffenſis*, compoſed by Ernulfus.' This extract conſiſts of the following particulars, I. *Nomina Epiſcoporum Roffenſium, i. e.* 'The names of the Biſhops of Rocheſter,' from Juſtus who died in 1624, to Ernulfus inclusive. II. *Donationes Eccleſiæ Roffenſi factæ. i. e.* 'Benefactions to the church of Rocheſter.' III. *De Placito apud Pinendenam inter Lanfrancum Archiepiſcopum et Odonem Baiocenſem Epiſcopum. i. e.* 'Of the agreement

(5) Pars prima, p. 329.

Ernulfi ex Monacho Benedictino Episcopi Roffensis de Incestis Conjugiis [*E*]. i. e. *A Little Tract, or an Epistle of Ernulf a Benedictin Monk, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, concerning incestuous Marriages:* also, Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens ad varias Lamberti abbatis Bertiniani quæstiones, præcipue de Corpore et Sanguine Domini [*F*]. i. e. *An Epistle containing some answers to divers questions of Lambert, Abbot of Munster, especially concerning the body and blood of our Lord* (*d*). Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, and with Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter [*G*].

(*d*) Dacherius, Spiceleg. Tom. II. p. 420, 421.

' ment made between Archbishop Lanfranc, and Odo ' Bishop of Bayeux.' IV. *Quomodo Lanfrancus terras extractas Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ, et alias acquisitas Monachis contradidit, et de Gundulfo Episcopo. i. e.* ' How Lanfranc restored to the Monks the lands of ' the church of St Andrew, and others, which had ' been alienated from them.' V. *Quomodo Willelmus Rex filius Willelmi Regis rogatu Lanfranci Archiepiscopi concessit et confirmavit Roffensi Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ Apostoli ad victum Monachorum Manerium nomine Helenham; quare Gundulfus Episcopus Castrum Roffense lapideum totum de suo proprio Regi construxit.* i. e. ' How King William the Son of King William did, ' at the request of Archbishop Lanfranc, grant unto ' the church of St Andrew the Apostle, at Rochester, ' the Manour called Hedenham, for the maintenance ' of the Monks; and why Bishop Gundulfus built for ' the King the stone castle of Rochester at his own ' expence.' VI. *Concessio Willelmi magni Regis. i. e.* ' A grant of the Great King William.' VII. *De Contentione inter Gundulfum et Pichot. i. e.* ' Of the dis- ' pute between Gundulfus and Pichot.' VIII. *Donationes. i. e.* ' Benefactions' to the church of Rochester. It must not be dissembled, that Oudin (6) is of opinion, our Arnulph had no hand in this collection.

(6) Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccles. T. II. col. 1066. edit. Lipsi. 1722.

[*E*] *Tomellus, sive Epistola, &c.*] This letter was written in answer to a question proposed to Arnulph by Walkelin, in a conversation which they had at Canterbury upon this subject; *Whether a woman, who had committed adultery with her husband's son by a former wife, ought to be separated from her husband.* Arnulph maintained the affirmative, and Walkelin the negative. In this letter Arnulph endeavours to shew, that all the passages of Scripture, in which divorce is prohibited, are to be understood of a voluntary separation between persons not guilty of adultery. And in confirmation of his own opinion, he alledges farther, that it was the practice of the ancient Church to prohibit the use of marriage for ever to adulterers. He asserts, that there is no injustice in separating a man from his wife for a crime, in which he himself is no way concerned (7).

(7) Du Pin, Library. des Auteurs Eccles. Centur. XII.

[*F*] *Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens, &c.*] This Letter is an answer to five questions proposed by Lambert. The first is, ' Why the Eucharist was ' then given in a manner different, and almost con- ' trary to that which Christ practised; it being the ' custom at that time to administer the Host dipt ' in wine, whereas our Saviour gave the bread and ' wine separately?' Arnulph replies, that our Saviour prescribed to mankind, what was necessary for the obtaining salvation, without mentioning the particular manner and circumstances of his injunctions: and that this is the reason why several practices, which were in use in the Primitive Church, had been a long time discontinued. The second question is, ' Why a ' third part of the Host is put into the chalice?' He answers, that this custom was introduced, that the Bishop, or Priest, who celebrated, might communicate of that part, which he put into the chalice, and distribute the two others to the Deacon and Subdeacon, who were present. He adds a mystical reason for this practice; namely, that the body of Jesus Christ, which is offered upon the altar, is the sacrament or figure of the mystical body of Christ, which is composed of three orders, Superiors, Virgins, and Married Persons; or because it repres[ents] the mystery of the Trinity; or the three estates of our Saviour, his mortality, his death, and his resurrection. The third question is, ' Why the blood of Christ is ' received separately from his body, and why it is ' administered without the body?' The answer is, that those who receive the Sacrament in both kinds separately, do it in imitation of our Saviour; and that tho' the body of Christ is received entire under each species, yet each species is received separately; because our Saviour has distinguished these two things, in order to represent to us, by the bread, his body such as it appeared, solid and entire; and, by the the wine, his blood which was shed upon the cross. The fourth question is, ' Whether Jesus Christ is ' received, in the Eucharist, without a soul or ani- ' mated?' Arnulph answers, that such kind of questions are usually proposed by persons, who affect to appear learned, and endeavour to lay snares for the faith of the simple and unlearned, who believe with humility all that the Holy Ghost has taught them: that it is folly to pretend to dive into the incomprehensible mysteries of our religion; and that it is certain, that the substance of bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ, tho' it appears to to the sense to be only bread and wine, and has all the qualities of those substances. The fifth and last question is concerning the sense of those words of the Prophet Joel, ch. ii. ver. 14. *Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, &c.?* Arnulph answers, that the change of God's determination consists in the remission of sin, which he grants to those who repent; and that the meaning of the words, *leave a blessing behind him*, is, that he will bless those who follow him (8).

(8) Du Pin, ubi [illegible]

[*G*] *Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter.*] That author tells us, that Arnulphus went to Rome, where, inveighing strongly against the vices of the Bishops, particularly their lewdness, grandeur, and worldly-mindedness, he fell a sacrifice to the rage and resentment of the Roman Clergy, who caused him to be privately assassinated. *Quod cum feciſſet tandem Romæ, Christianæ religionis propugnator egregius, in ejus necem Scribarum & Pharisæorum Clerus conspirabat. Prælatorum enim vitia insectabatur acerbe: in eorum impudicitias atque libidines perfortiter invehebat: histrionicas illorum pompas arguebat, & in corradendis divitiis immoderata improbabat studia. Illorum igitur insidiis tandem atrociter mactabatur* (9). But this is confounding him with Arnulphus the Presbyter, who, as Platina tells us, was destroyed by the treachery of the Roman Clergy, in the time of Pope Honorius II, for remonstrating with great severity against the corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor could this possibly be true of our Arnulph, in the time of that Pope: for this Bishop of Rochester died before Honorius II was raised to the Pontificate. As to the works ascribed by Bale to Arnulphus, such as *De Operibus sex dierum*, &c. they were written either by Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, or by Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval. T

(9) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. II. c. 70.

ARNWAY (JOHN) was descended of a very good family in the county of Salop, from which he inherited a considerable estate (*a*). He was born in 1601, educated in Grammatical learning in his own country, and in 1618 became a Commoner of St Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, where he remained till he had taken his degrees in arts, and had also received holy orders (*b*). He then went down again into Shropshire, where, in process of time, he obtained the Rectories of Hodnet and Ightfield, which he enjoyed to the breaking out of the civil war (*c*). He was a man of much learning and very extensive charity, so that though his income was very considerable, yet he laid up very little. It was his custom to cloath annually twelve poor people according to their station, and every sunday he entertained as many at his table, not only plentifully,

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 40.

plentifully, but with intimacy and reſpect (*d*). His loyalty to his Prince, being as warm as his charity towards his neighbours, he raiſed and clothed eight troopers for his ſervice, and beſides preached warmly againſt rebellion (*e*). The Parliament having a garriſon in the town of Wem, a detachment was ſent from thence to plunder him, which they did moſt ſucceſsfully leaving him nothing, and beſides terrifying him with the crueleſt inſults (*f*). In 1640 he repaired to Oxford, to ſerve the King in perſon, having no longer any eſtate to ſerve him with. There he was created Doctor in Divinity, and had alſo the Archdeaconry of Coventry given him, on the promotion of Dr Brownrig to the biſhoprick of Exeter (*g*). His former misfortunes did not hinder Dr Arnway from being as active afterwards in the King's ſervice, which ſubjected him to a new train of misfortunes, his eſtate being ſequeſtred, and himſelf impriſoned (*h*). At length after the King's murder he obtained his liberty, and like many other loyaliſts was compelled by the laws then in being to quit his native country, and retire to Holland. There he continued ſome time at the Hague, where in 1650 he publiſhed two little pieces (*i*). The firſt entitled, *The Tablet: or, the Moderation of* Charles I, *the Martyr*. In which he wipes off all the aſperſions that were thrown on that Prince's memory by Milton and his aſſociates. The ſecond is called *An Alarm to the Subjects of* England, in which he certainly did his utmoſt to picture the oppreſſions of the new government, in their true colours; and in this work he tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf [*A*]. His ſupplies from England failing, and his hopes in that country being alſo fruſtrated, he was compelled to accept an offer that was made him of going to Virginia, where, oppreſſed with grief and cares, he yeilded to fate in 1653, leaving behind him the character of a pious, upright, and truly conſtant man (*k*).

(*d*) Letter of Mr Vaughan concerning the ſuffering Clergy, in the Weſtern Counties.

(*e*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 80.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 410.

(*h*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 84.

(*k*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf.*] Both theſe books were reprinted in England, in an octavo volume, *A. D.* 1661, by the care of William Rider, of Merton College, who married a relation of our author's. But notwithſtanding this they are grown exceeding ſcarce, and therefore, I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe ſuch paſſages as relate to his own affairs. In his preface to the reader, before his Alarm to the Subjects of England, he ſays, 'He quitted a large 'fortune, of which he did not repent in his extreameſt 'penury, to ſerve that good Prince King Charles I, 'and was as ready to hazard himſelf to enthrone his 'ſon.' In another place he writes thus (1), 'Tho' 'I was urged with drawn ſwords and bloody halberts, 'to ſerve the idol (meaning the Covenant) I yet in'finitely more bleſs God for the deliverance of my 'ſoul from the idolatry thereof, than of my body 'from the peril of impriſonment, navigation, ſickneſs, 'and the deſart wherein I ſojourn; the three firſt of 'which I eſcaped very narrowly. They offered me 'reſtitution of 400 *l. per annum*, ſweetened with the 'commendation of my abilities, to bow to it, in 'ſwallowing the oath and covenant; but Chriſt's re'jection of *hæc omnia dabo*, teaching me not to ſell 'myſelf to work wickedneſs, but to abhor preſenta'tions upon ſimoniacal contracts; I replied, I had 'rather caſt my ſtuff and tackling all overboard, to 'ſave my paſſenger and pinnace (ſoul and body), 'than ſink my paſſenger and pinnace to preſerve my 'ſtuff and tackling.' And again (2), 'Not to ſpeak 'of their other hard uſage, granting me not a Bible 'of my library to comfort me, not a ſheaf of my 'means to nouriſh me, not a ſuit of my cloaths to 'cover me, nor uſe of common air to refreſh me; 'but baniſhing me the country becauſe I would not 'be perjured with them; they haled me out of pri'ſon in the dead of the night, to tax me of Pa'piſtry, the undeſerved livery they gave to all true 'ſubjects and good Chriſtians, who, had their minds 'been unſettled in religion, haply might have thought 'the furtheſt remove from them, the neareſt approach 'to God; and ſo have been ſooner turned by their 'oppreſſion than by the arguments of Bellarmine.'

(1) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 88.

(2) Id. p. 117.

E

ARTHINGTON (HENRY), a gentleman of a good family in Yorkſhire, who, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, engaged in ſome ſeditious practices againſt the government (*a*). He was a man of moderate ſenſe and learning, zealouſly addicted to the Geneva diſcipline, and was engaged for ſeveral years, in diſtributing books in defence of a farther reformation, and containing ſevere reflections on the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges, and other Magiſtrates. In the proſecution of his deſigns, he became acquainted with Mr Edmund Coppinger, a younger brother of a good family, and ſworn ſervant to Queen Elizabeth, who was as far gone as himſelf in Fanatical opinions, and who was continually repreſenting to him the neceſſity of a thorough reformation in Church and State (*b*). This acquintance of theirs laſted ſeveral years, till by frequent converſations, hearing warm ſermons, and praying together, they had greatly heated their imaginations, in conſequence of which, they began to believe themſelves very extraordinary perſons. About the latter end of the year 1590, Coppinger informed Mr Arthington, and Mr Lancaſter, a School-maſter, that he had a deſire to marry a certain widow, intreating them to faſt and pray with him to obtain ſucceſs in this deſign; which they did. A little after Coppinger came to them again, and told them, that God had ſhewed him a ſecret myſtery, and that he knew a way to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cauſe all her Counſellors and Nobles to do the like immediately, otherwiſe he ſhould prove them traitors that refuſed. Mr Arthington diſliked this diſcourſe, told him the thing was impoſſible, for that all motions of the heart depended on God alone. This however did not cure him, for in January 1590-91, he came again to Mr Lancaſter's houſe in Shoe-lane, where Mr Arthington lodged, and there diſcourſed of his extraordinary calling, and of the means of trying whether ſuch calls came from God or not. Arthington and Lancaſter told him that they were but ordinary men, no fit counſellors for him on ſuch occaſions, and therefore deſired he would apply himſelf to ſome godly miniſters, and not trouble them with his ſecrets. But by degrees, Arthington was brought to have a better opinon of theſe manifeſtations, by means of a letter he received from one Mr Penry, a non-

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Vol. III. p. 631, edit. Hearne. Stowe's Annals, p. 761. Collier's Eccl. Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 267.

(*b*) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 1, 2.

conformiſt miniſter, who was afterwards executed (*c*). He was at that time in Scotland, where ſeditious books were privately printed, and ſent thence to be diſtributed in England, and in an epiſtle to Arthington, his correſpondent, he ſignified that reformation muſt ſhortly be introduced in England. Arthington taking Penry for a prophet, believed this, and perceiving Coppinger's pretended revelation tended the ſame way, he ſuffered him to talk more freely of his calling, but declined being informed of the particular means which was to be uſed, for bringing this great deſign about. Some time in Eaſter term 1591, Coppinger became acquainted with Hacket, and ſoon after introduced Arthington alſo to his acquaintance. They dined together at one Lawſon's houſe near Paul's Gate, where Arthington was well pleaſed with the converſation; however he went down again into Yorkſhire, and did not return to London till the beginning of Trinity term (*d*). Then Coppinger came to him to his lodgings, and magnified Hacket as the holieſt man that had ever lived except Chriſt; which Arthington heard with diſlike. At laſt however he was prevailed on to viſit him, and to hear his long prayers, which appeared to him ſo divine, ſweet, and heavenly, that he was thereby drawn to have great admiration for him, as he expreſſed himſelf. But that which ſtruck him moſt, was Hacket's beſeeching God to confound him, if he did not ſeek his honour and glory, in all things he did, and he ſeeing that notwithſtanding this Hacket remained ſound and well, he concluded he muſt be a moſt holy man. Coppinger farther informed Mr Arthington, that Hacket was grievouſly tormented by ſorcerers and devils, inſomuch, that he endured as cruel tortures, as if he were in Hell, which being alſo affirmed by Hacket with prodigious oaths, Arthington at laſt believed. He alſo caught by infection, his maſter's method of curſing and making horrid imprecations againſt himſelf, believing that he felt within him motions of the ſpirit, which he conceived were to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of damnation (*e*). In conſequence of theſe notions, he wrote a letter to the Queen, wherein he accuſed a great Counſellor of treaſon, offering to prove him a traitor in her preſence, by a new ſort of tryal, as appears by part of his own letter cited in the note [*A*].

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2—20.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. See alſo Camd. Annal. p. 632.

He was now in a manner wholly at Hacket's devotion, who wrought upon his mind very cunningly, and drew him from one thing to another, without his knowing on what grounds he acted, or what his real intention was. On Sunday the eleventh of July, 1591, Arthington made a long prayer in the preſence of Hacket, wherein he beſought God to preſerve the Queen; upon this Hacket turned away his face, and did not look upon him again, until he prayed for other things. After prayers were over, Hacket caſt his arms about Arthington, told him that he loved the Queen, as well as he, or Coppinger, deſiring him not to be offended at this behaviour, which he ſaid God had commanded. Coppinger alſo told him, that the Queen might be prayed for, but not as a Sovereign, for that ſhe was not to reign but this man Hacket, and yet ſhe ſhould live better than ever ſhe did, though governed by another (*f*). On Thurſday the fourteenth, Arthington penned his Prophecy of Judgments againſt England, the matter of which the reader will meet with in the notes [*B*]. Coppinger alſo drew up

(*f*) Conſpiracy for Diſcipline, p. 36, 37.

[*A*] *Cited in the note.*] Theſe new prophets, by virtue of that extraordinary power which they fancied to be committed to themſelves, deprived all ſuch of her Majeſty's Counſellors as were diſagreeable to them, that is to ſay, deprived them in the opinion of their hair-brained diſciples, calling them thenceforward, the Late Lord Chancellor, the Late Lord Treaſurer. This laſt was the famous William Lord Burleigh, particularly hated by theſe Enthuſiaſts, and indeed by all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. It was of this great Counſellor that Arthington complained to her by a letter, in which he charged him to be the moſt dangerous enemy that was diſcovered ſince her Highneſs's reign, adding, *If your Majeſty cannot judge him to be ſo bad as I report him, yet give me leave in your ſacred preſence to fight the combat of prayer with him, wherein if it pleaſe him, I will firſt begin to pray againſt myſelf, that if he be not as deeply guilty as I have charged him, then that God's vengeance may preſently conſume me both ſoul and body into Hell for ever, which if it come to paſs the victory ſhall be his, and he return an innocent: But if he ſee me leap up for joy, as one that hath diſcovered him to be a traitor, then if he dare fall down in like ſort, and make the ſame prayer, That the like vengeance may fall upon himſelf, if he be deeply guilty as I have charged him, and if God's vengeance fall not upon him before he depart out of her preſence, let me be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for labouring to impeach a Counſellor's credit; but if he dare not thus enter the liſts with me before her Majeſty, let him be holden guilty* (1).

(1) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 35.

[*B*] *The reader will meet with in the notes.*] We have on extract of this prophecy drawn by order of the Priv Council, which contains all the matter of it, and only wants ſome of the blaſphemous expreſſions. It is entitled, A PROPHECY of JUDGMENTS againſt England. In this prophecy he firſt ſetteth down the third commandment, inferring what plagues ſhall light on himſelf if he offend therein. Then cometh he to his nine ſeveral aſſertions, adding to every one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* That if he think not himſelf to be the vileſt ſinful wretch living: If he take not himſelf to be the moſt ignorant in God's Book, of any man that hath profeſſed the goſpel ſo long: If he acknowledge not himſelf moſt unfit, and unworthy of all men to ſerve the Lord Jeſus: If nevertheleſs, he be not extraordinarily called to do the meſſage of God more faithfully than any preacher in England hath hitherto done: If the ſcripture do not juſtify extraordinary callings before the end of the world: If he know not two perſons within the city of London, that have greater extraordinary callings than himſelf, *viz.* Edmund Coppinger, and William Hacket: If the former be not a prophet raiſed up of the Lord, to bring a meſſage of great mercy to the land, if all the people truly repent of their ſins: If the latter be not the holieſt man, and of the greateſt power, to bring fearful judgments upon the whole earth that ever was born, Chriſt Jeſus excepted: If the ſaid Hacket (as the meſſenger of God's vengeance, where mercy is refuſed) do not bring ſuch plague upon this realm of England, the like whereof was never ſeen: In theſe, and in every of theſe ſeveral caſes he prayeth, The Lord to confound him.

Whereupon he inferreth, that having thus denounced ſo many fearful woes againſt his own ſoul, as would ſink it into the bottomleſs pit of Hell if he were guilty in any one of them. Then thereupon, with chearfulneſs, he cometh to declare his meſſage to England, accuſing it to be the moſt rebellious, though it have been moſt bleſſed, of all nations. Then he

up a life of Hacket, which Arthington wrote over again fair, ſitting up for that purpoſe all night, and annexed it to his prophecy; the ſame day they penned a joint letter to Mr Thomas Lancaſter, a ſchool-maſter [C], ſigned by Coppinger as the Meſſenger of Peace, and by Arthington as the Prophet of God's Judgments, though it ſeems Arthington did not well know, why he ſtiled himſelf ſo. For on Friday the fifteenth of July, Coppinger having ſent for Arthington out of his bed, declared to him, that he had had a revelation, which aſſured him that he was Prophet of Mercy, and Arthington Prophet of Judgment; that Hacket was King of Europe, and that they were to go before him, and ſeparate the ſheep from the goats. Arthington the more readily credited this, becauſe he found a mighty burning in himſelf, which he interpreted a commencement of the angelick nature (g). Their firſt exploit was to go together to the houſe of a gentleman in the city, between ſix and ſeven in the morning, to appoint him chief governor under her Majeſty, but he would have nothing to do with them, nor would he ſuffer them to pray. Then they went to Woodſtreet-Compter to Mr Wigginton, a Miniſter, with whom they had a long conference; then they left him and went to Hacket's chamber, at the houſe of one Walker, at Broken Wharf. By this time

(g) Ibid. p. 36—48.

he affirmeth the city of London, and the courts of juſtice at Weſtminſter, and the counterfeit worſhip of God with croſs and ſurplice, to be worſe than Sodom and Gomorrah, or the purple Whore of Rome, or elſe deſireth to be confounded. Nay, he preferreth Rome before London; becauſe at Rome they ſin only of ignorance. Of her Majeſty he ſaith, ſhe is at leaſt guilty of the common ſins, but moſt abuſed (of any Prince that ever was) by thoſe whom ſhe hath moſt advanced.

(2) Theſe Initials ſignify, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (Hatton), and the Lord Treaſurer (Cecil).

Then he ſpeaks to three great Counſellors (2) C. C. T. daring them to proteſt for their innocencies againſt themſelves, as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not ſwallowed up quick, he is contented to be hanged up in chains at Paul's Croſs. Then he threatneth them, That they three ſhall be otherwiſe detected e'er long, and all thoſe that are then partakers, when her Majeſty ſhall reign and live to ſee better days, if God give her true repentance. Then he ſaith, he will leave all other of the clergy (as ſufficiently detected already) ſave ſuch as pretend to ſeek reformation, (who he ſaith) are as guilty (in two points) as any of the other. The firſt point, for not crying out continually againſt Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and others, as wicked uſurpers in the houſe of God. The ſecond, for not crying out againſt the magiſtrates of this land, becauſe they keep out the Elderſhip out of the Church, and maintain in their room officers and offices of Antichriſt: Hereupon gathering thus: How can God ſpare this land any longer, wherein both the magiſtrates and meſſengers of God have dealt ſo unfaithfully in the Lord's ſervice? Adding, That the fearful judgments of God ſhall be ſure to fall on the reprobate: being already prepared and put into the hands of the mighty meſſenger of God, William Hackett, to be poured out upon this great city of London, and upon all places where repentance followeth not this publication. Then he goeth about to prove all ſuch preachers to be idolaters, or conſenting to idolatry, which practiſe or conſent, and ſuffer others to uſe ſurplice and croſs, becauſe (he ſaith) they are marks of Antichriſt, preferring herein the Papiſts afore them as ſinning herein only through ignorance, ſeeking alſo to aggravate their faults in this behalf, for that they are all hypocritical idolaters, in that (nevertheleſs) they profeſs reformation: Whereunto he addeth (he ſaith) a ſecret: That this their halting and hypocriſy hath ſo hardened God's heart againſt their requeſts, for bringing in the diſcipline, that for this unfaithful and unſingle walking in their function, he hath hitherto denied it. Neither ſhall any of them, or all of them together, have that honour given, to bring in reformation: For (ſaith he) I tell you truly, The Almighty God hath put his cup of vengeance into his truſty and faithful ſervant's hand William Hackett, to pour it down ſhortly, upon every wilful and obſtinate ſinner that doth not repent upon the notice hereof, or elſe the Lord confound me. Laſtly, he giveth charge to have this propheſy, together with the incredible (but moſt certain) hiſtory of the holieſt ſervant of God, William Hackett, that ever hath been, is, or ſhall be born, (Chriſt Jeſus only excepted) with all ſpeed poſſible, printed and publiſhed together, as in ſubſtance true (ſaith he) or elſe the Lord confound me: This wiſe prophecy is thus ſubſcribed: By your moſt unworthy ſervant, but yet a faithful prophet of the Almighty Jeſus, or elſe his wrath confound me. Henrie Arthington (3).

(4) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 39—41.

[C] *Mr Thomas Lancaſter, Schoolmaſter.*] This whole affair relating to Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, hath made ſo much noiſe abroad as well as at home, and is ſo imperfectly treated by moſt of the authors who have touched thereupon, for want of ſeeing the original and authentick account publiſhed by Queen Elizabeth's order, that it is become neceſſary to preſerve with all imaginable care the original papers, which manifeſt the real ſpirit and true deſign of theſe dangerous impoſtors. For this cauſe we give our readers this Letter to Mr Lancaſter, as the fulleſt teſtimony of the characters of theſe new prophets.

If this letter be not indited by the HOLY GHOST, *who hath appeared (in a far greater meaſure) to ſinful wretches, in the end of the world, even to us, whoſe names are here underwritten, and to a third perſon, in calling above all callings whatſoever (the* Lord Jeſus *excepted), The Lord confound us two with vengeance from Heaven, and carry us (with all violence) into the bottomleſs pit.*

If we have not taken the name of God in vain, it ſtandeth you upon, to read this letter with fear and trembling, with joy and gladneſs; with fear, that the Lord ſhall wooe you to do him ſervice; with joy, that he offereth you honour if you accept it. We two are meſſengers from Heaven, who have a good captain to guide us; who have received immediate callings from God, to call the whole world to repentance, and amendment of life: Otherwiſe they are to fear, that Chriſt Jeſus his ſecond coming in glory, will be to them as a thief in the night If I Edmund Coppinger do not prefer you before any one man in the land whatſoever, for your wife, holy, loving, and righteous courſe, both in the general calling of a Chriſtian, and in your particular calling, The Lord confound me body and ſoul. The reaſon why I chuſe you firſt, is, becauſe in your houſe, in your preſence, and under God, (partly by your means) I had my firſt extraordinary calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glory be the Lord's. And of the ſame mind is my brother Arthington. In token of our extraordinary love to you, we deal as we neither have, or will do with any other; for we command in the name of the Lord, all creatures upon the earth, and they muſt obey. But with you we will diſpenſe thus far, that it ſhall be your choice to come and take a new calling (for a time, wherein we would uſe you) or refuſe it. So wiſhing to commend us and yourſelf to God, before you anſwer us, which we expect in word and not in writing, &c.

The Meſſenger of Mercy to the world if they accept me.

Edm. Coppinger.

I avouch whatſoever my brother hath written to be moſt true; and further I proteſt, That you are a more holy man than any preacher in London, or throughout the whole land, or elſe the Lord confound me. If it pleaſe you to come and ſee me joyful, you may hope this is true.

The Prophet of Judgment to the whole World, where mercy is rejected.

Hen. Arthington (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 41, 42.

[D] *Threatning*

time it was eight o'clock, however Hacket was a-bed, which did not hinder Coppinger from kneeling down at the bed's feet, and making a long prayer. Arthington joined with them, Hacket came twice out of his bed in his ſhirt, and prayed likewiſe, which done, he went to bed again. Coppinger began to pray again, but Arthington interrupted him, and commanded him to ariſe and anoint the King with the Holy-Ghoſt. Coppinger preſently roſe, kiſſed the boards thrice where Hacket's feet had ſtood, and then reverently approaching him in bed, was going to lay his hand upon him, but Hacket ſaid, *You ſhall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in Heaven by the Holy Ghoſt.* Then they both demanded what his pleaſure was to have done, upon which he ſaid, *Go your way and tell them in the city, that CHRIST JESUS is come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth, and if any man ask you where he is, tell him he lies at Walker's houſe, by Broken Wharf; and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me if they can, for as truly as CHRIST JESUS is in Heaven, ſo truly is he come to judge the world* (*h*). Coppinger upon this ran down ſtairs, and made proclamation before Arthington could get to him, afterwards they went together towards Cheapſide, by Watling-ſtreet, and the Old Change, crying out, *Chriſt is come* &c. To this Arthington added, *Repent England, repent*; threatening alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London [*D*]. When they came near the croſs, which then ſtood in Cheapſide, the croud was ſo great they could not move along; ſo they got up into an empty cart, wherein they declared out of a paper the office and calling of Hacket, how he repreſented Chriſt by taking a part of his glorified body, by his principal ſpirit, and by the office of ſevering the good from the bad, with his fan in his hand, and of eſtabliſhing the Goſpel in Europe, that they were two prophets, one of Mercy, the other of Judgments, called to aſſiſt him in this great work, wiſhing confuſion and damnation to themſelves, if all they ſpake was not true, much more to this purpoſe they ſaid, and at the ſame time ſpake with great heat and violence againſt two Lords of the Queen's Council, doing all they could to inflame the people, and raiſe a rebellion. This was between ten and eleven in the morning, and they hoped before noon to have gone through the whole city, but the great croud in the ſtreets rendered it impoſſible. A gentleman who had ſome acquaintance with Coppinger, made him get out of the cart, and go into the Mermaid Tavern, in Cheapſide, into which Arthington followed him. Then they went by back lanes to Coppinger's lodgings, Arthington proclaiming as he went along, *Repent England*, &c. they found the doors ſhut againſt them, whereupon Arthington went to Hacket's lodgings. He was abroad when Arthington came, but ſoon after returned, and as ſoon as Arthington ſaw him, he ſaid, *there cometh the king of the whole earth*, for which Hacket reproved him, telling him he was too outrageous. A paper was taken out of Arthington's ſleeve, which he ſaid he was glad of, for it was an epiſtle to the Queen, which ſhe would not receive, and therefore ſhe was no longer Queen, but deprived of her dignity. About one o'clock they were apprehended and conducted to the Lord Mayor's, where ſeveral Privy Counſellors were met, to whom Arthington refuſed to ſhew the leaſt reſpect, but when Hacket came into the room, he fell down on the ground, and grovelled at his feet. He was ſo far from perceiving his error, or believing that he was deceived, that he continued to aſſert the truth of Hacket's miſſion, and of the revelations made to Coppinger and himſelf. He was alſo thoroughly perſuaded Hacket would ſhortly be releaſed, and that he and his fellow-prophet, ſhould go abroad with him, in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, and to perform their offices. As often as any of his friends conferred with him, and ſought to ſhew him the folly of his diſcourſe, he would anſwer with a ſmile, *You think that we have incurred the danger of the laws herein, and that we therefore ſhall be put to death, but as ſure as God is in Heaven, the ſword ſhall not come near to hurt us, neither ſhall any man be able to touch the leaſt hair of our heads* (*i*). He did not recede in the leaſt from theſe ſtrange notions, even after he had heard that Hacket was tryed and condemned, but in the afternoon of Wedneſday the twenty-eighth of July, when he was aſſured that Hacket was actually hanged, drawn, and quartered, he preſently diſcerned his own deluſion and great danger. Upon this he wrote in the moſt humble manner, to the Chancellor, and to the Treaſurer, beſeeching them to pardon the injuries he had done them, and afterwards he wrote to the body of the Council, giving the beſt account he was able of the whole buſineſs, beſeeching them to intercede with her Majeſty for him, that he might not be proceeded againſt as his companions had been. As for Coppinger, he a little after he was apprehended, ran abſolutely diſtracted, and never recovered his ſenſes, but obſtinately refuſing all nouriſhment, died of hunger the day after Hacket was executed. It was thought proper to detain Arthington ſome time in Wood-ſtreet Compter, in order to diſcover whether his repentance was ſincere, as alſo whether there was no danger of his relapſing

(*h*) Ibid. p. 48—55.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 55—64.

[*D*] *Threatning alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London.*] This judgment againſt London Arthington ſaid, he gathered out of Hacket's hiſtory, and it was to happen thus. Men were to be ſeized with a ſudden, furious, and bloody rage, and ſhould there kill and butcher one another like ſwine all the day long, and that none ſhould have either reaſon or compaſſion enough to interpoſe and ſtop ſo horrid a maſſacre. It is to be obſerved, that Arthington's inſpirations were no more than repetitions of what he had heard Hacket ſay, and that he ſtiled himſelf a prophet in conſequence of his publiſhing his maſter's revelations (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*E*] *Some*

relapſing into his enthuſiaſtick fit. But he remaining perfectly ſober and ſenſible, the Queen was pleaſed to extend her mercy towards him, by granting him a pardon (*k*). He publiſhed a retractation under his hand, and, as an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (*l*) informs us, had the good luck to recover his reputation ſo far, as to be thought an honeſt and ſincere, though a warm and weak man. What afterwards became of him, or when or where he died does no where appear. The conduct of theſe Enthuſiaſts, did not only kindle a great flame at that time, but have left ſuch heat in the embers of their conſpiracy, as at this day is ſcarce extinguiſhed. The writers againſt the Diſſenters never fail mentioning Hacket's inſurrection, as a charge upon them, and the Apologiſts for the Puritans as conſtantly treat this as a groſs calumny invented at firſt to countenance a moſt violent perſecution, which was ſet on foot againſt them, and ever ſince kept up to hinder the abating of that prejudice, which hath been ſo carefully infuſed into the vulgar, againſt their principles and practices. This is a very dark and perplexed affair, there being what may well enough be ſtiled evidence on both ſides. We pretend not therefore to decide upon this point; but to render this account of Hacket's conſpiracy as compleat as we could, have added ſome particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes [*E*], on which the reader may perhaps paſs judgment; or if he thinks farther information neceſſary, will find it ſufficiently indicated where that may be met with.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 64—73.

(*l*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. Book ix. p. 206.

[*E*] *Some particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes.*] Dr William Nichols charges the Puritans roundly with abetting this deſign. *Some of the Puritans of theſe times*, ſays he, *were ſo mad as to attempt a rebellion for the ſake of the diſcipline, and by the ſollicitation of ſome enthuſiaſtical men, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, proceeded to ſtir up the people to take arms againſt the Queen on that behalf* (6). Mr Peirce, who anſwered the Doctor's book, denieth this charge, and cites Fuller, the Church Hiſtorian, as an irrefragable witneſs in favour of the Puritans (7). That author ſays, *This buſineſs of Hacket happened unſeaſonably for that party, true it is, they as cordially deteſted his blaſphemy as any. And ſuch as loved Hacket, the Nonconformiſt, abhorred Hacket the heretick, after he had mounted to ſo high a pitch of impiety.* Mr Neale in his late hiſtory of the Puritans, complains loudly of the injuſtice done them, in repreſenting them as having any thing to do with theſe enthuſiaſts (8). The Rt. Rev. author who has anſwered his book, endeavours however to pin down the charge on Cartwright and Udall, two of the moſt famous Nonconformiſt miniſters in thoſe times (9). But none of theſe writers ſeem to have conſidered the only authentick account of this whole affair, the title of which runs thus, *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation*, viz. *Preſbyterian Diſcipline. A treatiſe diſcovering the late deſignments and courſes held for advancing thereof, by William Hacket, Yeoman; Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, Gent. out of others depoſitions, and their own letters, writings, and confeſſions upon examination: Together with ſome part of the life and conditions, and the two inditements, arraignment, and execution of the ſaid Hackett: Alſo an anſwer to the calumniations of ſuch as affirm they were madmen; and a reſemblance of this action unto the like which happened heretofore in Germany*, ultimo Septembris, 1591. This was written by Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Bancroft, by direction of the Council, and was publiſhed by authority. The very title ſhews that his intention was, to repreſent this conſpiracy as if it had been concerted for the eſtabliſhing Puritaniſm. In the courſe of his account he ſhews, that Arthington had a correſpondence with Mr Penrie a zealous miniſter, who was not long after executed, and that Hacket was in partnerſhip with one Wigginton, a miniſter, as a maltſter. There are likewiſe in the ſame piece ſeveral letters to Puritan miniſters, and a long examination of Wigginton's, wherein he acknowledges his being privy to Hacket's pretences both to prophecy and to power. This ſhews what the notions of men at the helm were concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, in which, if the Puritans had no concern, they were without all doubt very grievouſly injured, ſince in this account of the matter publiſhed, by the Queen's authority, they are inſinuated to be the exciters and promoters of this diſturbance. E

(6) Defence of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, p. 195.

(7) In his Ch. Hiſtory, p. 205, 206.

(8) Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 537.

(9) A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worſhip of the Church of England, againſt the injurious Reflections of Mr Neale, &c. by Dr Madox, now Biſhop of Worceſter, p. 354.

ARTHUR (King of the Britons) of whom tho' the common opinion be, that nothing with certainty can be affirmed [*A*], from his birth to his death, yet is it but juſt, that what is related of him ſhould be told, as alſo, what is ſaid for and againſt it. Here therefore we ſhall report chiefly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the common ſtory

[*A*] *Nothing with certainty can be affirmed*] After allowing that nothing can be more dubious than the hiſtory of Arthur is generally eſteemed, ſome readers may think his life might be as well omitted. Now as the ſame objection may be made to ſeveral other articles taken from our antient hiſtory; it will be proper to return an anſwer once for all. In the firſt place then, one can ſee no reaſon, why we ſhould be at ſo much pains, to read and to underſtand the fabulous hiſtory of other nations, and yet abſolutely reject our own. What pains have the learned taken with the fables both of Greeks and Latins; and with what ſolemnity of late years, eſpecially, have we ſeen the oriental romances, which in their kind exceed all others, commented upon, and thereby rendered uſeful to the judicious reader. By what figure in rhetorick ſhall we diſtinguiſh between the wiſdom ſhewn in theſe labours, and the folly of dwelling on the leſs credible hiſtory of this iſland? If under the former there may remain truths of great importance, why may not ſomething of the ſame kind be buried under the latter? But farther ſtill, what if the underſtanding theſe fables contribute not a little to the underſtanding true hiſtory. For how fabulous ſoever a ſtory may be, yet if once it gain credit, and paſs in the opinion of men for undoubted truth, it's circumſtances will in time become ſo intermixed, even with the moſt authentick relations, that without a thorough underſtanding the one, there will be no ſuch thing as coming at the true ſenſe of the other. On this account therefore the reading of fabulous hiſtory is neceſſary to avoid the believing fables; ſince if we ſhould once grow ſo nice, as to think it not worth our while to peruſe any thing branded with the name of fiction, it might become the means of our receiving, under the name of true hiſtory, the meaneſt and moſt abſurd fictions for want of knowing their origin. Add to all this, that as in the caſe of all extremes, ſo here exceſſive incredulity becomes credulity itſelf. For if from an apprehenſion of being thought leſs critical in taſte than others, we ſhould reject the authority of all authors whoſe credit have been queſtioned, or reſolve to give up all facts, with reſpect to which there have been any doubts, we evidently embrace the error we endeavour to ſhun, and by affecting criticiſm loſe all the advantages deducible from that kind of knowledge; let us therefore be content, eſpecially in ſuch a work as this, to hear whatever our forefathers thought worth the leaving; to examine fairly both ſides of the queſtion, and then decide freely as the weight of evidence inclines us. It is indeed one great uſe of a dictionary like this, that it aſſembles in little room a multitude of paſſages relating to the ſame matter, and yet lying ſcattered in a variety of authors, whereby the reader in a few minutes becomes poſſeſſed of that knowledge, which coſt the author much pains and time to acquire.

ſtory of Arthur and his exploits, and in the notes, we ſhall ſhew what is ſupported, what refuted, by more credible hiſtorians [*B*]. As to his birth, he is ſaid to have been

[*B*] *What ſupported, what refuted, by credible hiſtorians.*] The hiſtory of Arthur in the text, is taken avowedly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his Britiſh hiſtory treats copiouſly of the actions of this Prince. As to the credit of this author, which hath ſuffered violent attacks, we muſt refer the reader to his article. Here we are to meddle only with the hiſtory of one King, tho' at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that this very hiſtory drew the moſt ſevere cenſures upon our author; who, as his antagoniſt tells us, was on this very account named *Jeffrey Ap Arthur*; *becauſe taking the fables of the antient Britons concerning King Arthur out of the old romances, increaſing them with his own additions, and giving them the varniſh of the Latin tongue, he cloathed them with the honourable name of Hiſtory* (1). A harſh judgment this, which however many ages after was ſupported by Polydore Vergil (2), and ſince his time by Mr Milton (3), and many others (4), who have carried it ſo far, as to doubt very much whether there really ever was ſuch a perſon as Arthur or not. We will ſtate briefly ſome of the principal arguments urged by them, and then we will ſhew what has been ſaid in anſwer. I. If, ſay they, there had been ſuch a King as Arthur, a Prince ſo warlike and ſo great a conqueror, how can we ſuppoſe that Gildas and Bede ſhould take no notice of him, when they expreſsly name Ambroſius and other Britiſh Kings, whoſe actions it is confeſſed were inconſiderable in reſpect of thoſe reported of Arthur. II. The hiſtory of Arthur is no way reconcileable to the authentick hiſtories of thoſe times. For whereas it is aſſerted therein, that, the dominion of Arthur extended not only over all this iſland, but over a great part of the continent, it is manifeſt from theſe, that ſeveral Saxon kingdoms were actually ſet up in England (5), ſo that the ſmalleſt part of this ſtory cannot be true. III. The great deeds of Arthur, as related by his hiſtorian, are incompatible with the hiſtories of foreign nations; and ſince thoſe hiſtories are undoubtedly authentick, it follows that this is fabulous. IV. The inconſiſtency of this ſtory with others, is not greater than it's inconſiſtency with itſelf. For whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth makes Arthur ſo great a conqueror, yet Karadoc, whom Geoffrey owns to be a good writer (6), ſays expreſsly, that Melvas, who was Prince of that country now called Somerſetſhire, kept his Queen from him a whole year in the town of Glaſton, and was at laſt prevailed upon to reſtore her by the intreaty of Gildas, when Arthur had tried his power in vain (7). V. It is alledged that the whole of this tale reſts on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in compariſon of the times of which he writes is a modern, and flouriſhed about the year 1150. From him all later writers have copied; and therefore nothing taken from them can ſtrengthen his authority. On the other ſide it is urged, that the omitting the name of Arthur in Gildas's letter (8), is ſo far from being any proof of his non exiſtence, that it is really a circumſtance very favourable to his character. For Gildas writing only of the cauſes why the Britons were delivered up to be ſlaughtered by their enemies the Saxons, characterizes only the bad Princes living at the time he wrote, which appears to have been a little after Arthur's death. The very firſt Prince whom he upbraids for his tyranny, is Conſtantine the ſucceſſor of Arthur; and one of the facts for which he upbraids him, is for the murder of two young Princes of the royal family; theſe Princes Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, were the ſons of Modred, the nephew of Arthur; and he relates their murder in the ſame manner as it is related by Gildas (9). But if there is no mention of Arthur in this author, he is however named by Nennius (10) a moſt ancient writer (11), ſo that this objection falls to the ground. It is alſo alledged, that tho' foreign hiſtorians do not ſpeak of Arthur in the ſtile of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that is, as a mighty conqueror; yet nothing can be clearer than that they acknowledge there was ſuch a Prince, and that he did alſo perform great things. Buchanan is very ſevere in his cenſure of Geoffrey, but the hiſtory himſelf gives us of Arthur, is ſuch a one as does him very great honour. Let us hear one ſentence only of it. 'To ſpeak briefly of his famous 'actions, ſays Buchanan, this is manifeſt, that he 'wholly ſubdued the forces of the Saxons, and re'ſtored peace to Britain; afterwards going over to 'Brittany in France, he entruſted the kingdom to 'Modred, his nephew; but as to his exploits in 'Gaul, we have no certainty of them.' A little after he gives us his character. 'This, ſays he, is 'certain, Arthur was a great man and very valiant, 'one who expreſſed his ſincere love to his country 'in freeing it from bondage, reforming corruptions 'in religion, and reſtoring the true worſhip of God '(12).' Add to this, that in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh there is a very high hill, the top of which is ſtiled Arthur's ſeat, from a tradition that Arthur ſurveyed the country from hence (13). The tradition of a people in favour of themſelves is a ſlight proof, but a tradition to their own diſhonour, cannot well be accounted for, if it be not founded in truth. As to the Saxon kingdoms founded in or before his time, Arthur might ſuppoſe himſelf ſupreme Lord of the iſland from their ſubmiſſion; in after-times Alfred and Ethelſtan, were held Monarchs of England, tho' the Danes had erected ſeveral principalities here, which is a parallel caſe. As to the foreign conqueſts of Arthur no body contends for them, they are fictitious circumſtances added to his hiſtory, but ſurely they cannot take away what was real. The ſuppoſed inconſiſtency between the account given alſo by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that written by Karadoc, his contemporary, may prove, that there is ſome diverſity in the records relating to the actions of this Prince, but then certainly it proves that ſuch a Prince there was. For tho' one, or both of theſe authors ſhould be miſtaken, it cannot from thence be inferred that the hiſtory of Arthur is a fable; the utmoſt that can be deduced is, that ſome of the circumſtances of his ſtory are doubtful, which may be affirmed of the Princes of the laſt age. The reſting of this ſtory on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a point by no means to be admitted; Nennius, who flouriſhed many ages before him, had recorded ſeveral particulars relating to Arthur (14). Henry of Huntingdon touches the principal points in his hiſtory (15); William of Malmeſbury alſo, in his introduction to his hiſtory, had given a conciſe account of his reign (16); and as we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent note ſet down in another work, ſome particulars relating to Arthur, which Geoffrey of Monmouth never knew, and this from unqueſtionable authority. King Edward I, in a letter written to Pope Boniface VIII, aſſerts poſitively, that Arthur, King of the Britons, a moſt renowned Prince, ſubdued Scotland when in rebellion againſt him, and almoſt deſtroyed the whole nation. He ſays farther, that the King of Scots attended King Arthur at the city of Legions, did homage for his kingdom, and carried King Arthur's ſword before him (17). Leland alledges, that *Caire Arture* in Wales, is a plain proof there was ſuch a perſon, as alſo Arthur's gate in Montgomery (18). After all, Geoffrey of Monmouth is not the author of his book, but the tranſlator only; tho' ſome have affected to doubt whether there really was any ſuch book written in the Britiſh tongue, yet in a manuſcript hiſtory of Britiſh affairs, written a hundred years ago by Mr John Lewis, it is expreſsly ſaid by the author, that he had the very original of the Britiſh hiſtory, written in the Britiſh tongue; as he concludes from this circumſtance. That in his manuſcript, Geoffrey's preface was wanting, and the preface to his book was the ſecond chapter in Geoffrey's tranſlation, being the deſcription of Britain (19). Beſides, Giraldus Cambrenſis puts it out of diſpute, that Geoffrey was under no neceſſity of forging. For he tells us expreſsly, that even in his time the Welſh bards, and ſongſters, could recite from their ancient and authentick books, the genealogy of their Princes, which they puſhed not only as high as Arthur, but to Ænæas (20). On the whole, if the hiſtory given us by Geoffrey contains many things which are not ſtrictly true; he ought not to be reproached for them, becauſe he pretends to no greater authority than he really had, *viz.* that of the old Britiſh book; which whether it's contents were true or falſe he was certainly commendable

(1) Guhelm. Neubrig. Proem. Hiſt.

(2) Hiſt. Anglic.

(3) See Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 33.

(4) Sir W. Temple, in his Introduction to the Britiſh Hiſt. &c.

(5) Spelman's Concil. Tom. I. in Introd.

(6) Hiſt. Briton. lib. xii. c. 20.

(7) Apud Præfat. Galfrid. Monum. p. xix.

(8) Vid. Epiſtol. Gildæ ap. Theoph. Gale Scriptor. Veter. Tom. I. p. 18.

(9) Galfrid. Monumet. Hiſt. Briton. lib. xi. c. 4.

(10) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(11) A. D. 858.

(12) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(13) Tour thro' Great Britain, Vol. III. p. 240.

(14) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii. lxiii.

(15) Lib. ii. p. 313.

(16) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 9.

(17) Apud H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, lib. iii. p. 2484.

(18) Aſſertio inclytiſſ. Arthurii Regis Britanniæ, Lond. 1544, 4to. p. 9, and 13.

(19) See Mr Thompſon's preface to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory in Engliſh. Lond. 1718, 8vo, p. 18.

(20) Gyrald. deſcript. Camb. cap. iii. ap. Camd. Angl. Norman. &c.

been the ſon of Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons, by Igerna, the wife of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall. This lady is held to have been in her time the greateſt beauty in Britain, and we are told, that Uther Pendragon enjoyed her by the help of Merlin's ſkill in magick, who gave this amorous Prince the form of Gorlois, ſo that Igerna taking him for her huſband, received him readily to her bed, and had by him Arthur (*a*). But though he was begotten in adultery, he was born in wedlock; for ſoon after this tranſaction, Uther Pendragon killed Gorlois, and married his widow Igerna, who was brought to bed of Arthur in 501 (*b*). This ſtory is in itſelf very incredible, but if we admit the commentary of Buchanan, it becomes as clear, and as intelligible, as we could wiſh. He ſays, that the King lay with the Duke of Cornwall's wife in that Duke's life-time, and marrying her after his deceaſe, the ſtory of the magical interview, was invented to reſtore the ſplendor of the lady's honour, and make way for the King's owning Arthur for his ſon (*c*). Uther Pendragon had alſo by the ſame lady a daughter called Anne, and dying in the year 516, Arthur aſcended the throne in his place, though he was then but fifteen, or, as Buchanan ſays, eighteen years old (*d*). At this time the Saxons committed horrid devaſtations in Britain, under the command of Colgrin their Duke, wherefore Dubricius, Archbiſhop of Caerleon, ſolemnly crowned Arthur, at the requeſt of the Nobles and the people, who immediately prepared to take the field againſt the Saxons. His generoſity, perſonal bravery, and great zeal for the glory of the Britons, procured him quickly a competent army, with which he routed Colgrin and all his forces, conſiſting of Saxons, Scots, and Picts, on the banks of the river Duglas, but not without very conſiderable loſs on his own ſide (*e*). Upon this, Colgrin retired with the remains of his army into York, where Arthur beſieged him, and while he lay before the place, Cador Duke of Cornwall, defeated Baldulph the brother of Colgrin, who with ſix thouſand men came to his relief. The King however could not take York, for Cheldric, or Cerdic, King of the Saxons, landing in Albania, *i. e.* Scotland, with a prodigious number of men, from on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, marched towards the Britons, whereupon, by the advice of his council, Arthur raiſed the ſiege of York, and marched to London. On his arrival in that city, he called a general aſſembly, wherein the ſtate of affairs having been thoroughly debated, it was agreed to ſend Embaſſadors to Hoel King of Armorica, *i. e.* Britanny, who was Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, to intreat his aſſiſtance, which being accordingly done, Hoel himſelf embarked with fifteen thouſand men, and landing at Southampton, then called the Port of Hamo, quickly found his uncle, who received him with all the affection and reſpect imaginable (*f*). Immediately after this junction, Arthur and his kinſman marched to oblige the Saxons to raiſe the ſiege of Kaerlind coit, now called Lincoln. The Saxons upon their approach, inſtantly roſe from before the place, that with the greater conveniency they might fight the Britons. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, but at laſt the Saxons were overthrown with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, part killed, and part drowned in the rivers. The remains of the army retired to the woods of Caledon, which moſt probably are Celidon woods in Lincolnſhire, where they made a brave ſtand, but being ſurrounded by the Britons, were at laſt obliged to ſurrender upon articles, *viz.* That they ſhould leave behind them all their booty, retire peaceably to their ſhips, and tranſport themſelves back again into Germany (*g*), For the performance of theſe articles they gave hoſtages, and were then ſuffered to retire in order to embark quietly. But in their voyage repenting of what they had done, they landed at Totneſs, burnt all the country as far as the Severn ſea, ſlaughtered the peaſants, ruined the villages, and at length laid ſiege to the city of Badon, *i. e.* Bath in Somerſetſhire. When this news was brought to King Arthur, who was on the point of marching againſt the Scots and Picts, he inſtantly ordered the Saxon hoſtages to be put to death, and then marched to the relief of the beſieged city. When he drew near it, himſelf firſt made a ſpeech to the army, and then the Archbiſhop Dubricius harangued them likewiſe, and gave them his bleſſing. On the day of battle, Arthur put on an excellent coat of mail, a golden helmet, with the figure of a dragon upon the top thereof, acroſs his ſhoulder hung his ſhield, called Pridwen or Prywen, wherein was pictured the virgin Mary, bearing the child Jeſus in her arms: he had likewiſe by his ſide his ſword called Calliburn (*b*), and in his right-hand he bore his lance Rou. Thus equipped he attacked the Saxons, who were drawn up in the form of a wedge. The battle laſted from morning till evening, when the Saxons withdrew to the top of a high hill, and there encamped. The next day Arthur attacked them again, but they made a gallant defence, till the greateſt part of the day was worn out, which ſo enraged Arthur, that he threw himſelf among the foremoſt ranks, and with great hazard to his perſon, performed there incredible feats of valour, for he ſlew with his own hand four hundred and ſeventy men. The Britons encouraged by the example of their Prince, forced the Saxon camp on all hands, and put many thouſands

(*a*) Galfrid. Monumetenſ. Hiſt. Britonum, lib. viii. c. 19. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmon.

(*b*) Galfrid Monumet. lib. viii. c. 20.

(*c*) Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*d*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 1. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Id. lib. ix. c. 2.

(*g*) Id. lib. ix. c. 3.

(*b*) This ſword Richard I. gave A. D. 1191, to Tancred King of Sicily. Bromton. in Chron. ap X Scriptor. p. 1195.

ly commendable for publiſhing; and as to the fictions contained in it, they are not at all more glaring than thoſe in other hiſtories of the ſame ſtanding; and therefore, tho' they ought to have no credit themſelves, yet they cannot impeach the credit of the true hiſtory mixed with them. To conclude, if Camden doubts the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth; he in other places ſupports the hiſtory of Arthur (21). If Milton doubts whether there ever was ſuch a Prince; Leland the great antiquary hath written a treatiſe expreſsly in ſupport of his hiſtory; and the great Primate Uſher thought the objections brought againſt the ſtory of his actions, but of very little weight.

(21) Britan. tit. Cornwall, Somerſetſhire.

(22) Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit. p. 250.

thouſands of them to the ſword (*i*), amongſt whom fell Colgrin and Baldulph. But as for Cedric he carried off the remains of his army, and endeavoured to recover his ſhips. After the important victory at Badon, Arthur received advice, that the Scots and Picts had beſieged the city of Aclud, which is thought to be Dunbritton in Scotland, where he left his nephew Hoel ſick, at the time he marched back againſt the Saxons. To his aſſiſtance therefore, the generous Britiſh Prince marched with all the alacrity imaginable, leaving Cador Duke of Cornwall, to purſue the Saxons. On his approach, the Scots and Picts not only raiſed the ſiege, but fled precipitately to Lough Lomond, where they endeavoured to fortify themſelves in the iſlands, but Arthur having quickly equipped a fleet, obliged them to ſurrender, and out of his great clemency pardoned them (*k*). In the mean time, Cador Duke of Cornwall, taking a circuit round the Saxons, and thereby giving them time to collect themſelves into a body, and to refreſh after their fatigues, ſuddenly ſeized and carried away their ſhips, and then marched in queſt of them, who perceiving their deſperate condition, retired into the iſle of Thanet, where Cador blocked them up with their own ſhips, and after killing their commander Cedric in fight, forced them to ſurrender upon articles, and to give hoſtages once more for their departing out of the kingdom (*l*). This done, Cador rejoined the King, who kept his Chriſtmas at York, where he deſtroyed the temples of the Pagans, reſtored the Chriſtian churches, and appointed Pyramus, his chaplain, Archbiſhop of this See (*m*). He alſo promoted Auguſel to the ſovereignty over the Scots (*n*), rewarded other perſons of diſtinction, and took himſelf to wife Guanhumara, a lady deſcended from the Romans, of exquiſite beauty, bred up in the family of Cador Duke of Cornwall (*o*). The next ſummer he fitted out a fleet, and therewith invaded Ireland, of which Guillamurius was the chief King, who, to oppoſe him, drew together a numerous army, which Arthur defeated, and made him priſoner; upon this all the petty Princes in the iſland ſubmitted. Then he ſailed to Iceland, which he likewiſe ſubdued, and received the ſubmiſſions of Doldavius King of Gothland, and Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, whom the very terror of his arms had reduced to obedience (*p*). After this he returned into Britain, and governed here twelve years in peace, with ſuch magnificence and ſplendor, that all Europe was amazed thereat, and the greateſt potentates ſtood in fear of him. At length, Sichelin King of the Norwegians dying, and leaving his kingdom to Lot, Arthur's brother-in-law, the people of Norway notwithſtanding ſet up Riculf. On this pretence therefore, Arthur invaded that kingdom, defeated the Norwegians, killed Riculf, conquered Norway and Dacia, that is, Denmark, and having given the whole to Lot, proceeded with his victorious army to invade Gaul, then a province, as our hiſtorian tells us, of the Roman Empire. The greateſt part of the country he quickly ſubdued, blocked up the Roman governor in Paris, and reduced him to ſuch ſtreights there, that he was on the very point of ſtarving. In this diſtreſs he challenged Arthur to a ſingle combat, which he was too gallant a man to refuſe, whereupon a bloody duel enſued, in which at firſt Arthur had the worſt, but at length he conquered and killed Flollo, upon which, Paris ſurrendered. He ſpent however nine years in conquering the reſt of France, after which he returned to that city, and kept a royal court, beſtowing Neuſtria, afterwards called Normandy, upon his Butler, Bedver, and the reſt of the provinces upon his domeſticks (*q*). Upon the approach of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, Arthur determined to call a great aſſembly of the moſt noble of his ſubjects, which he appointed to be held at Caerleon in Montgomeryſhire, becauſe ſtanding on the river Uſk, near the Severn ſea, it was both pleaſant and commodious, for the coming and going of thoſe who were invited. Accordingly there aſſembled Auguſel, King of Scotland, the King of North-Wales, the King of South-Wales, Cador, now called King of Cornwall, the Archbiſhops of London, York, and Caerleon, with a multitude of Britiſh Princes; there came likewiſe Guillamurius King of Ireland, Malvaſius King of Iceland, Doldavius King of Gothland, Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, Lot King of Norway, Aſchillius King of the Dacians, *&c.* At this time he was ſolemnly crowned, the Kings of Scotland, Cornwall, North and South-Wales, carrying four golden ſwords before him (*r*). Not long after this, the Romans demanded tribute, which Arthur, by the advice of his council, not only refuſed, but reſolved to make war upon them. A mighty army he gathered, and marched to Southampton where he embarked, leaving the government of Britain to his nephew Modred, the ſon of Lot, by his ſiſter Anne, beforementioned. But while he was a coaſting about the iſland, he had news brought him, that a Spaniſh giant had forcibly taken away Helena, the daughter of his nephew Hoel, Duke of Brittany, whom he had carried to mount St Michael in Cornwall [*C*]; thither

(*i*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 4. Camden. Britan. Tit. Somerſetſhire.

(*k*) Id. lib. ix. c. 6.

(*l*) Id. lib. ix. c. 4.

(*m*) Godwin. de Præſul. P. ii. p. 2. edit. 1616.

(*n*) King Edward I, calls this King, Anſelm. Epiſt. ad P. Bonifac. VIII, ap. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, p. 283.

(*o*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 9.

(*p*) Id. lib. ix. c. 10.

(*q*) Id. lib. ix. c. 11.

(*r*) Id. lib. ix. c. 12. Epiſt. Edvard. I. ad Bonafac VIII. P. M. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 492. Vita S. Debricii, ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 657.

[*C*] *Mount St Michael in Cornwall.*] William of Malmeſbury, in his Antiquities of Glaſtenbury, gives us a very circumſtantial account of King Arthur's carrying one *Ider*, a Prince of the blood royal, to try his valour at a certain mount, called *Brentenol*, where he behaved very gallantly; but falling, through wearineſs, at length into a ſwoon, Arthur left him there for dead, which proved the cauſe of his really breathing his laſt in that place through want of help; to expiate which involuntary offence, Arthur gave to the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, lands ſufficient for the maintenance of twenty-four Monks to pray for the ſoul of Ider; and alſo beſtowed on them gold and ſilver veſſels, and other eccleſiaſtical ornaments (23). The ſame author in his catalogue of gifts made to the monaſtery hath theſe words. 'Imprimis Rex Arthurus 'tempore Britonum dedit Brentemaris, Powheldon, 'cum multis aliis terris in confinio ſitis, pro ani- 'ma Ider, ut ſupra tactum eſt, quas terras per 'Anglos, tunc Paganos, ſupervenientes ablatas; 'rum poſt eorum converſionem ad fidem reſtitue- 'runt cum pluribus aliis. i. e. *In the firſt place, King*

(23) De Antiquitat. Eccleſ. Glaſton. ap. Scriptor. Veter. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. I. p. 326.

thither the King purſuing him, ſlew him in ſingle combat (*s*), after which he proceeded in the war he had firſt deſigned, and having therein triumphed over all the forces of the Roman empire, and ſlain with his own hand Lucius Tiberius, their General, as he was paſſing the Alps in order to go to Rome, he received advice, that Modred his nephew had revolted, and had married Guanhumara his Queen (*t*). This, ſays our hiſtorian, obliged him to deſiſt from his enterprize againſt Leo, King of the Romans; wherefore, ſending Hoel King of Britany with a great army to ſecure the peace of Gaul, he, with the reſt of his forces, ſailed for Britain. Modred, knowing the badneſs of his cauſe, endeavoured to fortify himſelf by many and great alliances; with this view he once more called in the Saxons, and alſo invited, by promiſing great ſums of money, the Scots, Picts, and Iriſh, to fight under his banner. At length, having aſſembled eighty thouſand men, he led them down into Kent, to oppoſe his uncle, who he knew intended to land there. He could not however prevent Arthur's coming on ſhore, but he preſently engaged him, and after a bloody battle, in which many of the King's friends fell, was defeated and forced to fly to Wincheſter. As for the Queen, ſhe retired to the city of Caerleon, and there became a Nun (*u*). King Arthur purſued his nephew to Wincheſter, and there a ſecond time engaged him, beat him, and forced him to fly towards Cornwall. There, on the banks of the river Camel, Modred made a ſtand again with ſixty thouſand men, with whom Arthur fought a third battle, wherein after thouſands had been ſlain, and amongſt them, many of the moſt honourable perſons on both ſides, at length, Modred himſelf was killed, and his army totally routed. In this engagement however, our hero Arthur received ſeveral wounds, which forced him to retire into the iſland of Avalon, where, feeling himſelf extremely weak, he reſigned the crown to Conſtantine, the ſon of Cador Duke of Cornwall, and a few days after died, A. D. 542. (*w*). It is neceſſary to add a little ſober truth to this romantick ſtory, and therefore let us conclude this article with obſerving, that Henry II, who was the firſt of the Plantagenet line, being in the laſt year of his reign at Pembroke, and hearing there a Welſh bard ſinging to his harp, the ſtory of our Arthur, concluding with an account of his death and burial, in the church-yard of Glaſtenbury, between two pyramids [*D*]; the King inſtantly gave orders that the matter ſhould be inquired into, and the body dug up. This was done as the King directed, and at the depth of ſeven feet, was found a vaſt ſtone, whereon was faſtened a leaden croſs, with this inſcription on the inſide: Hic Jacet Sepultus Inclytus Rex Arturius in Inſula Avalonia, *i. e. Here lieth the famous King Arthur, buried in the Iſle of Avalon.* Digging ſtill lower, they found the King's body in the trunk of a tree, his beautiful Queen lying by him, with long flowing hair, in colour bright as gold, which however ſunk into duſt when touched. The King's bones were very large ſized, and in his ſkull there were ten wounds or more, all cicatrized, except that of which he died. This diſcovery was made in the year 1189, as Giraldus Cambrenſis tells us, who ſaw theſe bones, and examined the whole matter carefully (*x*). There was alſo a table containing this ſtory, ſet up in the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, and the leaden croſs with the inſcription, remained there till the diſſolution of the monaſtery, where it was ſeen by the great antiquary, Leland (*y*), but what is become thereof ſince, does not appear.

(*s*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 3.

(*t*) Id. lib. x. c. 13. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*u*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 1.

(*w*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 2.

(*x*) Camden. Britan. tit. Somerſetſhire. Speed's Chron. p. 273.

(*y*) Aſſert. Artur.

'*King* Arthur *in the time of the* Britons *gave* Brentemar, Poweldon, *with many other lands in the* 'the neighbourhood *for the ſoul of* Ider, *as is be-*'*fore-mentioned, which lands on the coming of the* 'Engliſh, *then* Pagans, *were taken away; and after* 'their coming to the knowledge *of the faith reſtored* '*with many others* (24).' It is to be obſerved, that this fact does not reſt at all on the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or of his original author, but was taken from the records of the Abbey of Glaſtenbury.

(24) Ibid. p. 326.

[*D*] *Between two pyramids.*] As to the diſcovery of King Arthur's body, we have not only the teſtimony of Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was an eye-witneſs of it (25), but we have alſo a very long account in Bromton's Chronicle, who takes occaſion from thence to ſpeak of various circumſtances relating to the hiſtory of King Arthur, from other authorities than that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. For inſtance, he tells us, that in certain Chronicles it was noted, that Arthur having again and again vanquiſhed Cerdic the Saxon, and finding that he ſtill brought new armies into the field, being quite tired out, he granted him Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, where he eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. He ſays likewiſe, that in the Engliſh Chronicles, it was recorded, that when Modred rebelled againſt his uncle, he purchaſed the aſſiſtance of Cerdic by a new grant, and as it ſhould ſeem, by releaſing him from all homage. For thereupon Cerdic was crowned after the cuſtom of the Pagans at Wincheſter, and Modred at London. This writer reduces the victories gained by Arthur over the Saxons to nine, whereas all other authors reckoned them twelve; he fixes however the laſt of them at Lanſdown. He alſo fixes the Year in which King Arthur's body was found to the 13th of the reign of Henry II, and to the year of our Lord 1180 (26). He differs in this from another very authentick account of this fact, not in any circumſtance, but in the date, which in the Annals of Margan is 1191. Therein it is ſaid, that digging under the two pyramids to bury a Monk, there was firſt found the body of a woman, after that the body of a man, and a great way below both the ſtone and croſs, bearing the inſcription mentioned in the text, under which lay the body of King Arthur. The firſt is ſuppoſed to be the body of his Queen, and the ſecond that of his nephew Modred (27). Not to tire the Reader, let us ſhut up this matter with one obſervation more; which is, that in the larger Hiſtory of Wincheſter, we are told, that Arthur yielded in the ſecond year of his reign to Cerdic the Saxon, Hampſhire, Surrey, Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire, to which Modred when he rebelled, added Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and part of Cornwall. The author of this hiſtory, is ſo far from tranſcribing Geoffrey of Monmouth, that he inveighs bitterly againſt his work, and therefore muſt have taken theſe paſſages from what he thought better authority (28).

(25) Camden. Britan. tit. Somerſetſhire.

(26) Chron. Johan. Brompt. ap. X. Scriptor. p. 1152.

(27) Annal. de Margan. ap. Hiſt. Anglican. Script. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. II. p. 10.

(28) Thom. Rudborne Hiſtor. Major. Winton. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 187.

ARTHUR, (Duke of Britany) was the ſon of Geoffrey Plantaganet, fourth ſon of Henry II, King of England, and of Conſtantia ſole daughter and heireſs of Conan Duke of Britany, and Earl of Richmond. This Arthur was a poſthumous ſon, his father being unfortunately ſlain, while his mother was with child of him, whom ſhe brought into the world on Eaſter-day, which fell on the thirty-firſt of March, *Anno Dom.* 1187 (*a*). In right of his mother he was heir apparent to the Dukedom of Britany, and to many Lordſhips, and on this account he was left under the care of his mother, notwithſtanding the relation he had to the Royal Family of England [*A*]. The Lady Conſtantia did not long remain a widow, but took for her ſecond huſband the Earl of Cheſter (*b*), however ſhe had ſtill the care of her ſon, and in all probability was well treated, and her ſon for ſome years beloved, and careſſed by her brother-in-law King Richard, who had ſo great a reſpect to the right of ſucceſſion, and ſuch affection for his young nephew, that in the year 1190, in a letter directed to the Pope, and dated from Meſſina in Sicily, on the eleventh of November (*c*), he declares his deareſt nephew Arthur his heir, in caſe he died without iſſue by his Queen, and alſo by an article in his treaty with Tancred King of Sicily, he ſtipulated that this nephew, Arthur, when he grew up, ſhould take to wife the daughter of the King of Sicily. The next year after he provided by a treaty with the King of France, that the Dukedom of Britany ſhould be for ever held of the Duke of Normandy, and that the Duke of Normandy ſhould anſwer to the King of France for both Dukedoms (*d*). Yet in the year 1199, when this Prince was ſo unfortunate as to receive a mortal wound before the caſtle of Chalus, he deviſed to his brother John the kingdom of England, and all his other dominions, cauſed ſuch as were preſent to ſwear fealty to him, directing alſo that his caſtles ſhould be immediately put into his hands, with three fourths of his treaſures (*e*). In all probability, it was the Queen-mother Eleanor who perſuaded King Richard to take this ſtep in diſinheriting his nephew Arthur, who was then but twelve years old, neither are our ancient hiſtorians ſilent, as to the motives which induced the old Queen to act in this manner. She was, as all writers agree, a proud, ambitious woman, and the Lady Conſtantia, Ducheſs of Britany, having alſo a very high ſpirit, the Queen foreſaw that in caſe her ſon aſcended the throne, ſhe ſhould thence forward have little or no credit, which made her, to the utmoſt of her power, promote her ſon John's claim, againſt that of her grandſon Arthur's. Several of the Norman, and moſt of the Engliſh Lords, ſtuck to the firſt mentioned Prince, who, very ſhortly after cauſed himſelf to be inveſted Duke of Normandy, and declared King of England. The inequality indeed was great between the competitors, for King John was in the prime of life, being in his thirty-third year, whereas Arthur was not much above twelve (*f*). Yet there wanted not ſome perſons of diſtinction, who, out of pure reſpect to juſtice, eſpouſed his quarrel, Thomas Defurnes, governor of the city of Angiers, rendered it with the caſtle to Duke Arthur, and the Barons and great men of Anjou, Tourain, and Main, having met together, recognized the young Prince for their Lord, whom his mother brought to the city of Tours, and there delivered him to Philip King of France, who ſolemnly received him, and all his dominions, under his protection (*g*). This ſo provoked his competitor John, that he immediately attacked the city of Main, and having reduced it, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, for the affection they had ſhewn to Duke Arthur. After this exploit, John went over into England to be crowned, while Arthur remained in the court of King Philip, who gave him ſtrong aſſurances of his favour and aſſiſtance (*h*). In purſuance of theſe promiſes, King Philip committed many hoſtilities in the countries belonging to King John, and having raiſed a conſiderable army in the ſummer, he in the beginning of the month of Auguſt knighted his pupil Arthur, and received his homage for Anjou, Poictou, Tourain, Main, Britany, and Normandy, ſo that he ſeemed now abſolutely engaged in the cauſe of the young Prince. King John returning into Normandy, firſt ſought to have entered into a treaty with King Philip, and being diſappointed therein, prepared the beſt he could to reſiſt his enemies. In the beginning of the month of October, the King of France took the caſtle of Balun, and put a garriſon into it. This highly offended William de Roche, whom the Latin writers call *de Rupibus*, who commanded the forces of Duke Arthur, inſomuch that after having expoſtulated, to no purpoſe, with King Philip, he reconciled the young Prince to his uncle, to whom he delivered the city of Mans, of which he was governor, and put Duke Arthur and his mother Conſtance into the King's hands. Things did not long continue in this condition,

(*a*) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 364. Matth. Paris. p. 143. N. Trivet, Annal. p. 89. Walſingham, fol. 452. Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. 1187.

(*b*) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 796.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 677.

(*d*) Roger. de Hov. p. 688. Matth. Paris, p. 163.

(*e*) Roger. de Hov. p. 791. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 135.

(*f*) Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. 1199.

(*g*) J. de Serres. Chronique de Normand. fol. 94, 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 792. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 138.

(*h*) Roger. de Hov. p. 793. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

[*A*] *Royal Family of England.*] His father Geoffrey, fourth ſon to Henry II, King of England, was born on the 23d of September 1158 (1), and his father, King Henry, while he was yet a child, declared he ſhould marry Conſtantia heireſs of Britany, who was alſo a child, and under colour of this marriage reduced the whole Duchy under his obedience (2). In the year 1186, he had the misfortune to fall off his horſe at a tournament in Paris, and being trampled under feet, was ſo terribly bruiſed that he died, leaving by his wife, Conſtantia, an only daughter Eleanor, to whom Philip King of France claimed to be guardian, which was diſputed by King Henry of England, and in the interim Conſtantia was delivered of Arthur (3). That on the demiſe of Richard I, Arthur ſhould claim his ſucceſſion in England and in France, appears highly reaſonable from this account of his birth. On the other hand, he had ſome other pretenſions at leaſt to friends and favourers, derived to him from his mother, for her mother was Margaret, ſiſter to William King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, right heir to the Crown of England of the Saxon line (4).

(1) Rad. de Diceto, col. 531.

(2) Joh. Bromt. col. 1059.

(3) Roger. de Hov. p. 363, 364.

(4) Hollingſhead, Vol. II. p. 164. a.

[*B*] *The*

dition, for the lady Conſtantia, and thoſe about her, ſuſpecting King John intended to impriſon her ſon, made haſte away with him to the city of Angiers, where, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope, lady Conſtantia quitted her ſecond huſband the Earl of Cheſter, and married Guy de Tours (*i*). In the beginning of the next year, there were ſome negotiations between the Kings of France and England, which at length ended in a peace, wherein Duke Arthur was included, and the two Kings having an interview near the city of Vernon, Arthur, by conſent of the French King, did homage to his uncle for the Dukedom of Britany, and this ceremony over returned with King Philip to Paris, as having no great confidence in King John (*k*). In the year 1201, that King returned into Normandy, and, on an invitation from King Philip, went to Paris, where he was kindly received, though after his return into Normandy, ſome diſputes grew between them. In 1202, the King had another interview, at which Philip haughtily required King John, to yield to his nephew all that he poſſeſſed in France without exception, and this extraordinary demand occaſioned a war. In the courſe of theſe diſputes Duke Arthur, with a conſiderable army, entered Poictou, and having ſubdued it, with the countries of Tourain and Anjou, he ſuddenly came with his forces before the caſtle of Mirabeau, where Queen Eleanor, his grandmother, at this time had her reſidence. The ſucceſs of this young Prince, had drawn numbers into his ſervice, ſo that he attacked the place with a great army, and made himſelf maſter of all but the middle tower where the Queen was; in this diſtreſs ſhe wrote to her ſon John, earneſtly beſeeching him to come to her aſſiſtance. The King extremely alarmed at his mother's danger, marched night and day to afford her relief, inſomuch that he appeared before Mirabeau at a time when he was not expected, and taking advantage of the enemy's confuſion, he attacked, and entirely defeated them. This was on the firſt of Auguſt, 1202, as appears by King John's letter to the Barons of England, wherein he gives them a full account of this victory, and of his taking his nephew Arthur, and many other noble priſoners. This blow was fatal to our young Prince, and to his family. He had been a little before contracted to the King of France's youngeſt daughter, but now all hopes of his conſummating that marriage were loſt, his only ſiſter, Eleanor, named, by the common people, the damſel of Britain, fell likewiſe into the hands of King John, who ſent her over into England, where ſhe remained a priſoner many years in the caſtle of Briſtol (*l*). As for Duke Arthur, the King ſent him to the caſtle of Falais, under the cuſtody of his chamberlain Hubert, and not long after the King went thither himſelf. There it is ſaid he treated his nephew very gently, intreated him to lay aſide all thoughts of adhering, as hitherto he had done, to the French King, exhorting him rather to depend, as he ought, on him his uncle and ſovereign, to theſe ſpeeches the young Prince ſomewhat anadviſedly anſwered, that he was the lawful heir, not only of his uncle Richard's French dominions, but of the crown of England alſo, which if he did not yield to him, he ſhould not long wear in peace. This anſwer was certainly bold enough, but as it came from a boy ſcarce turned of fifteen years of age, it ought not to have provoked the King ſo much as it ſeems it did, who thereupon cauſed him to be removed to the caſtle of Rouen, where, under the cuſtody of Robert de Vypont, he was much more cloſely confined than before (*m*). After this King John returned into England, where he continued not long before he entertained ſtrange thoughts with reſpect to his unhappy nephew. He was it ſeems ſo apprehenſive of the claim that he, and his deſcendants, might have to the dominions of King Richard, that he reſolved to have Arthur's eyes put out, and to have him farther deprived of the power of begetting children. From this barbarous project however he was diſſuaded, either by his chamberlain Hubert, or by his mother Queen Eleanor, who began now (when it was too late) to expreſs a great tenderneſs for her unhappy grandſon, for whoſe misfortunes it is ſaid ſhe not long after broke her heart (*n*). But though the King was diverted from one cruel deſign, it hath been always ſtrongly ſuſpected that he put another in practice, ſince in the ſpring of the next year, Duke Arthur diſappeared, and was never more ſeen (*o*). The French authors in general, and not a few Engliſh writers, charge King John expreſsly either with committing, or commanding the murder; and though ſome very learned men have taken no ſmall pains to free that Prince's memory from ſo foul a ſtain, yet ſo weak are their arguments, that, to any impartial reader, they muſt rather prejudice than promote the opinion they maintain [*B*]. Our excellent Shakeſpear, in his life and death of King John,

(*i*) Roger. de Hov. p. 795, 796. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

(*k*) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 814. Matth. Paris, p. 200. Nich. Trivet. p. 140. Chronicon Johannis Abbat. S. P. de Burgo *ap.* Script. var. à Joſepho Sparke, edit. p. 91.

(*l*) Roger. de Hov. p. 823. Matth. Paris, p 207. Nich. Trivet. p. 143. See alſo Stowe, Hollingſhead, Speed, ad ann. p. 1202.

(*m*) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. J. de Serres. Matth. Paris, p. 207, 208.

(*n*) R. Coggeſhall, as cited in Hollingſhead's Chronicle.

(*o*) Matth. Paris, p. 208. Nich. Trivet, p. 144. Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, Hearne edit. p. 206.

[*B*] *The opinion they maintain.*] The Honour of King John in this particular, is beſt ſupported in that chronicle which paſſes under the name of Speed, but is in truth the work of ſeveral hands, this reign particularly being written by the learned Dr Barkham (5). 'As the tongues of parаſites, ſays he, are 'no true ſcales to weigh the worth and virtues of 'great men; ſo neither ought we to judge of their '(or any man's) blemiſhes, by the deforming pencils 'of envy or rancour; with one of which, no emi-'nency, either of place or virtue, was ever unattend-'ed. And that this bloody aſperſion on the King, 'came from no other fountain but malignity; ſuch 'as then lived, and might therefore beſt know the 'truth, and were alſo (as Monks generally were) his 'moſt bitter taxers, and therefore far from ſalving his 'infamy with partial falſhood, can but witneſs. It 'was (ſaith one) (6) by certain perſons avowed, that 'Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, 'was by caſualty drowned in the river Seyne (on 'which the caſtle of Roan is ſeated); and yet the 'Frenchmen, the King's mortal enemies, (and there-'fore plenary credit not to be given them) give 'it out that he was murdered by the King's com-'mand, yea and by his own hands; thus by the 'malice of ſlanderers, England's King became not a 'little

(5) See his article in this Dictionary.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. min. MS. Trivet, p. 144.

John, has given us an admirable picture of this tranſaction, wherein (ſo far as we can gather from hiſtory) he preſents to the eyes of his audience the true characters of thoſe illuſtrious perſons he introduces, inſomuch that whoever reads this play, after conſulting our beſt hiſtorians, will read it with double pleaſure, as perceiving thence, after how exquiſite a manner this great genius hath united truth and poetry (p) [C]. Some authors inform us, that Conſtantia, Ducheſs of Britany, and mother of Arthur, appealed King John before Philip, and the Peers of France, for the murder of her ſon, Arthur (q). Yet this admits of ſome doubt, ſince Roger Hoveden who lived in thoſe times, and who concludes his hiſtory the year before the battle of Mirabell, mentions the death of Conſtantia (r), and there are other authors who agree in the ſame date. But that ſuch a ſuit was commenced againſt King John, and judgment given thereupon is certain (s), as alſo that the famous John de Courcy, Earl of Ulſter in [illegible], openly called him traitor, murderer, and refuſed to pay him any obedience on account of

(p) This Play is the laſt in the third Volume of the new edition in 12mo, London, 1740.

(q) Stowe, Hollingſhead, and Speed.

(r) Annal. p. 822.

(s) Rapin, Hiſt. D'Angl. Vol. II. p. 296.

'little defamed, with whom other the approvedſt 'authors accord, (though differing in the manner 'of his death) that this imputation ſprang only from 'the French emulation, as ſince it hath been kept 'on foot, only by French and Italianate ſpirits, one 'of which hath not bluſhed to charge King John 'with murdering of his own brother King Richard '(7), and another with killing Arthur's ſiſter, who 'yet out-lived him twenty-four years (8); ſo ſhame-'leſsly will the pen blur the truth of actions, where 'it is once dipped in gall againſt the perſon.' Stripped of the Doctor's fine language, there is not either argument or authority in any thing he ſays. Paraſites ſeldom ſpeak evil of princes, and as to the only author he cites in King John's favour, I mean Matthew Paris, he ſays in his larger hiſtory (9), which is alſo moſt authentick, what does not make for the Doctor's purpoſe at all. 'Sed non multo poſt, 'idem Arthurus ſubito evanuit, modo fere omnibus 'ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida. *i. e. Not 'long after this, Arthur ſuddenly vaniſhed in a man-'ner few are acquainted with, not I hope as ſpite-'ful report ſpeaks!*' Trivet whom he likewiſe cites, ſays only that King John was ſcandalized about his death (10), which is no proof that he did not kill him. Then as to charging King John with the murder of Duke Arthur's ſiſter, he is not quite ſo clear of it as might be wiſhed, ſhe was his lawful Sovereign after the death of her brother, and yet he kept her a cloſe priſoner ſo long as he lived, and left her in that priſon where ſhe died (11). If only French writers reported that he murdered his nephew, we might be inclined to ſuſpect their authority, but it is in truth affirmed by all ſorts of writers foreign and domeſtick. It is aſſerted in the old Chronicles of Normandy, that the King cauſed him to be drowned (12), and from thence I ſuppoſe the French writers borrowed it, as we ſhall hear more at large hereafter. Thomas Sprott, who wrote in the reign of Henry III, ſon to King John tells us roundly, 'Iſte interfecit Arturum Nepotem 'ſuum, i. e. *This Man murdered his nephew* Arthur '(13).' In thoſe days very probably it was not ſafe to ſay more. However, an author whoſe works are ſtill preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, tells the tale out. 'Dum adhuc eſſet in 'Aquitanum comprehenſum puerum, (ſcilicet Arthu-'rum Nepotem ſuum) dolo tenuit & occidit per ma-'num Armigeri ſui Petri de Malo Lacu, cui poſtea 'heredem Baroniæ de Mulgreffe dedit in uxorem. *i. e. 'While he was in Aquitain, he ſeiſed the young Man, '(Arthur his nephew) kept him baſely, and cauſed 'him to be ſlain by the hand of his Eſquire, Peter 'de Malo Lacu, to whom afterwards he gave the 'heireſs of the Barony of Mulgreffe to wife.*' This ſeems to be the truth, and therefore I publiſh it. The Chronicle of Godſtow Abbey places the fact in a worſe light, for he tells us, that on the day of April 1203, King John having taken his nephew in battle, directed ſome of his knights to go and murder him in priſon, but they refuſing, himſelf entered the place where Arthur was, and drawing his ſword, thruſt the lad through as he was upon his knees (15). This murder is reported after another manner by Rapin (16), there want not, ſays he, ſome hiſtorians who write that John cauſed him to be put into a boat in a very dark night, at the foot of the Tower where he had been kept priſoner, where he ſtabbed him with his own hands, and then ordered the body to be carried ſome leagues below Rouen, and there thrown into the Sein. Theſe diſcordant accounts of the murder are very far from deſtroying the credit of each other, becauſe ſuch murders as this was muſt be ſecret in it's nature, and conſequently though the fact was ever ſo certain, there would be various reports about it. The thing however was ſo flagrant, that King John, as Duke of Normandy, was charged with it before his Peers at Paris; and, on his non-appearance, condemned to loſe all the lands he held in France. Camden tells us (17), that he offered to appear if he might have had a ſafe conduct, which however was refuſed him, on account perhaps of the nature of the crime with which he was charged. Dr Barkham in his before-mentioned hiſtory, is pleaſed to ſay, that the King might have juſtified his putting his nephew to death, whom he took in open arms fighting againſt him his Sovereign (18). This however is odd doctrine, conſidering who Arthur was, and how indiſputable his title to thoſe lands for which he fought. On the whole therefore, how much partiality ſoever there may be in the Monkiſh writers againſt King John in other reſpects, in this they ſeem to have done him no great wrong; and if he was innocent, he ſhewed little care to do himſelf right, otherwiſe he might certainly have given a clearer account of this affair, or at leaſt he might have told where his nephew was buried.

(7) Sabellicus Ennead. 9. l. 5.

(8) John Harding in his Chronicles, c. 142.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

(10) Annal. p. 144.

(11) Nich. Trivet, p. 145, 194.

(12) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Chron. Johan. Abbat. S. P. de Burgo, p. 91.

(13) MS. p. 74. col. 2.

(14) Chronic. Radulphi niger in Bibliothec. Coll. Sanct. Trinitat. Cantab. fol. 94.

(15) MS. in Bibliothec. Harl. p. 93.

(16) Hiſt. D'Anglet. Tom. II. p. 296.

(17) In tit. Richmond. in Deſcrip. Britan.

(18) Speed's Chronicle, p. 490.

[C] *This great genius hath united truth and poetry.*] The whole Tragedy of the Life and Death of King John, *is* truly beautiful. In this note, however, I ſhall meddle with nothing, but what relates to the ſtory of Arthur. In the firſt place, I muſt remark the wiſdom, as well as juſtice of the poet, in making John thought by every body, nay even by himſelf, an intruder, and no lawful poſſeſſor either of the Crown of England, or of the Duchy of Normandy. In this he kept cloſe to hiſtory, for in reality he was never owned for ſuch, but by thoſe who found it their intereſt. Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as appears by his oration (19), which is ſtill extant, would have made him an elective King. If ſo, this would ſerve his purpoſe only in England, in France the title of Duke Arthur was clear, he claimed the French dominions as heir to his Uncle Richard, and the great lords in thoſe countries, who were the beſt judges of the rule of deſcent, acknowledged his title. On this ground, Conſtance, throughout the Play, refuſes all kind of treaty with King John, which is conſiſtent with her character, tho' not exactly agreeable to hiſtory. The quarrels between her and Queen Eleanor, are founded on the teſtimony of credible authors, and, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, the poet makes her ſay nothing, but what we may well ſuppoſe ſhe might have ſaid. The reproaches thrown on Philip King of France, for owning and diſowning the cauſe of Arthur, juſt as his intereſt led him, are juſt and grounded in reaſon. The character of Arthur, was entirely in his own hands, he was at liberty to give that young Prince what manners he pleaſed, provided only he gave him ſpirit, of which our hiſtories aſſure us he had a large ſhare. The ſcenes between the Prince and Hubert are ſtrong and lively, agreeing perfectly well with the account given us by Coggeſhal. It may not be amiſs, to note here, that this Hubert, Chamberlain to King John, is the famous Hubert de Burgh, of whom the reader may ſee more in another place. As to the manner of

(19) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 197.

of this murder (*t*), which as Matthew Paris tells us, it was commonly reported the King committed with his own hand (*u*).

(*t*) Stowe, p. 186. b.
(*u*) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

of Arthur's death, Shakeſpear might take what tale he liked beſt; and accordingly, he has taken that which leaſt injured the memory of King John, whom he treats as a lawful Prince in the latter part of the Play. On the whole therefore, as the force of his genius ſtrikes us at firſt ſight, ſo a reverence for his deep judgment and great knowledge in Engliſh hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily ariſe from an attentive conſideration of this, and indeed of all his performances of this kind. E

ARVIRAGUS, an ancient Britiſh King, flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian [*A*], when Salluſtius Lucullus was Lieutenant for the Romans in Britain (*a*). The Britiſh hiſtorians, eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth, place him in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, whoſe enterprize againſt Britain he is ſaid to have oppoſed. The account we have of Arviragus in that author is generally eſteemed to be fabulous: however the ſubſtance of it is as follows: Kymbelinus, when he had governed Britain ten years, begat two ſons, the elder named Guiderius, and the younger Arviragus. Kymbelinus being dead, Guiderius, who ſucceeded him, reſolved to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and began with refuſing to pay the uſual tribute: whereupon the Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain (*b*) [*B*]. In a battle which enſued between the Romans and the Britons, Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo, a Roman [*C*]: whereupon Arviragus, putting on his brother's habillements, and heading the Britons, gained a victory over Claudius (*c*) [*D*]. But being ſoon after beſieged

(*a*) Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, folio, Vol. I. col. 77.

(*b*) Galfrid Monumeth. Hiſt Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(*c*) Ibid. c. 13.

[*A*] *Arviragus —— flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian.*] This appears from the following paſſage of Juvenal, which is a compliment to that Emperor:

Non cedit Vejento; ſed ut fanaticus œſtro
Percuſſus, Bellona, tuo, divinat, &, ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus (1).

(1) Juvenal. Sat. iv. ver. 123.

Nor came Veiento ſhort, but as inſpired
By thee, Bellona, by thy fury fired,
Turns prophet: See, the mighty omen, ſee,
He cries, of ſome illuſtrious victory!
Some captive King thee his new Lord ſhall own;
Or, from his Britiſh chariot headlong thrown,
The proud Arviragus come tumbling down.
Rev. Mr Richard Duke.

The author of the Chronicle of Dover (2) underſtands this paſſage as addreſſed to Nero; I ſuppoſe, becauſe the poet introduces the ſtory, of which they are a part, with theſe lines:

(2) Chron. Dover. *apud* Leland, Collectan. Vol. II. p. 50.

Cum jam ſemianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, & calvo ſerviret Roma Neroni (3).

(3) Juv. ib. ver. 38.

When he, with whom the Flavian race decay'd,
The groaning world with iron ſcepter ſway'd,
When a bald Nero reign'd, and ſervile Rome
obey'd. Ibid.

But this is a plain deſcription of the Emperor Domitian, who was the laſt and worſt of the Flavian family, and is here called *calvus Nero* (a *bald Nero*) both on account of his *cruelty*, in which he reſembled that Emperor, and his *baldneſs*, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from him. Let us add, that the above-mentioned compliment would have been a very inſipid piece of flattery to Domitian, unleſs Arviragus were a conſiderable Prince then living, and an enemy to the Romans. And therefore there is no ground for the opinion of Alford (4), who contends, that Arviragus is the ſame as *Caractacus*, who was conquered by Claudius, and that Juvenal uſes the name by a poetical licence, tho' he lived long before. The probability of the caſe ſeems to be, that, in Domitian's time, after the recalling Agricola, and taking away the life of Salluſtius Lucullus his ſucceſſor, the Britons took up arms under Arviragus. And the learned Primate of Armagh (5) mentions an old Britiſh coin in Sir R. Cotton's Collections, with theſe letters on it,

(4) Annal. Eccleſ. *ad an.* 45. n. 9.

(5) *In* Primord. p. 583.

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from whence he thinks his true name was *Arivogus*, which the Romans changed to *Arviragus*. The Britons being now up in arms, as far as we can learn, were not repreſſed till the Emperor Adrian came over in perſon, and built the firſt wall, to keep them out of the Roman Province. For, before this time, Spartian (6) tells us, the Britons could not be kept in ſubjection to the Roman power. So that here was a fit ſeaſon, in Domitian's time (Agricola being re-called in the beginning of that Emperor's reign) for ſuch a King as Arviragus to appear at the head of the Britons, and it was then a ſuitable compliment to Domitian to wiſh him a triumph over Arviragus.

(6) *In* Hadriano.

[*B*] *The Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain.*] He was attended in this expedition (ſays the Monmouth hiſtorian) by the commander of his army, who was called in the Britiſh tongue Leuis Hamo; by whoſe advice the ſucceeding war was to be carried on. This man therefore, arriving at the city of Portceſtre, began to block up the gates with a wall, and denied the citizens all liberty of paſſing out. For his deſign was, either to reduce them under ſubjection by famine, or to kill them without mercy (7). Guiderius, upon the news of Claudius's coming, aſſembled all the ſoldiery of the kingdom, and marched to meet the Roman army, which he attacked with great eagerneſs, doing more execution with his own ſword, than the greater part of his ſoldiers (8).

(7) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(8) Ibid. c. 13.

[*C*] *Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo.*] Claudius was now juſt upon retreating to his ſhips, and the Romans very near routed, when the crafty Hamo, throwing aſide his own armour, put on that of the Britons, and as a Briton fought againſt his own men. Then he exhorted the Britons to a vigorous aſſault, promiſing them a ſpeedy victory. For he had learned their language and manners, as having been educated among the Britiſh hoſtages at Rome. By this means he approached by little and little to the King; and ſeeing his opportunity of acceſs, he ſtabbed him while under no apprehenſion of danger, and then eſcaped through the enemies ranks, to return to his men with the news of this deteſtable exploit (9).

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] *Arviragus —— gained a victory over Claudius.*] The Britons, knowing nothing of Guiderius's death, fought courageouſly, under the conduct of Arviragus, and killed no ſmall number of the enemy. At laſt the Romans gave ground, and dividing themſelves into two bodies baſely quitted the field. Claudius, with one part, to ſecure himſelf, retired to his ſhips; but Hamo to the woods, becauſe he had not time to get to the ſhips. Arviragus, thinking that Claudius fled along with Hamo, purſued him with ſpeed, nor left off haraſſing them from place to place, till he overtook them upon a part of the ſea-coaſt, which from the name of *Hamo* is now called *Southampton*. There was at the ſame place a convenient haven for ſhips, and ſome merchant-ſhips at anchor. And juſt as Hamo was attempting to get on board them, Arviragus came upon him unawares, and forthwith killed him. And ever ſince that time the haven has been called *Hamo*'s port (10).

(10) Ibid.

beſieged by that Prince in the city of Wincheſter, he made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and, in conſequence of the treaty, married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa (*d*) [*E*]. Matters being thus accommodated, Claudius returned to Rome, and left to Arviragus the government of the Britiſh Iſlands (*e*). After the departure of the Romans, Arviragus became a very powerful Prince; and this ſo elevated him with pride, that he diſdained any longer ſubjection to the Romans, and aſſumed to himſelf an independent authority. Whereupon Veſpaſian was ſent againſt him into Britain [*F*]; and, upon the arrival of this General, a great battle was fought, in which neither ſide got the victory: but, the morning after the fight, by the mediation of Queen Genuiſſa, the two leaders were reconciled; Veſpaſian returned to Rome, and Arviragus remained in Britain. This monarch lived to a good old age, governing his kingdom in peace, confirming the old laws of his anceſtors, enacting new ones, and liberally rewarding perſons of merit: ſo that his fame ſpread all over Europe; and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the ſubject of their diſcourſe more than any King of his time. After his death, he was buried at Glouceſter, in a certain temple, which he had built and dedicated to the honour of the Emperor Claudius (*f*). This is the ſubſtance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative. There is an old tradition, that, in the time of this Britiſh King, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here [*G*].

(*d*) Ibid. c. 14.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 15.

(*f*) Ibid. c. 16.

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[*E*] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa.*] Claudius having employed variety of engines againſt the city, Arviragus aſſembled his troops, and opened the gates, to march out and give him battle. But juſt as he was ready to begin the attack, Claudius, who feared the boldneſs of the King, and the bravery of the Britons, ſent a meſſage to him with offers of peace; as chuſing to reduce the Britons by wiſdom and policy, rather than hazard a battle. To this purpoſe he offered a reconciliation with him, and promiſed to give him his daughter, if he would acknowledge the kingdom of Britain ſubject to the Roman State. The nobility hereupon perſuaded Arviragus to lay aſide thoughts of war, and be contented with Claudius's promiſe; repreſenting to him, that it was no diſgrace to be ſubject to the Romans, who enjoyed the empire of the whole world. By theſe and many other arguments he was prevailed upon to hearken to their advice, and ſo made his ſubmiſſion to Cæſar. Which done, Claudius ſent to Rome for his daughter, and then, with the aſſiſtance of Arviragus, reduced the Orkney and the Provincial Iſlands under his power (11). As ſoon as the winter was over, thoſe who were ſent for Claudius's daughter, returned with her, and preſented her to her father. The damſel's name was *Genuiſſa*, and ſo great was her beauty, that it raiſed the admiration of all who ſaw her. After her marriage to the King, ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendant over his affections, that he in a manner valued nothing but her alone: inſomuch that he was deſirous to have the place honoured where the nuptials were ſolemnized, and moved Claudius to build a city in memory of ſo great and happy a marriage. Claudius conſented thereto, and commanded a city to be built, which after his name was called *Kaerglou*, that is, *Glouceſter*, being ſituated on the confines of Demetia and Loegria, upon the banks of the Severn. But ſome ſay, it derived it's name from *Gloius*, who was born to Claudius there, and to whom, after the death of Arviragus, fell the Dukedom of Demetia (12). This ſtory of Arviragus's marriage muſt be a mere fiction, if Claudius had no daughter named *Genuiſſa*. But the Roman Hiſtorians, who ſhould beſt know, mention only three daughters of that Emperor, named Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia.

(11) Ibid. c. 14.

(12) Ibid. c. 15.

[*F*] *Veſpaſian was ſent againſt Arviragus into Britain.*] As Veſpaſian was juſt arrived at the haven of *Rutupi*, Arviragus met him, and hindered him from entering the port. For he had brought ſo great an army along with him, as was a terror to the Romans, who for fear of his falling upon them durſt not come aſhore. Upon this Veſpaſian withdrew from that port, and ſhifting his ſails arrived at the ſhore of Totneſs. As ſoon as he was landed, he marched directly to beſiege *Kaerpenhuelgoit*, now *Exeter*; and after lying before the town ſeven days, he was overtaken by Arviragus and his army, who gave him battle (13).

(13) Ib. c. 16.

[*G*] *An antient tradition, that, in the time of Arviragus, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here.*] Though it will appear preſently that this tradition has really nothing to do with King Arviragus, yet ſince the pretended coming of Joſeph of Arimathea into Britain has been aſcribed to the times of that Prince, and Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been a benefactor to that Miſſionary and his companions, I think proper to take notice here of ſo remarkable a piece of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The tradition in queſtion is to be found in William of Malmſbury's Book *Of the Antiquity of the Church of Glaſſenbury*. That writer, after ſome prefatory diſcourſe to Henry of Blois, nephew to King Henry *I*, and at that time Biſhop of Wincheſter and Abbot of Glaſſenbury, proceeds in his narrative of the antiquities of that church in the manner following. 'After 'the glorious Reſurrection and triumphant Aſcenſion 'of our bleſſed Saviour, and the Deſcent of the 'Holy Ghoſt, the ſucceſs of the Goſpel began to 'ſpread, the number of believers increaſed daily, 'and all of them maintained ſuch a friendly and 'charitable correſpondence, that they ſeemed to have 'but *one heart and one ſoul.* The Jewiſh Prieſts, 'with the Scribes and Phariſees, growing envious at 'the progreſs of Chriſtianity, ſtirred up a perſecution 'againſt the Church, murdered the Protomartyr St 'Stephen, and made the country too troubleſome for 'the reſt. Thus the ſtorm blowing hard in Jewry, 'the diſciples diſperſing went off into ſeveral countries, according to their reſpective commiſſions, and, 'as they travelled along, preached the Goſpel to the 'Gentiles. Among theſe holy men, St Philip (as 'Freculphus relates, *lib. ii. cap.* 4.) arriving in the 'territories of the Franks, converted a great number 'of them: and being deſirous to enlarge his Maſter's 'kingdom, he picked out twelve of his diſciples, and 'diſpatched them to preach the Goſpel in Britain; 'Joſeph of Arimathea, as it is ſaid, being one of the 'number, and conſtituted a ſuperior to the reſt. 'Theſe holy Miſſionaries coming into Britain, in the 'year of our Lord 63, and in the 15th of the bleſſed 'Virgin's Aſſumption, publiſhed the doctrine of Chriſt 'with great induſtry and courage. But the *barbarous* 'King and his ſubjects being ſomewhat alarmed at ſo 'unuſual an undertaking, and not reliſhing a perſuaſion ſo different from his own, refuſed to become 'a proſelyte; but in conſideration of the length of 'their journey, and being ſomewhat charmed with 'their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little 'ſpot of ground, ſurrounded with fens and buſhes, to 'dwell in. This place was called *Ynſwitrin* by the 'natives, and ſituated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other Pagan Kings, being 'affected with their remarkable ſanctity, gave each of 'them a certain proportion of ground, and, at their 'requeſt, ſettled twelve *Hides* of land on them, by 'inſtruments in writing, according to the cuſtom of 'the country: from whence it is ſuppoſed the *twelve* 'Hides, now part of the Abbey's eſtate, had their 'denomination (14).' Malmſbury proceeds to relate the occaſion and manner of theſe Miſſionaries building a church, which, he ſays, was the firſt in the iſland. The place where it was built was afterwards called *Glaſtonia* or *Glaſſenbury*; and the King, who was thus kind to Joſeph of Arimathea and his companions, is ſaid to be Arviragus:

(14) *Apud* Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. Lond. 1687. c. 2. p. 7.

Glaſtoniæ

Glaſtoniæ bis ſex Hidas dedit Arviragus Rex (15).

(15) Ex Appendice Chronici Glaſtonienſis MS. in Biblioth. Cotton.

I ſhall not enter upon the queſtion concerning the authenticneſs of this tradition, any farther than to ſhew, that, at the time of Joſeph's ſuppoſed arrival, there could be no ſuch Britiſh King as Arviragus is ſaid to have been. For, according to the tradition, Joſeph of Arimathea came into Britain in the year of our Lord 63. Now the more ſouthern parts of the iſland, where Glaſſenbury ſtands, were ſeized by the Romans, and formed into a province, before that time. For, as Tacitus reports (16), the hithermoſt part of Britain was gained and planted by Aulus Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, and ſeveral colonies of the veteran troops were placed here. Now between theſe two governors, and Suetonius Paulinus, were Didius Gallus and Veranius; and probably the *Belgæ* were ſubdued by Veſpaſian, who commanded under Plautius, of whom Suetonius relates (17), that he conquered here two powerful nations, above twenty towns, and the Iſle of Wight. By which we may conclude his expeditions lay weſtward. Now the *Belgæ* and *Damnonii* were the two powerful nations that way; and in all the progreſs of the war againſt the Britons afterwards, we find no care taken by the Roman Generals to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Belgæ*, as they did againſt the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, among whom Caractacus commanded: ſo that there could be no ſuch Britiſh King at that time among the *Belgæ*, as Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been. For had there been ſuch a Prince among that people, we cannot ſuppoſe that, when Oſtorius marched northward againſt the *Cangi* or *Cheſhire-men* (18), he would have fixed his garriſons on the Severn and the Avon, to ſecure the province. For, had there been ſuch a Britiſh King as Arviragus among the *Belgæ*, what would the fortifying the Severn have ſignified, when the enemies to the Romans lived on the Roman ſide?

(16) *In* Vita Agricolæ, c. 14.

(17) *In* Veſpaſiano, c. 4.

(18) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 31, 32.

T

ARUNDEL (THOMAS), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, was the ſecond ſon of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warren, and brother of Richard Earl of Arundel, who was afterwards beheaded. He was but twenty-two years of age, when, from being Archdeacon of Taunton, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Ely [*A*], by the Pope's proviſion [*B*], and conſecrated at Otteford, April 6, 1375, in the fiftieth year of King Edward III. He was a conſiderable benefactor to the church and palace of that See; and, among other donations, he preſented them with a very curious table of maſſy gold, enriched with precious ſtones; which had been given to Prince Edward by the King of Spain, and ſold by the latter to Biſhop Arundel for three hundred marks. In the year 1386, the tenth of Richard II, this prelate was made Lord High Chancellor of England (*a*); but reſigned that poſt upon his advancement afterwards to the See of Canterbury (*b*). After he had ſat a little more than fourteen years in the See of Ely, he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of York, by virtue of the Pope's Bull, dated April 3, 1388 (*c*), and received the Pall the fourteenth of September following. He expended a very large ſum of money in building a palace for the Archbiſhops of that See; and, beſides other rich ornaments, he gave to that church ſeveral pieces of ſilver-gilt plate. In 1393, being then Chancellor, he removed the Courts of Juſtice from London to York [*C*]; and, as a precedent for ſo doing, he alledged the example of Archbiſhop Corbridge, who had taken the ſame ſtep eighty years before (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Dr William Courtney, Archbiſhop Arundel was tranſlated thither by a papal proviſion. The Bull of tranſlation was publiſhed at Canterbury the eleventh of January, 1396. The Croſier was delivered into his hands by Henry Chellenden, Prior of Canterbury, in the preſence of the King, and a great number of the nobility. On the tenth of February following, he received the Pall, and on the nineteenth

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Elienſ. *an.* 1375.

(b) Id. ibid. *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *At twenty-two years of age —— he was promoted to the Biſhoprick of Ely.*] This is, I believe, the only inſtance of ſo young a prelate in all the Engliſh Hiſtory. The King, it ſeems, had deſigned another perſon for that See, but could not carry his point. For, hearing of the death of Dr John Barnet Biſhop of Ely, he wrote a very preſſing letter to the Chapter, deſiring them to elect his Confeſſor, John Woodroof. But the Monks, diſregarding the King's recommendation, met together, and unanimouſly choſe one Henry Wakefield. The Pope thought fit to ſet aſide this election, and, by virtue of his apoſtolical authority, declared Thomas Arundel, Archdeacon of Taunton, Biſhop of Ely. Biſhop Godwin mentions this new prelate's age with an ironical ſneer. 'Pontifex (*ſays he*) ex plenitudine poteſtatis Epiſcopum Elienſem declaravit, annoſum quendam, quemque virum facile credas graviſſimum, Thomam Arundellum, Roberti Comitis Arundellæ et Warrenæ filium, Tauntonenſem archidiaconum, cum jam (ô capularem ſenem) ætatis annum expleviſſet fere viceſimum ſecundum, et ſubdiaconus nuper factus eſſet (1). —— *The Pope, by his own authority, advanced to the See of Ely a perſon of great age and weight, namely Thomas Arundel, ſon of Robert Earl of Arundel and Warren, and Archdeacon of Taunton, when he was juſt ſtepping into his grave, being then very near two and twenty years of age, and lately made a Subdeacon.*'

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Elienſ. *an.* 1375.

[*B*] — *By the Pope's proviſion.*] The reality of this papal proviſion, in favour of Arundel, is diſputed. For Godwin tells us (2), ſome writers are of opinion, he was canonically elected, becauſe at that time the papal proviſions were prohibited in England by authority of Parliament. It is true, the Statute of Proviſors, whereby the Pope's authority in filling up the vacant biſhopricks was taken away, is by the Statute-Books aſſigned to the year 1350 (3), twenty-five years earlier than the time in queſtion. But it is certain the Pope ſtill continued to exerciſe that power, ſince it was found neceſſary to confirm that Act with new penalties, in the year 1390 (4). To which may be added, that tho' the State was willing to get rid of this encroachment of the See of Rome, the Clergy were not ſo ready to part with it: for when the Statute abovementioned was confirmed, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops made a ſolemn proteſtation in open Parliament, that they would not aſſent to any law, which ſhould reſtrain the Pope's authority (5). But if there could be any doubt in this matter, the preſent article affords us two other unqueſtionable inſtances of the exerciſe of this power in the tranſlations of Arundel to the Sees of York and Canterbury.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) 25 Edw. III.

(4) 13 Rich. II.

(5) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. vi. p. 592.

[*C*] *He removed the Courts of Juſtice from London to York.*] This he did, in order, as he ſaid, to mortify the inſolence and pride of the Londoners, with whom the King was at that time highly diſpleaſed. But whatever he might pretend, the Londoners affirmed, he did it only to gratify and enrich the inhabitants of York. Our author adds, that this deſign did not take place long: for after one or two Terms, the Courts returned to their old place. *Summa Angliæ Tribunalia Londino Eboracum traduxit, eo pacto optime dicens caſtigari Londinenſium proterviam atque ſuperbiam, quibus rex ea tempeſtate fuit admodum infenſus. —— Quicquid vero ille obtenderet, Eboracenſes ſuos juvandi et locupletandi gratia hæc ipſum molitum Londinenſes affirmabant. Quocunque id fecerit conſilio, non diurnavit hoc ejus inſtitutum, judiciis poſt Terminum unum aut alterum ad priſtinum locum revocatis* (6).

(6) Godwin, ubi ſupra, *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

[*D*] *He*

teenth was enthroned with great pomp at Canterbury (*e*). It is obſervable, that this was the firſt inſtance of the tranſlation of an Archbiſhop of York to the See of Canterbury (*f*). He was ſcarce fixed in that See, when he had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation [*D*]; which was determined by King Richard, to whom the deciſion was referred, in favour of the Archbiſhop (*g*). At his Viſitation in London, he revived an old conſtitution, firſt ſet on foot by Simon Niger, Biſhop of London; by which the inhabitants of the reſpective pariſhes were obliged to pay to their Rector one half-penny in the pound out of the rent of their houſes (*h*). In the ſecond year of his tranſlation, a Parliament was held at London; in which the commons, with the King's leave, impeached the Archbiſhop, together with his brother the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Glouceſter, of high-treaſon [*E*], for compelling the King, in the tenth year of his reign, to grant them a commiſſion [illegible] the kingdom (*i*). The Archbiſhop was ſentenced to be baniſhed, and had forty days allowed him to prepare for his exile; within which time he was to depart the kingdom on pain of death (*k*). Being thus driven from his country and his See, he retired firſt into France, and then to the Court of Rome, where Pope Boniface IX gave him a very friendly reception, and wrote a letter to King Richard, deſiring him to paſs by the offence, and receive the Archbiſhop again into favour. But not meeting with ſucceſs, his holineſs reſolved to interpoſe his authority in favour of Arundel. Accordingly he nominated him to the Archbiſhopric of St Andrews, and (which was a more diſobliging ſtroke) declared his intention of giving him ſeveral other preferments in England, by way of proviſion (*l*). The King, being informed of the Pope's deſign,

(*e*) Idem, *inter* Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(*f*) Idem, *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(*g*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford. B. i. p. 197, &c.

(*h*) Matth. Parker. Antiq. Britan. ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

(*i*) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 368.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

[*D*] *He had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation.*] The Canoniſts and Civilians of Oxford, being uneaſy at ſome Statutes made to the diſadvantage of their profeſſion, preferred a complaint againſt the Univerſity to the Convocation then ſitting at London. Their Delegate for this buſineſs was Michael Sergeaux Doctor of Laws, who ſet forth, that the Univerſity of Oxford had procured a Bull to exempt themſelves from the juriſdiction both of their Dioceſan and Metropolitan: that this Bull was rather a diſſervice than an advantage to that learned body, as it deprived the members of a remedy, in caſe of any injuſtice done to them by the Chancellor. This faculty therefore intreated the Archbiſhop, ſince he had an undiſputable right to viſit their Univerſity, that he would exert his authority, and revoke the Chancellor's pretended exemption. It was called a *pretended Exemption*, becauſe, as Sergeaux alledged, the Bull had neither the Pope's ſeal, nor the ſubſcription of any public Notary; to prove it authentic. Notwithſtanding this objection, Dr Hyndman, the Chancellor, who was preſent in the Convocation, inſiſted upon the inſtrument, and entered a proteſt againſt any farther proceedings. After the breaking up of the Convocation, the Archbiſhop, deſigning to viſit the Univerſity, was informed, that the Chancellor and Proctors were reſolved to inſiſt upon the Pope's Bull, and oppoſe the viſitation. Whereupon a writ was iſſued out by the King's order, directed to the Chancellor and Students, requiring them not to oppoſe the juriſdiction of their Ordinary and Metropolitan, to renounce the Bull in form, and to ſend their act of renunciation to the King. It does not appear, that this writ was obeyed, or the Bull given up. However that ſome kind of ſubmiſſion was made, is very probable, ſince the Archbiſhop went to Oxford the *May* following, with a deſign to viſit. It is true, he was oppoſed in the exerciſe of this juriſdiction; but it was upon a new plea: for now the Univerſity, waving their former privilege, pretended they were viſitable by the crown only, and not by the Archbiſhop. This created a new diſpute; which being at laſt referred to the King, his highneſs gave the cauſe againſt himſelf, and decided in favour of the Archbiſhop. But, notwithſtanding this ſentence, the viſitation did not go on at that time (7).

(7) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, B. i. p. 197, &c.

[*E*] *The Commons — impeached the Archbiſhop — of high-treaſon.*] The chief article of the charge was, *that being Biſhop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, he was traiterouſly aiding, procuring, and adviſing, in making a commiſſion directed to Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others, and procured himſelf, as one of the chief miniſters of State, to be put into the ſaid commiſſion; which commiſſion was apparently prejudicial to the King's prerogative and dignity; and that the ſaid Thomas put the ſaid commiſſion in execution* (8). The King, to whom the commons applied for leave to carry on the proſecution againſt the Archbiſhop, told them, that, in regard the impeachment concerned ſo great a perſon and a peer of the realm, he would be farther adviſed. But the commons reſolving not to give over, and preſſing the King farther, his highneſs replyed, that the Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him before ſeveral Lords, that he had been guilty of imprudence in executing that commiſſion, and threw himſelf upon the King's mercy. However, this not ſatisfying the commons, the King conſented to the impeachment; and the Archbiſhop was adjudged a traitor, by the Lords Temporal, and Sir Thomas Piercy Proctor for the Biſhops and Clergy (9). It will not be improper to obſerve, that Archbiſhop Arundel, though in the Parliament-Houſe at his firſt impeachment, yet was abſent the next day when ſentence was pronounced againſt him. It ſeems, the King had commanded him not to come into the houſe, having firſt made him a promiſe of his friendſhip, and given him his oath that the Lords ſhould do nothing to his prejudice (10). I ſhall ſubjoin Mr Collier's remarks upon this impeachment. 'This caſe affords 'another precedent of a Biſhop's being tried by 'his Peers, it being plain by the Record, that judg'ment was given by the Houſe of Lords; and that 'the Lords proceeded not in a legiſlative, but in a 'judicial way, is evident by the commons being 'only proſecutors in the caſe; whereas, had the 'Archbiſhop been found guilty by a bill of attain'der, the votes of the commons would have been 'neceſſary. And whereas none of the commons are 'concerned as judges in this tryal, excepting Sir 'Thomas Piercy, who repreſented the Biſhops and 'Clergy; we may obſerve from hence, in the ſe'cond place, that the Biſhops withdrawing from the 'Houſe of Lords in cauſes of blood was only a vo'luntary abſence, occaſioned by the reſtraint of the 'Canons. Their retiring, I ſay, was a compliance 'with the diſcipline of the Church, and not any 'neceſſity forced upon them by the civil conſtitu'tion. For now we ſee, ſince they had appointed 'a Lay-Proxy, their right of judging in criminal 'matters is not queſtioned. For the record informs 'us, that Sir Thomas Piercy, Proxy for the Prelates, 'gave judgment with the Temporal Lords againſt 'the Archbiſhop. Now this gentleman was no more 'than a commoner, and acted only upon the ſtrength 'of his repreſentation. If therefore the Biſhops had 'been barred by the conſtitution from being judges 'in capital cauſes, Sir Thomas Piercy's powers 'would have been conteſted, neither would he have 'been allowed an equal ſhare with the Temporal 'Peers in pronouncing this ſentence: for a delegation 'cannot reach beyond the right of the principal, nor 'can any proxy have more authority than the perſon 'he repreſents (11).' It may be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding this laſt remark, to obſerve, that Sir Thomas Piercy, as Proctor for the Clergy, 'not only concurred in giving judgment againſt the Archbiſhop, but likewiſe in paſſing ſentence on the Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded.

(8) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 368.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Holinſhead's Chronicle, p. 490.

(11) Collier, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *The*

deſign, wrote an expoſtulatory letter to him [*F*]; which had ſo good an effect upon his Holineſs, that he not only with-held the intended favours from Arundel, but likewiſe, at the King's requeſt, promoted Roger Walden (*m*), Dean of York, and Lord Treaſurer of England, to the See of Canterbury. That Prelate was inſtalled the twenty-fifth of March, 1398 (*n*); but was ſoon obliged to quit his new dignity: for, the next year, Archbiſhop Arundel returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter [*G*], afterwards King Henry IV; upon whoſe acceſſion to the throne, the Pope revoked the Bull granted to Walden, and reſtored Arundel to his See (*o*). Among the articles of miſgovermnent brought againſt King Richard, one was his uſage and baniſhment of this Prelate [*H*]. The throne being vacant by Richard's reſignation, and the

(*m*) See the article WALDEN (ROGER).

(*n*) Ibid. p. 408.

(*o*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 354. & Antiq. Brit. ubi ſupra. P409.

[*F*] *The King — wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope,*] It was couched in the following terms: 'Thomas, for his treaſonable conſpiracy againſt our 'crown and royal dignity, has been ſentenced only to 'perpetual baniſhment; whereas, had he been dealt 'with anſwerably to his demerits, he ought to have 'ſuffered the puniſhment of high-treaſon: but in 'conſideration of his character, and out of regard 'to religion, we have thought fit to grant him his life, 'and abated of the rigour of the law. But, ſince his 'going beyond ſea, both ourſelf and our ſubjects are 'much ſurprized at the turn of his fortune: for we are 'informed, he has been invited to your Holineſs's 'court, countenanced in his miſbehaviour, taken into 'your protection, and put in hopes of recovering 'his See, or at leaſt of being promoted in our 'kingdom to benefices of greater value than thoſe 'he enjoyed before. How deſtructive ſuch unac'countable favours as theſe muſt be to our dignity 'and government, and to what apparent danger it 'may expoſe us, is eaſy to imagine. For which rea'ſon, we are reſolved not to bear with ſuch treatment, 'tho' the whole world were of a different opinion. 'For we are thoroughly acquainted with this man: 'We know him to be of a turbulent ſeditious tem'per; who, if he were permitted to live in our do'minions, would return to his old practices, poiſon 'our ſubjects with miſreporting the adminiſtration, 'and endeavour to undermine our government. For 'it is probable he would uſe ſufficient precaution not 'to fall under the laſh of the law. We deſire there'fore, that your Holineſs would prevent theſe oppor'tunities of miſchief, and not ſhock our intereſt and 'inclinations by ſuch favours. For ſhould ſuch mea'ſures be put in execution, it is poſſible they might 'create ſuch miſunderſtandings between the Crown 'and the Mitre, as it might prove difficult to remove. 'For, to ſpeak plainly, we cannot take that perſon 'for our friend, who careſſes our enemies, and takes 'them by the hand in ſo loving a manner. However, 'if you have a mind to provide for him otherwiſe, 'we have nothing to object; only we cannot allow 'him to *dip in our diſh*. We heartily deſire you 'would take this matter into ſerious conſideration, as 'you tender our royal regards, and expect a compli'ance with any future requeſt your Holineſs may 'make to us (12).'

(12) Matth. Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

[*G*] *He returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter.*] The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of England, having been for ſeveral years intolerably oppreſſed and ſlighted by King Richard and his favourites, contrived to ſettle the Crown on another head, which might govern them with greater prudence and lenity. The perſon, whom they pitched upon as fitteſt to ſway the ſcepter, was Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaſter and Hereford; who, being the Son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III, was nearly allied to the Crown. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this conſpiracy againſt King Richard, which ended in placing the Duke of Lancaſter on the throne; but ſhall confine my ſelf to that part of it, in which Archbiſhop Arundel was concerned. The Duke of Lancaſter, it is well known, had been baniſhed by King Richard, and was in France, when he was ſollicited by the nobility and others to take the crown. This their requeſt they drew up in a letter, and ſent it over by faithful meſſengers to Archbiſhop Arundel, who was then in Britany, deſiring him to be their advocate upon this occaſion with the Duke. The Archbiſhop, being a fellow-ſufferer, gladly accepted the office, and went with the meſſengers to the Duke at Paris; where they delivered the letters from the Nobles and Commons of England, and the Archbiſhop ſeconded them with the beſt arguments reaſon could invent, or rhetoric urge. He repreſented to the Duke the preſent miſerable ſtate of the Engliſh nation: 'That it was utterly ruined 'by the miſmanagement of public affairs; in which 'though the King himſelf were not actually con'cerned, yet, ſo long as he employed and ſupported 'unfit miniſters, he could not be thought fit to go'vern: that it was far more intolerable to be ſlaves 'to ignoble perſons, than to the King; and there'fore, ſo long as the King continued to maintain the 'pride and tyranny of ſuch perſons over his ſubjects, 'it could be no crime to depoſe him: that the pre'ſent ſtate of the nation was ſo diſordered, that no'thing but immediate help could ſave it from entire 'deſtruction; for the antient courage of the Engliſh 'was ſunk into effeminacy, the men of bravery and 'conduct either put to death or baniſhed, the nobility 'contemned and ſlighted, the gentry abuſed, and the 'commons oppreſſed with heavy taxes, not to ſup'port the government, but the pride and avarice of 'their fellow-ſubjects.' The Archbiſhop added, 'That 'the nation placed all their hopes in him (the *Duke*) 'and expected the redreſs of their grievances only at 'his hands, both on account of his perſonal courage 'and atchievements, and the near relation he ſtood 'in to the crown; and therefore he was bound in ho'nour and duty to anſwer the reaſonable expectations 'of his country-men, eſpecially as they had reſolved 'to ſtand by him in the attempt; which could hardly 'prove unſucceſsful, where ſo much affection, power, 'and intereſt were united.' The Duke of Lancaſter did not immediately cloſe with this inviting offer, but objected to the Archbiſhop the unlawfulneſs of the deſign; to which Arundel thus replied: *Examples of caſting a King out of his ſtate are not rare (as you affirm) nor long ſince put in practice, nor far hence to be fetched. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubjects, oftentimes impriſoned and put to their fine. The Princes of Germany, about an hundred years paſt, depoſed Adolphus the Emperor, and are now in hand to depoſe their Emperor Wenceſlaus. The Earl of Flanders was a while ſince driven out of his dominions by his own people, for uſurping greater power than appertained to his eſtate. The antient Britons chaſed away their King Caractacus, for the lewdneſs of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bernredus King of Mercia, for his pride and ſtoutneſs towards his people, was by them depoſed. Like-wiſe Alcredus and Ethelbertus, Kings of Northumberland, were for their diſorders expelled by their ſubjects. Since the conqueſt of the Normans, the Lords endeavoured to expel King Henry III, but they were not able; yet were they able to depoſe King Edward II, and to conſtitute his young ſon Edward King in his ſtead. Theſe are not all, and yet enough to clear this action of rareneſs in other countries, and novelty in ours* (13). The event of this negotiation is too well known, to need mentioning in this place.

(13) Life and Reign of Richard II, in the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 282.

[*H*] *One of the articles —— againſt King Richard was, his baniſhment of Arundel.*] To give a better colour to their proceedings, the Lords drew up a charge of male-adminiſtration, digeſted into thirty-three articles. Theſe articles were publickly read in the Parliament-houſe, and alledged as a ſufficient ground for depoſing King Richard. What relates to his treatment of our Archbiſhop is contained in the *thirtieth* and *thirty-third* articles. The 30th article complains, 'That the ſaid King having perſuaded 'Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his 'ſpiritual father, to abſent himſelf from the Parlia'ment-houſe, dealt inſincerely with the ſaid Arch'biſhop, took advantage of his abſence, and, with'out any legal proceſs of law, adjudged him to per'petual

the Duke of Lancaſter's title being allowed in Parliament, Archbiſhop Arundel took that Prince by the hand, and led him to the throne; where when he was ſeated, the Archbiſhop made a kind of ſermon or oration to the aſſembly [*I*]. He had the honour to crown the new King; and, at the Coronation-dinner, ſat at his right hand; the Archbiſhop of York being placed at his left (*p*). In the firſt year of King Henry's reign, this Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod [*K*], which ſat at St Paul's (*q*). Harpsfield, and the Councils from him, have miſtaken this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See [*L*]. This Prelate, by his courage and reſolution, preſerved ſeveral of the Biſhops, who were in King Henry's army, from being plundered of their equipages and money [*M*]. The next year, the Commons having

(*p*) Fabian's Chron. fol. 163. & Antiq. Brit. ib.

(*q*) Antiq. Brit. ibid.

'petual baniſhment.' The 33d article reports this grievance more at large, and ſets forth, 'That, after 'one of the knights for the county had wrongfully 'impeached the Archbiſhop of Canterbury of high-'treaſon, the ſaid Archbiſhop immediately ſtood up, 'and offered to anſwer to the charge in Parliament, 'and deſired the King would permit him the liberty 'to make his defence: that the King, out of a deſign 'to ruin the Archbiſhop, adviſed him to wave his de-'fence, to reſerve himſelf for a better opportunity, 'and forbear coming to the houſe five or ſix days; 'promiſing him withal, that he ſhould receive no pre-'judice by his abſence; and yet the ſaid King, in 'the Parliament above-mentioned, procured a ſen-'tence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, 'without calling him to his anſwer, or allowing him 'the benefit of the law.' The ſame article charges the King with farther inſtances of inſincerity; *viz.* 'That he promiſed him, that, upon his going down 'to Southampton in order to quit the kingdom, the 'Queen ſhould intercede for the reverſing the ſentence; 'and in caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be forced to 'depart the kingdom, the King engaged to re-call him 'before the Eaſter following; notwithſtanding which 'promiſe, ſolemnly ſworn upon the croſs of St Thomas 'of Canterbury, the King forced the Archbiſhop to 'quit the kingdom, and abſolutely deprived him of 'his See (14).'

(14) Rotulus Parliamenti, &c. de Depoſitione Richardi II. *apud* X Scriptores. p. 2753, 2754, 2755.

[*I*] *He made a kind of ſermon or oration in the Parliament-houſe.*] His text was: *And when Samuel ſaw Saul, the Lord ſaid unto him, behold the Man, whom I ſpake to thee of; this ſame ſhall reign over my people*, 1 Sam. ix. 17. 'In theſe words (ſays the 'Archbiſhop) God Almighty deſcribes the qualifica-'tions of a governor: and ſince they may be truly ap-'plied to our preſent Prince, they afford us a very 'comfortable proſpect. For now we have no reaſon 'to fear that threatning denounced againſt the Jews 'by the prophet Iſaiah; *I will give children to be 'their princes*, chap. iii. 4. For God has been pleaſed 'in his wrath to remember mercy, to viſit his people, 'and not, as formerly, *to ſuffer babes to rule over us.* 'To thoſe Princes, who have lately governed us, 'thoſe words of St Paul may be applied without 'ſtraining the compariſon, *When I was a child, I 'ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as 'a child*, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. Firſt, as to ſpeech, 'tis 'certain a child is very inſignificant and variable: 'truth and falſehood are almoſt indifferent to him; 'he is forward to promiſe, but quickly forgets the 'performance. Theſe qualities are very unfortunate 'in a Prince, neither is it poſſible for a kingdom to be 'happy, where the crown is no better furniſhed. But, '*cum vir dominatur populo*, when the people have a 'man to reign over them, there will be none of theſe 'defects in the adminiſtration. For it is the property 'of a man to govern his tongue and guard his lan-'guage. This is our caſe; we have now a man to 'reign over us, of whom I hope that ſaying of the 'ſon of Sirach may be verified; *Happy is the man that 'hath not ſlipt with his tongue.*' The Archbiſhop proceeds to comment on the above-mentioned text of St Paul, and upon theſe words, *I underſtood as a child*, he obſerves, that *a child reliſhes nothing but what pleaſes his humour, and flatters his weakneſs: as for remonſtrance and plain-dealing, ſuch freedoms are al-ways unacceptable.* Then he goes on: 'But ſuch has 'formerly been the misfortune of this kingdom; for 'truth was in a manner clapt under hatches, and no 'man had the courage to deliver his thoughts. From 'whence it is plain, the ſcepter was in a child's hand: 'for a man carries his thoughts farther, and has a 'more abſolute command over his paſſions. And to 'come to the advantage of our preſent circumſtances, 'now, by God's aſſiſtance, that of the ſon of Sirach, '*Bleſſed is the man, who is ſtayed upon wiſdom*, may 'juſtly be affirmed of this royal perſon. For as a 'child is fond of trifles and flattery, ſo a man loves 'truth and prudent advice. In the laſt place, the 'Apoſtle tells us, *I thought as a child.* And what are 'the thoughts of a child? A child follows only the 'ſollicitations of appetite. Thus, when a child go-'verns, reaſon is diſcarded, humour is abſolute, and 'will carries all before it. But, where caprice reigns, 'and reaſon is forced to retire, the adminiſtration 'muſt needs be unſteady and ill directed. But now, 'having a man at the helm, we are reſcued from the 'danger of ſo unhappy a conduct. The Prince, 'who now rules over us, being a man both in age 'and underſtanding, will readily acknowledge the pro-'per buſineſs of his ſtation, and make no ſcruple to 'ſay, *I come not to do my own will, but the will of 'him that ſent me*, that is, God's will. And there-'fore we may promiſe ourſelves, *that he will be ſtaid 'upon wiſdom*: that he will ſeriouſly conſider the pro-'vidence of God, and govern his practice by the rules 'of religion; in ſhort, that he will conduct the ad-'miniſtration in ſuch a manner, that the promiſe in 'holy ſcripture may not be unapplicable to his go-'vernment, *A King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and 'do judgment and juſtice in the earth* (15).

(15) Colton's Abridgment p. 389. and Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 154.

[*K*] *He ſummoned a Synod.*] King Henry ſent the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland to this Synod, not to preſs any ſubſidy, but only to deſire the prayers of the clergy for the proſperity of the King and Nation. *Reſtitutionis ejus anno primo Synodum indixit, quo acceſſerunt Northumbriæ & Weſtmerlandiæ Comites, dicentes, à rege quidem miſſos ſeſe, ſed nuntium ſolitum haudquaquam apportare; ſiquidem ideo ſe venire, non ut pecunias flagitent, ſed orationes eorum, pro ipſo, regnique incolumitate fundendas* (16). But this diſintereſted Prince, who ſeemed at this time to deſpiſe money, was ſo changed before two years were ended, that he refuſed a voluntary offer made him by the clergy of a tenth of their revenues, and demanded a larger ſum. *Hic tantus pecuniarum contemptor, ante elapſum biennium ita mutatus eſt, ut annui cenſus ſimplicem decimam in proxima Synodo oblatam ultro, aſperna-retur, multo majora poſtulans* (17).

(16) Godwin, *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(17) Id. ibid.

[*L*] *Harpsfield —— miſtook this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See.*] That author tells us (18), that, during the exile of Arundel, a Synod was held at Canterbury; that it was ſummoned by the Prior and Chapter of Chriſt's Church; and that the King ſent the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland to this convocation, with the meſſage above-mentioned (19). But Harpsfield is undoubtedly miſtaken: for, firſt, Walden being Archbiſhop of Canterbury that year, the Prior and Chapter could have no pretence to ſummon a convocation. In the next place, the circumſtance of King Henry's ſending the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland is a proof that Arundel was reſtored; ſince that Prelate came over with the Duke of Lancaſter, and crowned him upon his ſeizing the government.

(18) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 617.

(19) See the preceding remark.

[*M*] *He prevented ſeveral of the Biſhops —— from being plundered of their equipages and money.*] Walſingham (20) informs us, that the King having marched his army into Yorkſhire, and ſettled the northern parts, projected an expedition againſt the Welſh, who had lately made depredations upon the Engliſh; but, his exchequer being low, he wanted money to ſubſiſt and pay his troops. That the deſign might not be dropt upon this account, ſome of the officers ſuggeſted an expedient to the King. They told him, there were ſeveral Biſhops in the army in a condition to ſupply his Highneſs: that theſe Prelates ought to be ſent home on foot, and their equipages and money taken from them for the public ſervice. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being preſent when the

(20) Hypodigm. Neuſt. p. 561.

having moved, that the revenues of the Church might be applied to the ſervice of the public, Archbiſhop Arundel oppoſed the motion ſo vigorouſly [*N*], that the King and Lords promiſed him, the Church ſhould never be rifled in their time (*r*). After this, he viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge; where he made ſeveral ſtatutes, ſuppreſſed ſeveral ill cuſtoms, and puniſhed the Students for their miſbehaviour. And, when the viſitation was ended, at the requeſt of the Univerſity, he reſerved all thoſe matters and cauſes, which had been laid before him, to his own cognizance and juriſdiction (*s*). In the year 1408, Arundel began to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the Lollards or Wickliffites (*t*). To this end, he ſummoned the Biſhops and Clergy to Oxford, to check the progreſs of this new ſect, and prevent that Univerſity's being farther tinctured with their opinions (*u*). But the doctrines of Wickliff ſtill gaining ground in that ſeat of learning, the Archbiſhop reſolved to viſit the Univerſity, and apply ſome farther remedy. Accordingly he went down, attended by the Earl of Arundel, his nephew, and a ſplended retinue. When he came near the town, he was met by the principal members of the Univerſity, who told him, that, if he came only to ſee the town, he was very welcome; but if he came in the character of a Viſitor, they refuſed to acknowledge his juriſdiction. The Archbiſhop, reſenting this treatment, left Oxford in a day or two, and wrote to the King on account of his diſappointment. After a warm conteſt between the Univerſity and the Archbiſhop, both parties agreed to refer the diſpute to the King's deciſion; who, governing himſelf by the example of his predeceſſors (*w*), gave ſentence in favour of the Archbiſhop [*O*]. Soon

(*r*) Walſingh. ibi. p. 371, 372.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 411.

(*t*) See the article WICKLIFF.

(*u*) Spelman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 662.

(*w*) See the remark [*D*].

(21) In the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 288, 289.

the motion was made, replyed, *That if any of the ſoldiers offered to plunder his retinue, they might expect to be well drubbed for their pains.* This reſolution of the Archbiſhop checked the intended outrage, and made the officers deſiſt. This is Walſingham's account of the matter. The author of the *Life and reign of Henry IV* (21) relates the ſame ſtory with this difference, that the King was adviſed to ſeize the *lands* and treaſures of the Biſhops, not their *equipages*; for he ſays nothing of their being in the King's army. That writer adds, that 'though the King was not forward to meddle with the church-men, yet this advice put him in mind of the riches and plenty of the clergy; which being beſtowed on perſons, whoſe beſt character it is to be deſpiſers of the world, might beſt be ſpared at this juncture: and thereupon, though he would uſe no force, yet he dealt with the Archbiſhop to procure him a ſupply in this exigency, and ſo prevailed with him, that, calling a Synod of the clergy, he obtained a tenth of them for him; and the King ſent the Prince, with his army, into Wales.'

[*N*] *Arundel vigorouſly oppoſed the motion for applying the revenues of the Church to the ſervice of the public.*] On the 6th of October, 1404, the King held a Parliament at Coventry. It was called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*, becauſe it was compoſed of none but illiterate perſons, all others, eſpecially Serjeants and Barriſters at Law, being, by the King's expreſs direction, excluded (22). M. Rapin thinks, there is room to doubt whether theſe orders were ſo poſitive as is affirmed. However he is of opinion, the court took care, upon this occaſion, that ſuch perſons chiefly ſhould be elected, as were leaſt likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy; and that for reaſons, which will preſently appear (23). When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor laid before them the neceſſities of the public; that the Scots and Welſh, the French and Flemmings, were ready to invade the kingdom; that the Exchequer was greatly exhauſted, and the King's revenues unable to furniſh the neceſſary defence. The Commons hereupon remonſtrated, that the clergy had engroſſed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom; that they lived in idleneſs, and contributed very little to the public advantage: whereas the laity hazarded both their perſons and fortunes in the ſervice of their country. They therefore were of opinion the King ſhould ſeize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the public ſervice of the nation. Archbiſhop Arundel, who was preſent at the motion, roſe from his ſeat, and repreſented, 'That the Clergy had always contributed more to the public ſervice than the Laity, and had more frequently granted the crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth; and though they did not ſerve the King in perſon in his wars, yet they ſent their tenants to aſſiſt him, and were at leaſt as ſerviceable to him by their inceſſant prayers for his ſucceſs, as the Laity were by their arms.' The Speaker of the Houſe, Sir John Cheney, took up the Archbiſhop, and publickly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very ſlender ſupply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This anſwer fired the Archbiſhop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, 'That the King and kingdom could not expect to thrive, ſo long as the prayers of the Clergy were deſpiſed.' *And as for you, Sir,* continued he, turning to the Speaker, *who take the liberty to rally the functions of the Clergy, I believe you will find it no eaſy undertaking to invade the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church.* Then, perceiving the King, who was preſent at the conteſt, inclining to favour the deſign of the Commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, beſought him to conſider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the Clergy his favour and protection. Whether the King was really affected with the Archbiſhop's diſcourſe, or began to ſee the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him riſe and go to his place, aſſuring him, he was fully reſolved not to hearken to theſe new meaſures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promiſe, turned to the Commons, and let them know, he ſaw through the whole deſign, telling them, 'That their wicked advice was intended more for their own, than the King's advantage.' *You, Gentlemen,* ſays he, *and others governed by the ſame views, have perſuaded the King and his predeceſſors to ſeize the revenues of the Friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the crown of thoſe eſtates, and begged them for your ſelves. And the ſame would be the caſe, ſhould the King comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time.* This courage in the Archbiſhop, and the King's declaration, ſilenced the Commons, and put a ſtop to the deſign for the preſent. However Arundel thought it beſt to ſecure a party in the Houſe of Lords againſt the intended bill, in caſe the project ſhould be revived. At laſt the Commons themſelves aſked the Archbiſhop's pardon, admired his reſolution, and confeſſed the injuſtice of their expedient (24).

(22) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

(23) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. 21. *an.* 1404.

(24) Walſingh. Hiſt. Angl. p. 371, 372. See alſo Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 290.

[*O*] ——— *After a warm controverſy between the univerſity and the Archbiſhop,* &c.] The heads of the univerſity were ſent for up to court, and the Chancellor and Proctors turned out of their office. The ſtudents were ſo far diſconcerted by theſe rigours, that they diſcontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and diſſolving their body. The King, being informed of what paſſed, ſent them a reprimanding letter at firſt, but afterwards was pleaſed to treat them more gently. His Highneſs's award in favour of the Archbiſhop was confirmed by act of Parliament (25). And to fortify himſelf ſtill farther, Arundel procured a Bull from the Pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the univerſity by Boniface. But this Bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV, who, as much as in him

(25) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. iv. p. 166. *Ex* Rotul. *in* Turri Lond.

Soon after this controverſy was ended, a Convocation being held at St Paul's in London, the Biſhops and Clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford [*P*], and preſſed the Archbiſhop to viſit that Univerſity. Hereupon Arundel wrote to the Chancellor and others, giving them notice, that he intended to hold a viſitation in St Mary's Church. His Delegates for this purpoſe were ſent down ſoon after, and admitted by the Univerſity; who, to make ſome ſatisfaction for their backwardneſs in cenſuring Wickliff's opinions, wrote to the Archbiſhop, and aſked his pardon (*x*): after which they appointed a Committee of twelve perſons, to examine heretical books, particularly thoſe of Wickliff. Theſe Inquiſitors into heretical pravity, having cenſured ſome concluſions extracted out of Wickliff's books, ſent an account of their proceedings to the Archbiſhop, who confirmed their cenſures, and ſent an authority in writing to ſome eminent members of the Univerſity, empowering them to enquire into perſons ſuſpected of heterodoxy, and oblige them to declare their opinions. Theſe rigorous proceedings made Arundel extremely hated by the Wickliffites, who would ſometimes compliment him with a curſing letter. However he went on with the proſecution, and not only ſollicited the Pope to condemn the above-mentioned concluſions, but deſired likewiſe a Bull for the digging up Wickliff's bones. The Pope granted the firſt of theſe requeſts, but refuſed the other, not thinking it any uſeful part of diſcipline to diſturb the aſhes of the dead (*y*). Arundel's warm zeal for ſuppreſſing the Lollards, or Wickliffites, carried him to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities (*Q*) againſt the heads of that ſect, particularly againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham (*z*); and induced him to procure a Synodical Conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue [*R*]. This great Prelate died at Canterbury, after having ſat ſeventeen years, the twentieth of February, 1413. The Lollards of thoſe times pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death [*S*]. He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury, near the weſt end, under a monument erected by himſelf in his life-time. He was a conſiderable benefactor to that church: for he built the Lanthorn Tower, and great part of the Nave; and gave a ring of five Bells, called from him *Arundel's Ring*, and diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Trinity*, *Mary*, *Gabriel*, *Blaſius*, and *John* (*aa*). He gave likewiſe to that church ſeveral rich veſtments, a mitre enchaſed with jewels, a ſilver gilt croſier, a golden chalice for the high altar, and another to be uſed only on St Thomas Becket's day. He gave alſo the church of Godmerſham, out of the income of which, he ordered ſix-ſhillings and eight-pence to be given annually to every Monk of the convent, on the aforeſaid feſtival. Laſtly, he gave ſeveral valuable books, particularly two Miſſals, and a collection in one volume of St Gregory's works, with *Anathema* to any perſon, who ſhould remove it out of the church (*bb*). Archbiſhop Arundel ſeems to have been a perſon of great natural capacity, well improved by ſtudy and experience; but is deſervedly

(*x*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205.

(*y*) Id. ib. p. 206.

(*z*) See the article OLDCASTLE (Sir JOHN).

(*aa*) Godwin, *inter Archiepiſc. Cantuar. an.* 1396.

(*bb*) Dies Obituales Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 62.

him lay, reſtored the univerſity to their former immunities (26). As to the King's deciſion, in caſe the Univerſity did not abide by it, but diſturbed the Archbiſhop or his ſucceſſors in their viſitation, they were to forfeit a thouſands pounds, and their franchiſes to be ſeized, and remain in the King's hands, till they ſubmitted to the award (27).

(26) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205. *and* Cotton's Abridgment, p. 480.

(27) Ibid.

[*P*] *The Biſhops and clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford*] *An Univerſity*, they ſaid, *which was formerly the ſeat of learning and virtue, a ſupport of the Catholick Faith, and a place of exemplary obedience and good behaviour: but now the Students were ſtrangely degenerated, ſtrove to diſtinguiſh themſelves by contumacy and rebellion, and made it their buſineſs to ſow tares among the wheat.* They added farther, that this heterodox party in the Univerſity had robbed the treaſury, and, without the privity of the Doctors and Maſters, made uſe of the publick ſeal to give a recommendation to Hereſy (28).

(28) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*Q*] *He was carried to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities againſt the Lollards.*] It cannot be denied, that the Lollards had given the Archbiſhop great provocation (if any could be great enough) for perſecution. They attacked him in the authority of his character, and ſtruck directly at the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church. It is true, they had began a reformation in religion, but maintained withal ſeveral groſs and capital errors (29). But on the other ſide, the perſecuting theſe people to the ſtake, was carrying the rigour of diſcipline too far; and acting in a manner not ſuitable to Chriſtian charity, and the tenderneſs of the epiſcopal character.

(29) See the article WICKLIFF.

[*R*] *He procured a ſynodical conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue.*] Let us hear what Biſhop Godwin ſays of this matter. 'Cumque nihilo ſecius iſtorum homi-'num creſcere indies numerum conſpiceret; ut caligi-'nem offunderet oculis eorum, ne illos defigere poſ-'ſent amplius in pravis illis ſuperſtitionibus quæ in 'eccleſiam jam olim paulatim irrepſerant; Scripturas 'ſacras in vernaculam Anglicanam converti, vel con-'verſas legi vetuit in Synodo; cum non ita pridem 'in funere Annæ Reginæ concionatus, haud alio no-'mine eam magis laudaverit, quam quod Evange-'lia in Anglicanum idioma converſa aſſidue lecti-'taret (30). —— *And obſerving that the number of 'theſe Sectariſts daily increaſed, that he might in ſome 'meaſure put a ſtop to thoſe erroneous opinions and 'practices, which had by degrees crept into the Church, 'he forbad, by a ſynodical decree, the tranſlating the 'Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the reading them 'when tranſlated: Arundel, I ſay, did this; who not 'long before, in a ſermon preached at the funeral of 'Queen Anne, commended her for nothing more than 'her daily reading the Scriptures tranſlated into Eng-'liſh.*' Let us ſee how Mr Collier endeavours to vindicate the Archbiſhop from this charge of inconſiſtency. 'To this it may be anſwered, that the 'Archbiſhop's conſtitution declares only againſt a 'tranſlation made by a private hand; and that no ver-'ſion of the Holy Scriptures ſhould be uſed till it was 'allowed by a provincial Synod, or at leaſt by the 'Biſhop of the Dioceſe (31). Now without doubt 'the Archbiſhop was ſo far in the right, as not to 'allow every private perſon the liberty of tranſlating 'the Scriptures. To have done otherwiſe might have 'been a dangerous permiſſion. It might have opened 'a paſſage to hereſy and error, put it in the power 'of ignorant and deſigning men to corrupt the holy 'text, and poiſon the fountain of life (32).' With ſubmiſſion to this ingenious author, this does not amount to a juſtification of Arundel. For what difference is there between obliging the people to receive ſuch a tranſlation or interpretation of the Scriptures as the Church ſhall think fit, and witholding the uſe of it entirely from them; ſince in both caſes the people muſt pin their faith upon the Church's ſleeve?

(30) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(31) Lindwood, Provincial. lib. v. tit. 4. p. 286.

(32) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 635.

[*S*] *The Lollards pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death.*] He died

of

ſervedly cenſured for the great ſhare he had in dethroning King Richard, and his cruelty towards thoſe whom he eſteemed heretics.

of an inflammation in his throat. It is pretended, he was ſtruck with this diſeaſe, as he was pronouncing ſentence of excommunication and condemnation on the Lord Cobham; and from that time, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance of medicines, he could ſwallow neither meat nor drink, and ſo was ſtarved to death. The Lollards imputed this lamentable end to the juſt judgment of God upon him, both for his ſeverity towards that ſect, and forbidding the Scriptures to be tranſlated into Engliſh (34). Biſhop Godwin tells us the ſame. *Juſto Dei judicio factum ferunt, ut is qui verbum Dei, animæ pabulum, ſubtraxerat popularibus; clauſis per anginam aut morbum aliquem conſimilem faucibus, aliquanto ante mortem tempore, nec verbulum poterit fari, nec cibi vel minimum deglutire, adeoque mutus fameque tandem enectus inedia interierit* (35). T

(34) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 311.

(35) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ASAPH (*St*) gave his name to the Epiſcopal See of *St Aſaph* in Wales (*a*). He was deſcended of a good family in North-Wales, and became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern the Scotch Biſhop of that place preſided [*A*]. That Prelate, being recalled to his own country, reſigned both his convent and cathedral to Aſaph, who demeaned himſelf with ſuch ſanctity, that after his death Llan-Elvy loſt it's name, and took that of the ſaint. He was a diligent preacher, and had frequently this ſaying in his mouth; *They who withſtand the preaching of God's word, envy man's ſalvation.* St Aſaph flouriſhed about the year 590, under Carentius King of the Britons. He wrote the *Ordinances* of his church, the *Life* of his maſter Kentigern, and ſome other pieces. The time of his death is not certainly known (*b*). Bale tells us, he was the firſt who received unction from the Pope [*B*]. After his death, the See of St Aſaph continued vacant above five hundred years, till Geoffrey of Monmouth was placed therein [*C*].

(a) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 68. & Pits, de illuſtr. Britan. Scriptor. *an.* 590.

(b) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Aſaph. *init.*

[*A*] *He became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern ——— preſided.*] Capgrave, who tells us this (1), gives Aſaph a very advantageous character. His words are theſe: 'Erat 'in prædicta literatorum multitudine Aſaph quidam genere & ſpecie clarus, ab ipſo pubertatis 'flore virtutibus et doctrina fulgens, qui vitam magiſtri in omni ſanctitate et abſtinentia ſequi ſatagebat.——*Amidſt this great number of learned men was one Aſaph, deſcended of a good family, and eminent, from his very youth, for his virtues and learning; who diligently followed his maſter's example in all holineſs and godlineſs of living.*'

(1) *Apud* Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Aſaph. *init.*

[*B*] *Bale pretends, he was the firſt who received unction from the Pope.*] *Primus hic erat,* (ſays he) *qui a Romano Pontifice Unctionem accepit* (2). It is not eaſy to ſay what our author's meaning is in theſe words. Pits, who is very ready to ſteal from Bale, eſpecially whatever may ſeem of advantage to the papal cauſe, has entirely dropped this circumſtance.

(2) De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 68.

[*C*] *The See of St. Aſaph continued vacant above five hundred years.*] For Henry of Huntington, who wrote about the year 1150, which is 560 years after St Aſaph flouriſhed, in reckoning up the Welſh Sees, mentions only Bangor, Landaff, and St David's (3). T

(3) *See* Godwin, ubi ſupra.

ASCHAM (ROGER) was born at Kirby-Wiſke, near North-Allerton, in Yorkſhire, about the year 1515 (*a*), his father's name was John Aſcham, a man of a moderate fortune, but of a very extraordinary character, both for his underſtanding, and probity, and Steward to the noble family of Scroop; his mother's name was Margaret, deſcended of a genteel family, and allied to ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Beſides this Roger, theſe good people had two other ſons, Thomas, and Anthony, and ſeveral daughters. As they lived in great credit in their country, ſo their conduct was very exemplary; the education of their children their principal concern, and their behaviour towards their neighbours equally honeſt and courteous; by which means they were univerſally beloved, and many honourable perſons intereſted themſelves in providing for their children. One thing is ſo remarkable of them, that it ought not to paſs unmentioned; after living together forty-ſeven years in the greateſt harmony, and with the moſt cordial affection, the good old people died the ſame day, and almoſt in the ſame hour (*b*). As for him of whom we are ſpeaking, their third ſon Roger, ſome time before his father's death he was taken into the family of the Wingfields, and at the expence of the then Sir Anthony Wingfield, ſtudied with his two ſons under the care of Mr Bond. The brightneſs of his genius, and his great affection for learning, very early diſcovered themſelves, by his eager reading all the Engliſh books which came to his hands. This propenſity for ſtudy was encouraged by his generous benefactor, who when he had attained the elements of the learned languages, ſent him, about the year 1530, to St John's-college in Cambridge (*c*). It was extremely happy for Mr Aſcham, that at this time, St John's-college was one of the moſt flouriſhing in the univerſity. It's maſter, Nicholas Medcalf, a great encourager of learning, and a moſt generous patron to ſuch as addicted themſelves thereto; his tutor, Mr Hugh Fitzherbert, had not only much knowledge, but alſo a moſt graceful and inſinuating method of transfuſing it into his pupils, amongſt whom were very many, who, in proceſs of time, became the greateſt and the brighteſt men of the age (*d*). No wonder then, that to a genius naturally prone to learning, Mr Aſcham added a ſpirit of emulation, which, together, induced him to ſtudy ſo hard, that while a perfect boy, he made a prodigious progreſs in polite learning, and became exceedingly diſtinguiſhed, even amongſt thoſe who were the moſt eminent wits in the univerſity [*A*]. He took his firſt degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the

(a) Edwardi Grant. Oratio de vita & obitu Rogeri Aſchami, &c. p. 4. Thuan. Hiſt. lib. xliii. Teſſier, Elog. T. I. p. 323.

(b) Grant, p. 5.

(c) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(d) Schoolmaſter, B. i. p. 21. B. ii. p. 54. firſt edition. Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

[*A*] *The moſt eminent wits in the univerſity.*] At firſt Mr Aſcham applied himſelf to teaching Greek for the ſake of learning it thoroughly himſelf; to which courſe he was adviſed by his great friend Mr Robert Pember, who told him, that he would acquire more knowledge by reading to a boy a ſingle fable out of Æſop, than by hearing others read Latin lectures on the whole Iliad (1). The ſame gentleman,

(1) Ed. Grant Orat. de vita & obit. Roger. Aſcham. p. 7.

the twenty-eighth of February, 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age, and on the twenty-third of March following, was elected fellow of his college by the intereſt of the maſter (*e*), though Mr Aſcham's propenſity to the Reformed Religion, had induced him to ſpeak a little indiſcreetly, and thereby put Dr Medcalf to no ſmall trouble, in carrying his good intention into act, as our author himſelf tells us. Theſe honours ſerved only to excite him to ſtill greater vigilance in his ſtudies, particularly in that of the Greek tongue, wherein he attained an excellency peculiar to himſelf, and read therein, both publickly for the univerſity, and privately in his college, with univerſal applauſe. At the commencement held after the feaſt of St Peter and St Paul, in 1536, he was inaugurated Maſter of Arts, being then twenty-one years old (*f*). By this time many of his pupils came to be taken notice of for their extraordinary proficiency, inſomuch, that William Grindal who was one of them, at the recommendation of Mr Aſcham, was made choice of by Sir John Cheeke, to be tutor to the lady Elizabeth. One may juſtly wonder, that he did not accept at this time of ſo great an honour himſelf; but it ſeems he was ſo delighted with an academical life, that he was not very deſirous of changing it for one at court (*g*). His affection for his friends, though it filled him with a deep concern for their intereſts, and a tender regard for their perſons, yet could not induce him to give up his underſtanding, eſpecially in points of learning. For this reaſon he did not go immediately into the new pronunciation of the Greek, which his intimate friend, Sir John Cheeke, laboured, by his authority, to introduce throughout the univerſity (*b*); yet when he had thoroughly examined, he came over to his opinion, and defended the new pronunciation with that zeal and vivacity, which gave a peculiar livelineſs to all his writings. In July 1542, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford, to be incorporated Maſter of Arts, but whether he was or was not incorporated, does not appear by the regiſter (*i*). To divert him after the fatigue of ſeverer ſtudies, he addicted himſelf to archery, which innocent amuſement, drew upon him the cenſure of ſome envious perſons. Whereupon he ſet himſelf to ſhew the expediency of ſuch ſort of divertiſements in general, and the innocency and uſefulneſs of ſhooting with the long-bow, in particular, in a ſmall treatiſe, intituled, *Toxophilus*; which book he publiſhed in 1544, and dedicated it to King Henry VIII, then about to undertake his expedition againſt Boulogne. This work was very kindly received [*B*], and the King, at the recommendation of Sir William Paget, was pleaſed to ſettle a ſmall penſion upon him, which, after that Prince's death, was for ſome time diſcontinued, but at length reſtored to him, during pleaſure,

(*e*) Schoolmaſter, B. ii. fol. 54.

(*f*) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(*g*) Aſcham. Epiſtol. l. i. epiſt. 5. Grant, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Grant, p. 10, 11.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

gentleman, directed him in his choice of Latin authors. By degrees he became himſelf ſo perfect a judge, both of ſentiment and ſtile, that he loſt no time in the peruſal of mean or unprofitable books. Cicero and Cæſar he ſtudied, eſpecially, for the ſake of their language; and whoſoever conſiders his letters attentively, will find that he rarely makes uſe either of words or of phraſes, but what are to be found in them. Among the philoſophers he read, chiefly Plato and Ariſtotle, Thucydides and Herodotus, were his favourite hiſtorians; Demoſthenes and Iſocrates, the orators he ſtudied moſt (2). On theſe two laſt mentioned authors, he read privately to his pupils, as he did likewiſe on the beſt and moſt famous of the Greek poets. By this means, he came to excel in Philology, of which there cannot be a ſtronger teſtimony, than his excellent letter to Hubert Languet, in defence of the new pronunciation of the Greek tongue (3), of which it is hard to ſay, whether the critical knowledge contained therein, or the elegance of the ſtile in which it is written, ought moſt to commend it. There is extant in the Oxford edition of his letters, Languet's anſwer (4), which is alſo well worth reading, by ſuch as are deſirous of underſtanding thoroughly that controverſy, and the reaſons which induced Sir John Cheeke, and Sir Thomas Smith, to ſupport that which is now ſtiled the Engliſh pronunciation of the Greek.

(2) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, B. ii. p. 51—54.

(3) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 12.

(4) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 404.

[*B*] *This work was very kindly received.*] The title of the book mentioned in the text, as it ſtands in the copy I have before me is this, *Toxophilus. The Schole or Partitions of ſhooting contayned in two Bookes, written by* Roger Aſcham, 1544. *And now newlye peruſed. Pleaſaunt for all gentlemen and Yomen of England, for theyr Paſtime to reade, and profitable for their Uſe to followe both in Warre and Peace, Anno* 1571. *Imprinted at London in Flete-ſtreat, near to Saint Dunſtone's Churche, by Thomas Marſhe.* Before it ſtands a copy of Latin verſes by Dr Walter Haddon. This ſecond edition hath a dedication prefixed to it, addreſſed to all the gentlemen and yeomen of England; though, as is obſerved in the text, the firſt edition is dedicated to King Henry. There is among our author's letters, one addreſſed to his patron Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wherein he ſpeaks out plainly, what his deſign was in writing that book, and what he aimed at by writing it. As to the firſt, he acknowledges his intention was to introduce an eaſy and natural ſtile, in the writing of Engliſh proſe, inſtead of that forced and frothy language, which was the foible of moſt writers of his time. With reſpect to the ſecond, he owns that he had at that time a deſire of travelling into Italy, and was in hopes of obtaining, by the dedication of his book to the King, a penſion, which might enable him to fulfil his deſire (5). Without all doubt, this little treatiſe may ſtill be ſtiled a maſter-piece in it's kind, whether we conſider the manner in which he handles his ſubject, or the matter which his book contains (6). His words are always ſuited to the nature of his diſcourſe, never riſing above, never ſinking beneath it, but ſo naturally expreſſive of their author's ſentiments, that the reader is never at a loſs, as he never can be diſpleaſed with their meaning. Much learning he does indeed ſhew, where one would little expect it; but this he does ſo modeſtly, with ſuch a graceful propriety, and ſo much to the peruſer's advantage, that it is impoſſible to miſtake that for pedantry, which is the pure effects of ſuperior knowledge. So perſpicuous, ſo natural his method, that if for no other reaſon yet for this, I ſhould be glad to ſee it taken out of it's black letter'd garb, and put into the hands of young gentlemen at the univerſity. But there is another reaſon, which renders this ſtill more deſirable. It abounds with fragments of Engliſh hiſtory, curious in themſelves, and ſo loſt in the ocean of our hiſtories, that ſhould they be at any time revived, they would certainly have all the charms of novelty. It would be unjuſt to conclude this note without remarking, That as this treatiſe gave the firſt riſe to our author's fortunes, ſo it was the review of it by Biſhop Gardiner, which reſtored them when the author thought them ſhipwrecked by the death of King Edward; for in his letter to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he takes notice of it's being peruſed and approved by the lords of the council, and being the means of introducing it's author into their favour (7).

(5) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

(6) Grant, p. 11.

(7) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

[*C*] *His*

pleaſure, by Edward VI, and confirmed by Queen Mary, with an additition of ten pounds *per annum* (*k*). Among other accompliſhments, he was remarkable for writing a very fine hand, for which reaſon he was made uſe of to teach that art to Prince Edward, the Lady Elizabeth, the two brothers Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and for many years wrote all the letters of the univerſity to the King, and to the great men at Court (*l*). The ſame year that he publiſhed his book he was choſen univerſity orator, in the room of Mr John Cheeke, an office which ſuited him extremely well, as gratifying his ſtrong paſſion for an academical life, and affording him frequent opportunities of diſplaying his ſuperior eloquence in the Latin and Greek tongues (*m*). In 1548, on the death of his pupil, Mr Grindal, he was ſent for to Court, in order to inſtruct the Lady Elizabeth in the knowledge of the learned languages, which duty he diſcharged for two years, with great reputation to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to that illuſtrious perſon (*n*). For ſome time he enjoyed as great comfort and content at Court as he had done at College, but at length, on account of ſome ill-judged and ill-founded whiſpers, Mr Aſcham took ſuch a diſtaſte at ſome in the Lady Elizabeth's family, that he left her a little abruptly, which he afterwards heartily repented, and took great and not unſucceſsful pains, to get himſelf reſtored to her good graces (*o*). On his returning to the univerſity, he reſumed his ſtudies, and the diſcharge of his office of publick orator, his circumſtances being at this time pretty eaſy [*C*], by reaſon of conſiderable aſſiſtances from lovers of learning, and a ſmall penſion allowed him by King Edward (*p*). In the ſummer of 1550, he went into Yorkſhire to viſit his family and relations, from whence he was recalled to Court, in order to attend Sir Richard Moryſine, who was then going Ambaſſador to the Emperor Charles V. In his journey to London, he went to viſit the Lady Jane Gray, at her father's houſe at Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, with whom he had been well acquainted at Court, and for whom he had already a very high eſteem. At this viſit it was, that he ſurprized her reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, in the abſence of her tutor Mr Aylmer, in the article of whoſe life, a full account is given of their converſation and it's effects (*q*). In September following, he embarked with the beforementioned Ambaſſador for Germany, where he remained three years, and during that ſpace, left nothing omitted which might ſerve to perfect his knowledge of men as well as books (*r*). As he travelled with an Ambaſſador, he thought it became him to make Politicks ſome part of his ſtudy, and in this he ſucceeded perfectly well, as appears from a ſhort but very curious tract [*D*] which he wrote, concerning

(*k*) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 9.

(*l*) Idem, p. 9.

(*m*) Grant, p. 14.

(*n*) Aſcham. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 40.

(*o*) Grant, p. 16. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 43. l. iii. ep. 5, 7.

(*p*) Grant, ubi ſupra. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 48.

(*q*) Grant, p. 17. Schoolmaſter, B. 1. fol. 11. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 7.

(*r*) Grant, p. 17. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 3, 4, 6, &c.

[*C*] *His circumſtances being pretty eaſy.*] Among our author's firſt patrons, are to be reckoned the following illuſtrious perſons, viz. Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York, a Prelate diſtinguiſhed no leſs by his extraordinary learning, untainted integrity, and extenſive beneficence, than by his exalted ſtation: He took our author early under his care, and beſides many other ſervices, which in reſpect to his merit he render'd him, was pleaſed to allow him an annual penſion out of his pocket. Among our author's letters, there are extant ſeveral to this Archbiſhop full of profound acknowledgments, and of panegyricks in the ſtrongeſt and ſweeteſt ſtrain (8). This prelate died in 1544, when Mr Aſcham was in the thirtieth year of his age (9). He was alſo much careſſed by the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and had in ſome meaſure her ſons, Henry and Charles, entruſted to his care (10). Anne, Counteſs of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the Marquis of Northampton, was another auſpicious patroneſs and his pupil in the Latin tongue, as appears by two letters ſtill extant in that language to that noble lady (11). To theſe we may add the Chancellor Wriothſley, Sir John Cheeke, and many others (12). To all of whom, Mr Aſcham was peculiarly grateful, for a due ſenſe of obligation was in him a predominant virtue, and no doubt, this thankfulneſs in his temper, was no inconſiderable help to his promotion. All the ſtations of life he occupied, were diſcharged with decency and honour, but he ſeems to have ſhone moſt in his poſt of publick orator at the univerſity, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with a zeal equally laudable and happy; for as a certain humorous writer expreſſes himſelf, he did good ſervice in the hindring thoſe ſacrilegious perſons who had *dined* upon the *Church* from *ſupping* on the *Univerſities* (13). This ought to be remembred to his everlaſting honour, for many reaſons, but for this eſpecially, that it may provoke others to a like diligence, and a like reſpect for thoſe luminaries of ſcience which once eclipſed, we ſhould ſoon fall into more than Egyptian darkneſs.

(8) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 1, 3, 5, 6.

(9) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. ii. p. 86.

(10) Grant, p. 15.

(11) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 31, 32.

(12) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(13) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 613.

[*D*] *A ſhort and very curious tract.*] The title of this treatiſe runs thus. *A Report and Diſcourſe, written by Roger Aſcham, of the Affairs and State of Germany, and the Emperor Charles his Court, duryng certain Yeares, while the ſaid Roger was there. At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Alderſgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis per Decennium.* My copy is without a date, nor does Anthony Wood mention when it was printed, though he mentions the book. This treatiſe is written in the form of a letter, addreſſed to John Aſtley, in anſwer to one of his which is prefixed; he was a domeſtick of the lady Elizabeth, and his letter bears date the 19th of October 1552. The anſwer muſt have been written the ſame year, ſince there is no mention therein of King Edward's death, which happened the next. It is without compliment to Mr Aſcham, one of the moſt delicate pieces of Hiſtory that ever was penned in our language, and ſhews it's author to have been a man as capable of ſhining in the cabinet as in the cloſet. He firſt tells his friend, that the Emperor Charles V, was in peace with all the world in the year 1550, and yet at the time he was writing, which as we have ſhewn, was in the latter end of 1552, found himſelf ſo preſſed by open, and ſo embarraſſed by ſecret enemies, that after flying out of Germany, he was now in a manner at his wit's end, and knew not what to do. The plan therefore that he propoſes to himſelf, is to enter into and to explain the cauſes of theſe diſorders, the conſequences of them, and the characters of thoſe from whom they cheifly proceeded. Previous to this, he makes ſome obſervations on the various methods of writing hiſtory, and the ſeveral kinds thereof. In the courſe of it he renders unknown things clear, by comparing them with ſuch as are perfectly known, and throughout the whole, writes nothing which he knew not to be true of his own experience, or from the authority of ſuch as either in reſpect to their offices, or characters, were not above all ſuſpicion. On the whole, this ſhort piece gives the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct account of the motives which led to one of the greateſt events in that age, viz. The Emperor's reſignation, and contains ſuch a number of curious facts, with ſuch natural and pertinent reaſonings upon them, as can ſcarce be found within the ſame compaſs in our own, or perhaps in any other modern language. This is by much the ſcarceſt and the leaſt known of all our author's writings, and even

concerning Germany, and of the affairs of Charles V. He was alſo of great uſe to the Ambaſſador, as well in the management of his publick concerns, as in being the companion of his private ſtudies (*s*), which were for the moſt part in the Greek language, wherein he read Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Demoſthenes, three days in a week, the other three he copied the letters which the Ambaſſador ſent to England (*t*). While he was thus employed, his friends in England procured for him the poſt of Latin Secretary to King Edward, for which he was in a particular manner obliged to the kind interceſſion of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State (*u*). But whatever ſatisfaction reſulted to him from hence, he did not enjoy it long, being recalled on account of the King's death, whereby, for the preſent, he loſt all his places, together with his penſion, and, which was worſe, all expectation of obtaining any farther favours at Court. In this ſad ſituation he was at firſt in a manner hopeleſs, and therefore retired to the univerſity, merely to indulge his melancholy (*w*). But the proſpect quickly became more promiſing, his friend the Lord Paget mentioned him to Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High Chancellor, who very frankly received him into his favour, notwithſtanding Mr Aſcham remained firm to his religion, which was ſo far from being a ſecret to the Biſhop, that he had many malicious informations given him on that head, which however he treated with contempt, and abated nothing in friendſhip to our author on that account [*E*]. He in the firſt place procured him the re-eſtabliſhment of his penſion, which conſiſted of but ten pounds a year, with the addition of ten pounds a year more; he fixed him in the poſt of Latin Secretary to the King and Queen, and by her majeſty's intereſt and his own, kept him in his fellowſhip of St John's, and in his place of orator to the univerſity, to Midſummer 1554 (*x*). He was likewiſe well known to, and in great credit with, Cardinal Pole, who though he wrote elegantly in the Latin tongue, yet he would ſometimes make uſe of Mr Aſcham's pen, and particularly in tranſlating his ſpeech to the Parliament, which he made as the Pope's Legate, and of which tranſlation he ſent a copy to the Pope (*y*). On the firſt of June 1554, he married Mrs Margaret Howe, a lady of a good family, and with whom he had a very conſiderable fortune, of whom he himſelf gives an excellent character, in one of his letters to his friend Sturmius (*z*). His favour with Queen Mary's miniſters laſted as long as they were in power, and he was even ſo happy, as to enjoy the countenance of the Queen herſelf, who converſed with him often, and was much pleaſed with his company (*a*). On her death however he was far from loſing any of his preferments, that, on the contrary, having been previouſly reconciled to the Lady Elizabeth, he was immediately diſtinguiſhed by her, on her acceſſion to the throne. Thenceforward to the day of his death he was always conſtant at Court, very fully employed in the diſcharge of his two great offices, the one of Secretary for the Latin tongue, and the other of Tutor to her Majeſty in the learned languages, wherein he read ſome hours with her every day. This intereſt of his at Court, would have procured a man of a more active temper many conſiderable advantages; but ſuch was either Mr Aſcham's indolence, or diſintereſtedneſs, that he never aſked her Majeſty any thing, either for himſelf or his family, though he received ſeveral conſiderable benefactions without aſking, particularly the Prebend of Weſtwang in the church of York, in 1559, which he held to his death (*b*). Yet how cold ſoever he was in regard to his own affairs, he was very far from being negligent in thoſe of his friends; for whom he was ready to do any good office in his power, and in nothing readier than in parting with his money, though he never had much to ſpare. He was always in company with the greateſt men of the Court, and having once in converſation heard the beſt method of educating youth debated with ſome heat, he from thence took occaſion, at the requeſt of Sir Richard Sackville, to write his *Schoolmaſter*, which he lived to finiſh, but not to publiſh [*F*]. His application to ſtudy rendered him infirm throughout his whole

(*s*) Grant, p. 19.

(*t*) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 2. Grant, p. 20.

(*w*) Grant, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 18.

(*x*) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. i. ep. 2, 3, 18, 19, 23. Grant, p. 22.

(*y*) Grant, p. 23—25.

(*z*) Grant, p. 22. Aſcham. Epiſt. 1, 2.

(*a*) Grant, p. 25.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

even among the copies that are now and then to be met with, there is hardly one perfect.

[*E*] *Abated nothing in his friendſhip to our author on that account.*] One cannot help being aſtoniſhed at Mr Aſcham's good fortune under the reign of Queen Mary, conſidering that he never made any ſecret, not only of his being a Proteſtant, but of his being zealouſly ſo, while in the mean time, his friend and patron, Sir John Cheeke, was in the Tower for his religion, and converted by this ſole argument, *Chuſe whether you will ſign yourſelf a recantation, or have a warrant ſigned for your execution* (14) The former of which he choſe; and there is amongſt Mr Aſcham's letters, that very one which was written by or for Sir John Cheeke, upon this occaſion (15). This was owing in all probability to two cauſes, the innocency of his life, and the uſefulneſs of his pen. The former made it unreaſonable to proceed harſhly againſt him, and the latter conſidering that Queen Mary's miniſtry were moſt of them men of great parts and learning, made his ſervice appear more neceſſary than it would have done at another time. How well he anſwered their expectations, may be gathered from the many letters of his which are extant, and how aſſiduous he was in the diſcharge of his duty, may be underſtood from this inſtance; that in the beginning of the reign of Philip and Mary, he wrote in three days ſeven and forty letters to perſons of ſuch high rank, that the loweſt in dignity was a Cardinal (16). His duty and diligence anſwering ſo fully the character which Lord Paget had given him, and his other patrons, Pole and Gardiner, being the Queen's chief miniſters ſo long as ſhe lived, we may thence gather, that a man of Aſcham's prudence, was pretty ſafe even in thoſe troubleſome times. Yet neither his complaiſance, nor the care he had of his own ſafety, could divorce him from his Proteſtant friends; he took care to maintain his intereſt with the lady Elizabeth, when it was dangerous to ſeek ſuch an intereſt, and he lived in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip with Sir William Cecil, as contributed not a little to his proſperity in the ſucceeding reign.

(14) See the article CHEEK.

(15) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 436.

(16) Grant p. 22.

[*F*] *He lived to finiſh but not to publiſh.*] This work of his, which is that whereby he is chiefly known to poſterity, bears in it's original edition this title. *The Schoolmaſter. Or a plain and perfite Way of teaching Children to underſtand, write, and ſpeak*

whole life, and at laſt he grew ſo weak, that he was unable to read in the evenings or at night; to make amends for which he roſe very early in the morning. The year before his death he was ſeized with a hectick, which brought him very low, and then, contrary to his former cuſtom, relapſing into night ſtudies, in order to compleat a Latin poem with which he deſigned to preſent the Queen on the new year, he, on the twenty-third of December 1568, was attacked by an aguiſh diſtemper, which threatened him with immediate death. He was viſited in his laſt ſickneſs by Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, who found him perfectly calm and chearful, in which diſpoſition he continued to the thirtieth of the ſame month, when he expired (*c*). On the fourth of January following, he was interred according to his own directions, in the moſt private manner, in St Sepulchre's church, his funeral ſermon being preached by the beforementioned Dr Nowell. He was univerſally lamented, and even the Queen herſelf, not only ſhewed great concern, but was alſo pleaſed to ſay, that ſhe had rather have loſt ten thouſand pounds than her tutor Aſcham. His character is very well drawn by Buchanan in the following ſhort epigram, which he conſecrated to the memory of his friend.

(*c*) Grant, p. 25—29.

Aſchamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camænæ
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit (*d*).

(*d*) Buchan. Epigram. lib. ii. p. 339.

With thine, the Greek and Latin Muſes join,
O Britain! to lament at Aſcham's ſhrine.
To Princes dear, delightful to his friends,
He liv'd on little, yet to mighty ends.

His only failing was too great a propenſity to dice and cock-fighting, which the learned Biſhop Nicholſon would perſuade us to be an ill-grounded calumny (*e*); but as it is mentioned by Camden (*f*), as well as ſome other contemporary writers (*g*), we dare not omit it. Certain it is, that he died in very indifferent circumſtances, as may appear from theſe two inſtances. Firſt, the addreſs of his widow to Sir William Cecil, in her dedication of his *Schoolmaſter*, wherein ſhe ſays expreſsly, that Mr Aſcham left her a poor widow with many orphans, and this only to comfort them, that, as his relations, they would be under the protection of that honourable perſon to whom ſhe addreſſes herſelf. Secondly, it appears from Dr Grant's dedication of Aſcham's letters to Queen Elizabeth, wherein he moſt pathetically recommends to her his pupil, Giles Aſcham, the ſon of our author, telling her, that he had loſt his father who ſhould have taken care of his education, and that he was left poor and without friends, having indeed a mother

(*e*) Engliſh Library, p. 247.

(*f*) Annal. ſub an. 1568.

(*g*) Clark's Mirror, c. 61. p. 240. See alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. and Lloyd's State Worthies.

ſpeak the Latin Tong, but eſpecially purpoſed for the private bringing up of youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houſes, and commodious alſo for all ſuch as have forgot the Latin Tonge, and would by themſelves, without a Scholemaſter, in ſhort Time, and with ſmall paines, recover a ſufficient Habilitie to underſtand, write, and ſpeake Latin, by Roger Aſcham, Ann. 1571. *At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Alderſgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis per Decennium.* Notwithſtanding this date, in the title page, the colophon tells us, it was printed in 1573. This work is now well known to the world by Mr Upton's edition, illuſtrated with notes (17), which is now out of print, and while I am writing is ſaid to be in the preſs. The occaſion of the author's compoſing this book, is briefly touched in the text, but it may not be amiſs to inſiſt a little more particularly upon it here. When the great Plague was at London, in 1563, Queen Elizabeth lay at her caſtle of Windſor, where it ſo fell out, that on the 10th of December there dined in Sir William Cecil's lodgings, Sir William Petre, Sir J. Maſon, Dr Wootton, Sir Richard Sackville, Treaſurer of the Exchequer; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr Haddon, Mr Aſtley, Maſter of the Jewel-houſe; Mr Hampton, Mr Nicaſius, and our author. At dinner Secretary Cecil happened to ſay that he had heard ſtrange news that morning. viz. That ſeveral ſcholars at Eaton, had run away on account of their maſter's ſeverity, which he condemned as a very great fault in ſuch as had the education of youth. Sir William Petre maintained the contrary, and being a ſevere man in his temper, pleaded warmly in defence of the rod. Dr Wootton, in a ſoft voice and with ſmooth words, ſupported what the Secretary had ſaid; Sir John Maſon merrily bantered both ſides, without adhering to either. Mr Haddon ſeconded Sir William Petre, and, in defence of what he advanced, obſerved, that the beſt ſchool-maſter then in England, was the greateſt beater. This provoked our author to ſpeak; who ſaid, that if it was ſo, it was owing to the boy's parts, and not to their maſter's beating, which he was ſure did often harm and ſeldom, if ever, good. Sir William Cecil being mightily pleaſed with what Mr Aſcham ſaid, engaged into diſcourſe more largely upon the ſubject; to which alſo Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr Aſtley, and the reſt, ſpoke a little, only Sir Richard Sackville ſaid not a word. After dinner Mr Aſcham went to the Queen, with whom he read one of the orations of Demoſthenes. Sir Richard Sackville coming up, and finding him in the Queen's privy-chamber, as ſoon as company came in, took him aſide to a window; there he told him, that though he ſpoke nothing, he would not have been from that dinner for a great deal of money; that he knew to his coſt, the truth of what Mr Secretary Cecil had ſaid, ſince the beating of ſuch a ſchool-maſter at fourteen, had given him an averſion to learning, which he ſaid ſhould make him the more careful of his grandſon Robert Sackville. On this account he propoſed to Mr Aſcham, that he ſhould fix upon a good ſchool-maſter, and ſend his own ſon Giles, to be bred up together with his grandſon under his care, by thoſe rules, which, as Sir Richard ſaid, he thought our author could draw up the beſt of any man (18). This is the accident gave birth to Aſcham's School-maſter, a book that will be always uſeful, and everlaſtingly eſteemed on account of the good ſenſe, judicious obſervations, excellent characters of antient authors, and many pleaſant and profitable paſſages of Engliſh hiſtory, which are plentifully ſprinkled therein.

(17) Printed in 1711.

(18) See the preface to the Schoolmaſter.

mother who had the will, but not the means of affording him ſuch breeding, as the ſon of ſuch a father deſerved. Beſides this ſon he had two others, Dudley and Sturmur, of whom we know little. But as for Giles Aſcham, Lord Burleigh took him under his protection, by whoſe intereſt he was commended to a ſcholarſhip of St John's, and afterwards by the Queen's mandate, to a fellowſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and was celebrated, as well as his father, for his admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings (*b*) [*G*].

(*b*) Grant, p. 30 — 38.

[*G*] *Admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings.*] As to the Epiſtles of our author, which were alſo a poſthumous work, collected however very ſoon after his death by Mr Grant, maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, in order to recommend his ſon, as we have in the the text noted, to Queen Elizabeth's favour, let their character be firſt ſeen by Biſhop Nicholſon's account of them, and of their author, and then we will ſpeak of their ſeveral editions. 'Theſe letters, 'ſays that learned Prelate, have, chiefly on account 'of their elegancy, had ſeveral editions. The au-'thor was ſome time an inſtructor in the Latin 'tongue, and afterwards Latin ſecretary to King Ed-'ward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and 'in this latter ſtation, was frequently employed to 'tranſlate ſeveral letters of the then Engliſh mi-'niſters of ſtate, to foreign Princes, Ambaſſadors, 'and other great men. In theſe we have all the 'fine variety of language that is proper, either for 'rendering a petition or complaint the moſt agreea-'ble, and withal a very great choice of hiſtorical 'matter that is hardly preſerved any where elſe. 'Together with the author's own letters, we have 'a good many that are directed to him, both from 'the moſt eminent foreigners of his time, ſuch as 'Sturmius, Sleidan, &c. and the beſt ſcholars, as 'well as the wiſeſt ſtateſmen of his own country. 'And the publiſher of theſe, aſſures us, that he had 'the peruſal of a vaſt number of others in the 'Engliſh tongue, which were highly valuable. His 'attendance on Sir Richard Morriſon, in his Ger-'man embaſſy, gave him an intimate acquaintance 'with the affairs of that country, and the extraor-'dinary freedom and familiarity, with which the 'two Siſter Queens treated him here at home, af-'forded him a perfect knowledge of the moſt ſe-'cret myſteries of ſtate in this kingdom; ſo that 'were the reſt of his papers retrieved, we could not 'perhaps have a more pleaſing view of the main 'Arcana of thoſe reigns, than his writings would 'give us (19).' Mr Grant's firſt edition came out in 1576; there was another in 1577; a third in 1578; a fourth in 1590, all at London, in 8vo. There were two editions at Hanau, one in 1602, the other in 1610; alſo one at Nurembergh in 1611. The laſt and beſt edition is that of Oxford in 1703, publiſhed by the celebrated Mr Elſtob, who has added from MSS many letters, which were not in the former editions; but hath omitted Mr Aſcham's Poems, which are to be met with in the reſt. Mr Wood mentions another work of our author's, intituled Apologia contra Miſſam, &c, *i. e. An Apology againſt the Maſs*, &c. ſaid to be printed in 1577, in 8vo (20). Some writers mention a treatiſe *de Imitatione*, but that is included in the laſt edition of his Letters (21). E

(19) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(20) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

(21) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 1.

ASCOUGH (*a*) (WILLIAM) Doctor of Laws, and Biſhop of Saliſbury in the reign of King Henry VI, was deſcended from a very antient family ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire (*b*) [*A*]. He was conſecrated to the aforementioned See in the chapel of Windſor, July 20, 1438: ſoon after which he was appointed the King's Confeſſor, this being the firſt inſtance of a Biſhop's diſcharging that office. The moſt remarkable particular concerning this Prelate was the tragical manner of his death. For after he had ſat near twelve years, the famous rebel Jack Cade and his followers, coming to Edington, in Lincolnſhire, where the Biſhop then was, and being joined by ſeveral of that Prelate's own tenants, fell upon his carriages and plundered them, taking away no leſs than ten thouſand marks in money. The next day they aſſaulted the Biſhop himſelf, whilſt he was officiating at the altar, and dragged him away to a neighbouring hill, where they barbarouſly murthered him [*B*] by daſhing out his brains: then tearing his bloody ſhirt in pieces, to be preſerved in memory of the action, they left his body naked on the place. This maſſacre happened the 29th of June 1450 (*c*).

(*a*) Godwin, ubi infra, calls him *Aiſcoth*.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire, p. 156.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Sariſbur. *an.* 1438.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from a very antient family, ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire.*] Dr Fuller (1) collects this chiefly from Biſhop Aſcough's *arms*, which, he ſays, he ſaw at Saliſbury, 'With *alluſion* to the *arms* 'of that houſe, and ſome *epiſcopal addition*.' This *likeneſs*, the Doctor tells us, 'Is with him a better 'evidence, than a *fameneſs* of *arms* would have been, 'knowing (as he expreſſes it) that the clergy in that 'age delighted to diſguiſe their *coats* from their *pater-nal bearing*.'

(1) Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire. p. 156.

[*B*] *They barbarouſly murthered him.*] Upon the mention of this tragedy, Dr Fuller (2) gives us the following diſtich:

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 157.

Sic concuſſa cadit populari MITRA tumultu,
Protegat optamus nunc DIADEMA Deus.

By people's fury MITRE *thus caſt down,*
We pray henceforward God preſerve the CROWN.

Biſhop Godwin is at a loſs for the reaſon of this cruel treatment. *Illi quam ob cauſam infenſi non habeo compertum* (3). But Dr Fuller conceives it was 'Be-'cauſe he was *learned*, *pious*, and *rich*, three *capital* 'crimes in a clergyman (4)'. The laſt mentioned circumſtance is ſufficient to account for this horrid tragedy: for it is more than probable they murdered the good Biſhop, the better to ſecure the riches they had robbed him of. T

(3) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

ASGILL (JOHN), a late ingenious and eminent writer, was deſcended of parents in a middle ſtate of life, who gave him a good education, and then ſent him to London, in order to acquire ſome knowledge of the Laws, whereby he might gain his living. The natural quickneſs of his genius, joined to the good fortune he had of rendering himſelf agreeable to the gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, proved the means of recommending him to Mr Eyre, a very eminent Lawyer, and one of the Judges of the King's-Bench in the reign of King William (*a*). Under ſo able a maſter, he quickly acquired a competent knowledge of the Laws, and was thereupon called to the bar, and was ſoon taken notice of, as a riſing man in his profeſſion (*b*). His talent for politicks, and a very uncommon vein of wit and humour, which was diſcovered in two pamphlets he publiſhed in the year 1698, drew the eyes of the world ſtill more upon him, and acquired

(*a*) MS. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aſgill by his intimate Friend Mr A. N. p. 1.

(*b*) See the preface of an Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands.

acquired him the univerſal character of a perſon of extraordinary though ſingular genius [*A*]. Dr Barebone, the famous projector, who built the new ſquare in Lincoln's-Inn, and who, by a multitude of ſchemes, had brought his affairs into a very perplexed ſituation, made choice of Mr Aſgill, firſt for his friend and counſel, and afterwards for his executor, for a very odd reaſon (*c*), of which the reader may be informed in the notes [*B*]. His own affairs were a good deal embarraſſed before he took upon him this truſt, which ſerved to increaſe his difficulties not a little, ſo that upon the act for reſuming forfeited eſtates in Ireland, paſſing in the year 1699, and appointing Commiſſioners to hear and determine claims, he reſolved to go over into that iſland (*d*). Before his departure, he publiſhed that ſtrange treatiſe on *The Poſſibility of avoiding Death*, which made him ſo well known to the world, and which will hinder his being ever forgot. A treatiſe ſo amazing as to it's matter, and dreſſed out in ſuch an unuſual manner, that in all probability

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, p. 1.

(*d*) See Mr Aſgill's Defence on his expulſion, p. 39.

[*A*] *A perſon of extraordinary though odd genius.*] Of this he afforded the world ſufficient evidence, in the two pamphlets mentioned in the text. The firſt was entitled, *Several aſſertions proved, in order to create another ſpecies of money than gold and ſilver*; the ſecond, *An eſſay on a regiſtry for titles of lands*, London, 1698, 12*mo*. This, though written in a humorous ſtile, muſt be allowed to be as ſenſible a piece as was perhaps ever written on that important ſubject, and is become extremely ſcarce. It may not therefore be amiſs to give the reader a ſpecimen, as well of this piece, as of our author's method of handling grave ſubjects in a merry way. His fourth aſſertion runs in theſe words, *That all objections made againſt ſuch regiſtry, on account of reducing the practice of the Law, are one good reaſon for it*, which he thus proves. 'The practice of the 'Law in civil cauſes is divided into three ſorts; firſt, 'the transferring of titles, which is called Conveyan-'cing. Secondly, the ſhewing forth and defending 'theſe titles in forms of Law, and this is called Plead-'ing. Thirdly, the arguing upon theſe conveyances 'and pleadings (when they come in conteſt) before 'the Judges, and this is called, Practice at the bar. 'So that the practice of the two latter, doth ariſe 'from the errors or incertainties of the former. Were 'the titles of lands, once made certain, (which they 'may be by a regiſtry, and no otherwiſe) I know what 'I think of the future gains of the Law: the profit of 'the Law ariſes from the incertainty of property, and 'therefore as property is more reduced to a certainty, 'the profit of the Law muſt be reduced with it, the 'fall of one muſt be the riſing of the other. Actions 'of ſlander and battery, and cauſes on the crown ſide, 'would ſcarce find ſome of the circuiteers perriwigs, 'and yet (if we obſerve evidence) they ſtand obliged 'to diſputes in titles for many of theſe. Thief and 'whore, kick and cuff, are very often the effect of 'forcible entries, treſpaſſes, and ſerving of proceſs, in 'which the title comes frequently in queſtion. But 'the reducing this part of the practice of the Law, are 'things not ſeen as yet. The *proximus ardet* will fall 'upon the conveyancers, and that not by altering the 'forms of legal conveyances, or taking them out of 'their hands, or putting any ſtop to the dealing in 'lands, (for that will be increaſed) but by expoſing 'their manner of practice in this conveyancing part of 'the Law. For as it was numbered among the ſins of 'one of the Kings of Iſrael, that he made prieſts of 'the meaneſt of the people; ſo it is the misfortune of 'the people of England, that conveyancers are fre-'quently made out of old attornies or noblemens 'leaſe-makers fumpt up in bar gowns. Two qualifi-'cations are neceſſary to a compleat conveyancer. 'Firſt, that he be incapable of diſpatching buſineſs ſo 'faſt as he ſhould; ſecondly, that he doth not diſpatch 'it ſo faſt as he can. Not to ſpeak of bantering their 'clients with their ſeeming care and caution in delay-'ing their buſineſs, ſhewing great trunks of old wri-'tings in their chamber, calling to their clerks (before 'them) for one Lord's ſettlement, and another Lady's 'jointure, to tell what great clients they have: and 'when they come to be paid, they reckon their fees 'by longitude and latitude. I have ſeen an original 'mortgage of one ſkin bred up by a ſcrivener (in ſix 'years) to one and twenty, by aſſigning it every year, 'and adding one ſkin to every aſſignment, by recitals 'and covenants. As cows after three years old have 'one wrinkle added to each horn for every year after, 'which ſhews their age; and I am informed, that one 'deed of ſixty ſkins, was heaved out of a conveyan-'cer's office the other day. At this rate in a little 'time, the clients muſt drive their deeds out of their 'lawyers chambers in wheel-barrows. Theſe aſſign-'ments and re-aſſignments of ſecurities, have been a 'pretty ſort of perquiſites, eſpecially, if they have but 'an old judgment or ſtatute kept on foot, theſe are 'certain annual incomes. I knew two Serjeants at 'Law (uſurers) made it their common practice every 'long vacation, to ſwop ſecurities with one another, 'to make their mortgagees pay for the aſſignments; 'and (doing this without advice of counſel) they once 'merged an old term, and thereby ſpoiled their title 'to ſecure their fees; which (as to them) anſwers the 'character given of theſe graduates by a foreign hiſto-'rian, *Eſt in Regno Angliæ Genus Hominum doctorum 'indoctiſſimum communiter vocat, The learned Serjeants 'at Law*: Now I cannot think but theſe conveyancers 'and aſſigners, would be aſhamed to produce ſuch 'things to a regiſtry; and that therefore, they muſt 'either abbreviate their conveyances, or loſe their 'practice. But whether this regiſtry will make theſe 'reductions: 1. Of the length of conveyances. 2. 'The incertainties of titles: and, 3. By conſequence, 'the other practice in the Law, I cannot tell: how-'ever, I hope it, and believe ſome of them fear it. 'But if the cries of Monks and Friars had been re-'garded, we had never heard of the diſſolution of 'monaſteries; and if the clamours of Maſters of Re-'queſt, Clerks, and Eſcheators, had prevailed, the 'court of wards and liveries had been ſtanding to this 'day; and yet perhaps, moſt of theſe had either pur-'chaſed their places, or were bred up to that part of 'the Law only (1). This excellent pamphlet is amongſt many other curious pieces preſerved in the large collection of State Tracts in the reign of King William III (2), where we alſo find another treatiſe in anſwer to ſome objections made to ſuch regiſtry, which by the ſtile ſhould ſeem to be Mr Argill's alſo, only his name is not prefixed, as his manner was to every thing he publiſhed (3).

(1) Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands, p. 18.

(2) Vol. II. p. 693.

(3) Ibid. p. 704.

[*B*] *Of which the reader will be informed in the notes.*] Dr Barebone was not only a ſchemiſt, but a humouriſt, which the following ſtory will illuſtrate, he had drawn a gentleman in the city into a building project there, by which he loſt a conſiderable ſum of money. To make him amends, he engaged him in another ſcheme of building in the fields, where he buried the remainder of his fortune. Whether the gentleman had really any foul play, or whether his misfortunes rendered him ſuſpicious, ſo it was, that meeting Barebone in Leiceſter-Fields, he clapt his hand upon his ſword, and bid him draw, *Draw*, ſaid the Doctor calmly, *why, where would you have me draw you, I have already drawn you from one end of the town to the other* (4). Such was the man who fixed upon Mr Aſgill for his executor, and the ſole cauſe he aſſigned for it was, *That he ſhould never pay his debts*. As ſoon therefore as the teſtator was dead, Mr Aſgill ſummoned his creditors to Lincoln's-Inn Hall, where he produced the Will, and to avoid drawing things into length, or feeding them with falſe expectations, he made them a very laconick ſpeech. *You have heard*, gentlemen, *the* Doctor's *teſtament, and I will religiouſly fulfil the will of the dead.* The gentleman who furniſhed theſe memoirs rightly obſerves, that the Doctor and the Counſellor reſembled each other ſtrongly, and that there was not perhaps, ſuch another pair in the three kingdoms. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his being Dr Barebone's executor, gave him an intereſt in the borough of Bramber, for which he ſate as Burgeſs in ſeveral Parliaments (5).

(4) Britiſh Journal, No. 39.

(5) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aſgill, p. 1.

[*C*] *It*

bility it will be ever read, though never believed (e) [C]. On his arrival in Ireland, the favour of the Commiſſioners, and Mr Aſgill's own merit, got him into excellent practice, the whole nation almoſt was then engaged in law-ſuits, and among theſe, there were few conſiderable in which Mr Aſgill was not retained on one ſide or other; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time, he became maſter of a conſiderable fortune, which, however, inſtead of making him happy, became his ruin. He purchaſed a large eſtate for the life of Nicholas Brown, Eſq; commonly called Lord Viſcount Kinmare (f), having been ſo created by King James II. This eſtate, which was worth about three thouſand five hundred pounds a year, he bought for a very ſmall conſideration, in truſt, as it was ſuggeſted, for the family of that unfortunate Lord. The intereſt this eſtate gave him occaſioned Mr Aſgill's being elected a member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, an honour which he did not long enjoy. He was in Munſter when the ſeſſions began, and before he could get to Dublin he was informed, that, upon a complaint, the Houſe had voted his book to be a blaſphemous libel, and had ordered it to be burnt; however, he ventured to take his ſeat in the Houſe, where he ſat juſt four days, when he was expelled for his performance (g). We have an account of this matter given by himſelf, which is a very fair one, and will certainly divert the reader [D]. His affairs made him

(e) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(f) MS. Memoirs of Mr Aſgill, p. 3. Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

(g) Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

[C] *It will be ever read, though never believed.*] The title of this treatiſe was, *An Argument, proving, That according to the Covenant of eternal Life revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be tranſlated from hence into that eternal Life, without paſſing through Death, although the Human Nature of Chriſt himſelf, could not be thus tranſlated till he had paſſed through death.* It was printed originally in the year 1700, and has been privately reprinted ſeveral years ſince. To give the reader any notion of this piece, in any other than it's author's words is impoſſible. Thus then he ſpeaks of it himſelf. 'To them that knew not the reaſon, it 'looked like a whim, for the man in the goſpel to 'walk about the ſtreets with his bed upon his back on 'the ſabbath-day, while the reſt of the people were at 'their devotion, and perhaps it may ſeem more odd 'in me, to bolt out an argument in Divinity (as a bone 'of contention) into the world, at a time when the 'reſt of mankind are ſo deeply engaged in ſecular af-'fairs. But he that regardeth the wind will never 'ſow; and he that waiteth for times and ſeaſons will 'never do buſineſs. And as that ſeeming whimſical 'man ſaid to them that reproved him, He that made 'me whole, the ſame ſaid unto me, take up thy bed 'and walk: ſo ſay I to them that affront me, He 'that revealed this unto me, the ſame bad me tell it 'abroad, as a watch-word to be given out from one to 'another (every man to his fellow) as faſt as he re-'ceives it: Let him that heareth, ſay come! And 'having thus delivered my part of the meſſage, I look 'upon myſelf to have no more to do with it after-'wards than you have. But hereby I ſhall know, 'whether this doctrine be mine or no. If it be mine, 'it will ſink and fall and die, but if it be his, that I 'think it is, it will kindle itſelf like a firebrand from 'one to another, till it hath ſet the world in arms a-'gainſt death. And having thus left the deciſion of 'the truth of it to the ſucceſs, I begin to feel myſelf 'more eaſy under it. And as the four leprous men 'ſaid to one another in the gate of Samaria; if we ſit 'here we are ſure to die with famine, and if we go 'into the camp of the Syrians, we can but die by the 'ſword: ſo I have ſaid to myſelf, if I ſubmit to death, 'I am ſure to die, and if I oppoſe it, I can but be 'killed and die. And ſhould I be baffled in this eſſay, 'I can loſe nothing by it, but that little credit with 'the world which I value not, in compariſon of this 'attempt. And as thoſe four deſperate men venturing 'themſelves upon this reſolution, did thereupon find, 'that they had been before more afraid than hurt; ſo 'in making this ſally againſt death, methinks I have 'diſcovered it to be rather a bugbear than an enemy. 'And therefore as they having filled themſelves with 'plunder, thought it their duty to go, and tell the 'news to them that were ready to periſh: So I cannot 'ſatisfy myſelf to eat my morſel alone, without com-'municating to them, who I know with myſelf muſt, 'by reaſon of death, be all their life-time ſubject to 'bondage. And as their glad tidings of plenty was 'nevertheleſs welcome to the King and people of If-'rael, for being brought to them by men poor and 'miſerable; ſo if my news be true in itſelf, why 'ſhould it fare the worſe for being told by the greateſt 'of ſinners? And perhaps this qualifies me to be the 'meſſenger, leſt one more holy ſhould ſeem to be ho-'noured with it for his own perſonal ſanctity. I re-'member a ſudden retort once given me by a Lady, '(to whom I excuſed this my emulation by the exam-'ple of Enoch), but you are not ſo good as he was; 'for Enoch walked with God. And this might have 'puzzled me, had not Paul (in his liſt of worthies) 'counted upon the tranſlation of Enoch, as done by 'faith: By faith Enoch was tranſlated, that he ſhould 'not ſee death. Why then, if I have as good a faith 'for this purpoſe as he had, I am in this point (*quoad 'hoc*) as good a man as he was, though I fall ſhort of 'him, in all his other qualities. Nor is it to be ex-'pected, that any aſſembly of divines ſhould be em-'ployed in ſuch a buſineſs as this. They incloſe them-'ſelves within the pale of their own Church, and who-'ever breaks through that fence, is proſecuted as a 'treſpaſſer upon their juriſdiction. And thus the Jew-'iſh prieſts excommunicated a layman for teaching 'them religion, Thou waſt altogether born in ſin, and 'doſt thou teach us? and they caſt him out. But he 'that had opened his eyes took him in. And ſuch an 'exchange I ſhould reckon no great misfortune. But 'is it not a ſhame, that this Enoch in the beginning 'of time, ſo long before the receipt of the promiſe, 'ſhould attain to that faith in Chriſt, which we, that 'have ſeen him crucified before our eyes, think a ſin 'to offer at? But having been tempted to commit this 'ſin (like a true mother child of my grand parent 'Eve) I would tempt my friends to do ſo too. 'And all I aſk of them is this; having abſtracted 'the ſtudy of ſeven years recluſe into leſs than two 'hour's reading, I only deſire the peruſal of it at a 'time of leiſure, when men and women deſign to 'be ſerious, and think moſt for themſelves. And 'then I flatter myſelf, that they will find it not 'the moſt unpleaſant hour that ever they ſpent in 'their life. For this I know, that nothing is more 'pleaſant to us than news; and what I have ſaid, 'was never ſaid by man before. And this I know, 'that (notwithſtanding the defection of our natures) 'nothing is more pleaſant to man than truth. And 'what I have ſaid is true. And a truth that all the 'gainſayers ſhall not be able to reſiſt, though it be in 'contradiction to the moſt received truth in the world, 'That all men muſt die (6)'. It is ſcarce to be con-ceived how great a noiſe this ſmall tract raiſed, and how general an outcry was made againſt it's author. The Rev. Dr Sacheverell mentioned it among other blaſphe-mous writings, which induced him to think the Church in danger (7), the poets too were very hard upon Mr Aſgill, and what is not a little ſtrange, almoſt all the world concluded that Mr Aſgill muſt be an A-theiſt, becauſe he had taken ſo much pains about religion. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a vio-lent Enthuſiaſt, and having ſtudied the Scriptures in his mother tongue, and without conſulting any com-mentators, in conſequence of which, he frequently miſtook their meaning, this led him to believe ſo much, that thoſe who believed leſs, in order to vin-dicate themſelves, would needs have it, that he did not believe at all. To ſupport what has been ſaid, as well as to gratify the curioſity of the reader, it will be neceſſary to add, in other notes, a ſpecimen or two of that wit, which Mr Aſgill's book occaſioned.

(6) Preface to the Argument, &c. by Mr Aſgill.

(7) See Dr Sacheverell's Trial, p. 295.

[D] *Will certainly divert the reader.*] This we find in a tract of the author's, publiſhed in the year 1712. 'Having, ſays he, condemned and executed 'the

him very uneaſy in Ireland, where he involved himſelf in various ſuits, with the unfortunate Lord Kinmare's family, notwithſtanding he married his daughter, a lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty and merit, and for whom Mr Aſgill had a moſt tender affection (*b*). In order to deliver himſelf from theſe troubles, he diſpoſed of part of his intereſt, which created freſh diſputes, and a new train of law-ſuits. His expulſion ſeems to have been in the year 1703, and in 1705 he returned into England, where he was choſen a member for the borough of Bramber in the county of Suſſex, and ſat without diſpute or interruption for ſeveral years (*i*). But in an interval of privilege in 1707, being taken in execution at the ſuit of Mr Holland, he was committed to the Fleet. The Houſes meeting in November, Mr Aſgill applied, and on the ſixteenth of December he was demanded out of cuſtody by a Serjeant at Arms with the mace, and the next day took his ſeat in the Houſe. Between his application and his diſcharge, complaint was made to the Houſe, of the treatiſe ſo often mentioned, and a Committee was appointed to examine it. Of this Committee, Edward Harley, Eſq; was Chairman, who made a report, that the book contained ſeveral blaſphemous expreſſions, and ſeemed to be intended to expoſe the Scriptures. Thurſday the eighteenth of September, 1707, was appointed for him to make his defence, which he did with infinite wit and ſpirit, but inaſmuch as he ſtill continued to maintain the aſſertions he had laid down in that treatiſe, he was expelled (*k*) [*E*]. Many have ſurmiſed, and indeed Mr Aſgill himſelf was of opinion, that though his book was made the handle, yet his circumſtances were the true cauſe of his being thus ſeverely treated. It was indeed the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain, and the memoirs I have ſuggeſt, that ſeveral of the north Britiſh members were ſcandalized at a perſon's ſitting in the Houſe, and diſpoſing of other folk's property, who, by his lying in priſon, had viſibly no property of his own (*l*). Thenceforward Mr Aſgill's affairs grew worſe and worſe. He retired firſt to the Mint, and then became a priſoner in the King's-Bench, removed himſelf thence to the Fleet, and

(*b*) See P. S. to his Defence, p. 60.

(*i*) See the Liſt of this Parliament at the end of the Hiſtory of Europe for 1705.

(*k*) See his Defence on his expulſion, p. 37.

(*l*) MS. Memoirs, &c. p. 5. Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399.

'the book without hearing me, there was nothing 'left between that, and my expulſion, but to prove 'me the author; which no one can think I intended to diſown, when I had publiſhed it with my 'name to it. Yet as it happened, I had then an 'opportunity to put them upon the proof of it. 'The Printer having ſold off his firſt edition, broke 'the preſs. And the demands for more putting him 'upon a ſecond, he committed in that, above thirty '*errata*'s from the firſt. And my accuſer in Ireland, '(who, I hear, is ſince promoted to be Secretary to the 'French prophets) having one of this ſecond edition 'in his hand, demanded of me a categorical anſwer, 'whether I was the author? To which I replied, that 'I was author of a treatiſe written upon that argument; but that if I muſt be categorical, what he 'then ſhewed me, was not a print from my copy. 'And therefore, ſince he had accuſed me of (a crime 'higher than high-treaſon) blaſphemy; I did demand 'it, as the juſtice of the houſe, that they would not 'admit any leſs evidence to convict me of this crime, 'than if I ſtood indicted of high-treaſon. Upon this, 'up ſtood two volunteer evidence. The firſt a gentleman of the Law, who at my coming to Ireland (about three years before) had invited me to dine with 'him at his own houſe (where I never was either before or after). And his evidence was, That there 'there was then ſome jocular diſcourſe about a book. 'The other was a member (with whom I had a ſuit of 'law) and his evidence was, That I had turned about 'upon my heel, and ſaid I had wrote a book, and did 'not care who knew it. And upon this evidence, I 'was expelled that houſe for blaſphemy (10).'

(10) Defence on his expulſion, p. 42, 43.

[*E*] *He was expelled.*] Out of the long defence of Mr Aſgill, wherein he accounts for this notion coming into his head, his writing a treatiſe to ſupport it, and his publiſhing that treatiſe when it was written, it will it will be neceſſary to ſelect only one paſſage, becauſe therein, we have his anſwer to the charge brought againſt him, and the moſt material evidence to juſtify that character which we have given of him. 'I find, 'ſays he, the report of the Committee is not levelled at 'the argument itſelf which I have advanced; nor yet 'againſt the treatiſe I have publiſhed to prove it: But 'againſt ſome expreſſions I have uſed in that proof, 'and which I intend to give particular anſwers to. 'But there is ſomething elſe laid to my charge (as my 'deſign in publiſhing that argument) of higher concern 'to me, than any expreſſions in the treatiſe, or any 'cenſure that can fall on me for it. As if I had wrote 'it, with a malicious intention to expoſe the Scriptures as falſe, becauſe they ſeemed to contain what I 'have aſſerted. And that therefore, if that aſſertion 'did not hold true, the Scripture muſt be falſe. Now, 'whether this was my intention or no, there is but 'one witneſs in heaven or earth can prove, and that 'is he that made me, and in whoſe preſence I 'now ſtand; and who is able to ſtrike me dead in 'my place. And to him I now appeal, for the 'truth of what I proteſt againſt: That I never did 'write or publiſh that argument or treatiſe upon it, 'with any intention to expoſe the Scriptures. But, 'on the contrary, (tho' I was aware that I might 'be liable to that cenſure, and which I knew not 'how to avoid) I did both write and publiſh it, 'under a firm belief of the truth of the Scriptures: 'And with a belief (under that) that what I have 'aſſerted in that argument, is within that truth. 'And if it be not, then I am miſtaken in my argument, and the Scripture remains true: Let God 'be true, and every man a liar. And having made 'this proteſtation, I am not much concerned, whether I am believed in it or no. I had rather tell 'a truth, than be believed in a lye at any time. 'But having made this proteſt againſt an accuſation, 'greater than the charge in the report, 'tis time 'for me to come to the report itſelf. But by what 'I apprehend from the nature of the exceptions 'thereby taken, I may firſt offer one general anſwer 'to moſt, if not all, of them, before I deſcend to 'particulars. I do own that, in that treatiſe (the 'ſubject whereof relates to eternal ſalvation), I have 'uſed ſome familiar expreſſions of common things, 'which I did with intent to be ſooner read, and 'more readily underſtood: All men in the world 'being (in this thing) like children, moſt affected 'with what is ſpoken in their own dialect. From 'whence any one of our Saviour's ſhort parables, 'in comparing the kingdom of God to ſmall and 'trivial things, hath proved more inſtructive in religion and morality, than all the works and orations of the learned philoſophers (11).' To this let us add, an account of his expulſion from an impartial writer. There was, ſays he, one Mr John Aſgill, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who at the opening of this ſeſſion of Parliament, was unhappily laid under execution in the Fleet priſon; and his adverſary Mr Holland, a Staffordſhire gentleman, being apprehenſive leſt he might plead his privilege, he petitioned the Houſe, that he might not be allowed it, till he had made juſt ſatisfaction for the debt he owed him. Now the houſe having appointed a Committee to examine this affair, and Mr Aſgill having ſome years before publiſhed a pamphlet, entituled, *An Argument*, &c. This, inſtead of the matter of privilege, was wiſely made a handle to expel him the Houſe; which, when Mr Aſgill, who was then in the Houſe, ſaw would unavoidably befal him, he went out, and by a ſtratagem made his eſcape from thoſe that lay in wait for him at the door (12).

(11) Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(12) Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399, 400.

and in the rules of one or other of theſe priſons continued thirty years, during which time he publiſhed a multitude of ſmall political pamphlets, which were moſt of them well received [*F*]. He alſo drew bills and anſwers, and did other buſineſs in his profeſſion with great dexterity. He had ſomething extremely ſingular in his perſon, his air, his dreſs, and his manner of ſpeaking. His converſation was inexpreſſibly lively and entertaining, and his vivacity continued, in ſpight of old age and infirmities, to the laſt. He had a very unaccountable contempt for money, parting with it very readily on all occaſions, though he acquired it hardly. The death of his wife affected him more than all the reſt of his misfortunes (*m*) [*G*]. But even the ſenſe of this he wore off by degrees, and continued a boon companion till within a few weeks before his death, which happened in the rules of the King's-Bench, ſome time in November 1738, when he was upwards of fourſcore (*n*).

(*m*) Defence on his expulſion, p. 60.

(*n*) MS. Memoirs, p. 11.

[*F*] *Which were moſt of them well received.*] It would be a very difficult thing, to attempt making an exact catalogue of Mr Aſgill's writings, ſince there were few publick diſputes after his expulſion, in which he did not take a ſhare. The moſt conſiderable of his works however, which have not been already taken notice of, are theſe, *De Jure Divino, or, an Aſſertion, That the title of the houſe of Hanover to the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh monarchy (on failure of iſſue of her preſent Majeſty) is a title hereditary and of divine inſtitution*, 1710, 8vo. *Mr Aſgill's defence on his expulſion, to which are added an introduction and poſtſcript*, 1712, 8vo. Of the firſt pamphlet there were ſeveral editions; however, not long after it was publiſhed, he ſent abroad another treatiſe, under the title of, *Mr Aſgill's apology for an omiſſion in his late publication, in which are contained ſummaries of all the acts made for ſtrengthning the Proteſtant ſucceſſion*, for which Mr Aſgill was a ſtrenuous advocate. Another pamphlet of his was, *The Pretender's declaration abſtracted from two anonymous pamphlets: The one entitled, Jus ſacrum; the other, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St George, with memoirs of two other Chevaliers in the reign of Henry* VII, 1713, 8vo. *The ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover vindicated, againſt the Pretender's ſecond declaration in* folio, entitled, *The hereditary right of the crown of England aſſerted*, &c. 1714, 8vo. This was in anſwer to Mr Bedford's famous book, and indeed the beſt anſwer it ever had, for Mr Aſgill was a good lawyer, and knew better what he was about, than that Rev. Divine, or any of his aſſiſtants. *The Pretender's declaration from Plombiers*, 1714, *engliſhed, with a poſtſcript before it, in relation to Dr Leſley's letter ſent after it*, 1715, 8vo. Beſides theſe he wrote *An eſſay for the preſs. The metamorphoſes of man. Aſgill againſt Wolſton*, and many other things.

[*G*] *The death of his wife afflicted him more than all his misfortunes.*] The truth of this cannot be doubted, if we will take his own word for it. In the poſtſcript to his defence he writes thus. 'Under this confinement God hath been alſo pleaſed to take away the 'deſire of mine eyes with a ſtroke, which hath (however) drowned all my other troubles at once (for the 'leſs are merged in the greater). *Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus ſupereminet omnes.* And ſince I have mentioned her, I'll relate this of her. She having been educated a Proteſtant of the Church of England, by a 'Lady her grandmother (her immediate parents, and 'other relations being Roman Catholicks) an honeſt 'gentleman of that perſuaſion, who knew her family, preſented her (while ſhe was my fellow-priſoner) with a large folio volume, (being the hiſtory of 'the ſaints canonized in that Church) for her reading: With intention (as I found) to incline her that 'way. With which (delighting in reading) ſhe entertained herſelf till ſhe had gone through it. And 'ſome time after that ſhe told me, that ſhe had before 'ſome thoughts towards that religion; but that the 'reading that hiſtory had confirmed her againſt it. 'And in truth, were I to preſcribe an antidote againſt 'Popery, I can't think of a better, than to have that 'legend reprinted, and read in Proteſtant churches. 'And yet ſhe would never read the book I was expelled for, till after my laſt expulſion. But then 'reading it through, told me ſhe was reconciled to 'the reaſons of it, though ſhe could not ſay ſhe believed it. However, ſhe ſaid ſomething of her own 'thoughts with it, that hath given me the ſatisfaction 'that ſhe is dead in Chriſt, and thereby ſure of her 'part in the firſt reſurrection: The dead in Chriſt ſhall 'ariſe firſt. And this *Pars deceſſa mei* leaving me half 'dead (while ſhe remains in the grave) hath ſince 'drawn me (in diving after her) into a nearer view, 'and more familiar (tho' more unuſual) thoughts of 'that firſt reſurrection, than ever I had before (13).' This Lady, for whom Mr Aſgill expreſſes ſo much tenderneſs and reſpect, is ſaid to have broke her heart on account of the misfortunes of her family, which were chiefly owing to her huſband's management. E

(13) Defence on his expulſion. p. 60.

ASHLEY (ROBERT) a Wiltſhire gentleman (*a*), deſcended from the family of that name reſiding at Naſhhill in that county, was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in the year 1580, being then fifteen years of age. From the univerſity he removed to the Middle-Temple, where he was called to the dignity of Barriſter at Law. After ſome time, he travelled into Holland, France, &c. [*A*], converſing with the learned, and frequenting the public libraries. Being returned into England, he lived many years in the Middle-Temple, and honoured the commonwealth of learning with ſeveral of his lucubrations. He died in a good old age, the beginning of October, 1641, and was buried in the Temple-Church, the fourth day of the ſame month. He gave ſeveral books to that ſociety. We ſhall mention ſome of his works in the remark [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11, 12.

[*A*] *He travelled into Holland, France, &c.*] Mr Wood tells us, that Mr Aſhley, 'finding the practice thereof, *(the Law)* to have ebbs and tides, 'applied himſelf to the learning of the languages 'of our neighbours, the French, Dutch, Spaniard, 'and Italian; to the end that he might be partaker of the wiſdom of thoſe nations, having been 'many years of this opinion, that *as no one ſoil or 'territory yieldeth all fruits alike, ſo no one climate 'or region affordeth all kind of knowledge in full 'meaſure* (1).' The ſame author tells us, Mr Aſhley returned from his travels, *a very knowing and compleat gentleman* (2).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 11.

(2) Ibid.

[*B*] *We ſhall mention ſome of his works.*] I. *A Relation of the kingdom of Cochin-China, containing many admirable rarities and ſingularities of that country.* London 1633, 4to. This book is chiefly, if not entirely, taken from an Italian relation (then lately preſented to the Pope) of Chriſtopher Barri, who lived ſeveral years in that country. II. A tranſlation from *French* into *Latin verſe* of Du-Bartas's Urania, *or Heavenly Muſe*; in about two ſheets *quarto*, dedicated to Sir Henry Unton of Wadley. London, 1589. III. A tranſlation from *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh* of *Almanſor, the learned and victorious King, that conquered Spain; his Life and Death. London*, 1627, quarto. It was printed in Spaniſh at Saragoſſa, 1603, from an Arabian copy remaining in the Eſcurial; where, the author ſays, he once ſaw *a glorious golden library of Arabian books.* IV. A Tranſlation from *Italian* into *Engliſh* of *Il Davide perſeguitate*, i. e. *David perſecuted.* London, 1637. Written originally by the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi. Mr Wood tells us, that part of the impreſſion of this book had a new title put

put to it bearing date 1650, with the picture before it of King Charles I, playing on a harp like King David, purpoſely to carry off the remaining copies; *ſuch* (ſays that author) *are the uſual ſhifts which Bookſellers uſe* (3). T (3) Ibid. & col. 72.

ASMOLE, (ELIAS) an eminent Philoſopher, Chemiſt, and Antiquary, of the laſt century, and founder of the noble Muſæum at Oxford, which ſtill bears his name (*a*). He was the only ſon of Mr Simon Aſhmole, of the city of Lichfield, in Staffordſhire, Sadler, by Anne, the daughter of Mr Anthony Boyer, of Coventry in Warwickſhire, Woollen-Draper (*b*). He was born May 23, 1617, a little after three in the morning, as himſelf informs us, with other particulars relating to his tender years, which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembring (*c*) [*A*]. It happened that his mother's ſiſter was married to James Paget, Eſq; Puiſne Baron of the Exchequer, and his ſecond ſon Thomas being extreamly fond of his couſin Aſhmole, proved the cauſe of his future preferment, which our author gratefully recorded both in his memory and diary (*d*). On this gentleman's motion he was taught Muſick as well as Grammar, and having a genius thereto, ſucceeded ſo well, as to become a choriſter in the cathedral at Lichfield. When he had attained the age of ſixteen, young Mr Aſhmole was ſent for up to London, and taken into Baron Paget's family (*e*). In the month of June, 1634, he loſt his father, of whom he has left us a very modeſt and candid character [*B*]. He continued for ſome years after in his dependance on the Paget family, during which time he made a conſiderable progreſs in the Law; and ſpent his leiſure hours, in perfecting himſelf in Muſick and other genteel accompliſhments (*f*). In the year 1638, he ſettled himſelf in the world, and on the twenty-ſeventh of March, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr Peter Manwaring, of Smallwood, in the county Palatine of Cheſter, and in Michaelmas term the ſame year, became a Sollicitor in Chancery (*g*). On the eleventh of February, 1641, he was ſworn an Attorney of the Court of Common Pleas (*h*), and on the fifth of December in the ſame year, he loſt his wife, who died ſuddenly, and of whom he has left us a very natural and affectionate memorial [*C*]. The troubles coming on, he retired from London, agreeable to his principles, being always a zealous and ſteady Loyaliſt, and on the ninth of May, 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordnance in the garriſon at Oxford (*i*), from whence he removed to Worceſter, where he was Commiſſioner, Receiver, and Regiſter of the Exciſe, became ſoon after Captain in the Lord Aſhley's regiment

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; drawn up by himſelf by way of Diary, publiſhed by Charles Barman, Eſq; 1717, 12*mo*.
The article of ASHMOLE in Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. III, in the ſecond Alphabet.
Plot's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Diary, p. 1. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886.

(*c*) Diary, p. 1, 2, 3. Lilly's Nativities, MS. p. 95.

(*d*) Page 3.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886.

(*f*) Memoirs of his life prefixed to his Antiquities of Berkſhire, p. 111.

(*g*) Diary, p. 6.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 8.

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886, where he ſays they were five. Diary, p. 11. Mr Aſhmole ſays there were but four.

[*A*] *Which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembring.*] As this gentleman had a very ſtrong turn to Aſtrology, he was ſingularly nice in his dates, and I am apt to think, the minuteneſs of ſuch remarks in many old diaries owing to the ſame cauſe. The following circumſtances from our author's diary, are ſuch as were collected for rectifying the ſcheme of his nativity when he firſt ſtudied that art, and I am inclined to believe, that he then began to keep ſo exact an account of his actions. 'I was born the 23d of May, '1617, (and as my dear and good mother hath often 'told me) near half an hour after 3 o'clock in the 'morning. When I rectified my nativity, *An.* 1647, 'I found it to be 8 hours and 25 minutes, 49 ſeconds, 'A. M. the quarter 38 of ♊ aſcending. But upon 'Mr Lilly's rectification thereof, *Anno* 1667, he 'makes the quarter 36 aſcending. I was baptized the '2d of June following, at St Mary's Church in Lich-'field, my Godfathers were Mr Chriſtopher Baxter, 'one of the proctors of the Biſhop's court, and Mr 'Thomas Offey, Sacriſt of the cathedral church. Be-'fore I was carried to church, it was agreed my name 'ſhould be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But 'when the miniſter bad name the child, my godfather 'Offey anſwered Elias, at which his partners wonder-'ed and being (at their return home) aſked why he ſo 'called me, he could render no account, but that it 'came ſuddenly into his mind by a more than ordina-'ry impulſe of ſpirit. My godmother's name was Mrs 'Bridges. When I was about a year old and ſat by 'the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right ſide of 'my forehead; it reſting upon the iron bar of the 'grate, (of which a ſcar always remained) but my 'good mother being near, preſently took me up and 'applied ſomething for the cure. I had the ſmall-pox '(yet but few) as alſo the ſwine-pox and meaſles, 'when I was young, but know not the certain time of 'either. Being about 8 or 10 years old (but the year 'I cannot remember) my mother and I were invited 'to my couſin Blackburn's in Longpariſh, at that time 'they were building a barn, and I getting up by lad-'ders, to the top thereof fell down, in which fall the 'inſide of my right knee ſtruck againſt the edge of a 'great beam, which thereby received a great triangular 'gaſh, of which I lay a long time before I was cured '(1).'

(1) Aſhmole's Diary, p. 2, 3.

[*B*] *A very modeſt and candid character.*] It is generally allowed our author penned his diary for private uſe, and never intended it for publick inſpection. But why ſo? Did he ſet down his father and mother's names for fear he ſhould forget them? or is it not more probable, that he committed theſe particulars to writing, that they might be preſerved and read? I therefore commend him for ſpeaking ſo of his father, as to render his beſt qualities conſpicuous, at the ſame time he throws a decent veil of obſcurity over the reſt. '1634 my father died about eleven o'clock before 'noon, Mr Simon Martin's letter, who gave me 'notice of his death, bears date the 22d of June. 'My father was born upon a Whitſunday in the morn-'ing, he was bred up by his father to his trade. Yet 'when he came to man's eſtate, followed it but little. 'He more affected war than his profeſſion, and ſpent 'many of his years abroad, which drew on him a 'courſe of expences and ill huſbandry. His firſt voy-'age was into Ireland with Robert Earl of Eſſex, *anno* '159... Two other voyages he afterwards made with 'his ſon Robert Earl of Eſſex, into the Palatinate, 'from whom he received good reſpect. He was an 'honeſt fair conditioned man, and kind to others, yet 'through ill huſbandry became a great enemy to him-'ſelf and poor family (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

[*C*] *A very natural and affectionate memorial.*] It appears by the diary, that in the ſummer of 1641, Mr Aſhmole and his wife were in the country together, and that he came up to London without her becauſe ſhe was with child. A maid of his died the ſame year of the plague, but whether his wife died of the ſame diſtemper is uncertain. His entry concerning her death runs thus, 'December 5, My dear wife fell ſuddenly 'ſick about evening and died (to my own grief and 'the grief of all her friends) ſhe was buried the next 'night about 9 o'clock in Aſtburry church in Cheſhire, 'near the entrance of the ſouth iſle of that church, '*viz.* the weſt end of that iſle. December 14. I went 'from London towards Cheſhire, 16th arriving at 'Lichfield, I firſt heard of my wife's death, ſhe was a 'virtuous, modeſt, careful, and loving wife, her affec-'tion was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to 'her, which cauſed us to live ſo happy together. Nor 'was I leſs beloved and eſteemed both by her father 'and mother, inſomuch as at her funeral her mother 'ſitting near the corps, with tears profeſſed to the Ba-'ron of Kinderton's Lady (who after told it to me) 'and others preſent, that ſhe knew not whether ſhe 'loved me or her only ſon better (3).'

(3) Ibid. p. 9.

[*D*] *The*

regiment, and Comptroller of the ordnance (*k*). In the midſt of all this buſineſs he was far from neglecting his ſtudies, on the contrary, having entered himſelf of Brazen-Noſe-college in Oxford, he applied himſelf vigorouſly to the ſciences, but more particularly to Natural Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Aſtronomy, and his intimate acquaintance with Mr, afterwards Sir George Wharton, gave him a turn to Aſtrology, which was in thoſe days in greater credit than now (*l*). In the month of July 1646, he loſt his mother, who had always been a very kind parent to him, and for whom he had a a very pious regard, as appears by the fair account he has given of her in his diary [*D*]. On the ſixteenth of October the ſame year, he was elected a brother of the ancient and honourable ſociety of Free and Accepted Maſons (*m*), which he looked upon as a very diſtinguiſhing character, and has therefore given us a very particular account of the lodge eſtabliſhed at Warrington in Lancaſhire, and in ſome of his manuſcripts, there are very valuable collections relating to the hiſtory of the Free Maſons [*E*]. The King's affairs being now grown deſperate, Mr Aſhmole withdrew himſelf, after the ſurrender of the garriſon of Worceſter, into Cheſhire, where he continued till the end of October, and then came up to London, where he became acquainted with Mr, afterwards Sir Jonas Moore, Mr William Lilly, and Mr John Booker,

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 5. Diary, p. 14.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 886. Diary, p. 11.

(*m*) Memoirs, p. 6. Diary, p. 15, 16.

[*D*] *The fair account he has given of her in his diary.*] At the time of her demiſe, he was beſieged in Worceſter. His entry on hearing the news of her death, runs in the following terms, 'July 31, 1646, 'Mr Richard Harriſon miniſter of Tettnal formerly, 'and afterwards of Lichfield, told me of my mother's 'death, and that ſhe died about the 8th or 9th of July of the Plague, not long before, that city being viſited this ſummer. She was a diſcreet, ſober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many 'afflictions, her parents had given her exceeding good 'breeding, and ſhe was excellent at her needle, which '(my father being improvident) ſtood her in great 'ſtead. She was competently read in Divinity, Hiſtory, and Poetry, and was continually inſtilling into my 'ears, ſuch religious and moral precepts as my younger years were capable of; nor did ſhe ever fail to 'correct my faults, always adding ſharp reproofs and 'good lectures to boot; ſhe was much eſteemed by 'perſons of note with whom ſhe was acquainted, ſhe 'lived in much friendſhip among her neighbours, and 'left a good name behind her; in fine, ſhe was truly 'religious and virtuous (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. 15.

[*E*] *Collections relating to the hiſtory of Free-Maſons.*] He made very large collections on almoſt all points relating to Engliſh hiſtory, of which ſome large volumes are remaining at Oxford, but much more was conſumed in the fire at the Temple (5), which will be hereafter mentioned. What is hinted above, is taken from a book of letters, communicated to the author of this life, by Dr Knipe, of Chriſt-church, in one of which is the following paſſage relating to this ſubject. 'As to the ancient ſociety of Free-Ma-'ſons, concerning whom you are deſirous of know-'ing what may be known with certainty, I ſhall 'only tell you, that if our worthy brother, E. Aſh-'mole, Eſq; had executed his intended deſign, our 'fraternity had been as much obliged to him as 'the brethren of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. 'I would not have you ſurprized at this expreſſion, or 'think it at all too aſſuming. The Soveraigns of 'that order have not diſdained our fellowſhip, and 'there have been times when Emperors were alſo 'Free-Maſons. What from Mr E. Aſhmole's collection 'I could gather, was, that the report of our ſo-'ciety's, taking riſe from a Bull granted by the Pope, 'in the reign of Henry III, to ſome Italian Ar-'chitects, to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, 'was ill-founded (6). Such a Bull there was, and thoſe 'Architects were Maſons; but this Bull in the opi-'nion of the learned Mr Aſhmole, was confirmative 'only, and did not by any means create our frater-'nity, or even eſtabliſh them in this kingdom. But 'as to the time and manner of that eſtabliſhment, 'ſomething I ſhall relate from the ſame collections. 'St Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, eſtabliſhed 'Maſonry here, and from his time it flouriſhed more 'or leſs, according as the world went, down to the 'days of King Athelſtane, who, for the ſake of his 'brother Edwin, granted the Maſons a charter, tho' 'afterwards growing jealous of his brother, it is 'ſaid, he cauſed him together with his Page, to be 'put into a boat and committed to the ſea, where 'they periſhed (7). It is likely that Maſons were 'affected by his fall, and ſuffered for ſome time, 'but afterwards their credit revived, and we find 'under our Norman Princes, that they frequently 'received extraordinary marks of royal favour. There 'is no doubt to be made, that the ſkill of Maſons, 'which was always tranſcendent, even in the moſt 'barbarous times, their wonderful kindneſs and attachment to each other, how different ſoever in 'condition, and their inviolable fidelity in keeping 'religiouſly their ſecret, muſt expoſe them in ignorant, troubleſome, and ſuſpicious times, to a vaſt 'variety of adventures, according to the different 'fate of parties and other alterations in government. 'By the way, I ſhall note, that the Maſons were always loyal, which expoſed them to great ſeverities 'when power wore the trappings of juſtice, and 'thoſe who committed treaſon, puniſhed true men 'as traitors. Thus in the third year of the reign 'of Henry VI, an Act of Parliament paſſed to aboliſh 'the ſociety of Maſons (8), and to hinder, under 'grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or 'other regular aſſemblies. Yet this act was afterwards repealed, and even before that King Henry 'VI, and ſeveral of the principal Lords of his 'court became fellows of the craft (9). Under the 'ſucceeding troubleſome times, the Free-Maſons thro' 'this kingdom became generally Yorkiſts, which 'as it procured them eminent favour from Edward IV, ſo the wiſe Henry VII, thought it better by ſhewing himſelf a great lover of Maſons to 'obtrude numbers of his friends on that worthy 'fraternity, ſo as never to want ſpies enough in 'their lodges, than to create himſelf enemies, as ſome 'of his predeceſſors had done by an ill-timed perſecution (10). As this ſociety has been ſo very 'ancient, as to riſe almoſt beyond the reach of records, there is no wonder that a mixture of fable 'is found in it's hiſtory, and methinks it had been 'better, if a late inſidious writer had ſpent his 'time in clearing up the ſtory of St Alban, or the 'death of Prince Edwin, either of which would 'have found him ſufficient employment, than as he 'has done in degrading a ſociety with whoſe foundation and tranſactions, he is viſibly ſo very little acquainted (11), and with whoſe hiſtory and 'conduct Mr Aſhmole, who underſtood them ſo much 'better was perfectly ſatisfied, &c. (12).' I ſhall add to this letter, as a proof, of it's author's being exactly right as to Mr Aſhmole, a ſmall note from his diary, which ſhews his attention to this ſociety, long after his admiſſion, when he had time to weigh, examine, and know the value of the Maſons ſecret (13). '1682, Mar. 10. About 5 Hor. poſt Merid. I received a ſummons to appear at a lodge to be 'held the next day at Maſons-hall, in London. 11th 'accordingly I went, and about noon, were admitted 'into the fellowſhip of Free-Maſons, by Sir William 'Wilſon, Knight; Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr 'William Woodman, Mr William Grey, Mr Samuel 'Taylour, and Mr William Wiſe; I was the ſenior 'fellow among them, (it being thirty-five years ſince 'I was admitted) there was preſent beſides myſelf, 'the fellows after-named; Mr Thomas Wiſe, maſter 'of the Maſon's company, this preſent year; Mr 'Thomas Shorthoſe, &c. we all dined at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapſide, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new accepted Maſons.'

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(6) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 3.

(7) Ex Rotulo membranaceo penes Cæmentariorum Societatem.

(8) Ferd. Pulton's Collect. of Statutes, 3 Hen. VI, chap. 1.

(9) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 29.

(10) Ibid. p. 19.

(11) Plot's Nat. Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 316, 317, 318.

(12) Dr W. to Sir D. N. June 9, 1687.

(13) Diary, p. 66.

Booker, eſteemed the greateſt Aſtrologers in the world, by whom he was careſſed, inſtructed, and received into their fraternity, which then made a very conſiderable figure, as appeared by the great reſort of perſons of diſtinction to their annual feaſt, of which Mr Aſhmole was afterwards elected Steward (*n*). In 1647 he went down into Berkſhire, where he made choice of the pleaſant village of Englefield, for the place of his retirement. There he purſued his ſtudies very cloſely, and having ſo fair an opportunity, and the advantage of ſome very able maſters, he often went a Simpling, and very ſoon became an eminent Botaniſt; for it was the peculiar felicity of this man's genius, that he ſpeedily attained whatever he attempted (*o*). Here, as appears from his own remarks, he enjoyed in privacy the ſweeteſt moments of his life, the ſenſation of which perhaps was quickned, by his juſt idea of the badneſs of the times (*p*). It was in this retreat that he became acquainted with a fair lady, whom he afterwards married, tho' the proſpect of that marriage had very near coſt him his life. This lady's name was Mary, ſole daughter of Sir William Forſter, of Aldermarſton in the county of Berks, Bart. who was firſt married to Sir Edward Stafford, after his deceaſe to one Mr Hamlyn, and laſtly to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knt. Recorder of Reading, and one of the Maſters in Chancery. Mr Humphrey Stafford her ſecond ſon, had ſuch a diſlike to this match, that when Mr Aſhmole was very ill, he broke into his chamber, and if he had not been prevented, would have murdered him (*q*). In the latter end of 1648, Lady Mainwaring conveyed to him her eſtate at Bradfield, which was ſoon after ſequeſtered on account of Mr Aſhmole's loyalty, but the intereſt he had with William Lilly, and ſome others of that party, enabled him to get that ſequeſtration taken off (*r*). On the ſixteenth of November, 1649, he married Lady Mainwaring, upon which he ſettled in London, and his houſe became the receptacle of the moſt learned and ingenious perſons that flouriſhed at that time (*s*). It was by their converſation, that Mr Aſhmole, who had been more fortunate in worldly affairs than moſt ſcholars are, and who had been always a curious collector of manuſcripts, was drawn to think of publiſhing a treatiſe written by Dr Arthur Dee, relating to the Philoſopher's ſtone, together with another tract on the ſame ſubject, by an unknown author, which pieces actually came abroad in the year following, but Mr Aſhmole was ſo cautious, or rather modeſt, as to publiſh them by a fictitious name (*t*) [*F*]. He at the ſame time addreſſed

(*n*) Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times.

(*o*) Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 276. Diary, p. 19.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 18.

(*r*) Memoirs, p. 8.

(*s*) Lilly's Hiſt. of his Life and Times. Memoirs, p. 8, 9, 10.

(*t*) Mr. James Haſolle, Eſq;

[*F*] *To publiſh them by a fictitious name.*] The firſt ſtep into the world in print, is for a modeſt man always a little hard, let his abilities be what they will; but beſides the uſual inconveniences, Mr Aſhmole laboured under many, from the ſubject he had choſen to cultivate, and very probable this it was that induced him to break the ice, by publiſhing other mens works, and to appear as an editor and tranſlator, before he took upon him the character of an author. The title of this piece was. I. Fasciculus Chemicus: *or* Chymical Collections *expreſſing the* Ingreſs, Progreſs, *and* Egreſs, *of the ſecret* Hermetick Science, *out of the choiceſt and moſt famous authors. Whereunto is added, the* Arcanum, *or* Grand Secret *of* Hermetick Philoſophy. *Both made Engliſh by* James Haſolle, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuphilus Anglicus. London.* 1650 12°. In his *Prolegomena* to the *ingeniouſly elaborate Students of Hermetick Learning* he ſpeaks thus. 'I here preſent you with 'a ſummary collection of the choiceſt flowers growing in the Hermetick gardens, ſorted and bound 'up in one compleat and lovely poſy, a way whereby 'painful inquiſitors avoid the uſual diſcouragements 'met with in a tedious wandring through each long 'walk, or winding maze; which are the ordinary and 'guileful circumſtances, wherewith envious Philoſophers have enlarged their labours purpoſely, to puzzle 'or weary the moſt reſolved undertakings. 'Tis true, 'the manner of delivery uſed by the antients upon 'this ſubject, is very far removed from the common path of diſcourſe; yet I believe, they were 'conſtrained, (for the weight and majeſty of the 'ſecret) to invent thoſe occult kind of expreſſions in 'Ænigmas, Metaphors, Parabols, and Figures.

'Now amongſt the catalogue of authors that have 'treated of this ſacred learning, I have chiefly obſerved four ſorts.

'The firſt, are ſuch whoſe well-mindedneſs and honeſty have cauſed them to lay down the whole 'myſtery, faithfully and plainly, giving you a clew, 'as well as ſhewing you a labyrinth; and they only 'are to be ſtudied.

'The ſecond, are thoſe whoſe magiſterial handling a 'part, or branch thereof, did it rather to diſcover 'themſelves maſters, than with intent to inſtruct 'others: Theſe may be read, but they are too ſublime for thoſe who ſtand in need of any introduction.

'Others there are, who, out of ignorance or miſtake, have delivered blind and unbottomed fictions, 'which have too much deluded and abuſed the credulous world; ſo that of this ſort, I may ſay, (not 'blemiſhing the honour, which ſome of them have 'juſtly acquired in other parts of learning) their 'works are like Pygmalion's image, (full of exquiſite proportion, feature, delicacy, and beauty, but 'not animated with the life and ſoul of truth) and 'whilſt a man conſults with ſuch, he ſhall always 'doubt, whether what he reads be to the matter 'or not; however, the judicious may ſmell their 'levity by the rankneſs of their impertinencies.

'But the laſt and worſt ſort of all, are thoſe who, 'through envy, have ſcattered abroad their unfaithful recipies and falſe gloſſes, (taking for preſident 'the devil, that can ſow tares and transform himſelf into an angel of light) with intent to choak and 'obfuſcate the more evident light of the plain-dealing 'Philoſophers, and to diſcern theſe impoſtures, requires 'a judgment able to divide a hair.

'From this variety of writers it is, that many 'otherwiſe ſteady minds, are toſſed up and down, 'as from racket to racket, being forced to change 'their thoughts as often as they change their authors, and conceiving they have ſettled right upon 'a point, (juſt like tickliſh weather-cocks) are neceſſitated to ſhift with the next puff (although 'but of an empty windy conceit). New diſcoveries 'begetting new opinions, which raiſe more untoward 'and turbulent doubts, than their greateſt ſtrength 'of judgment can conjure down. Thus (unhappy 'men) thinking themſelves ready to anchor, a croſs 'guſt blows them off the ſhore, perhaps into a rougher 'ſea of debate and perplexity than before, and with 'greater hazard and danger of ſplitting.

'I know that the truth of the proper argent, it's 'preparation, and the fire (the three moſt important 'ſteps to this bleſſed work) with the whole proceſs is 'by ſome philoſophers ſo ſincerely laid down and 'unfolded, that, to a knowing artiſt, it is a cauſe 'of much wonder, why he that reads, (though but 'ſmatteringly acquainted with nature) ſhould not 'meet with clear ſatisfaction: But here is the reaſon, '*many are called but few are choſen.* 'Tis a haven 'towards which many ſkilful pilots have bent their 'courſe, yet few have reached it. For as amongſt 'the people of the Jews, there was but one that 'might enter into the Holy of Holies, (and that but 'once a year) ſo there is ſeldom more in a nation 'whom God lets into this *ſanctum ſanctorum* of 'Philoſophy, yet ſome there are. But though the

addreſſed himſelf to a work of greater conſequence, which was the preparing for the preſs, a compleat collection of the works of ſuch Engliſh Chemiſts, as had till then remained in MS. which coſt him a great deal of labour, and for the embelliſhment of which he ſpared no expence, cauſing the cuts that were neceſſary, to be engraved at his own houſe in Black-Fryars, by Mr Vaughan, who was then the moſt eminent artiſt in that way in England (*u*). He was brought to have ſuch an affection for Chemiſtry, by his intimate acquaintance with Mr William Backhouſe, of Swallowfield in the county of Berks, who was reputed an adept, and who, from his free communication of chemical ſecrets, Mr Aſhmole was wont to call Father, agreeable to the cuſtom which had long prevailed among the lovers of that art (*w*) [*G*]. He likewiſe employed a part of his time in

(*u*) Diary, p. 25.

(*w*) Theatr. Britan. p. 440.

' number of theſe *Elect* are not many, and gene-
' rally the fathom of moſt mens fancies, that attempt
' the ſearch of this vaſt and ſubtle myſtery, too narrow
' to comprehend it, and their ſtrongeſt reaſon too weak
' to pierce the depth it lies obſcured in; being in-
' deed ſo unſearchable and ambiguous, it rather ex-
' acts the ſacred and courteous illuminations of a
' Cherub, than the weak aſſiſtance of a pen to re-
' veal it. Yet let no man deſpair; *For ſurely there*
' *is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Al-*
' *mighty giveth underſtanding*. And though all things
' before us ſeem huddled up in a deformed chaos,
' yet can he place them in comlineſs and order. For
' many philoſophers cloſely ſhut up, or concealed
' divers things, which they left the ingenious in-
' quirer to ſift into or find out, preſuming to whom
' God intended the diſcovery of the wonder, he
' would afford eyes that ſhould pierce through the
' miſt of words, and give them a ray of light,
' which ſhould lead them through this darkneſs. *To*
' *find out that path which no fowl knoweth, and*
' *which the vulture's eye hath not ſeen*. For if ſe-
' rioufly peruſed, you will find their books are much
' like drawers, that lead to ſome choice and ſecret
' box in a cabinet, (one opening the way to the
' reſt) which if heedfully revolved, the ſatisfaction
' you miſs of in one author, you will meet with
' in another; and all perhaps may at length diſcover
' ſuch pregnant and ſublime ſecrets, as ſhall mani-
' feſt thee to be one of thoſe choſen veſſels ordain-
' ed to be informed of this knowledge, which ſome-
' times *God hath hid from the wiſe and prudent, but*
' *revealed unto babes* (14). The bringing ſo much of this introductory diſcourſe into publick view, may be of ſervice to the inquiſitive reader, as it ſhews him at once, what ſort of learning this was, and what kind of phraſeology was thought requiſite to recommend it. Mr Aſhmole's Prolegomena alone contains thirty-one pages, excluſive of the poſtſcript, which accounts for the publication of the ſecond piece in the collection. The former of theſe prefaces is dated March 1, 1649-50; the ſecond April 1, 1650. As for the original author of the Faſciculus, we ſhall have occaſion to mention him at large hereafter (15), but as for the author of the Arcanum, he was not known to Mr Aſhmole, which is one good reaſon to ſuſpect he was not one of the *Adepti*, as will be ſhewn in it's proper place. Before we quit this treatiſe it is requiſite to obſerve, that before it there is a kind of Hieroglyphical frontiſpiece in ſeveral compartments. At the top there is the repreſentation of a King (Phœbus), ſitting on a lion, holding the reſemblance of the ſun in his hand at one end of the page, and oppoſite to him a lady (Diana) with the moon in one hand and an arrow in the other, ſitting on a crab. Between them is the figure of Hermes, on a tripod, with the ſcheme of the heavens in one hand, and his caduceus in the other. Theſe are intended to expreſs the materials of the ſtone, and the proper ſeaſon for the proceſs. In the middle of the page is an altar, with the buſt of a man, to the middle of his neck, his head being covered by an aſtrological ſcheme, dropped by a hand from the clouds. In the middle of this ſcheme are theſe words, *Aſtra regunt homines*, i. e. The ſtars mankind command. On the altar are theſe words, *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*, i. e. The Engliſh lover of Hermetick philoſophy. On the right ſide of the frontiſpiece is the ſun, moon, and croſs, in conjunction, and from them hangs down a ſcrowl with theſe words, *Quod eſt ſuperius, eſt ſicut inferius*, i. e. What is above, is as what is beneath. Under this ſcrowl is a tree, and a creature knawing the root. On one ſide is a pillar adorned with muſical inſtruments, rules, compaſſes, and mathematical ſchemes; on the other, a pillar of the like kind, with all ſorts of martial muſick, and inſtruments of war. At the bottom of the page, this tetraſtick ſtands by way of explication.

(14) Prolegom. p. 1—6.

(15) See DEE (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

> Theſe Hieroglyphicks vaile the vigorous beames
> Of an unbounded ſoul; the ſcrowle and ſchemes
> The full interpreter: But how's conceal'd,
> ' Who thro' Ænigmaes lookes, is ſo reveal'd.'
>
> T. W. M. D.

Theſe letters ſignify Thomas Wharton, Doctor of Phyſick. Anthony Wood (16), gives a large but incorrect account of this picture, in which we find aſſembled all the learned fooleries of that age, which becauſe untouched by Wood, I will endeavour to explain. The ſcrowl from above, and the *mole* at the foot of the *aſh*-tree, expreſs the author's name, which is alſo anagramized in *James Haſolle*, i. e. *Elias Aſhmole*. The column on the right hand refers to his proficiency in Muſick, and his being a Free-Maſon, as that on the left does to his military preferments; and thus with Dr Wharton's leave, theſe Ænigma's, as he calls them, are revealed.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

[*G*] *Prevailed among the lovers of that art.*] As to this gentleman's kindneſs to our author, he mentions it frequently in his Diary, and tells us expreſsly, that after revealing to him ſo many of his ſecrets, Mr Backhouſe told him, he muſt needs be his ſon. Yet ſomewhat he long concealed, for we find this entry in Mr Aſhmole's Diary after this (17). ' 1653 ' May, 13. My father Backhouſe, lying ſick in Fleet-' ſtreet, over-againſt St Dunſtan's church, and not ' knowing whether he ſhould live or die, about ' eleven of the clock, told me in ſyllables, the true ' matter of the philoſopher's ſtone, which he be-' queathed to me as a legacy.' The nature of this kind of philoſophick adoption, is very copiouſly explained by our author himſelf, in his Notes on Norton's Ordinal (18), and perhaps the paſſage may not be diſagreeable the reader.

(17) Page 29.

(18) Theatrum Chemicum Britan. p. 440.

' There has ever been a continued ſucceſſion of ' Philoſophers in all ages, altho' the heedleſs world ' hath ſeldom taken notice of them, for the antients ' uſually (before they died) adopted one or other for ' their ſons, whom they knew well fitted with ſuch ' like qualities, as are ſet down in the letter that ' Norton's maſter wrote to him, when he ſent to ' make him his heir unto this ſcience, and other-' wiſe than for pure virtue's ſake, let no man expect ' to attain it, or, as in the caſe of Tonſile,

(19) ' —— For almes I will make no ſtore,
' Plainly to diſcloſe it, that was never done before.

(19) Norton's Ordinal. *apud* Theatr. Chemic. p. 41.

' Rewards nor terrors (be they never ſo muni-' ficent or dreadful) can wreſt this ſecret out of the ' boſom of a philoſopher, amongſt others, witneſs (20) ' Thomas Daulton.

(20) Norton's Ordinal, p. 35.

' Now under what ties and engagements, this ' ſecret is uſually delivered (when beſtowed by word ' of mouth), may appear in the weighty obligations ' of that oath, which Charnock took before he ob-' tained it: For thus ſpake his maſter to him (21),

(21) Breviary of Philoſophy, chap. v.

' Will you with mee to-morrow be content,
' Faithfully to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament,
' Upon this oath that I ſhall here you give;
' For ne gold, ne ſilver, as long as you live:
' Neither for love you bear towards your kinne,
' Nor yet to no great man, preferment to winn,

' That

in acquiring the art of engraving ſeals, caſting in ſand, and the myſtery of a working Goldſmith (*x*), but all this time, his great work of publiſhing the ancient Engliſh writers in Chemiſtry, went on, and finding that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, was abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding and explaining ſuch authors as had written on the Hermetick ſcience, he had recourſe to Rabbi Solomon Frank (*y*), by whom he was taught the rudiments of the ſacred tongue, which he found very uſeful to him in his ſtudies. At length, towards the cloſe of the year 1652, his *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum*, appeared, which gained him great reputation in the learned world, as it ſhewed him to be a man of a moſt ſtudious diſpoſition, indefatigable application, and of wonderful accuracy in his compoſitions; and as it was then very much admired, ſo it is ſtill highly eſteemed, by ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning (*z*) [*H*]. The reputation this work

(*x*) Diary, p. 24.

(*y*) Memoirs, p. 7.

(*z*) See his Character from foreign writers in a ſucceeding note.

'That you diſcloſe the ſecret that I ſhall you teach
'Neither by writing, nor by no ſywft ſpeeche;
'But only to him which you be ſure,
'Hath ever ſearched after the ſecrets of nature;
'To him you may reveale the ſecret of this arte,
'Under the covering of Philoſophie, before this
'world yee depart.

'And this oath he charged him to keep faithfully, and without violation, as he thought to be ſaved from the Pit of Hell.

'And if it ſo fell out, that they met not with any, whom they conceived in all reſpects worthy of their adoption (22) they then reſigned it into the hands of God, who beſt knew where to beſtow it. However, they ſeldom left the world, before they left ſome written legacy behind them, which (being the iſſue of their brain) ſtood in room and place of children, and becomes to us both parent and ſchoolmaſter, throughout which they were ſo univerſally kind, as to call all ſtudents by the dear and affectionate tytle of Sons (23), (Hermes, giving the firſt precedent) wiſhing all were ſuch, that take the true pains to tread their fathers ſteps, and induſtriouſly to follow the rules and dictates they made over to poſterity, and wherein they faithfully diſcovered the whole myſtery.

(22) Norton's Ordinal, chap. ii. in the ſtory of Thomas Daulton a famous Hermetick Philoſopher, who flouriſhed under the reign of Edward IV.

(23) Hermes in Pimandro.

'As lawfully as by their fealty thei may,
'By lycence of the dreadful Judge at domeſday (24).

(24) Norton's Ordinal, in his Introduction.

'In theſe legitimate children, they lived longer than in their adopted ſons; for though theſe certainly periſhed in an age, yet their writings (as if when they dyed, their ſouls had been tranſmigrated into them) ſeemed as immortal, enough at leaſt to perpetuate their memories, 'till time ſhould be no more: And to be the father of ſuch ſons, is (in my opinion) a moſt noble happineſſe.' Our author's Commentary making this point quite clear, there is no neceſſity of inſiſting farther upon it, only it may be proper to obſerve, that Mr Aſhmole's father, Backhouſe, did not die 'till May 30, 1662, as appears by our author's Diary (25). He was eſteemed a very great Chemiſt, and admirably verſed in what was ſtiled the Roſicrucian learning, and he was ſo; but it appears plainly from Mr Aſhmole's writings, that he underſtood his father Backhouſe, in too literal a ſenſe, and did not diſcover the confuſion occaſioned by applying a method of removing all the imperfections of metals to Phyſick, and thereby miſleading people on that ſubject, by the promiſes of an univerſal medicine, true perhaps in the leſs obvious ſenſe, and falſe in the other, in which however it is generally taken. This I only hint, and that for a reaſon which will be more fully inſiſted on in the enſuing note.

(25) Page 28.

[*H*] *By ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning.*] There are very few Books that have been printed in our language, which have made ſo much noiſe abroad, and yet are ſo little known at home, as this piece of our author's, which however brought him into eſteem and credit with all the Virtuoſi, who were living at the time of it's publication. The title at large ran thus:

II. Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, *containing ſeveral poetical pieces of our famous* Engliſh Philoſophers, *who have written the* Hermetique Myſteries, *in their own ancient language. Faithfully collected into one Volume, with Annotations thereon, by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1652, 4*to.*

The authors publiſhed in this collection are, I. Thomas Norton's Ordinal of Alchemie. II. George Ripley's Compound of Alchemie. III. *Pater Sapientiæ*, i. e. the Father of Wiſdom, by an anonymous writer. IV. Hermes's Bird, written originally in Latin, by Raymund Lully, and done into Engliſh verſe by Abbot Cremer, of Weſtminſter. V. Sir Geoffrey Chaucer's Chanons Yeoman's Tale. VI. Daſtin's Dream, which ſeems to be a verſion of the Latin Poem of John Daſtin, entitled his Viſion. VII. Pearce, the Black Monk, on the Elixir. VIII. Richard Carpenter's work, which ſome think, and not without ſome colour of reaſon, ought rather to be aſcribed to John Carpenter, Biſhop of Worceſter, who was one of the beſt Chemiſts of his time. IX. Hunting of the Green Lion, by Abraham Andrews; but there is alſo a ſpurious piece, with the ſame title. X. Breviary of Natural Philoſophy, by Thomas Charnock. XI. Ænigmas by the ſame Perſon. XII. Bloomefield's Bloſſoms, which is likewiſe entitled the Camp of Philoſophy, by William Bloomefield. XIII. Sir Edward Kelle's Work. XIV. His Letter to G. S. Gent. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that this gentleman's name, even by Mr Aſhmole, is written Kelley, though Sir Edward himſelf, wrote it Kelle. XV. Dr John Dee's Teſtament, which appears to be an Epiſtle to one John Gwin, written A. D. 1568, and a third letter, the two firſt being wanting. XVI. Thomas Robinſon, of the Philoſopher's Stone. XVII. Experience and Philoſophy, by an anonymous author. XVIII. The Magiſtery by W. B. *i. e.* William Bloomefield. XIX. John Gower, on the Philoſophers ſtone. XX. George Ripley's Viſion. XXI. Verſes belonging to Ripley's ſcrowle. XXII. Myſtery of Alchymiſts. XXIII. Preface to the Medulla of George Ripley. XXIV. Secreta Secretorum, by John Lydgate. XXV. Hermits Tale, anonymous. XXVI. Deſcription of the Stone. XXVII. The ſtanding of the glaſs, for the time of the putrefaction and congelation of the medicine. XXVIII. Ænigma Philoſophicum, by William Bedman. XXIX. Fragments by various authors.

Our learned author, in his Prolegomena to this work, having firſt magnified the Science of Alchymy, as it is called, proceeds next to an hiſtorical account of Engliſh writers, on that ſubject which is extremely to our purpoſe, as containing many curious ſtrokes not to be found elſewhere. His words are theſe:

'Our Engliſh Philoſophers generally (like Prophets) have received little honour (unleſs what has been privately paid them) in their own country, nor have they done any mighty works amongſt us, except in covertly adminiſtring their medicine to a few ſick, and healing them (for greater experiments than what it performs in Phyſick, they never publickly made ſhew of). Thus did I. O. (one of the firſt four fellows of the Fratres R. C.) in curing the young Earl of Norfolk of the Leproſy, and Dr B, in carrying off the virulency of the ſmall-pox, twice from Queen Elizabeth; inſomuch that they never appeared: But in parts abroad, they have found more noble reception, and the world greedy of obtaining their works, nay, (rather than want the ſight thereof) contented to view them through a tranſlation, witneſs what Maierus, Hermannus, Combachius, Faber, and many others have done; the firſt of which came out of Germany, to live in England, purpoſely that he might ſo underſtand our Engliſh tongue, as to tranſlate Norton's Ordinal into Latin verſe, which moſt judiciouſly and learnedly he did: yet (to our ſhame be it ſpoken) his entertainment was too, too coarſe for ſo deſerving a ſcholar.

'How

work gave him, extended his acquaintance conſiderably, inſomuch, that the great Mr Selden took notice of him in the year 1653, encouraged his ſtudies, and lived in great friendſhip with him to the day of his death (*a*). He was likewiſe very intimate with

(*a*) Diary, p. 29.

'How great a blemiſh is it then to us, that refuſe to read ſo famous authors in our natural language, whilſt ſtrangers are neceſſitated to read them in ours, to underſtand them in their own; yet think the ſubject much more deſerving than their pains. If this we do but ingenuouſly conſider, we ſhall judge it more of reaſon, that we look back upon, than neglect ſuch pieces of learning as are natives of our own country, and by this inquiſition, find no nation has written more or better, although at preſent (as well through our own ſupineneſs, as the decrees of fate) few of their works can be found. John Leland took very much pains, even at the yielding up of the ghoſt of our Engliſh learning, to preſerve it's lateſt (but weakeſt cauſe almoſt ſpent) breath; and from him John Bale, with John Pitts, (who indeed is but Bale's plagiary) hath left us a catalogue of the writers of this nation, and that's near all: Yet poſterity for this is deeply obliged. What puniſhment then did their peſtilent malice deſerve, who robbed us of their whole works?

'A judicious author ſpeaking of the diſſolution of our monaſteries, ſaith thus, Many manuſcripts, guilty of no other ſuperſtition than the red letters in their front, were condemned to the fire, and here a principal key of antiquity was loſt to the great part of poſterity, (ſuch was learning's misfortune at that great devaſtation of our Engliſh libraries that) where a red letter or a mathematical diagram appeared, they were ſufficient to entitle the book to be Popiſh or Diabolical.'

Our author then ſtrikes out into the praiſes of the Druids among the Britons, the learned Philoſophers among the Saxons, and the politer writers amongſt the Normans, He next turns to the particular ſubject of Hermetick philoſophy, and though he intimates he never adventured to practiſe it, he ſeems confident, that he knows what he ſpeaks of thus:

'I muſt profeſs, I know enough to hold my tongue, but not enough to ſpeak; and the no leſs real than miraculous fruits I have found, in my diligent enquiry into theſe Arcana, lead me on to ſuch degrees of admiration; they command ſilence, and force me to loſe my tongue. Yet as one greatly affecting my native country, and the ſatisfaction of all ingenious artiſts, I have publiſhed (for their uſe) theſe enſuing collected Antiquities, and ſhall here ſay ſomething more than they ſpeak of.

'He who ſhall have the happineſs to meet with St Dunſtan's work *de Occulta Philoſophia*, (a book which E. G. A. I. made much uſe of, and which ſhall chiefly back what here I am about to ſay) may therein read ſuch ſtories as will make him amazed, to think what ſtupendious and immenſe things, are to be performed by virtue of the Philoſopher's mercury, of which a taſte only and no more.

'And firſt of the mineral ſtone, the which is wrought up to a degree only, that hath the power of tranſmuting any imperfect earthy matter into it's utmoſt degree of perfection; that is, to convert the baſeſt metals into perfect gold and ſilver, flints into all manner of precious ſtones, (as rubies, ſaphirs, emeralds, and diamonds, &c.) and many more experiments of the like nature. But as this is but a part, ſo it is the leaſt ſhare of the bleſſing which may be acquired by the philoſopher's materia if the full virtue thereof were known. Gold I confeſs is a delicious object, a goodly light which we admire and gaze upon, *ut pueri in Junonis avem*, but as to make gold (ſaith an incomparable author) is the chiefeſt intent of the Alchymiſts, ſo was it ſcarce any intent of the antient philoſophers and the loweſt uſe the adepti made of this materia.

'For they being lovers of wiſdom more than worldly wealth, drove at higher and more excellent operations, and certainly he to whom the whole courſe of nature lies open, rejoyceth not that he can make gold and ſilver, or the Devils, to become ſubject unto him, as that he ſees the heavens open, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending, and that his own name is fairly written in *the book of life*.

'Next to come to the vegetable, magical, and angelical ſtones, the which have in them no part of the mineral ſtone, (*quatenus* ſtone fermented with metalline and earthly nature) for they are marvellouſly ſubtil, and each of them differing in operation and nature, becauſe fitted and fermented for ſeveral effects and purpoſes. Doubtleſs Adam (with the fathers before the flood and ſince) Abraham, Moſes, and Solomon, wrought many wonders by them, yet the utmoſt of their virtues they never underſtood, nor indeed any *but God the maker of all things in heaven and in earth, bleſſed for evermore*.

'For by the vegetable may be perfectly known the nature of man, beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, together with all kind of trees, plants, flowers, &c. and how to produce and make them grow, flouriſh, and bear fruit. How to increaſe them in colour and ſmell, and when, and where we pleaſe, and all this not only at an inſtant, *experimenti gratia*, but daily, monthly, yearly, at any time, at any ſeaſon, yea, in the depth of winter, and therefore not unlike the walnut-tree which antiently grew in Glaſſenbury's church-yard, and never put forth leaves before St Barnabies-day, yet then was fully loaded with them, as alſo the hawthorn there, ſo greatly famed for ſhooting out leaves and flowers at Chriſtmas; together with the oak in New Foreſt, that bore green leaves at the ſame ſeaſon, may be ſome experiments made of the vegetable ſtone.

'Beſides the maſculine part of it which is wrought up to a ſolar quality, and through it's exceeding heat will burn up and deſtroy any creature, plant, &c. That which is lunar and feminine (if immediately applied) will mitigate it with it's extream cold, and in like manner the lunar quality benumbs and congeals any animal, &c. unleſs it be preſently helped and reſolved by that of the Sun. For though they both be made out of one natural ſubſtance, yet in working they have contrary qualities, nevertheleſs there is ſuch a natural aſſiſtance between them, that what the one cannot do, the other doth, can, and will perform. Nor are their inward virtues more than their outward beauties, for the ſolar part is of ſo reſplendent tranſparent luſtre, that the eye of man is ſcarce able to endure it. And if the lunar part be expoſed abroad in a dark night, birds will repair to (and circulate about) it as a fly round a candle, and ſubmit themſelves to the captivity of the hand. And this invites me to believe, that the ſtone which the antient Hermit (being then 140 years old) took out of the wall in his cell, and ſhewed Cornelius Gallus, *An.* 1602, was of the nature of this vegetable ſtone, for (upon opening the golden box wherein it was incloſed) it dilated it's beams all over the room, and that with ſo great ſplendor, that it overcame the light that was kindled therein, beſides the Hermit refuſed to project it upon metal (as being unworthy of it) but made his experiment upon veronica and rue.'

It is very ſtrange, that a Perſon of ſuch admirable natural parts, and of ſo much acquired learning, ſhould expreſs himſelf with ſo great vehemence, and venture his reputation ſo boldly in a matter of this nature, which he very well knew, laboured under ſo many ſuſpicions; but he was ſo led away by the exterior appearances, and relied ſo entirely on what the ſages he had read delivered, that he never once ſuſpected that this univerſal medicine acted only within it's own kingdom, and that what he repreſents as the loweſt, was in truth it's higheſt effect. But it may juſtly be alledged, in favour of Mr Aſhmole, that he ſtudied the hiſtory of the ſcience, rather than the ſcience itſelf, and knew more of the Philoſopher's ſtone by reading than practice, which however it might ſhew his own wiſdom, contributed very little to that of his reader. This preface is dated January 26, 1651-2, but the book itſelf did not appear till about that time twelve-month, and was then extremely well received by the Virtuoſi, who grew wonderful well pleaſed with our author, and offered him all manner of encouragement for the compleating his deſign, by publiſhing the proſe as well as poetick authors.

with Mr Oughtred, the famous Mathematician, and with Dr Wharton, a Phyſician of great character and experience (*b*). His marriage with Lady Mainwaring involved him firſt in abundance of law-ſuits with other people, and at laſt produced a diſpute between themſelves, which came to a hearing on the eighth of October, 1657, in the Court of Chancery, where Serjeant Maynard having obſerved, that in eight hundred ſheets of depoſitions taken on the part of the Lady, there was not ſo much as a bad word proved againſt Mr Aſhmole, her bill was diſmiſſed, and ſhe delivered back to her huſband (*c*). He had now for ſome time addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquity and records, for which he had a wonderful genius. This recommended him to the intimate acquaintance of Mr afterwards Sir William Dugdale, whom about this time he attended in his ſurvey of the Fens, and was very uſeful to him in that excellent undertaking, the conſequence of which ſhortly appeared to the world, in the moſt valuable performance that ever fell from the pen of that great writer, and indefatigable Antiquary, whoſe writings do ſo much honour to his country (*d*). Mr Aſhmole himſelf ſoon after took the pains to trace the Roman road, which in Antoninus's Itinerary, is called Bennevanna, from Weeden to Litchfield, of which he gave Mr Dugdale an account, in a letter addreſſed to him upon that ſubject (*e*). It is very probable, that after his ſtudies had thus taken a new turn, he loſt ſomewhat of his reliſh for Chemiſtry, ſince he diſcontinued the *Theatrum Chemicum*, which according to his firſt project was to have made ſeveral volumes; yet he ſtill retained, as moſt people do who dip into that kind of ſtudy, ſuch a remembrance of it, as induced him to part civilly with the ſons of art, which he did, by publiſhing a treatiſe in proſe on the Philoſopher's ſtone, to which he prefixed an admirable preface, wherein he ſeems to have apologized for taking leave of the ſubject, as he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe (*f*) [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1658, our author applied

(*b*) Ibid. p. 25—31. Memoirs, p. 9.

(*c*) Diary, p. 34.

(*d*) The title of this work of Sir W. D's was, *The Hiſtory of imbanking and draining divers Fens and Marſhes, &c. extracted from Records, &c.* London, 1662, fol.

(*e*) See a book intituled, *Miſcellanies on ſeveral curious Subjects, publiſhed from their reſpective Originals*, Lond. 1714, 8vo.

(*f*) See that part of his Preface in the note.

[*I*] *As he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe*] It was with a view to continue and compleat his former deſign, that Mr Aſhmole got this, and many other pieces of a like nature, into his cuſtody, from ſuch of the Literati as were his friends; as appears plainly, from the beginning of his preface to this very piece, the next book he publiſhed, which was, III. *The Way to Bliſs in three Books, made publick by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1658, 4*to*. He opens himſelf thus to the world on that occaſion.

'It is now ſomewhat above ſix years, ſince I 'publiſhed the firſt part of my *Theatrum Chemicum* '*Britannicum*, immediately after which, my ſtudies 'of that nature received moſt unfortunate interrup- 'tions from the commencement of ſeveral vexatious 'ſuits againſt me; but God, not only enabled me 'to endure thoſe impetuous, multiplied ſtorms, but 'ſome few months ſince, was pleaſed to ſweeten 'my long ſufferings with a fair and peaceful iſſue.'

How he came to alter his purpoſe of publiſhing ſeveral ſuch volumes, and ſend this piece ſingly into the world, we are frankly told by him in theſe words.

'All this while, I hoped to meet with one or other, 'who (inclined to advance the honour of Hermes his 'family) would have taken the pains of adding a 'ſecond volume, to my ſaid *Theatrum*, in regard 'thoſe ſucceſſive troubles (hanging ſo long, and hea- 'vily upon me) had denied me the leiſure; nor were 'either my invitations to it wanting, or the free 'contributions of whatever I had ſo painfully col- 'lected unoffered, to the end (my deſign of letting 'the world, ſee what excellent men we had once 'of our nation, famous as well for that kind of 'philoſophy as any other learning, and maſters of 'ſo tranſcendent a ſecret) might have been further- 'ed. Notwithſtanding this, I hear of nothing (hi- 'therto) done, nothing endeavoured: But inſtead 'thereof, I lately met with a pretended copy of the 'following diſcourſe, ready fitted for the preſs, 'which (upon peruſal) I found mutilated with many 'imperfections, much injured by ſeveral incongruous 'additions, and they, confeſſed to be only made up 'of ſome ſcattered ſhreds and fragments, collected 'from the whole work, and beſides intended, that 'the world ſhould take it for the child of one Euge- 'nius Theodidactus, being (by Re-baptization) called 'the *Wiſe-Man's Crown*, or *Roſie-cruſian Phyſick*, under 'which titles notice hath been given of it's coming 'abroad, by other books ſince publiſhed.

This perſon E. Theodidactus, was one John Heydon, a great pretender to Roſicruſian knowledge, who married the widow of Nicholas Culpepper, the famous Quack, and publiſhed abundance of idle books, in ſome of which, he abuſed Mr Aſhmole on this ſubject (22), though certainly there was no compariſon between the men, one being as deſpicable as the other was juſtly eſteemed. In the ſame preface, Mr Aſhmole gives us the following ingenuous account of the original author of this treatiſe.

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

'As for our author, he was without doubt an 'Engliſhman, but has hitherto paſſed with us among 'the anonymi, and the book (his off-ſpring) ſhews 'itſelf ſufficiently legitimate, though the true father 'thereof be as yet unknown. I have heard ſome 'notable ſtories, and thoſe backed with perſuaſive 'circumſtances, to make an eaſy faith think the pro- 'vidence very obſervable, that not only furniſhed a 'laborious ſearcher into this miſterious learning with 'the original itſelf, but moſt fortunately directed 'him to three grains of the powder cloſed up be- 'tween two leaves thereof, with which he made 'projection; but I affect not to fly-blow the ears 'of my readers, only this I can modeſtly aver, that 'my copy was a tranſcript of that original.

'The work ſeems to be written about the begin- 'ning of the laſt (or end of the former) century; 'the main drift of the author being from weigh- 'ty and ſerious arguments and examples, to prove the 'poſſibility of ſuch a thing as the Philoſopher's ſtone, 'whereby is largely manifeſted, that nature has ex- 'hibited greater wonders to the view of the world; 'and as great things have been (and conſequently 'may be) performed by other weaker and leſſer 'means, where a due, friendly, and philoſophical 'conjunction of art and nature is fully underſtood, 'and yet how be it (becauſe ſuch are familiar unto, 'and ordinary among us) we conſider them not; 'tis 'a diſcourſe fraught with variety of excellent rational 'matter, and fitted to the learned, as well as meaner 'capacities; nay, ſuch as I boldly perſuade myſelf, 'will fully ſatisfy both, beyond any thing yet extant 'of this nature. And I believe many captious argu- 'ments, heretofore uſed and urged againſt the truth 'of this ſo infallible a ſcience, will here meet with 'ſatisfactory ſolutions, and henceforth find no further 'place in any diſcourſe ſavouring but of ſobriety.

'I muſt alſo acquaint the reader, that this piece 'was of ſo high a value, with the induſtrious Doctor 'Everard, as it invited him to beſtow his pains in 'the marginal notes; wherein (like a ſkilful Philo- 'ſopher, whoſe firſt operation is to make hidden things 'manifeſt) he drew forth and diſcovered, that which 'our author's magiſterial pen thought fit to con- 'ceal, and having obtained thoſe notes (they being 'added to a tranſcript of this work, and both fairly 'written in the Doctor's hand) from a very intimate 'friend (one extraordinarily learned, and a great orna- 'ment of our nation) I was willing to make them 'publick alſo (23).'

(23) Our author had this book from his father Backhouſe, tho' he does not mention ſo much, and therefore to him we muſt refer the ſtory of the powder between the leaves, and the projection.

This addreſs to the reader, which is dated April 16, 1658, was a kind of farewel to Hermetick philoſophy from Mr Aſhmole. For though he after-

applied himſelf to the collecting materials for his hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, which he afterwards lived to finiſh, and thereby rendered both the order and himſelf immortal, the juſt reward of the prodigious pains he took in ſearching records in the Tower, and elſewhere, comparing them with each other, and obtaining ſuch lights, as were requiſite to render ſo perplexed a ſubject clear, and to reduce all the circumſtances of ſuch a vaſt body of hiſtory into their proper order (*g*). In September following he made a journey to Oxford, where he was extreamly well received, and where he undertook the making a full and diſtinct deſcription of the coins given to the publick library by Archbiſhop Laud, which was of great uſe to him in the works which he afterwards compoſed (*b*). He had lodged and boarded ſometimes at a houſe in South Lambeth, kept by Mr John Tredeſcant, whoſe father and himſelf had been phyſick-gardiners there for many years, and had collected a vaſt number of curioſities, which after mature deliberation, Mr Tredeſcant and his wife determined to beſtow on Mr Aſhmole, and accordingly ſealed and delivered a deed of gift for that purpoſe, on the ſixteenth of December, 1659 (*i*). Upon the happy reſtoration of King Charles II, Mr Aſhmole was early introduced into the preſence and favour of his Majeſty, and on the eighteenth of June 1660, which was the ſecond time he had the honour of diſcourſing with the King, he graciouſly beſtowed upon him the place of Windſor Herald (*k*). A few days after he was appointed by the King to make a deſcription of his medals, and had them delivered into his hands, and King Henry VIIIth's cloſet aſſigned for his uſe, being alſo allowed his diet at Court (*l*). On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt in the ſame year, he preſented the three books which he had publiſhed to his Majeſty, who as he both loved and underſtood Chemiſtry, received them very graciouſly (*m*). On the third of September he had a warrant ſigned for the office of Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, in conſequence of a letter written by his Majeſty's expreſs command, to the Earl of Southampton, then Lord High-Treaſurer, by Mr Secretary Morris (*n*). About this time, a commiſſion was granted to him as incidental to the care of the King's medals, to examine the famous, or rather infamous Hugh Peters, about the contents of the royal library which had fallen into his hands, and which was very carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect (*o*) [*K*]. On the ſecond of November he was called to the bar in Middle-Temple hall (*p*). On the fifteenth of January, 1661, he was admitted a Fellow, of the Royal Society (*q*). On the ninth of February following, the King ſigned a warrant for conſtituting him Secretary of Surinam in the Weſt Indies (*r*). In the beginning of the year 1662, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for recovering the King's goods (*s*), and about the ſame time he ſent a ſet of ſervices and anthems to the cathedral church of Litchfield, in memory of his having been once a Choriſter there, and he gave afterwards twenty pounds towards repairing the cathedral (*t*). On the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1664, the *White Office* was opened, of which he was appointed a Commiſſioner (*u*). On the ſeventeenth of February, 1665, Sir Edward Byſhe ſealed his deputation for viſiting Berkſhire, which viſitation he began on the eleventh of March following (*w*). On the ninth of June 1668, he was appointed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Accomptant-General, and Country Accomptant in the Exciſe (*x*). His ſecond wife, Lady Mainwaring, dying on the firſt of April in the ſame year, he ſoon after made his addreſſes

(*g*) See the preface to his Hiſt. of the Garter. Memoirs, p. 9. Diary, p. 35.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(*i*) Diary. p. 36.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 10. Diary, p. 37.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887. Diary, p. 37.

(*m*) See his Majeſty's Character, by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham.

(*n*) I have ſeen this letter which is without date, and the Lord Treaſurer is told therein, that treating Mr Aſhmole kindly, would be very acceptable to his Majeſty.

(*o*) This Paſſage is omitted in Bp Kennet's Regiſter, though he ſets down ſo many minute Circumſtances.

(*p*) Memoirs, p. 11.

(*q*) Diary, p. 37.

(*r*) Memoirs, p. 12. Diary, p. 37.

(*s*) Diary, p. 38.

(*t*) Diary, p. 38, 39.

(*u*) Memoirs, p. 40.

(*w*) Diary, p. 40.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 887.

wards depoſited many valuable MSS. relating to this ſcience in a publick library for the benefit of poſterity, yet he wrote nothing more upon the ſubject. The book itſelf, deſerved the pains that both Dr Everard, and Mr Aſhmole beſtowed about it, for beyond all doubt, in this genuine edition of our author, it is the beſt and moſt ſenſible book in our language, containing as much truth, and much more learning and reaſon, than the boaſted performances of Eugenius, or of Irenæus Philalethes.

[*K*] *Carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect.*] It was a thing notorious, that this enthuſiaſtical buffoon, Hugh Peters, had got poſſeſſion of the King's library and cloſet, in thoſe times of rebellion and confuſion, and it was no leſs notorious, that the moſt valuable curioſities in them, were embezzled and diſſipated all over Europe, and therefore the parliament ſhewed an early care in this reſpect (24), and the King alſo iſſued the following warrant for obtaining the beſt account, that could be had of his royal father's effects.

(24) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 36.

CHARLES REX.

To our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Robinſon, Knt. and Bart. Lieutenant of our Tower of London.

OUR will and pleaſure is, that you permit Thomas Roſs, and Elias Aſhmole, Eſquires; to ſpeak with and examine Hugh Peters, concerning our books and medals, that have been embezzled, and this to be performed in your preſence; for which this ſhall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 10th day of September, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Upon this Mr. Aſhmole, and Mr Roſs, who was Tutor to the D. of Monmouth, did accordingly take ſome pains with Hugh Peters, on this head, but with how ſmall effect the following report ſhews.

An Account of what Mr Hugh Peters, gave upon his Examination before the Honourable Sir John Robinſon, Lieutenant of his Majeſty's Tower, taken by Mr Roſs and Mr Aſhmole, aſſigned thereunto 12 Sept. 1660.

The examinant ſaith, That about the year 1648, in Auguſt, he preſerved the library in Saint James's, againſt the violence and rapine of the ſoldiers, and the ſame continued three or four months under his cuſtody, and that he did not take there any thing, but left it unviolated as he found it. He doth confeſs that he ſaw divers medals of gold, ſilver, and braſs, and other pieces of antiquity, as iron rings, and the like, but that he took nothing thence, and then delivered up the key and cuſtody of them, to Major General Ireton; and further he ſaith, that he never had or ſaw any thing belonging thereto.

Given upon oath before me John Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower (25).

HUGH PETERS.

(25) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. 103, 104.

[*L*] *One*

addreſſes to Mrs Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to his good friend Sir William Dugdale, Knt. Garter King at Arms, and to this lady, who was his third wife, he was married in Lincoln's-Inn chapel on the third of November, by Dr Lloyd afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter (*y*). The univerſity of Oxford, conſidering the many favours they had received from Mr Aſhmole, on the nineteenth of July, 1669, created him Doctor of Phyſick by diploma, which was preſented to him on the third of November following, by Dr Yates, Principal of Brazen-Noſe college, in the name of the univerſity (*z*). He was now courted and eſteemed by the greateſt people in the kingdom, both in point of title and merit, who frequently did him the honour to viſit him at his chambers in the Temple, and whenever he went his ſummer progreſs, he had the ſame reſpect paid him in the country, more eſpecially at his native town of Litchfield, to which, when he came, he was ſplendidly entertained by the corporation (*a*). On the eighth of May, 1672, he preſented his laborious work on the moſt noble order of the Garter, to his moſt gracious maſter King Charles II, who not only received it with great civility and kindneſs, but ſoon after granted to our author, as a mark of his approbation of the work, and of his perſonal eſteem for him, a privy ſeal for 400 pounds out of the cuſtom of paper (*b*). This was his greateſt undertaking, and indeed if he had publiſhed nothing elſe, it ought to have preſerved his memory for ever, ſince it is in it's kind one of the moſt valuable books in our language [*L*]. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1675, he reſigned his office of Windſor Herald, which, by his procurement, was beſtowed on his brother Dugdale (*c*). It was with great reluctancy that the Earl Marſhal parted with him, and it was not long after, that he beſtowed on him the character of being *the beſt officer in his*

(*y*) Diary, p. 42.

(*z*) Memoirs, p. 12.

(*a*) Diary, p. 46.

(*b*) Memoirs, p. 13.

(*c*) Diary, p. 53.

[*L*] *One of the moſt valuable books in our language.*] The title of this excellent work at large runs thus. IV. *The Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the moſt noble order of the Garter. Collected and digeſted into one body by* Elias Aſhmole, *of the middle Temple, eſquire*; Windeſore, *Herald at Arms. A work furniſhed with variety of matter relating to Honour and Nobleſſe.* Lond. 1672, Folio. It is, beyond compariſon, the moſt finiſhed piece that ever fell from the hand of our author, and contains a vaſt treaſure of hiſtory and antiquities, which had they not been thus preſerved, had been unqueſtionably loſt to all poſterity. As to the deſign of the performance, the preface, which is very ſhort, and written in a much plainer and more correct ſtile, than any thing he had formerly penned in the ſame way, ſufficiently informs us, as well as the manner in which it is diſpoſed; and therefore we have tranſcribed two or three of the moſt remarkable and material paragraphs, in order to confirm theſe remarks to the reader.

'As I ever had a great veneration for the moſt 'noble order of the Garter, ſo muſt it needs be 'imagined, that I was accordingly much concerned 'in the late unhappy times, to ſee the honour of it 'trampled on, and itſelf ſunk into a very low eſteem 'among us. That reflection put me upon thoughts, 'not only of doing ſomething, that might inform the 'world of the nobleneſs of it's inſtitution, and the 'glory which in proceſs of time it acquired, both 'at home and abroad, but alſo of drawing up, in 'the nature of a formulary, both the legal and cere-'monial part thereof, for the better conduct of ſuch 'as might be therein afterwards concerned, in caſe 'the eclipſe it then laboured under in our horizon, 'ſhould prove of ſo long continuance, as that many 'occurrences, worthy of knowledge, might come to 'be in a manner forgotten.

'Upon the firſt communication of my deſign, to 'the late Reverend Doctor Chriſtopher Wren, Re-'giſter of the ſaid order, it received not only his 'approbation, but alſo his ready aſſiſtance in the uſe 'of the annals thereof, then in his cuſtody. From 'theſe and other authentick manuſcripts and auto-'graphs, particularly relating to the order, and a 'painful and chargeable ſearch of our publick records, 'I had collected the greateſt part of my materials 'before the happy reſtoration of his now Majeſty, 'the preſent Sovereign of this moſt noble order; 'who, being afterwards acquainted with what I had 'done, was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to countenance 'it, and encourage me in the proſecution thereof.

'The work in general contains an hiſtorical ac-'count of the laws and ceremonies of the ſaid moſt 'noble order; but more particularly it's inſtitution, the 'manner and order obſerved in elections, inveſtitures, 'and inſtallations of Knights, the holding of chap-'ters, celebration of feſtivals, the formality of pro-'ceedings, the magnificence of embaſſies, ſent with 'the habit to ſtranger Kings and Princes, in ſum 'all other things relative to the order. In the 'illuſtration whereof, I have inſerted (where they 'properly occurred) the moſt eminent and conſidera-'ble caſes, which have required and received diſ-'cuſſion in chapters, the determination thereupon, 'becoming rules and laws; whence it may be ob-'ſerved, that the foundation and ſuperſtructures of 'the order, were laid and raiſed upon the exacteſt 'rules of honour. And to ſupply the failure and de-'fects of the annals, I have been forced to make 'uſe of memorials and relations, yet ſuch as were 'taken notice of and committed to writing, either 'by ſome of the officers of the order, or thoſe of 'arms, during the times of their attendance on the 'ſervice of the order, and conſequently of ſufficient 'authority for me to rely on.

'To uſher in thoſe, I have given a proſpect of 'knighthood in general, of the ſeveral orders of 'knighthood, as alſo of the antiquity of the caſtle 'and college of Windſor, and cloſed all with the 'honours, martial imployments, and famous actions, 'the matches, and iſſues of the founder, and firſt 'knights-companions; as alſo a perfect catalogue of 'their ſucceſſors to this very preſent. All which are 'adorned with variety of ſculptures, properly relating 'to the ſeveral parts of the work.'

He was not only ſo happy as to receive thoſe extraordinary marks of the Sovereign's favour, mentioned in the text, but was complimented in an obliging manner, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York; who tho' then at ſea againſt the Dutch, ſent for his book by the Earl of Peterborough, and afterwards told our author he was extremely pleaſed with it (26). The reſt of the Knights-companions of the moſt noble order, received him and his book with much reſpect and civility, and yet the regard ſhewn to it, and to it's author abroad, was much more ſingular (27). It was repoſited by the then Pope, in the library of the Vatican. King Chriſtiern of Denmark, ſent him in 1674, by Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; the King's Reſident at Copenhagen, a gold chain and medal, which, with the King's leave, on certain high feſtivals he wore. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburgh, ſent him the like preſent, and ordered his book to be tranſlated into High-Dutch (28). He was afterwards viſited by the Elector Palatine's, the grand Duke of Tuſcany's, and other foreign Princes Miniſters, to return him thanks for this book, which he took care ſhould be preſented them, and thereby ſpread the fame of the Garter, the nation, and himſelf, all over Europe (29). Yet it does not appear, that this laborious and exquiſite performance, advanced at all the deſign he had formed ſome years before, of getting himſelf appointed Hiſtoriographer to the order, to which propoſal ſome objections were made, and by our author fully anſwered (30), although we find no mention of this circumſtance in any memoirs of Mr Aſhmole hitherto extant.

(26) Diary, p. 46, 47.

(27) Memoirs, p. 12.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(29) Chriſt. Gryphius de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Sec. xvii. p. 355.

(30) This piece is amongſt the MSS. of Mr Aſhmole at Oxford, Cod. 7413.

[*M*] *For*

his office (*d*). On the twentieth of February, 1677, Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, deceaſed, upon which a controverſy grew between the King and the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-Marſhal, about the right of diſpoſing of his place, on which Mr Aſhmole was conſulted, who declared in favour of the King, but with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, as not to give any umbrage to the Earl Marſhal (*e*); he afterwards refuſed this high office which was conferred on his father-in-law Sir William Dugdale, for whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt (*f*) [*M*]. About the cloſe of the year 1677,

(*d*) Ibid. p. 55.

(*e*) Memoirs, p. 13.

(*f*) See the article of DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

[*M*] *For whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt.*] This was one of the nobleſt and moſt generous actions of our author's life, and he has left a particular account of it under his own hand, which not being included in the Diary of his life, that has been printed, ſeems the rather to deſerve a place here (31). 'February 21, My Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr Seth Ward) having been at my houſe in Sheere-Lane, (which then ſtood empty, having ſome time before retired into the country to dwell) and at my chamber in the Temple, but miſſing me at both places, heard at length I dwelt at South-Lambeth, whereupon, the next day he ſent me an obliging letter (Feb. 22) to acquaint me, that as ſoon as he heard of Sir Edward Walker's death, he endeavoured to find me out, but being not able, he immediately ſpoke to the Duke of York, and ſome other Knights of the Garter, to move the King on my behalf to ſucceed him. But the Duke, wiſhed him rather to move the matter to the King, becauſe he was pre-engaged, *viz.* to the Earl-Marſhal, and immediately gave him an opportunity to do it. The King gave him ſuch an anſwer, as cauſed him to believe and hope his inclinations were very good to me; but it appeared after, that the Earl-Marſhal had acquainted the King, with a claim himſelf had of the diſpoſing of that office, which induced his Majeſty to give the Biſhop no poſitive anſwer.

(31) Aſhmole's Memoirs, p. 14—20.

'The letter his Lordſhip ſent me by one of his gentlemen, who found me at home, under a fortnight's ill indiſpoſition, by whom I returned my moſt humble thanks, and informed him I had no inclination to accept of the place, and therefore deſired him to preſs it no farther, and that I would attend him as ſoon as I was able to ſtir out of doors, and then acquaint him with the reaſons of my refuſal.

'March 3d, I went to give my Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, my perſonal thanks, for ſo real a kindneſs, and told him I was retired into the country, with reſolutions to take upon me no new employments, and had (to make my retirement more comfortable and eaſy) reſigned my Herald's place, and thrown off all other kinds of buſineſs, (except the Comptrollerſhip of the Exciſe) and for that reaſon was not willing to enter again upon any other whatſoever; and that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould enquire of him, why he did not preſent his ſuit on my behalf, he ſhould be ready to anſwer, that my employment in the Exciſe, took up my whole time, and I was doubtful, leaſt my attendance at White-Hall, the Heralds-Office, or elſewhere, upon matters relating to this office, might occaſion me to neglect that ſervice, which ſo nearly related to his Majeſty's profit and advantage.

'March 7th, This morning I went to wait upon my Lord Marſhal, who told me, he heard I uſed means to the King, to obtain Garter's place, but conceived it was his right, as Earl-Marſhal, to diſpoſe of it. I repeated him the reaſons I had before given his ſecretary, why I was of opinion it was the King's right, not his, and denied that I ſo much as looked after the place, and therefore acquainted him firſt with what the Biſhop of Saliſbury, out of kindneſs to me had done, (though without my knowledge) next that I had entreated him to proceed no further, and laſtly gave his Lordſhip the ſame reaſons for declining the employment, which I had before given to the Biſhop. He thereupon deſired me to give him leave to tell the King ſo much, which I readily did. He then told me, he heard Sir William Howard made means to the King for it, and aſked my opinion whether he could be Garter, who was not of the Office of Arms. I anſwered, there had antiently been two perſons made Garter, who had not been officers of Arms, but I hoped the King would not ſo far diſcourage the preſent officers, as to chuſe a ſtranger in the place. Whereupon he aſked me leave, to let the King know this was my ſenſe, which he did; then I acquainted him, that the King had commanded me to aſſiſt the Chancellor, in making out his right to the nomination of Garter, and though I refuſed the place, yet I durſt not deny him that ſervice: This he did not very well like, but I told him I knew not which way to avoid it.

'March 31, 1677. The next morning after the Earl-Marſhal's pretenſions to the right of nominating Garter, had been heard before the committee appointed for that purpoſe, I had occaſion to attend my Lord Treaſurer Danby, about ſome buſineſs in the exciſe-office. Mr Ch. Bertie, his ſecretary, ſeeing me there, aſked me why I did not ſeek after the place? and intimated that my Lord Treaſurer, thought me the fitteſt perſon for it; but I told him I had no ambition towards it, and feared that my attendance about this place, might occaſion ſome neglect in the exciſe-office; and tho' this excuſe ſtood me in ſome ſtead, and ſeemed conſiderable to others, to whom I had made uſe of it, yet he preſently replied, my Lord Treaſurer would give me leave to execute my comptroller's place by deputy. To which I had nothing to reply, but that I had many other reaſons that induced me to wave the employment; upon this he told me, my Lord would ſpeak with me in the Park, where I attended till he came thither. When he came, he began to aſk me ſome few queſtions about the peparations he was to make againſt his Inſtallation, and who he ſhould ſend for to inform him therein. I anſwered it was the duty of Garter to inform him; and that this affair being debated the night before, (where his Lordſhip was, and of the Committee) I preſumed would be known e're long what was then determined. He anſwered, the matter had that night before the Committee roſe, been determined on the King's ſide againſt my Lord Marſhal; upon which I told his Lordſhip, I preſumed within a few days, Garter would be nominated, and in regard, it was above a fortnight to the day of his Inſtallation, it would be time enough to attend him, and make all things ready againſt that time. And here I preſume (by what I gathered from Mr Bertie's preſſing me to make friends to obtain Garter's place) his Lordſhip expected I would have moved him to have ſpoke to the King for me, and pauſing a little while, aſked me, if I had any thing to ſay to him, I anſwered no, and ſo took my leave.

'In the Afternoon Mr Bertie meeting me again, aſked me what diſcourſe paſſed between his Lordſhip and me. I told him, who wondered I would not move him to ſpeak for me, and uſed many arguments to induce me yet to do it, and told me how unfit Mr Lee (whom my Lord Marſhal intended for the place) was for it, nor was capable of it, not being a Gentleman of Blood; as he heard the conſtitution of the Order required. I ſtill ſhewed my unwillingneſs and left him: Notwithſtanding which, on Monday morning April the 1ſt, after he ſat more earneſtly again upon me, and told me he heard the place muſt ſpeedily be diſpoſed of, becauſe the day appointed for Inſtallation approached; and moſt earneſtly preſſed me to apply myſelf to the King to obtain it, but I told him, I was unfit for the place; at which he wondered I ſhould alledge that, when it appeared by my Book of the Garter, there was no Man fitter. I anſwered, my unfitneſs grew from deafneſs increaſing upon me, from decay of my eye-ſight, and greater decay in my memory, all which conſidered, did very much incapacitate me from that ſervice, to which he replied, he never knew any man diſcommend himſelf before, when ſo fair a way lay open for his preferment; I then gave

1677, a propoſal was made to Mr Aſhmole to become a candidate for the city of Litchfield, with which it was with ſome difficulty that he cloſed, and when he did, he found the magiſtrates and ſome other leading perſons of the place, notwithſtanding both their obligations and their invitations, ſo far from being cordial, that he thought it prudent to draw off in time (*g*). On the twenty-ſixth of January, 1679, about Ten in the morning, a fire began in the Middle Temple, in the next chambers to Mr Aſhmole's, by which he loſt a library he had been collecting thirty-three years, but his MSS eſcaped, by their being at his houſe in South Lambeth; he likewiſe loſt a collection of 9000 coins, ancient and modern, but his more valuable collection of gold medals were likewiſe preſerved by being at Lambeth; his vaſt repoſitory of ſeals, charters, and other antiquities and curioſities, periſhed alſo in the flames (*h*). In 1683, the univerſity of Oxford having finiſhed a noble repoſitory near the Theatre, Mr Aſhmole ſent thither that great collection of rarities which he had received from the Tredeſcants beforementioned, together with ſuch additions as he had made to them, and to this great benefaction he afterwards added that of his MSS and Library (*i*), which ſtill remain a monument of his generous love to learning in general, and to the univerſity of Oxford in particular [*N*]. In the beginning

(*g*) Diary, p. 59.

(*h*) See an extract of Dr Plott's letter, giving an account of this loſs, in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(*i*) Memoirs, p. 22.

'him many hearty thanks for his kind inclinations to 'me, and ſo parted.

'April the 2d, The next morning my Lord 'Marſhal coming out of the Lords houſe, he told 'me, the King had pitched upon my Father Dugdale 'to be Garter, and believed it would not diſpleaſe 'me. I anſwered, I was very glad of it, and I thought 'it was the beſt choice; but he being in Warwick-'ſhire, his Lordſhip added, he would ſend for him 'up by that night's poſt.

'I have been thus particular, becauſe after this 'time, ſome of the officers of Arms, (Mr Hold-'ford, &c.) aſſerted, my Lord Marſhal had ſaid, (and 'it was moſt certain) I ſought underhand to get Gar-'ter's place, though openly I ſeemed to decline it; 'which I could not but wonder at, becauſe I had 'been ſo clear with his Lordſhip, in averring the 'contrary; and alſo becauſe his Lordſhip had told 'my father, upon his coming to town, that I had 'carried myſelf very fairly in the managing the 'buſineſs againſt him. Though both honour and profit 'lay on this occaſion before me; yet God having 'taken from me both ambition and covetouſneſs, 'I ſet more value upon the retired life I was en-'tered into, than all the advantage and honour I 'ſhould reap by that office.'

[*N*] *To the univerſity of Oxford in particular.*] The reaſon why our author had ſo warm an affection for Oxford, was plainly from his becoming a member thereof, in thoſe dreadful times of publick confuſion, when all who were loyal reſorted to Oxford, and that moſt tender mother of arts, and nurſe of all virtues, opened her arms to embrace all who were loyal, let their circumſtances be what they would. This correſpondence begun in difficult, continued in diſmal times, begat on one ſide regard for ſo eminent a perſon, as appears by the notice taken of him among the writers of Brazen-noſe college (32), and on the other, the deepeſt reſpect for ſo venerable a body in a happier age, when peace, proſperity, and learning, returned with the King. Theſe ſentiments diſcovered themſelves on both ſides, by a variety of publick acts, which are mentioned in the text, and were cloſed by this. It was towards the latter end of October 1677, that he made an offer to the univerſity, of beſtowing on it all that valuable collection of the *Tredeſcants*, which was ſo well known to the learned world, and which had been exceedingly improved ſince it came into his poſſeſſion, together with all the coins, medals, and manuſcripts of his own collecting, provided they would erect a building fit to receive them; to which propoſition the univerſity willingly aſſented (33). Accordingly on Thurſday the 15th of May 1679, the firſt ſtone of that ſtately fabrick, afterwards called *Aſhmole's Muſæum*, was laid on the weſt ſide of the theatre, and being finiſhed by the beginning of March, 1682, there were put therein on the 20th of the ſame month, about twelve cart-loads of rarities, ſent to Oxford by Mr Aſhmole, which being fixed in their proper places, by Robert Plott, L.L.D. who before had been intruſted with the cuſtody of the ſaid Muſæum, were firſt of all publickly viewed on the 21ſt of May following, by his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, his royal Conſort Joſepha Maria, Princeſs Anne, and their attendants, and on the 24th of the ſame month, by the Doctors and Maſters of the univerſity. In a convocation held on the 4th of June following (1683) were letters openly read, whereby Mr Aſhmole gave for ever to the univerſity of Oxford, all the ſaid rarities, notwithſtanding he had been courted by ſome to beſtow them elſewhere, and that others had offered great ſums for them. Whereupon a Latin letter of thanks, penned by him who was then deputy orator, being publickly read, was forthwith ſent to Mr Aſhmole at South Lambeth (34). In July 1690, he viſited the univerſity with his wife, and was received with all imaginable honour, and entertained at a noble dinner in his Muſæum; upon which occaſion Mr Edward Hannes, A. M. the Chemical Profeſſor, afterwards an eminent phyſician, made an elegant oration to him (35). His benefaction to the univerſity was very conſiderably enlarged at his death by the addition of his library, which conſiſted of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty eight books, of which ſix hundred and twenty were manuſcripts, and of them three hundred and eleven folio's, relating chiefly to Engliſh Hiſtory, Heraldry, Aſtronomy, and Chemiſtry, with a great variety of pamphlets, part of which had been ſorted by himſelf, and the reſt are methodized ſince, and a double catalogue made, one claſſical, according to their various ſubjects, and another alphabetical (36). He bequeathed alſo to the ſame place, two gold chains and a medal, the one a philigreen chain of ninety links, weighing twenty-two ounces, with a medal of the Elector of Brandenburg, upon which is the effigies of that Elector, and on the reverſe, a view of Straelſund, ſtruck upon the ſurrender of that important city, a Collar of S.S. with a medal of the King of Denmark, and a gold medal of the Elector Palatine, and a George of the Duke of Norfolk, worn by his grandfather, when he was ambaſſador in Germany. All theſe he had received as acknowledgments of the honour which he had done the Garter, by his labours on that ſubject (37). Over the entrance to the Muſæum, fronting the ſtreet is the following inſcription in capital letters:

(32) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. P. ii. p. 224.

(33) Memoirs, p. p. 22.

(34) Ath Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Memoirs, p. 23.

(37) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 889.

Muſæum Aſhmoleanum, Schola Naturalis Hiſtoriæ, Officina Chymica.

That is,

Aſhmole's Muſæum, the Natural Hiſtory School, the Chemical Laboratory.

Over the door of Mr Aſhmole's library, at the top of the ſtairs is the following inſcription in letters of gold. *viz.*

Libri impreſſi et manuſcripti e donis clariſſ. virorum D. Eliæ Aſhmole, *et* Martini Liſter; *Quibus non paucos addidit Vir induſtrius, nec infime de Re Antiquariâ Promeritus D.* Joannes Aubrey, *de* Eaſton Peirce, *apud Wiltonienſes, Arm. et Soc. Reg. Socius.*

In Engliſh thus,

The printed and manuſcript books beſtowed by thoſe moſt famous men Elias Aſhmole, and Martin Liſter; to which not a few were added by that indurious man, and no mean deſerver in things relating to antiquity, John Aubrey, of Eaſton Peirce, in Wiltſhire, Eſq; and F. R. S. (38).

(38) Diary, p. 82.

beginning of the year 1685, he was invited by the magiſtrates, and by the Dean of Litchfield, to repreſent that corporation in Parliament, but upon King James's intimating to him by the Lord Dartmouth, that he would take it kindly if he would reſign his intereſt to Mr Lewſon, he waited upon his Majeſty and told him, that he was all obedience (*k*). On the tenth of January, 1686, died his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale, on which occaſion Mr Aſhmole declined a ſecond time the office of Garter King at Arms, and did all that was in his power to recommend his brother Dugdale, in which, tho' he did not fully ſucceed, yet he procured him the place of Norroy (*l*), and this was one of the laſt publick acts of his life, the remainder of which was ſpent in an honourable retirement to the day of his demiſe, which happened on the eighteenth of May, 1692, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (*m*). He was, beyond a queſtion, one of the greateſt men, and one of the greateſt patrons of learning in the laſt century. He was a great lover of Chemiſtry, and by his care and diligence, preſerved many valuable MSS relating to that ſcience, beſides thoſe that he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed [O]. He had a great genius for hiſtory and antiquities, as ſufficiently appears by his learned and laborious works, both printed and manuſcripts [P]. He was likewiſe a generous

(*k*) Diary, p. 73.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(O] *Beſides thoſe he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed.*] After Mr Aſhmole once addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquities and records, he never deſerted it, or could he be prevailed upon to reſume his deſign of ſending abroad the works of the other Engliſh *Adepti*, though he had made large collections towards it. I have a very good authority for what I ſay. Mr William Cooper in his preface to one of Philalethes's pieces, which he publiſhed in 1678, ſpeaking of our author's Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum, ſays (39), *I heartily wiſh that the learned Philoſophers of our age, could prevail with him to publiſh his ſecond volume of that collection, which he had almoſt finiſhed almoſt twenty years ſince (as I had it from his own mouth) and hath lain a-ſleep ever ſince, and likely ſo to lye; for to the perfecting thereof, he is now unwilling to be brought, unleſs ſome worthy friend of his can be wrought upon to prevail with him, before the ſleep of death ſeizes him, and leaves theſe rare pieces of antiquity to be inevitably loſt, to the prejudice of all philoſophers, and great diſhonour to the Engliſh nation.* This very complaint, ſhews how well (even then) he ſtood with the Hermetick tribe, of whom this Mr Cooper, was the moſt zealous encourager, and yet no reaſon is aſſigned for his remiſſneſs, which ſuits ſo little with the character of the indefatigable Mr Aſhmole, that I am convinced he was with-held by ſome more worthy motive. In ſhort, I am perſuaded ſome of the abler Alchemiſts ſhewed him his miſtakes, as to what he had already publiſhed, particularly as to the Arcanum beforementioned, which he calls the work of a concealed author, though in what ſeems to be the motto, *viz.* the words *Penes nos unda Tagi*, the very name of the author was expreſſed, *viz. Jean Eſpagnet.* He was Preſident of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and is eſteemed the ableſt writer on this ſort of learning, whoſe works are extant. But this piece publiſhed by Mr Aſhmole, was only the ſecond part of Eſpagnet's work, the firſt being publiſhed under this title, *Enchiridion Phyſicæ reſtitutæ cum Arcano Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1623, 8*vo. i. e.* The Enchiridion of revived Phyſick, with the ſecret of the Hermetick Philoſophy. In the title of this work, the author's name is concealed under another anagrammatical motto, *viz. Spes mea in agno eſt.* The ſecond part was entitled, *Enchiridium Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1628, 8*vo.* It was printed again in 1647, and a third time in 1650, and from this laſt edition our author tranſlated it. The truth is, and the Abbé Freſnoy, has very juſtly obſerved it, our author was never an Adept, and began to write when he was but a diſciple (40). He grew afterwards more cautious, and though he never miſſed any opportunity of purchaſing chymical MSS, yet he was cured of the itch of publiſhing them, and held it ſufficient to depoſit them in the Bodleian library for their greater ſecurity, and for the benefit of ſociety. As this has not been taken notice of at all by any of the writers of his life, I imagine, I may do ſome ſervice to the lovers of Chemiſtry, if I juſt mention a few of thoſe pieces, thus preſerved by the care of Mr Aſhmole. 1. *Geberi, ſuper Artem Alchymiæ*, lib. vi. *i. e.* Geber's Art of Alchemy in ſix books, a quarto MS. on parchment. 2. *Albohali, i. e. Avicennæ liber de rebus Alchymicis.* i. e. Albohali, that is, Avicenna's Treatiſe on Chemical Matters. This piece is highly valuable and curious. 3. *De diſtinctione Mercurii Aquarum, liber unus.* i. e. Of the Diſtinction of the Mercury of Waters. This piece is aſcribed to Morienus, a Roman Hermit, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. 4. *Pupilla oculi*, i. e. The Apple of the Eye; by Sir George Ripley. This was to have been included in the ſecond volume of his *Theatrum*, and this copy he had prepared for the preſs. 5. *De Regimine Ignium Philoſophorum & quibuſdam Experimentis probatiſſimis.* i. e. Of the management of the Philoſophers Fires, together with ſome approved Experiments. This treatiſe was written alſo by Sir George Ripley, and was to have made a part of the ſame collection. I might add to theſe, a noble copy of the Chemical works of Raymond Lully, in two folio's, and many others, but theſe are more than ſufficient to ſhew the curious and intelligent reader, how induſtrious and careful, and, at the ſame time, how capable, and how accurate, a collector he was of treatiſes of this kind, having wonderfully improved himſelf in this knowledge, after he declined writing more upon it, or at leaſt the publiſhing of what he wrote. In foreign countries he was highly extolled for the pains he took in collecting, publiſhing, and explaining, the Engliſh authors on Hermetick Philoſophy, and when his work of the Garter made him ſtill more known to the Princes of Germany, he received their complements on his former performance (41). Neither has his reputation abroad been at all injured by time; for ſince the very learned Olaus Borrichius, Morhoff, Boerhaave, and other great men, have ſhewn the ignorance of ſuch as ran down Chemical writers without diſtinction, and have revived, very deſervedly, the reputation of ſome of theſe old authors; Mr Aſhmole, who ſaved ſo many of the beſt of them from oblivion, has been juſtly mentioned, as a great preſerver, patron, and protector of learning, which indeed was a character he very juſtly merited, ſince no man ever ſhewed in this reſpect, either more zeal, diligence, or publick ſpirit. If therefore we conſider him in this light, we muſt allow that he very worthily filled that poſt which he aſſigned himſelf, when declining the arduous labours which were neceſſary to the gaining his father Backhouſe's legacy, and becoming an Adept, he modeſtly and truly ſtiled himſelf *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*; a title ſo juſt, and ſo expreſſive of his real deſerts, that one would have thought he had exerted his ſkill as a Herald, in deviſing it, if we had not known that Chemiſtry was his firſt, and to his laſt continued his favourite ſtudy.

(39) *See his advertiſement to the reader before* Ripley reviv'd, or an Expoſition on Sir George Ripley's Hermetico-Poetical works. Written by Eyrenæus Philalethes, London, 1678, 8*vo.*

(40) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Tom. III. p. 105, 106.

(41) Theoph. Sincer. Narichten. p. 190.

[P] *Laborious works both printed and manuſcripts.*] We have already given an exact account of all the works that were publiſhed by our author in his own time; it remains therefore, that we ſay ſomething of ſuch as were publiſhed after his deceaſe, and of thoſe that ſtill continue in MS. V. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Feneſtral Inſcriptions, with the Draughts of the Tombs, &c. in all the Churches in Berkſhire.* It was penned in 1666, and the original viſitation taken in the two preceding years, in virtue of his deputation from Sir Edward Byſhe, Clariencieux King at Arms, which makes another folio volume, ſtands next to this in Mr Aſhmole's collection of MSS, but both have been publiſhed to the world within theſe few years, under another title than their author ever deſigned them. VI. *Familiarum illuſtrium Imperatorumq; Romanorum Numiſmata Oxoniæ in Bodleianæ Bibliothecæ Archivis deſcripta & explanata*; that is, The Medals

a generous encourager and protector of such ingenious and learned men, as were less fortunate in the world than himself, as appears by his kindness to Sir George Wharton in the worst of times (*n*), his respect to the memory of his friend Mr John Booker (*o*), and the care he took in the education of the late eminent Dr George Smalridge (*p*), as will be shewn in our article of him. His corps was interred in the church of Great Lambeth in Surrey, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1692, and a black marble stone laid over his grave, with a Latin inscription, in which, tho' there is much to his honour, there is nothing which exceeds the truth [*Q*]. It was the peculiar happiness of Mr Ashmole, that, living and dead, a due respect was paid to his learning, virtue, and publick spirit. His unshaken loyalty to his Royal Master, in the worst of times, recommended him to the worthiest men in the kingdom, as his application to the Sciences then most in esteem, gained the friendship of the powerful and considerable amongst the other party, by which he secured peace, and the leisure necessary to follow his private studies, when it was

(*n*) Diary, p. 23.

(*o*) Lilly's Hist. of his own Life and Times. Diary, p 44.

(*p*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1065. Diary, p. 67. Memoirs, p. 2.

Medals of the illustrious Families and Roman Emperors, preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, described and explained. This work was finished by the author in 1659, and given by him to the Publick Library in Oxford, in 1666, in three volumes in folio, as it was fitted for the press. VII. *A Description and Explanation of the Coins and Medals, belonging to King Charles II.* a folio MS. in the King's cabinet. VIII. *A brief Ceremonial of the Feast of St George, held at White-hall* 1661, *with other papers relating to the Order.* IX. *Remarkable Passages in the Year* 1660, *set down by Mr Elias Ashmole.* X. *An Account of the Coronation of our Kings, transcribed from a MS. in the King's private closet.* XI. *The Proceedings on the Day of the Coronation of King Charles II,* mentioned by Anthony Wood, as printed in 1672, but he owns he never saw it (42). XII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, &c. in some Churches and Houses in Staffordshire,* taken when he accompanied Sir William Dugdale in his Visitation. XIII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, &c. in Cheshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, &c.* taken at the same time. Bishop Nicholson, tells us something of his intention to write *the History and Antiquities of his native Town of Litchfield,* which it may be presumed his Lordship took upon memory, since in the same paragraph, he calls Mr Ashmole, Garter King at Arms, which shews no great attention to what he was writing (43). XIV. *Answers to the Objections urged against Mr Ashmole's being made Historiographer to the Order of the Garter,* A. D. 1662. XV. *A Translation of* John Francis Spina's *Book of the* Catastrophe of the world, to which was subjoined *Ambrose Merlin*'s Prophecy. Mr Wood tells us, that he was not informed by Mr Ashmole's letter (44), when or where this translation was published, and indeed I make some doubt, whether it was published at all. Father Niceron (45), in his short account of the life of Ashmole, which is entirely transcribed from Wood, mentions none but the books published in his life-time, and is not very correct even as to these; but we have fully shewn that which he printed, was but a very small part of what he wrote, and indeed there is scarce any branch of our English history and antiquities, on which he has not left us something valuable, of his own composing, in that vast repository of papers, which make several folio's, in his Collection of MSS, under the title of, XVI. *Collections, Remarks, Notes on Books, and MSS,* which is a noble proof of his industry and application. To close this account, and to give the reader some notion of a piece which we have so often cited, we shall lastly mention, XVII. *The Diary of his Life,* written by himself was published at London 1717, in 12mo. with the following title. *Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary, Elias Ashmole, Esquire, drawn up by himself by way of Diary, with an Appendix of Original Letters. Published by Charles Burman, Esquire.* The editor tells us in the preface, 'That the copy from 'whence these papers were published, was in the 'hand-writing of Dr Robert Plott, chief keeper of the 'Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and Secretary of the 'Royal Society, and was transcribed by him for the 'use of a near relation of Mr Ashmole's, a private 'gentleman in Staffordshire. That they had been 'collated a few years before, by David Perry, 'M. A. of Jesus College, in Oxford, and chief keeper 'to the Museum, who corrected from the ori-'ginal manuscripts (46), some few literal errors.' The editor concludes with observing, *that he shall not discant upon the usefulness of this kind of works, but only say thus much, That they let us into the secret history of affairs of their several times, discover the springs of motion, and display many valuable, though minute circumstances, overlooked, or unknown to our general historians; and, to conclude all, satiate our largest curiosity.* The appendix contains a letter of thanks, dated January 26, 1666, from the corporation at Litchfield, upon the receipt of a silver bowl presented to them by Mr Ashmole. A preface to the catalogue of Archbishop Laud's medals, drawn up by Mr Ashmole, and preserved in the publick library at Oxford. A letter from Dr Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr Ashmole, dated December 28, 1668, on the present of his books, describing Archbishop Laud's cabinet of medals. A letter from John Evelyn, Esq; to recommend Dr Plott to him for reader in Natural Philosophy, and another from Mr Joshua Barnes, dated from Emanuel college, Cambridge, October 15, 1688, wherein he desires Mr Ashmole's pardon, for having reflected upon his Order of the Garter, in his own history of King Edward III, with Mr Ashmole's answer to that letter, dated October 23, following. How dry and unentertaining soever the perusal of such a note-book may be in itself, yet as a support in regard to facts and authorities, it is certainly impossible to find one that deserves greater credit.

(42) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(43) English Historical Library, p. 132.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 890.

(45) Histoire des Hommes illust. Tom. XXII. p. 363.

(46) In Mr Ashmole's Collection at Oxford the original stands, Cod. 1136.

[*Q*] *There is nothing which exceeds the truth.*] This truly worthy and great man, lies buried in the south isle, at the east end, and on the north side of the isle, in South Lambeth church, and the inscription above referred to, runs thus (47):

(47) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey. Maitland's Hist. of London, p. 790. Ashmole's Memoirs, p. 24.

Hic jacet inclytus ille & Eruditissimus
ELIAS ASHMOLE Leichfeldensis Armiger,
Inter alia in Republica Munera,
Tributi in Cervisias contra Rotulator,
Fœcialis autem Windsoriensis titulo
Per annos plurimos dignatus,
Qui post duo connubia in uxorem duxit tertiam
ELIZABETHAM GULIELMI DUGDALE
Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum filiam;
Mortem obiit 18 Maii, 1692. anno ætatis 76.
Sed durante Musæo ASHMOLEANO, Oxon.
Nunquam moriturus.

In English thus:

Here lies the celebrated and most learned
Elias Ashmole of Litchfield, Esq;
Amongst other publick offices
Those of Comptroller of the Excise
And Windsor Herald at Arms
For many years he worthily discharged,
Who after two marriages took for his third wife
Elizabeth, of William Dugdale
Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms, the daughter.
Breath'd his last, 18 *May,* 1692, *in the* 76 *year of his age.*
But while the Ashmoleum Musæum at Oxford stands
He shall never die.

Near it is an atchievement set up for the same person, whereon is the following coat of arms, *viz.* Quarterly *Sable* and *Or*, the first quarter on a *Fleur de lis*; of the second: *Ashmole* impaling *Dugdale, viz. Argent*, a Cross Malines *Gules*, and a Torteaux with this motto——*Ex una omnia.*

[*R*] *That*

was no longer poſſible for him to ſerve the Publick. But notwithſtanding he concealed, he never changed, or made a ſhew of changing, his principles; ſo that on the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he ſtood ſo clear in his Majeſty's opinion, that, by his order, Mr Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lord High-Treaſurer, Southampton, that Mr Aſhmole was a perſon that his Majeſty had a *more than ordinary deſire to prefer*, adding, on his own knowledge, that he was a very deſerving perſon, and a man of more than ordinary parts. The learned Dr Plott, thought our author an honour to the country in which he was born, and therefore places him amongſt the moſt eminent men it had produced, and to juſtify this, gives him the following character (*q*). 'The worſhipful 'Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; of Brazen-Noſe college, Oxon. was born at Litchfield in this 'county, who for his general ſkill in all the politer ſorts of learning, ſuch as Heraldry, 'Antiquities, Chemiſtry, Aſtrology, Natural Philoſophy, *&c.* was made firſt Windſor 'Herald, and had the ſuperviſing and ordering the King's cabinet of coins, and made 'catalogues of thoſe in the univerſity of Oxford, which univerſity, upon his extraordinary 'merit, ſent him a diploma, for his Doctor's degree in the faculty of Phyſick, *ex mero* '*motu*, without his knowledge or ſeeking; he was alſo honoured in the Inns of Court, 'with the title and degree of Barriſter at Law. Laſtly, our late dread Sovereign, King 'Charles II, being conſcious of his great knowledge, induſtry, and fidelity, made him 'Comptroller of all the Exciſe in England and Wales; he hath obliged the learned 'world with many curious books, and lately the univerſity of Oxford, with the beſt 'Hiſtory of Nature, Arts, and Antiquities, to be ſeen any where in the world, 'not in print or ſculpture, but in a generous donation of the real things themſelves, where-'with they have furniſhed the new Muſæum, lately there erected, and gratefully ſtiled it, '(as a perpetual memorial of ſo noble a benefaction) the *Muſæum Aſhmoleanum*.' It is true, Dr Plott had great obligations to our author, and therefore it may be ſuſpected (eſpecially as Mr Aſhmole was living at the time of his publiſhing that work) that his gratitude had a large ſhare in his eulogium, but nothing of this ſort can be objected to Anthony Wood who wrote after Mr Aſhmole's deceaſe, and ſeldom erred on the ſide of panegyrick. He ſays, ſpeaking of our author, 'I muſt take leave to tell the reader, he was the greateſt Virtuoſo 'or Curioſo that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor ſolis* took 'up it's habitation in his breaſt, and in his boſom the great God did abundantly ſtore up the 'treaſures of all ſorts of wiſdom and knowledge (*r*).' This we muſt allow an extraordinary commendation from ſo ſplenetick a writer, who has not failed giving place to every thing he had heard, that might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon [*R*], as well as to theſe juſt praiſes, which envy herſelf could not refuſe him. But the univerſity of Oxford more courteous than her Antiquary, expreſſes our author's merit in few words, in the diploma, by which without his ſollicitation (or ſo much as his knowledge) ſhe created him Doctor in Phyſick, for there his profound learning, as well as his benevolence to that learned body, is ſaid to have rendered him moſt dear to the univerſity, *ab eruditione recondita & benevolentia in academia propenſa nobis chariſſimus* (*s*), are their words, and for the ſame cauſes ſhould his memory remain dear to lateſt poſtery; ſince to them have deſcended not only the teſtimonies he gave of his deep ſcience, but alſo thoſe mighty helps, which by his pains he procured, and by his bounty beſtowed, where they might beſt anſwer the ends of judicious enquirers through all ſucceeding ages.

(*q*) Natural Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, p. 276, 277.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 889.

(*s*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 180.

[*R*] *That might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon.*] After mentioning the rarities, coins, medals, books, and manuſcripts, given by Mr Aſhmole in his life-time, and at his death, to the univerſity of Oxford, he very abruptly proceeds thus (48), 'But the beſt *elixir* that he enjoyed, which was the 'foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchaſed 'books, rarities, and other things, were the lands, 'and jointures, which he had with his ſecond wife, 'Mary, *&c.* widow of Sir Thomas Manwaring, 'of the Inner Temple, Knt. ſome time Steward of 'Reading: After whoſe death Mr Aſhmole taking 'her to wife, Nov 16, 1649, enjoyed her eſtate, 'though not her company, for altogether, to the 'day of her death, which happened April 1, 1668.' In this jumbled and unconnected paragraph, there is a large proportion of malice, and a very ſmall mixture of truth, as the reader will eaſily diſcern from a ſhort examination. 1. There is a baſe *innuendo*, as if Mr Aſhmole had ſtudied Chemiſtry to little purpoſe, ſince without his wife, he had miſſed of the *elixir*, whereas in fact, he was a *lover* of Chemiſtry, only never wrought with his hands, and conſequently never ſought the *elixir*, which indeed he never needed. 2. It is inſinuated that from this marriage Mr Aſhmole obtained all that he had, and that if he was a great benefactor to the univerſity of Oxford, it came all out of his lady's, lands, and jointures: But is this true? A very large part of his collection was bequeathed to him by Mr John Tredeſcant, and conſequently did not come by his wife. Beſides a prodigious ſhare of what curioſities, *&c.* he might have purchaſed in that wife's time, were burned in the fire, which conſumed his chambers in the Temple, and ſo were loſt to him and the univerſity too. Laſtly, after this lady's deceaſe, Mr Aſhmole remained Windſor Herald, Keeper of Rarities to the King, Commiſſioner for recovering King Charles the firſt's goods, Secretary of Surinam, and Comptroller of the Exciſe, which places one would imagine, might furniſh occaſion and money too, for buying books and curioſities, as well as Lady Manwaring's jointure; ſo that after all, there is as little of veracity, as of decency or gratitude, in theſe remarks of our Antiquary of Oxford. 3. But the ſevereſt ſtroke of all, is as to the ſeparation of him and his wife, which might induce an unwary reader, to believe Mr Aſhmole uſed this lady very ill, who brought him all this money; whereas in fact, ſhe uſed him ſo, or the Court of Chancery had never ſent her back to him again, after her complaint to that Court, as it had been before ſhewn was actually done.

(48) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 891.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary in Mr Wood's manner of penning this life, is his taking an opportunity at the cloſe of it, to ſhew his diſtaſte in very unmannerly terms, towards the widow of Mr Aſhmole, of whom he gives us this account (49). 'Soon after 'Mr Aſhmole's death, his widow, Elizabeth, who 'ſeemed to have had a great love and fondneſs for 'her huſband (which was ſometimes before company 'expreſſed) married a luſty man, called John Rey-'nolds, a Stone-Cutter, but had no iſſue by him.' Theſe are particulars, which no way deſerve the notice of poſterity, and are quite below the dignity of a Biographer, who ought to have no other view, than to ſerve the publick, by recording what ſucceeding generations ought either to follow, or to ſhun. E

(49) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ASHTON (THOMAS), a clergyman in the time of the Uſurpation, was the ſon of Thomas Aſhton, and born at Teuerdley in Lancaſhire, in 1631 (*a*). At ſixteen years of age, he was admitted a Servitor of Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 7, 1650 (*b*). He was choſen fellow of his college, and took holy orders. Mr Wood tells us (*c*), he was a 'forward and conceited ſcholar,' and 'became a malapert preacher in and near Oxford.' Being appointed to preach at St Mary's, on Tueſday (a lecture-day) July 25, 1654, he gave ſo great offence by his ſermon [*A*], that he was in a fair way of expulſion; but, by the interceſſion of friends, the matter was compromiſed: nevertheleſs he was obliged, about two years after, to quit his fellowſhip upon ſome quarrel which he had with Dr Greenwood Principal of his houſe. In 1656, he was intruſted with a commiſſion from the Protector to be chaplain to the Engliſh forces in the iſland of Jerſey; but was ſoon after diſplaced upon the arrival of a new Governor. After the King's Reſtoration, he was beneficed ſomewhere near Hertford in Hertfordſhire; where, Mr Wood ſays, 'he ſoon after finiſhed his reſtleſs 'courſe.' He publiſhed two pieces [*B*], mentioned below.

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(*b*) Ibid. col. 93.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 102.

I find another THOMAS ASHTON (*d*), a Knight, of an antient and wealthy family in Lancaſhire; who lived in the reign of King Henry VI, and was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry [*C*].

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

[*A*] *He gave great offence by his ſermon.*] His Text was, theſe words of Job (xxxvii. 22). *With God is terrible majeſty*; from whence taking occaſion to ſpeak of the attributes of God, particularly that of the text, he obſerved, that *terriblis* might ſignify *terræ bilis*; and concluded, that God was a *melancholy God*, and that *thoſe who had no teeth to gnaſh, ſhould gnaſh their gums*, &c (1).

(1) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 102.

(*B*) *He publiſhed two pieces.*] I. *Blood thirſty* Cyrus, *unſatisfied with blood. Or, The boundleſs Cruelty of an Anabaptiſt's Tyranny, manifeſted in a Letter of Colonel* John Maſon, *Governor of* Jerſey, 3 *Nov.* 1659; *wherein he exhibits ſeven falſe, ridiculous, and ſcandalous articles againſt Quarter-Maſter* William Swan, &c. London 1659, *in one ſheet* 4*to*. II. *Satan in* Samuel's *Mantle, or, the Cruelty of* Germany, *acted in* Jerſey; *containing the arbitrary, bloody, and tyrannical Proceedings of* John Maſon, *of a baptized Church, commiſſionated to be a Colonel, and ſent over into the iſland of* Jerſey, *Governor, in July* 1656, *againſt ſeveral Officers and Soldiers in that ſmall place*, &c. London 1659, *in four ſheets in* 4*to* (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] Sir Thomas Aſhton —— *was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry.*] This appears from the following patent (tranſcribed by Dr Fuller (3) from the original in the Tower, granted by King Henry VI, in the 24th year of his reign, to Sir Thomas Aſhton, and Sir Edmund Trafford. *Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod cum dilecti et fideles noſtri, Edmundus de Trafford Miles, et Thomas Aſhton Miles, nobis per quandam ſupplicationem monſtraverint, quod quamvis ipſi ſuper cartis metallis, per artem ſive ſcientiam philoſophiæ, operari vellent, metalla imperfecta de ſuo proprio genere transferre, et tunc ea per dictam artem ſive ſcientiam, in aurum ſive argentum perfectum tranſubſtantiare, ad omnimodas probationes et examinationes, ſicut aliquod aurum ſive argentum in aliqua minera creſcens, expectandum et indurandum, ut dicunt; Nihilominus certæ perſonæ illis malevolentes et malignantes, ſupponunt ipſos per artem illicitam operari, et ſic ipſos in probatione dictæ artis ſive Scientiæ impedire et perturbare poſſunt: Nos præmiſſa conſiderantes, ac concluſionem dictæ operationis ſive Scientiæ ſcire volentes, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali conceſſimus et licentiam dedimus iiſdem Edmundo et Thomæ, et ipſorum ſervientibus, quod ipſi artem ſive ſcientiam prædictam operari et probare poſſent licite et impune, abſque impetitione noſtra vel Officiariorum noſtrorum quorumcunque; aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, ſive Proviſione in contrarium facto ordinat. ſive proviſ. non obſtante. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Weſtmon. ſeptimo die Aprilis.* Thus tranſlated by Fuller, 'The King to all whom, &c. Greeting. 'Know ye, that whereas our beloved and loyal Ed- 'mund de Trafford, Knt. and Thomas Aſhton, Knt. 'have by a certain petition ſhewn unto us, that al- 'though they were willing by the art or ſcience of 'philoſophy to work upon certain metals, to tranſ- 'late imperfect metals from their own kind, and 'then to tranſubſtantiate them by the ſaid art or 'ſcience, as they ſay, into perfect gold or ſilver, 'unto all manner of proofs and trials, to be ex- 'pected and indured, as any gold or ſilver growing 'in any mine; notwithſtanding certain perſons ill- 'willing and maligning them, conceive them to 'work by unlawful art, and ſo may hinder and 'diſturb them in the trial of the ſaid art and ſcience: 'We, conſidering the premiſes, and willing to know 'the concluſion of the ſaid working or ſcience, of our 'ſpecial grace have granted and given leave to the ſame 'Edmund and Thomas, and to their ſervants, that they 'may work and try the aforeſaid art and ſcience lawful- 'ly and freely, without any hindrance of our's, or of our 'officers whatſoever; any Statute, Act, Ordinance, 'or Proviſion, made, ordained, or provided to the 'contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof, the 'King at Weſtminſter, the 7th day of April.'

(3) Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

T

ASHWELL (GEORGE), Rector of Hanwell, near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, was the ſon of Robert Aſhwell of Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, and was born in the pariſh of St Martin near Ludgate in London, November the 8th, 1612. He was admitted a ſcholar of Wadham college in Oxford in 1627, took the degrees in arts, was elected fellow, and became a celebrated tutor in that houſe. In the time of the Grand Rebellion he continued in Oxford, and preached ſeveral times before the King, Court, and Parliament. A little before the ſurrender of the garriſon of Oxford, he had the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity conferred on him (*a*). About the latter end of the year 1658, he was preſented to the living of Hanwell, vacant by the death of Dr Robert Harris, having been before (as Mr Wood thinks) chaplain in the family of Sir Anthony Cope, Lord of the Manour of Hanwell (*b*). He had the character of a very peaceable and religious man, and was well verſed in Logic, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers. He wrote the following books. I. *Fides Apoſtolica*, or *A Diſcourſe aſſerting the received Authors and Authority of the Apoſtles Creed.* Oxon. 1653, 8vo. II. *A Double Appendix, the firſt touching the Athanaſian, the ſecond touching the Nicene Creed*, printed with the *Fides Apoſtolica* [*A*]. III. *Geſtus Euchariſticus, concerning the Geſture to be uſed at the receiving*

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. June 23, 1646.

(*b*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911, 912.

[*A*] *A double appendix*, &c.] Mr Richard Baxter having, in his *Gildas Salvianus*, or *Reformed Paſtor*, cenſured ſome things in Mr Aſhwell's *Fides Apoſtolica*, thought fit to recant in the Preface to his *Catholic Theology*, and expreſſed his regret for having ſaid any thing againſt that book (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 911.

receiving of the Sacrament. Oxon. 1663, 8vo. IV. *De Socino et Socinianiſmo.* i. e. *A Treatiſe concerning Socinus and the Socinian Hereſy* [*B*]. V. *De Eccleſia Romana Diſſertatio, pars operis multo majoris De Judice Controverſiarum.* i. e. *A Diſſertation concerning the Church of Rome, being part of a much larger Work concerning the Judge of Controverſies.* Oxon. 1688, 4to. This piece was publiſhed at the requeſt of Dr Gilbert Ironſide, Warden of Wadham college. VI. *An Anſwer to Plato Redivivus, written by Henry Nevil.* This is in manuſcript in the author's own hand. VII. He alſo tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, *Philoſophus Autodidactus, ſive Epiſtola Abi Giaaphar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdan*, &c. London 1586, 8vo [*C*]. Our author died at Hanwell, the eighth of February 1693, and was buried in the church of that place, having been thirty-five years Rector thereof [*D*].

[*B*] *De Socino et Socinianiſmo.*] This was but a part, and that the leaſt, of a much greater work, entitled *De Judice Controverſiarum, et Catholicæ veritatis regula.* i. e. 'Of the Judge of Controverſies, 'and the Rule of Catholic Truth;' which the author had finiſhed, and kept by him in manuſcript. He publiſhed the *Diſſertation* as a ſpecimen of his performance, and to try what ſucceſs he might reaſonably expect from the publication of the whole (2).

(2) Wood, ibid.

[*C*] *Philoſophus autodidactus*, &c.] In this Epiſtle (Mr Wood tells us) is demonſtrated by what ſteps and degrees human reaſon, improved by diligent obſervation and experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the diſcovery of ſuper-naturals, more eſpecially of God, and the concerns of another life. It was publiſhed in Arabick and Latin, by Edw. Pocock, A. M. of Chriſtchurch in Oxford 1671, 4to (3).

(3) Wood, ibid. col. 912.

[*D*] *He was thirty-five years Rector of Hanwell.*] This we learn from his epitaph, which begins thus: *Depoſitum Geo. Aſhwell, S. S. Theol. Bac. & hujus Eccleſiæ 35 annos rectoris*, &c.

T

ASSHETON (WILLIAM), Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Beckenham in Kent, was the ſon of the reverend Mr Aſsheton Rector of Middleton in Lancaſhire, of the antient family of the Baronets of that name and place (*a*). He was born in the year 1641, had his education in a private country ſchool, and was from thence removed to Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, July 3, 1658 (*b*). Here he imbibed the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty [*A*], and made ſo quick a progreſs in every branch of good literature, that he ſoon merited a fellowſhip, into which he was elected in 1663, being then Bachelor of Arts (*c*). After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into orders, and was a preacher for ſome time in the parts about Oxford (*d*). He was appointed chaplain to James Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that univerſity, whom he ſerved in that capacity both in England and Ireland. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in January 1673; and, the February following, he ſucceeded Dr Benjamin Parry, in the Prebend of Knareſburgh, in the church of York (*e*). His attendance on his patron brought him to London, where he obtained the living of St Antholin (*f*); and in 1676, by the Duke's intereſt with the family of the St Johns, he was preſented to the rectory of Beckenham in Kent. He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation [*B*]. This worthy Divine was the firſt projector of the ſcheme for providing a maintenance for clergymens widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company [*C*]. He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the

(*a*) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Aſsheton.* Printed at London, 1714.

(*b*) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1025.

(*c*) *Life*, &c. p. 8. *See alſo* Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, ibid.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1026.

(*f*) *Life*, &c. p. 14.

[*A*] *He imbibed*, at Oxford, *the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty.*] Mr Wood pretends (1), he was, at his firſt admiſſion in the college, put under a Preſbyterian tutor; by which means he was very early tinctured with the principles of that ſect; inſomuch that (as our Antiquarian expreſſes it) *he frequented, with Sam. Parker, the religious meetings in the houſe of Beſſe Hampton, an old decrepid laundreſs, living in Halywell in the north ſuburb of Oxford*; but that he changed his principles after the Reſtoration of King Charles II. This is not eaſily reconciled with what the author of his *Life* tells us, that 'He was providentially 'bleſſed in ſome orthodox and loyal inſtructors, ſuch 'as ſecured him from the general contagion (2).' It is true, the ſame author confeſſes, 'He fell into 'ſome dangerous hands at ſchool and the univerſity, 'and lay under many temptations, where the leavens of error and hypocriſy prevailed:' but at the ſame time he argues againſt the probability of his having ever fallen in with the Preſbyterian party. 'Beſides, (ſays he) as it pleaſed God to endow him 'with a moſt towardly diſpoſition, a moſt compaſſionate good nature, a very ſtudious humble mind, 'and modeſt behaviour, as with all virtuous inclinations and ſpecial graces; ſo he could never be 'ſo much as tainted with ill notions of any kind, 'nor ever be drawn into the party of any furious 'zealots, libertines, &c. whom he wanted not ſpirit 'to oppoſe on all due occaſions, and in proper ſeaſons throughout his life (3).'

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1025.

(2) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr Aſsheton*, p. 6.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 7.

[*B*] *He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation.*] He was ſo often elected into this office, that at length he begged leave to decline the favour; as he found the diſtempers of his ſtudious ſedentary life, the gravel and ſtone, growing upon him, which diſabled him for attendance and fatigues. However he was prevailed upon to continue in that function, his great abilities and integrity rendring him the fitteſt perſon to repreſent thoſe of his order (4).

(4) Id. ibid. p. 41.

[*C*] *He projected the ſcheme for providing for clergymens widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers company.*] Dr Aſsheton gave the publick an account of this ſcheme, in a book entitled, *A full account of the riſe, progreſs, and advantages of Dr Aſsheton's Propoſal*, &c (5). In the Preface we are told, that 'As Dr Aſsheton did not 'project this Propoſal for his own private advan'tage, but doth ſincerely deſign a public good; in 'like manner, the worthy members of the Mercers 'company have undertaken to manage this Propoſal, 'not from any proſpect of advantage to their own 'private perſons, but only out of a generous deſign 'to make the company more capable to anſwer the 'end and reaſon of their charter; which is to eſta'bliſh and manage public charities, and thereby to 'enlarge their capacity of doing good.' An Advertiſement, which follows the Preface, informs us, that 'This Propoſal being firſt projected for the be'nefit of thoſe who have ſmall eſtates, the words 'poverty and *poor* do ſometimes occur in the ex'plication of it; and therefore, that perſons of ho'nour and quality may not be prejudiced againſt it, 'as if it nothing concerned them; they may pleaſe 'to be informed, that this Propoſal, as now model'led and improved, may be ſerviceable to thoſe of 'quality and eſtate: 1. By enabling them to ſettle 'or enlarge jointures, without clogging their lands: '2. By encouraging them to demand larger portions

(5) See the remark [*D*].

I

the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts [*D*]. A few years before

'tions than otherwiſe, without the help of this Pro-'poſal, they could rationally expect.' The bringing this ſcheme to perfection, took up Dr Aſheton's thoughts many years. For though he was encouraged by many judicious perſons, in the proſecution of the deſign, yet where to fix it, or how to provide ſuch a fund as might ſecure the Subſcribers, was a matter of ſome difficulty. However, he reſolved to go on, and, if poſſible, to finiſh what he had ſo long projected. His firſt addreſs was to the *Corporation of the Clergy*, who declared, they were not in a capacity to accept the Propoſal. His next Application was to the *Royal Bank of England*, where he met with no better ſucceſs. Whereupon the Doctor applied himſelf to the Mercers company; who, after full debates in their general Courts and Committees, agreed with him upon certain rules and orders; out of which I ſhall extract the following particulars. 1. 'That the Company will take in 'ſubſcriptions at any time, till the ſum of 100,000*l.* 'be ſubſcribed, but will never exceed that ſum. '2. That all married men, at the age of thirty 'years or under, may ſubſcribe any ſum not ex-'ceeding 1000*l.* That all married men, not exceed-'ing the age of forty years, may ſubſcribe any ſum, 'not exceeding 500*l.* And that all married men, 'not exceeding the age of ſixty years, may ſubſcribe 'any ſum, not exceeding 300*l.* And that the wi-'dows of all perſons, ſubſcribing according to theſe 'limitations, ſhall receive the benefit of 30 *per cent. per annum*, according to the former Propoſal, free 'of all taxes and charges, at the two uſual Feaſts 'of the *Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary*, and '*St Michael the Archangel*; and that the firſt of 'theſe payments ſhall be made at the firſt of the 'ſaid Feaſt days, which ſhall happen four months 'or more after the deceaſe of the perſon or per-'ſons ſo ſubſcribing; excepting ſuch as ſhall vo-'luntarily make away with themſelves, or by any 'act of theirs occaſion their own death; either by 'duelling or committing any crime, whereby they 'ſhall be ſentenced, and put to death by juſtice: 'In any, or either of theſe caſes, the widows to 'receive no annuity; but, upon delivering up the 'Company's bond, to have the ſubſcription money 'paid to them. 3. That no ſea-faring men may 'ſubſcribe, who follow it is as their buſineſs or vo-'cation; nor others, who go farther than Holland, 'Ireland, or the coaſts of England; and that any 'perſon may ſubſcribe for any others, whom he 'ſhall nominate in his laſt will, during the natural 'life of his wife, if ſhe ſurvive, and his intention 'be declared in his ſubſcription.' The Company had ſeveral meetings in Committees with the Doctor, about ſettling a ſufficient ſecurity; in which they ſatisfied him that their eſtates, being clear rents, amounted to 2888*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* beſides the payments of the benefactors, to be paid out of the ſame; which, by a moderate calculation, would yield, when the leaſes came out, above 13500*l. per annum*. All things being agreed upon, the Deed of Settlement was executed by the Company and Truſtees, at a general Court of the ſaid Company, held on Wedneſday the 4th of October, 1699. This Deed is enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and an authentic copy of it kept by the Company (6).

(6) *Life*, &c. p. 84, &c.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts.*] I ſhall here give the reader a compleat Catalogue of Dr Aſheton's works, extracted from the author of his Life. I. TOLERATION *diſapproved and condemned by the authority and convincing reaſons of*, 1. *That wiſe and learned King* JAMES, *and his Priuy-council*, Anno Reg. II^do. 2. *The honourable Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, in their Votes*, &c. Feb. 25, 1662. 3. *The* Preſbyterian *Miniſters in the City of* London, *met at* Sion college, *Decem.* 18, 1645. 4. *Twenty eminent Divines, moſt (if not all) of them members of the late aſſembly; in their Sermons before the two Houſes of Parliament on ſolemn occaſions. Faithfully collected by a very moderate hand, and humbly preſented to the ſerious conſideration of all Diſſenting Parties.* Printed at *Oxford*, in the year 1670. He publiſhed a ſecond edition of this book, the ſame year, with his name, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Oxford's *Imprimatur*, prefixed to it. The title was the ſame as that of the firſt edition, only with this addition to it: *Faithfully collected by* William Aſheton, *Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of* Brazen-noſe college *in* Oxford. *The ſecond Edition corrected and enlarged, with an additional Preface; wherein the nature of Perſecution in general, and the unjuſt complaints of the diſſenting parties concerning it in particular, are diſtinctly conſidered.* Printed likewiſe at *Oxford*, in 1670. II. *The Caſes of Scandal and Perſecution; being a ſeaſonable enquiry into theſe two things: 1. Whether the Nonconformiſts, who otherwiſe think ſubſcription lawful, are therefore obliged to forbear it, becauſe the weak brethren do judge it unlawful? 2. Whether the execution of penal laws upon Diſſenters, for non-communion with the Church of* England, *be perſecution? Wherein they are pathetically exhorted to return into the boſom of the Church, the likelieſt expedient to ſtop the growth of Popery.* Printed at *London*, in the year 1674. This piece, Mr Wood tells us (7), is reflected upon by Mr Richard Baxter, in his *Apology for the non-conforming Miniſtry*, &c. London, 1681. There is an occaſional Poſtſcript to it, concerning a gentlewoman, who was perverted from Proteſtantiſm to Popery, by the arguments of ſome Preſbyterian Divines. III. *The Royal Apology: Or, An Anſwer to the Rebel's Plea; wherein are the moſt noted Anti-monarchical Tenets, 1ſt publiſhed by* Doleman *the* Jeſuit, *to promote a* Bill of Excluſion *againſt King* James I. *2dly, Practiſed by* Bradſhaw, *and the* Regicides, *in the actual murder of King* Charles I. *3dly, Republiſhed by* Sidney, *and the Aſſociates to depoſe and murder his preſent Majeſty*, London, 1685. The ſecond Edition. IV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of their preſent Majeſties*; Printed at London. In this piece, the author publiſhed to the world the reaſons, which induced him to ſwear allegiance to King William, and Queen Mary. V. *The Country Parſon's Admonition to his Pariſhoners againſt Popery; with directions how to behave themſelves, when any one deſigns to ſeduce them from the Church of England.* London, Printed in the year, 1686. VI. *A full Defence of the former Diſcourſe againſt the Miſſionaries Anſwer: Being a farther Examination of the pretended Infallibility of the Church of Rome:* or, as it is intituled in the firſt impreſſion, *A Defence of the Plain Man's Reply to the Catholic Miſſionaries*, &c. To this is prefix'd an *Imprimatur*, ſigned by *William Needham*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. March 29, 1688. VII. *A ſhort Diſcourſe againſt Blaſphemy*, 1691. VIII. *A Diſcourſe againſt Drunkenneſs*, 1692. IX. *A Diſcourſe againſt ſwearing and curſing*, 1692. Theſe three laſt pieces were written and publiſhed in purſuance of their Majeſties injunctions, againſt all ſorts of prophaneneſs; and, that they might be the more generally read, they were ſold for no more than 2*d.* each diſcourſe. X. *Directions in order to the ſuppreſſing of Debauchery and Prophaneneſs*, 1693. XI. *A Conference with an Anabaptiſt*; Part I. *Concerning the Subject of* Baptiſm: *Being a Defence of* Infant-Baptiſm. This book is authorized with the *Imprimatur* of *Ralph Barker*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nov. 6, 1694. It was occaſioned by a ſeparate congregation of Anabaptiſts, being ſet up in Dr Aſheton's Pariſh; but the Meeting ſoon breaking up, the author never publiſhed a ſecond Part. XII. *A Diſcourſe concerning a Death-bed Repentance.* This is the ſubſtance of a Sermon preached at Court before Queen Mary, enlarged and dedicated to the King, after her Majeſty's death. XIII. *A Theological Diſcourſe of laſt Wills and Teſtaments.* London, 1696. XIV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of the bleſſed Trinity: Being an Anſwer to this Queſtion,* Why do you believe the Doctrine of the Trinity? *Collected from the Works of the moſt Reverend Doctor* John Tillotſon, *late Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *and the Right Reverend Dr* Edward Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, London, 1679. XV. *A brief State of the* Socinian Controverſy, *concerning a Trinity in Unity*; collected from the Works of Dr Iſaac Barrow. London, 1698. XVI. *The Plain Man's Devotion*, Part I. *In a method of daily Devotion*; and, *a method of Devotion for the Lord's day. Both fitted to the meaneſt capacities*, 1698. XVII. *A full Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Advantages of*

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1026.

Dr

before his death, he was invited to accept of the headſhip of his college, then vacant; which offer he modeſtly declined (*g*). He died at Beckenham in September 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of that church (*h*). I ſhall give an extract of his character from the author of his *Life* [*E*], printed at London in 1714.

(*g*) *Life*, &c. p. 8.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 193.

ASTLEY

Dr Aſsheton's *Propoſal, (as now improved and managed by the worſhipful company of Mercers,* London) *for the benefit of widows of clergymen, and others, by ſettled jointures and annuities, at the rate of thirty* per cent. *With Directions for the widow how to receive her annuity, without any delay, charges, or deductions.* Plead for the Widow. *Iſa.* i. 17. *Printed by* W. P. *Given Gratis at* Mercers-hall, *and by* J. Baker, *Bookſeller at* Mercers-chapel, 1713. XVIII. *A A Vindication of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State,* London, 1703. XIX. *A Brief Exhortation to the Holy Communion, with the nature and meaſures of Preparation concerning it: Fitted to the meaneſt capacities,* 1705. XX. *A method of Devotion for ſick and dying perſons: With particular Directions from the beginning of Sickneſs to the Hour of Death.* London, 1706. XXI. *The Poſſibility of Apparitions: Being an Anſwer to this queſtion*; 'Whether can departed Souls (Souls ſeparated from their bodies) ſo appear, as to be viſibly ſeen, and converſe here on earth?' This book was occaſioned by the remarkable Story of one dying at Dover, and appearing to her friend at Canterbury (8). XXII. *Occaſional Prayers from Biſhop Taylor, Biſhop Coſins, Biſhop Kenn,* &c. and, *A Devout Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems, on ſeveral Occaſions.* London, 1708. XXIII. *A Seaſonable Vindication of the Clergy: Being an Anſwer to ſome Reflections in a late book, entitled,* The Rights of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, &c. *Humbly ſubmitted to the ſerious conſideration of the Nobility and Gentry of* Great Britain. *By a Divine of the* Church *of* London, 1709. XXIV. *Directions for the Converſation of the Clergy: Collected from the Viſitation Charges of the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. *late Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter. London, 1710. XXV. *Two Sermons*: One preached before the Sons of the Clergy, at St Paul's, December 6, 1699; the other before the Honourable Society of the Natives of the County of Kent, at St Mary le Bow, Nov. 21, 1700. Mr. Wood (9) mentions another Sermon on the *Danger of Hypocriſy*, preached at Guild-hall chapel, Aug. 3, 1673.

(8) *This Story is prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Drelincourt *on* Death.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *An Extract of* Dr Aſsheton's *Character from the Author of his Life.* (10)] 'He was very regular and aſſiduous in private Devotion, Meditation, and Reading.——Hiſtory and Philoſophy, he juſtly uſed as the proper handmaids to Divinity, which was his buſineſs and delight, his Study indeed.——He readily ſubſcribed to the publiſhing all critical, learned, and laborious works.——Thus he compleated one of the beſt Libraries any Clergyman can deſire, having the bleſſing of a ſufficient revenue, out of which he laid out at leaſt 10*l.* per annum, to improve and increaſe his firſt ſtock of books; whereof he ſent many duplicates, upon requeſt, for Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland.——Among all his books, thoſe of devotion were intermixed, or at hand, to begin and end with.——His zeal in and for the Church, was ever conſpicuous.——He preached twice every Sunday, to keep the people from ſtraggling, and engage them to frequent the church; otherwiſe he knew, and lamented, that we have but too much preaching in the nation.——At length he found his labour too great for him; which yet rather than leſſen, (though in a ſmall pariſh) he was willing to keep an aſſiſtant before he died; to whom he committed the catechizing part in his declining age, allowing him 5*s.* per Sunday, over and above 30*l.* per annum, and the benefit of his table all Church-days, &c. with ſeveral gifts and advantages that made up the whole about 50*l.* per annum.——He watched diligently over his flock, and never neglected to pray for them, and bleſs them; neither would he ſuffer any to periſh for want of admonition or reproof; as well in the ſpirit of meekneſs, as with all authority; though he never ſued, cited, or proſecuted the moſt injurious and obſtinate offenders; yet he rebuked and avoided the unruly, and kept the impertinently cenſorious, and perverſe, at a due diſtance.——He knew, and did his own duty well; and would have all his people mind theirs, who were not to tell him what to preach, &c. however offended at his juſt reproofs and warnings; of which he had an inſtance in a wilful profaner, and abſenter from the Church ſometimes, and from the Lord's Table always; pretending that the Doctor had preached againſt him, and told him, he ſhould be damned, before all the congregation.——He ſo much the more deſerved of his pariſh, as he was more generous and charitable among them, than juſt to himſelf, in diſregarding often his ſmall tythes and perquiſites, taking quietly what ſome left him, and helping all; wherein, to make all juſt and eaſy too, he tried all poſſible fair ways without contention, by letting out the whole, and letting every man his part; and at laſt taking all in kind, when they would not come near the value. He perſiſted in taking his tenths many years, till his death, with all imaginable eaſe to his people, and too much loſs and expence to himſelf; who yet always obſerved and declared, that the worſt tythe was better than the beſt compoſition he could make; moſt country-men being too hard at bargains, and often ſo unreaſonable, as to ſtand in their own light, as they call it.——He kept a conſtant good table, and ſeemed glad of daily gueſts, excepting on Faſt-days, &c. otherwiſe the more frequent viſits were to him, the more welcome.——He kept up the true moderate Engliſh hoſpitality, genteely managed by an excellent Virgin-ſiſter, (who lived and died with him, while he continued ſingle) and ſome few years by a truly virtuous wife, though ſickly, for whom he ſet up his coach, being moſt tender of her, and ſorrowful at her death.——As he was a moſt affectionate, tender huſband, and brother; ſo he was a juſt indulgent maſter, and had generally careful and honeſt ſervants, whom he took pains to make religious, peaceable, and ſober.—— He daily obſerved the good old religious way of Family-devotions, and Sunday-repetitions, &c. in the evening, for heavenly knowledge, grace, and protection hourly.——He ſometimes uſed extempore Sermons, (having a body of Divinity in his head) until he was diſturbed, and put into a conſternation with his congregation, by a woman ſwooning away in the church, who was ſoon carried out, and the people became ſilent; yet he could not recover his ſubject, nor recollect any thing he had ſaid before; which obliged him to make an apology and come down. This he took as a warning, never to preſume upon the ſtrength of his parts or memory any more; neither would he ever after venture into any pulpit without notes.——He was eaſy of acceſs, moſt courteous and affable, meek as a lamb, harmleſs as a dove; but withal, wiſe to diſtinguiſh perſons, times, and places. His table-talk was both delightful and improving; he diverted ſad ſtories, and decried falſe ones; he would not willingly know a wicked perſon, nor ſuffer a liar or tale-bearer in his ſight. He never looked ſo frowning, as when a certain gentleman was backbiting another, and telling them a ſcandalous ſtory; he ſtarted up, and with emotion aſked him, if he could face the abſent? which ſoon confounded the whiſperer.' In this extract the reader will perceive, that I have ſelected only thoſe particulars, which moſt ſtrongly mark Dr Aſsheton's character; which I ſhall ſum up in the words of an ingenious writer, quoted by the author of his life, (11). *Tho' low of ſtature, and mean aſpect, yet truly reverend; his countenance was full of mildneſs and courteſy; his eyes more ſmiling than his mouth; his diſcourſe grave and ſober; words ſmooth and proper, diſtinctly uttered, with due reſpect to time, place, and perſon. His religion was legible in the innocency of his life, exactneſs of his morals, integrity and truth of his words, and the juſtice and honeſty of his converſation. He abſtained from offending, as if none ever pardoned; yet pardoned, as if he daily offended. His paſſions he made ſervants to his reaſon and religion; and if they rebelled, firſt concealed, and then ſuppreſſed*

(10) *From page* 155 to 186.

(11) Page 187, 188.

ſuppreſſed their mutiny. He generally ſpake little; ſaw others tempers, without diſcovering his own; yet, when occaſion ſerved, ſhewed that his ſilence neither proceeded from affectation nor weakneſs: for by running back to ages paſt, and recovering events out of memory, and then preventing time in flying forward to future things, and comparing one with the other, he would give a verdict very near prophetical; yet was ſo free from vanity, he could bear interruption patiently. Such was his prudence, and ſo exact his judgment as to diſcern between pride and greatneſs, religion and ſuperſtition, quickneſs and raſhneſs, government and tyranny, liberty and licentiouſneſs, ſubjection and ſervitude, frugality and covetouſneſs, &c. and to give to every cauſe it's proper actions and effects. He drank wine, as ſick men take phyſick, meerly for health: Reaſon was his rule, conſcience his counſellor; and his actions were ever contrary to thoſe he found fault with. Age rendered him neither moroſe nor imperious; his converſation was ſo affable, pleaſant, and inſtructive, that young and old both delighted and profited in his company. T

ASTLEY (JOHN) ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas de Aſtley, Knt. by Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Richard Harcourt, Eſq; deſcended of the antient and noble family of Aſtley, of Aſtley in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the beginning of the XVth century, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by feats of arms, in the reign of our great Engliſh conqueror, King Henry V. It was in thoſe days cuſtomary, for perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by military atchievements, to tilt publickly for the honour of their nation, or of their miſtreſſes. Thus in 1438, one Peter de Maſſe, a Frenchman, having challenged all comers in honour of a certain lady, it was accepted by our heroe, Aſtley, who, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt that year, in the ſtreet of St Antoine in Paris, engaged him on horſeback in the preſence of Charles VII, the French King, and having with his lance pierced the head and helmet of his opponent quite through, he preſented the latter to his lady, according to the conditions of combat (*b*). Being by this exploit become famous, on his return into England he was made choice of to fight Sir Philip Boyle, an Arragonian Knight, who, by the command of the King his maſter, had been in France, and had there challenged any perſon to fight with him on horſeback or on foot, and was now come into England for the ſame purpoſe. The combat was on the thirtieth of January, 1442, being the twentieth of Henry VI. It was fought in Smithfield in the preſence of that King, and all his nobility (*c*). Our John Aſtley was then an Eſquire of the King's houſe, and was made choice of on this occaſion, to ſupport the honour of the nation. They fought on foot, both being compleatly armed, and firſt Aſtley threw his ſpear, which was avoided by Sir Philip Boyle, who put it by with his ſword. After this Aſtley took his battle-ax, and went againſt the Knight ſuddenly, ſays my author, on whom he ſtruck many ſtrokes hard and ſore upon his baſnet, and on his hand, and made him looſe his battle ax, and let it fall to the ground, and burſt up his umber, *i. e.* the vizor of his helmet three times, and caught his dagger, and would have ſmitten him in the face to have ſlain him in the field, and then the King cried Hoo! and ſo they were parted and went to their tents (*d*). Immediately after, the King dubbed the ſaid John Aſtley a Knight, and granted him an annuity of one hundred marks *per annum* (*e*). As for Sir Philip Boyle, or, as Stowe calls him, Sir Philip de Beaufe, he went and offered his arms at Windſor (*f*) [*B*]. Sir John de Aſtley continuing in the exerciſe of arms, became in proceſs of time Knight of the Garter, and having paſſed through life with the greateſt honour, he at length deceaſed at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, and lies buried there under a handſome monument (*g*) [*C*].

(*a*) See the Pedigree of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ſecond edition, p. 107, 110. The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361, edit. 1727.

(*b*) Theatre de Honneur par M. de Wilſon, c. xxviii.

(*c*) Ibid. c. xxix.

(*d*) Stowe, A. D. 1442.

(*e*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 110.

(*f*) Stowe, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 361.

[*A*] *Aſtley of Aſtley in Warwickſhire.*] This antient family is ſuppoſed, on account of the likeneſs of arms, the lands they held by military ſervice, and the employments they from time to time, had under the Earls of Leiceſter, to have been a younger branch, deſcended from Simon de Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, great grandchild to Almaric, baſe ſon to Robert King of France (1). This is the conjecture of Sir William Dugdale, and ſeems to have a great deal of probability. As to the name it is thus derived. In Domeſday book, this manor is called Eſtleja, *i. e. Locus Orientalis*, a place lying eaſt, and the firſt mention we have of the family of which we are ſpeaking, is in the twelfth of Henry II, when it appears, that Philip de Eſtleja, Eſtley, or Aſtley, held three Knights fees of William, Earl of Warwick, *de veteri feoffamento*, by which it is plain, that this eſtate was either in his father, or grandfather in the time of Henry I (2), of which three Knights fees, Eſtley was part with Wedington, Hillmorton, Milverton, &c. by the ſervice of holding the Earl's ſtirrup when he either mounted or alighted (3). This is the antient and chief family of Aſtley, from which the families ſeated at Hillmorton, and Wolvey in Warwickſhire, and at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, both which are ſtill ſubſiſting and flouriſhing, draw their ſource (4). As to the eldeſt branch it failed in William de Aſtley, in the reign of Henry V, for he leaving an only daughter, Joan, ſhe married firſt Thomas Raleigh of Farnborough, in the county of Warwick, and afterwards Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, in whoſe family the manor of Aſtley long continued (5).

(1) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 106.

(2) Ex Cartul. Warw. Comit. penes Dudl. Bar. de North. f. 106. b.

(3) Ibid.

(4) The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. II. p. 50, 355.

(5) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 111.

[*B*] *He went and offered his arms at Windſor.*] As to theſe combats, and the laws relating to them, the reader may meet with large accounts of them, in the books cited in the margin (6), but however, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething in few words of them here. In the firſt place, the King's leave was to be aſked in a ſolemn manner, when that was obtained, a place was aſſigned which was railed in, and convenient ſtations appointed for the judges and for the ſpectators. Men and women being in ſeparate boxes. In the Area were pitched two tents, one for the challenger, and one for the defendant, then each of the parties ſwore, that he fought fairly. There is an oath of this ſort on record, in a trial which ſhould have been by battle, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and as all oaths on ſuch occaſions were of the ſame tenor, it may not be amiſs to produce it. Thus it ran, This, hear you Juſtices, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me either bone, ſtone, or glaſs, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witchcraft, where, through the power of God, might be inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Devil's power increaſed (7). After the combat was over, the conqueror went and ſolemnly returned thanks to God, and in this caſe it appears, that he who was foiled, did alſo offer his arms.

(6) Theatre de Honneur par M. Wilſon. Inſtitution of the Garter, by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq;

(7) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 670. edit. 1631.

[*C*] *Buried under a handſome monument.*] It is pity we have not an exact deſcription of this monument, becauſe we know particularly from an ancient MS. of the enſigns of the Knights of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, that this Sir John de Aſtley bore for his arms the coats of Aſtley and Harcourt quarterly, and a label of three points ermine (8), perhaps they may be upon this tomb. E

(8) Engliſh Baronets, Vol II p. 361

ASTON (Sir ARTHUR), an officer of note in King Charles Ist's army, was ſon of Sir Arthur Aſton of Fulham in Middleſex, who was the ſecoud ſon of Sir Thomas Aſton, of Aſton of Bucklow-Hundred in Cheſhire; 'an antient and knightly family 'of that county (*a*).' He was a great traveller, and made ſeveral campaigns in foreign countries. Being returned into England about the beginning of the Grand Rebellion, with as many ſoldiers of note as he could bring with him, he took part with the King[*A*] againſt the Parliament. He commanded the dragoons in the battle of Edge-hill, and with them did his Majeſty conſiderable ſervice. The King, having a great opinion of his valour and conduct, made him governor of the garriſon of Reading in Berkſhire (*b*), and Commiſſary-General of the Horſe (*c*): in which poſt he three times repulſed the Earl of Eſſex, who, at the head of the Parliament army, laid ſiege to that place. But Sir Arthur being dangerouſly wounded [*B*], the command was devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding, the eldeſt Colonel in the garriſon. Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command [*C*]. Some time after, he was appointed governor of the garriſon of Oxford [*D*], in the room of Sir William Penniman deceaſed (*d*). In September following, he had the misfortune to break his leg by a fall from his horſe, and was obliged to have it cut off; whereupon, on the twenty-fifth of December, he was diſcharged from his command, which was conferred on Colonel Gage (*e*). After the King's death, Sir Arthur was employed in the ſervice of King Charles II, and went with the flower of the Engliſh veterans into Ireland, where he was appointed governor of Drogheda, commonly called *Tredagh*; 'at which time (Mr Wood tells us) he laid 'an excellent plot to tire and break the Engliſh army (*f*).' But at length Cromwell having taken the town, about the tenth of Auguſt, 1649, and put the inhabitants to the ſword [*E*], Sir Arthur the governor was cut to pieces, and his brains beaten out with his wooden

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxonienſ.* Vol. II. col. 45.

(*b*) Id. ib.

(*c*) Clarendon, *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part i. p. 81. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(*d*) Ib. part ii. p. 526.

(*e*) Ib. p. 553. Mr Wood *pretends it was given to Colonel* William Legge. *But I prefer the authority of the noble Hiſtorian.*

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He took part with the King.*] The reader is to be informed, that Sir Arthur Aſton was a reputed Papiſt; and this, among other circumſtances, gave the King's enemies occaſion to reflect upon him, as favouring the Romiſh religion. Let us hear my Lord Clarendon. 'In this equipage the King marched,—— 'having in his whole army not one officer of the 'field who was a Papiſt, except Sir Arthur Aſton, 'if he were one; and very few common ſoldiers of 'that religion. However the Parliament in all their 'declarations, and their clergy much more in their 'ſermons, aſſured the people, that the King's army 'conſiſted only of Papiſts (1).' And in another place, 'Tho' he (the King) had ſome Papiſts entertained 'in his armies, yet all men truſted by him in ſu-'perior commands, were men of unblemiſhed inte-'grity in the Proteſtant religion: and in all his ar-'mies he had but one general officer of the con-'trary religion, Sir Arthur Aſton, *whom the Papiſts 'notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt* '(2).'

(1) *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. Part. i. p. 41. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(2) Ib. p. 153.

[*B*] *He was dangerouſly wounded.*] 'Within a week 'after the beginning of the ſiege, Sir Arthur Aſton, 'the governor, being in a court of guard near the line, 'which was neareſt to the enemies approaches, a can-'non-ſhot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, 'which was covered with brick-tyle; a piece whereof, 'the ſhot going thro', hit the governor on the head, 'and made that impreſſion upon him, that his ſenſes 'ſhortly failed him, ſo that he was not only diſabled 'afterwards from executing in his own perſon, but in-'competent for counſel or direction.——This accident 'was then thought of great misfortune to the King; 'for there was not in his army an officer of greater 'reputation, and of whom the enemy had greater 'dread (3).'

(3) Ibid. p. 231.

[*C*] *Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command.*] Colonel Fielding, upon whom the command of the garriſon was devolved, having ſurrendered the town to the Parliament forces, was committed to priſon for ſo doing, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. Upon his trial he pleaded, among other things, in his defence; *That by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of ſeniority, not any ambitious deſign of his own: that he had, from time to time, acquainted Sir Arthur Aſton with the ſtate and condition they were in, and tho' his indiſpoſition of health was ſuch, that he would not give poſitive orders, he ſeemed to approve of all that was done; and tho', for the former reaſon, he refuſed to ſign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expreſſed no diſlike of them.* 'The truth of it is (ſays my 'Lord Clarendon) Sir Arthur Aſton was believed by 'many, not to be in ſo incompetent a condition to 'command, as he pretended; and that albeit his 'head was ſo much ſwoln, that he might not in 'perſon venture upon any execution, yet his under-'ſtanding or ſenſes were not much diſtempered or 'diſcompoſed; and that he only poſitively waved 'meddling, out of diſlike of the condition they were 'in. And it is true, that when he came to Oxford, 'he could ſpeak as reaſonably of any matter, as ever 'I knew him before, or after (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. 241.

[*D*] *He was appointed governor of the garriſon of Oxford.*] It was thro' the Queen's intereſt he obtained this poſt: for her Majeſty, being then at Oxford, thought ſhe ſhould be ſafer under the care and charge of a Roman Catholick, than of a Proteſtant governor. Sir Arthur's behaviour in this ſtation was not very agreeable to the people of that city. He 'had the fortune (ſays the the noble hiſtorian hither-'to cited) to be very much eſteemed where he was 'not known, and very much diſliked where he was; 'and he was by this time too well known at Ox-'ford, to be beloved by any; which the King well 'underſtood, and was the more troubled, becauſe he 'ſaw the prejudice was univerſal, and with too much 'reaſon: and therefore his Majeſty had given an ex-'traordinary commiſſion to the Lords of his council, 'to whoſe authority he was to ſubmit; which obli-'ged him to live with a little more reſpect towards 'them, than he deſired to do; being a man of a 'rough nature, and ſo given up to an immoderate 'love of money, that he cared not by what unright-'teous ways he exacted it. There were likewiſe 'ſome officers of name, who, having then no charge 'in the army, ſtaid in the town; and thoſe, by the 'King's direction, the Lords diſpoſed to aſſiſt the 'governor, and particularly to take care of the ſe-'veral quarters of the town, one whereof was aſſign-'to each of them (5).'

(5) Ibid. Part ii. p. 526, 527.

[*E*] *Cromwell —— put the inhabitants of Drogheda to the ſword.*] To go on with Lord Clarendon; 'Be-'fore the Marquis of Ormond (General for the King) 'could draw his army together, Cromwell had be-'ſieged Tredagh (or Drogheda); and tho' the gar-'riſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that 'number of ſo choice men, that they could wiſh for 'nothing more, than that the enemy would attempt 'to take them by ſtorm: the very next day after he 'came before the town, he gave a general aſſault, 'and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, 'after a day more, he aſſaulted it again in two 'places, with ſo much courage, that he entered in 'both; and tho' the governor and ſome of the chief 'officers retired in diſorder into a fort, where they 'hoped to have made conditions, a pannick fear ſo 'poſſeſſed the ſoldiers, that they threw down their 'arms upon a general offer of quarter; ſo that the 'enemy entered the works without reſiſtance, and put 'every man, governor (6), officer, and ſoldier, to the 'ſword; and the whole army being entered the town, 'they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every 'man,

(6) *See the particular manner of his death in the text.*

wooden leg. Mr Wood acquaints us, that he was created Doctor of Phyſick, the firſt of May, 1644; and that he left behind him a daughter named Elizabeth Thomſon *alias* Aſton (*g*).

(*g*) Ibid.

'man that related to the garriſon, and all the citizens 'who were Iriſh, man, woman, and child, to the 'ſword; and there being three or four officers of 'name, and of good families, who had found ſome 'way, by the humanity of ſome ſoldiers of the enemy, 'to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being 'afterwards diſcovered they were butchered in cold 'blood (7). T

(7) *Hiſt. of the Gr. Rebellion.* Vol. III. Part. i. p. 341.

ASTON (Sir THOMAS), a brave and worthy gentleman in the reign of King Charles I, was the ſon of John Aſton, of Aſton in Cheſhire, Eſq; by his wife Maud daughter of Robert Nedham of Shenton in Shropſhire. He was entered a gentleman-commoner of Brazen-Noſe college in Oxford, in 1626-7; but was ſoon called home by his relations, and, being married, was created a Baronet in July 1628. In 1635 he was High-Sheriff of Cheſhire, being then eſteemed a perſon of good natural parts, and a high-flown Monarchiſt. Upon the approach of the Rebellion, he wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians [*A*], and was afterwards the chief man in his country, that took part with the King. During the civil war, he raiſed a party of horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, which was beaten by a party of Rebels under Sir William Breerton of Honford near Nantwich in Cheſhire, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1642; but Sir Thomas eſcaped with a ſlight wound. Some time after, he was taken in a ſkirmiſh in Staffordſhire, and carried priſoner to Stafford; where endeavouring to make his eſcape, a ſoldier ſpied him, and gave him a blow on the head; which, with other wounds he had a little before received, threw him into a fever, of which he died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1645. His body was carried to Aſton, and interred in the chapel belonging to his own houſe (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88, 89.

[*A*] *He wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians.*] Theſe were: I. *A Remonſtrance againſt Preſbytery, exhibited againſt divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Cheſter*, London, 1641, 4to. II. *A ſhort Survey of the Preſbyterian Diſcipline.* III. *A brief Review of the Inſtitution, Succeſſion, and Juriſdiction of the antient and venerable Order of the Biſhops.* Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Remonſtrance* before-mentioned. IV. He alſo made *a Collection of ſundry Petitions preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, as alſo to the two Houſes now aſſembled in Parliament, and others already ſigned by moſt of the gentry, miniſters, and freeholders of ſeveral counties*, &c. containing ten ſheets in 4to, 1642 (1). T

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ATHELING (EDGAR) the ſon of Edward, the ſon of Edmond Ironſide, King of England, by Agatha, daughter to Solomon, King of Hungary (*a*) [*A*], or rather of the Emperor Henry II (*b*). In what year he was born is not certain; but he was very young in 1057, when his father and family were recalled into their native country, by their kinſman Edward the Confeſſor, then King thereof (*c*). His father died ſoon after his return, before the King had time to give him any eſſential marks of that kindneſs, which he profeſſed to him (*d*). Edgar was carefully bred up by him, who was his great uncle, and was undoubtedly intended for his ſucceſſor, as the beſt authors aſſure us (*e*), and as his title Atheling, or Moſt Noble, implies; which is rightly noted by Mr Selden, correcting in this reſpect Polydore Vergil, who miſtook it for a ſirname (*f*). But on King Edward's death, Edgar was deprived of his right, becauſe of his youth, his being born abroad, and his having too little experience for a crowned head in ſuch troubleſome times (*g*) [*B*]. Harold the ſon of Earl Godwin, chiefly through the intrigues of the clergy (*b*), was preferred before him, for which they are ſeverely cenſured by ſome writers.

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. apud. X. Script. p. 176. Chron. Sax. Ed. Oxon. 1692, 4to. p. 169. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*b*) Ethelred. Ab. Reival. de geneal. Reg. Angl. ap. X. Script. p. 366.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 189.

(*e*) Chron. Saxon. p. 169. Ethelred. p. 366. Bromton. p. 907. R. Hoved. p. 449. H. Knyght. p. 2238.

(*f*) Titles of Honour, 1614, 4to, p. 177.

(*g*) Ethelred. p. 366. Bromt. p. 976.

(*b*) H. Knyght. p. 2343.

[*A*] *By Agatha Daughter to Solomon King of Hungary.*] As to the father of Edgar, there is no colour of doubt, all authors agreeing him to be Edward the Outlaw, ſon to Edmond Ironſide, elder brother to the Confeſſor, conſequently the rights of Edward and our Edgar to the Crown, were prior to his own. This induced Buchanan to ſay, he ſent for Edgar in order to reſign to him the crown (1). This however, is a meer dream of this inaccurate hiſtorian, for the perſon ſent for, was Edward, the father of Edgar, whom the King intended for his heir (2). That his mother's name was Agatha is clear, but not that ſhe was the daughter of Solomon, as Buchanan, following many Engliſh authors, aſſerts without ſcruple (3). Edward was ſent out of England about 1017, being then probably ſeven years old. Peter the German, who was the ſon of the Emperor, was then King of Hungary, and took him and his brother Edmond under his care (4). They continued in Hungary during the reigns of ſeveral Princes till about 1050, when Andrew, King of Hungary, concluding a peace with the Emperor Henry II, married his eldeſt ſon Solomon to one of the Emperor's daughters, and Edward to another. This Solomon did not mount the throne of Hungary 'till 1067, in the firſt year of William the Conqueror's reign (5), and becauſe Edgar and his mother ſought to fly thither, our hiſtorians concluded Agatha was his daughter (6), whereas ſhe was his wife's ſiſter. Ethelredus, who wrote expreſsly of the genealogy of the Engliſh Kings, who was particularly acquainted with this family, and flouriſhed within a ſhort time after Edgar Atheling's death, aſſerts his mother to have been the Emperor's daughter, and that Edward the Confeſſor ſent for Edward and his family from that Monarch's court (7).

(1) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(2) Ethelred. de geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 366.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Hiſtoire des Revolutions de Hungrie a la Haye, 1739, 4to, p. 7.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 176.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *In ſuch troubleſome times*] Bromton tells us, many of the nobility were for Edgar. *Sed quia puer erat et tanto oneri minus idoneus*, i. e. But as he was a youth, and no way fit for ſuch a burthen, they conſented to accept Harold (8). This is the language of the faireſt writers, for ſome Abbey Chronicles pretend, Edward the Confeſſor named Harold for his ſucceſſor (9). John Fordun, ſays expreſsly, that Edward the Confeſſor, on the deceaſe of Edward the Outlaw, declared Edgar his ſucceſſor, and recommended him as ſuch to the nobility (10). Mathew Paris is remarkably clear, *Edmundus autem latus ferreum Rex naturalis de Stirpe Regum, genuit Edwardum: Edwardus Eadgarum, cui de jure debebatur Regnum Anglorum.* Edmund Ironſide, the natural King of this land, of the old royal ſtock begat Edward: Edward, Edgar, to whom of right appertained the crown (11).

(8) In Chron. p. 976.

(9) Chron. Sax. p. 172.

(10) Ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 698.

(11) Edit. 1640, p. 6.

[*C*] *Afterwards*

writers (*i*). This happened in the beginning of A. D. 1066. Harold however treated him with great reſpect, as long as he lived. After whoſe death and defeat in the fatal battle of Haſtings, the nobles and people in general looked upon Edgar as King, and even acknowledged him as ſuch (*k*). But William Duke of Normandy, awing them with his victorious army, was owned and crowned Monarch of England at Weſtminſter, in the ſame year (*l*). To him, if we credit ſome of our antient hiſtorians, Edgar immediately ſubmitted, and was amongſt the number of thoſe, whom William carried with him as hoſtages, into Normandy (*m*). Other authors are ſilent on this head, but all agree, that in 1067, Edgar, attended by many of the prime Nobility, retired firſt into Northumberland, afterwards into Scotland (*n*) [*C*]. The perſons who adhered to him, had ſo conſiderable an intereſt both at home and abroad, that they quickly drew together a numerous army, and therewith began to bid fair for unſettling the new eſtabliſhment. In 1068 (*o*), King William ſent Robert Comyn into the North, in order to expel Edgar and his aſſociates out of thoſe parts, conſtituting him Earl of Northumberland. But this great man had but an ill fate, being ſlain by ſuch forces as he had about him (*p*). The next year a great ſuccour came to theſe malecontents from Denmark, and more Engliſh Lords reconciling themſelves to Edgar, he made head againſt the Normans, and after ſeveral ſucceſsful engagements, made himſelf maſter of the city of York, and wintered between the Ouſe and Trent, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Conqueror (*q*). In 1070, he was leſs fortunate. William found means by money and promiſes, to draw off the Danes and ſome of the Lords of his party, and in the end, obliged him to retire again into Scotland. Malcolm King of that country, married this year his ſiſter Margaret, ſo excellent a woman, that in her life-time ſhe was ſtiled the Good, and after her deceaſe was regarded as a Saint (*r*). This marriage enabled Edgar to make new attempts, in which he had moſtly the better, the King of Scots openly aſſiſting him, notwithſtanding King William had demanded him, and threatened to invade Scotland in caſe of refuſal (*s*). Some domeſtick troubles hindered that Prince from performing his threat for two years. In 1072 however, King William entered Scotland with an army, but with indifferent ſucceſs. Upon this he readily made peace with Malcolm, and regulated, according to antient treaties, the bounds of their reſpective dominions (*t*). In this peace the Scots hiſtorians ſay Edgar Atheling was included, and, on his ſubmiſſion, received into King William's favour, which is very probable, ſince the war was on his account (*u*). In 1074 Edgar left Scotland where he had been ſo kindly entertained, and where his ſiſter was Queen [*D*]. He croſſed the ſea into Normandy, and was kindly received by King William, who gave him a grand allowance (*w*). Some of our authors ſay, it was a pound of ſilver a day, others twenty ſhillings. However, he was therewith contented, and lived quietly (*x*). William of Malmſbury, his contemporary (and who expreſsly takes notice he was living when he wrote) ſpeaks of him in terms little to his advantage. He ſays he behaved meanly and fooliſhly in the King's court, and as an inſtance thereof, mentions his quitting his great allowance for an horſe (*y*). But this is not very conſiſtent with the teſtimonies of other authors, or with the general current of hiſtory [*E*]. After this ſubmiſſion our hiſtories are ſilent concerning him for many years. This however is a plain proof, that he acted like a man of honour towards the Norman, ſince in that ſpace there were many ſtirs, of which he might have made his advantage (*z*), In 1086, that is, about twelve years after his ſubmiſſion, Edgar, conceiving himſelf ill treated at court, retired from thence. This does not ſeem to ſpeak him of quite ſo mean a ſpirit as Malmſbury would make him. Certain it is, that even now he had the hearts of the Engliſh nation, ſince in the old Abbey Chronicles;

(*i*) J. Fordun. Scot. Hiſt. ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 698. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. M. Paris. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 5.

(*k*) Chron. Sax. p. 173. M. Paris, ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Annal. Marg. p. 1. Chronicon. T. Wikes. ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Script. Vol. II. p. 21.

(*m*) Florent. Wigorn.

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. M. Paris. p. 5.

(*o*) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 54.

(*p*) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 198. Rog. de Hoved. p. 451.

(*q*) Annal. Weaverl. p. 130. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. 199. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*r*) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 199, 201. Ethelred. p. 367. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Chron. Sax. p. 181. Hen. Hunting. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 369. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 181. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 203. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(*u*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*w*) Chron. Sax. p. 182. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 205. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(*x*) M. Paris. p. 7. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*y*) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103.

(*z*) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 105, *&c.* H. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369. R. Hoved. Annal. p. 450. M. Paris, p. 9, 10. Chron. Saxon. p. 173.

[*C*] *Afterwards into Scotland.*] This was the ſecond time Edgar was ſet aſide. In the Saxon Chronicle we find, he was generally looked on as King, after the death of Harold; inſomuch, that the Abbot of Peterborough, then called Burh, was ſent by his Monks to Edgar for his approbation (12); *becauſe*, ſays the author, *the people of this land thought he ought to have been King, and he graciouſly acknowledged him for Abbot.* This William, whoſe ſword had made King, puniſhed ſeverely. Matthew Paris repeats on this occaſion, his former aſſertion; *Eadgarus Atheling, hæres legitimus Anglorum regni.* i. e. Edgar Atheling, *the lawful heir of the Engliſh kingdom, ſeeing his country in confuſion, endeavoured to retire to Hungary, but by a ſtorm was forced on the Scots coaſt* (13). Hence his common appellation,

Edgar Atheling,
England's Darling.

(12) Chron. Sax. p. 173.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Where his ſiſter was Queen.*] Many of our hiſtorians to raiſe the credit of their country, would perſuade us, that this Queen civilized King Malcolm, and his Scots, making the King as well as his ſubjects almoſt barbarians (14). In this, however, they muſt be a little partial, ſince Malcolm was educated entirely in England, and was one of the greateſt monarchs of that age. He had by this Queen Margaret, ſix ſons, Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Athelred, and David; and two daughters, Maud the Good, who married Henry I, and Mary who married Euſtace, Earl of Bulloign (15). This King Malcolm favoured the Engliſh ſo much, and treated thoſe who fled to Scotland ſo well, that they remained there; and from them are deſcended ſome of the nobleſt houſes in that kingdom, as the Lindſeys, Vaux, Ramſays, Lovells, Sandilands, Foulis's, Wardlaws, Maxwells, *&c* (16). M. Paris places Edgar Atheling's coming to court firſt in 1069, and ſays he afterwards retired into Scotland, and ſome time after that was reconciled to the King again (17).

(14) Sim. Dunelm. p. 201.

(15) Ethelred de geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 366. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(16) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 105.

(17) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *The general current of hiſtory.*] We ſhall hereafter demonſtrate Malmſbury's ſpight to Edgar. At preſent let us conſider he had behaved well in ſeveral battles, had now, and afterwards, the hearts of the nation, was always courted by foreign Princes, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was truſted by William II, with an army to reſtore his nephew, which he performed; theſe actions ſpeak him neither weak, nor mean ſpirited; even our author's ſtory proves no more than that he deſpiſed money, from which and his loving this country, the Monk concludes him a fool (18).

(18) See note [*G*].

Chronicles, we meet with this prayer on the mention of his retreat, *May the Almighty give him honour* (*a*), alluding to the little reſpect ſhewn him at Court. But this however was not without the King's conſent. On the contrary, Edgar obtained licence to ſail with a certain number of ſhips, and two hundred ſoldiers on board, to Apulia. This therefore was no diſgraceful flight, but rather an honourable exile. About the ſame time, his younger ſiſter Chriſtina became a nun in Ramſey abbey (*b*). How long Edgar continued in Apulia is uncertain. Yet when he returned from thence he went into Normandy, where he was well received by Duke Robert, who gave him certain lands for his ſubſiſtance. Whether this was done to awe his brother William Rufus, who ſeized the kingdom of England, or purely to provide for an unhappy Prince, cannot now be determined. But in 1091, on the concluſion of a ſolemn treaty between the brethren Robert and William, the latter procured Edgar Atheling's being diſpoſſeſſed of his lands, upon which he withdrew out of Normandy, and went into Scotland, to his brother-in-law King Malcolm (*c*). In the ſame year, this laſt mentioned Prince raiſed a puiſſant army, and therewith invaded England, and carried away much ſpoil; on the news whereof both brothers haſtened out of Normandy, and ſent a conſiderable force on board tranſports towards the north, that they might more ſpeedily aſſemble an army in thoſe parts, but being near Michaelmas, the weather proved ſtormy, and moſt of the men were loſt. King William II, and Duke Robert, raiſed however an army, and though it was winter advanced therewith towards Scotland. Upon this Edgar interpoſed, reconciled the two Kings, and mediated a good peace (*d*). For this ſervice he was reſtored to the King William's favour, and came back with the brothers to London. However, when Duke Robert returned into Normandy, Edgar choſe to accompany him, either becauſe he loved him beſt, or feared him leaſt (*e*). This was in the beginning of 1092. His ſtay in Normandy was but ſhort, for the next year we find him again in England, attending on, and in favour with, William II. That Prince reſided at Glouceſter about Eaſter, and was there ſo ill, that his death was expected. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1093, Malcolm King of Scots, importuned him by letters to regulate certain differences according to treaty, on which William ſummoned him to Glouceſter, and ſent Edgar to conduct him (*f*). This he performed, but after all King William treated Malcolm very ill, who returning into Scotland, levied an army, entered Northumberland, and beſieging the caſtle of Alnwick, which had been unjuſtly taken from him, he was there treacherouſly ſlain, together with his eldeſt ſon Edward (*g*). This unfortunate event could not but afflict Edgar exceedingly, eſpecially when he ſaw his nephews deprived of their rights, the Scots ſetting up Donald Bane, *i. e.* Donald the White, whom the Engliſh writers call Dufenald, for their King, who was brother to Malcolm (*h*). Edgar ſent for his five nephews into England, and carefully brought them up. But not without ſome danger to himſelf if we credit the Scots Hiſtorians. One Orgar reported to King William Rufus, that Edgar ſhould ſay boaſtingly to his nephews, that the right to the Engliſh crown was in him and in them. Edgar denied the charge, and was allowed to juſtify himſelf by combat. That is, he choſe a Knight to enter into the liſts for him, who was ſo happy as to conquer. Buchanan informs us, that the reaſon he did not fight in perſon, was becauſe Edgar at this time was old and infirm; but in this he was miſtaken, Edgar, not exceeding forty-three, and, as we ſhall ſee, went afterwards into Paleſtine (*i*). Two of Edgar's nephews died before they were of age, which hindered him from doing what he would otherwiſe have done for them. His third nephew, Edgar, growing towards man's eſtate, and the Scots inviting him when they were weary of his uncle, to accept the crown, he reſolved to aſſiſt him in that undertaking. Applying therefore to King William, he procured a ſmall aſſiſtance from him, and therewith marched to the borders of Scotland, where his forces quickly increaſed, ſo as to enable him to look Donald in the face. It was in the winter of 1097, he ſet forward on this expedition, and in the next ſpring, having defeated and taken Donald priſoner, he eſtabliſhed his nephew on the throne, and then came back again into England (*k*). After this we meet with no account of him, till ſuch time as with Robert the ſon of Godwin, a famous Knight, he undertook a journey into the Holy Land. It is probable this was in 1099 [*F*]. He was with Baldwin II, King of Jeruſalem, when beſieged in Rama, and having in their hazardous ſally, wherein they eſcaped thence, loſt his Knight, he thought of returning. This was in 1102, and accordingly he came back ſoon after into Europe, received great civilities from the Greek and German Emperors, who importuned him to remain in their courts, which he civilly excuſed, and continued his journey either into England and Normandy (*l*) [*G*]. Henry I, had

(*a*) Annal. Waverleinſ. p. 133. Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

(*b*) Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 161. Bromton. p. 979. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 213.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. p. 197. Annal. Waverl. p. 137. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 986. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 216.

(*d*) Annal. Waverl. p. 137. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Florent. Wigorn. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 216. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 987.

(*e*) Simeon. Dun. Hiſt. p. 217.

(*f*) Annal. Waverl. p. 138. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 218. J. Eromt. Chron. p. 990.

(*g*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. W. Malmſb. lib. iv. p. 112. Bromt ubi ſupra. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Annal. Waverl. p. 138. Chron Saxon. p. 199. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 218. Bromton, p. 981. H. Knyghton. p. 2365.

(*i*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*k*) Annal. Waverl. p. 141. Chron. Saxon. p. 206. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 223.

(*l*) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103. Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 11.

[*F*] *It was probably in* 1099.] Our conjecture is thus grounded. We cannot conceive, why Edgar ſhould have left the kingdom after Henry I, aſcended the throne, who married his niece, and was remarkably kind to his family; whereas it is eaſy to find the reaſon of his going in the end of William Rufus's reign. That Prince was an odd tempered man, Robert Duke of Normandy was already in the Holy Land, wherefore Edgar poſſibly choſe to follow him, rather than remain at the King's mercy, or hazard his nephew's ſafety, by retiring into Scotland.

[*G*] *Either into England or Normandy.*] William of Malmſbury, is the only author who gives an account of this adventure of his; theſe are his words, 'He travelled with Robert, the ſon of Godwin, a 'valiant knight unto Jeruſalem; and it ſo happened, 'that they were with King Baldwin, when beſieged 'by the Turks in Rama. This Prince ſallying 'eſcaped chiefly by the proweſs of Robert, who 'going before him, cut down the Turks on the 'right and left. But in the end, dropping his 'ſword, and overcome by numbers, Robert was 'taken;

had now aſcended the Engliſh throne, and eſpouſed Maud, Edgar's niece: he had therefore all imaginable reaſon to expect a good reception at Court, which however he either did not find, or elſe, it may be, declined. For we are certain, he was ſome ſhort time after his return from the Eaſt, in Normandy with Duke Robert, for whom he had a great kindneſs. He even remained firm in his friendſhip to him, when King Henry invaded his dominions, and was taken priſoner fighting in his cauſe, as alſo was Duke Robert himſelf, at the fatal battle of Tenchebray, wherein the whole force of Normandy was routed; which fell out in the latter end of 1106 (*m*). King Henry dealt very ſeverely with the reſt of the priſoners, but as for Edgar, he diſmiſſed him freely. This is the laſt time he is mentioned in our hiſtories, and after his return into England, he went to paſs the remainder of his days in the country, where, according to Malmſbury, he was living in 1120, when he muſt have been ſeventy or thereabouts (*n*). In what year he died appears not, nor do we read that he was ever married. He was born during his father's exile, loſt him when his life would have ſecured him a crown, ſtruggled, though to no purpoſe, againſt the Conqueror, was through his whole life the ſport of fortune, and died full of years and in a dark obſcurity. To which we add, that till now, his life was never written, from a ſuppoſed want of materials, and from a real want of inclination, to glean from our antient hiſtorians, a multitude of little memorandums, concerning an injured unfortunate Prince. This juſtice we have at length done his memory, and the Engliſh hiſtory, which, from this article, we hope will appear not quite ſo barren, as ſome modern writers would repreſent it.

(*m*) Chron. Sax. p. 214. Annal. Waverl. p. 144.

(*n*) Ubi ſupra, & p. 93.

' taken; and, as it is ſaid, being carried into Ba-
' bylon, or Cairo in Egypt, and refuſing to deny
' Chriſt, was there ſlain. Edgar having loſt his
' knight, returned; and being honoured with rich
' preſents, by the Greek and German Emperors,
' (who on account of his nobility, would have re-
' tained him in their courts) contemned all things,
' in regard to his native ſoil. For ſuch is the fond-
' neſs of ſome men for their country, that they
' can reliſh nothing out of the climate wherein they
' were bred. Wherefore Edgar, deluded by thoſe
' notions, returned into England, and afterwards
' meeting various changes of fortune, ſpends now
' his extream old age in an inglorious country re-
' tirement (19).' On this, let us obſerve, Britain was not Edgar's native country, but rather the German Emperor's dominions; that Malmſbury, was provoked by his ſiding with Duke Robert, againſt his maſter, Henry I, and that this diſcourſe is addreſſed to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, King Henry's natural ſon. E

(19) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103, 93, 173.

ATHERTÓN (JOHN) a Biſhop in Ireland, in the reign of King Charles I, who has rendered himſelf a very remarkable warning-piece in hiſtory, to future ages. He is ſaid to have been well deſcended; but whether he was allied to the antient family of the Athertons of Atherton in Lancaſhire, we know not [*A*]. He was born at Bawdrip, near Bridgwater in Somerſetſhire, *anno* 1598; of which pariſh, his father, the reverend Mr John Atherton, was then Rector, and had been fourteen years. He was ſent for his education to Glouceſter-Hall, in Oxford, in the year 1614; where continuing till after he had taken one degree in arts, he was tranſplanted to Lincoln college in the ſame univerſity; took the degree of Maſter, as member of it, and entered into holy orders; and not long after, was made Rector of Huiſh Combflower, in the county he was born in (*a*). He married while he was young; for it may be computed, from what will more particularly appear, that it could not be later than the year 1620, that he entered into the ſtate of wedlock; and that he had by his wife two or more daughters, and if any ſons, they died before their father (*b*). We are alſo informed, that his ſaid wife was an handſome and agreeable woman; but he being a man of ſtrong paſſions, and too viciouſly inclined to gratify them, it ſeems the band of matrimony was too weak to bridle his ſenſual and voluptuous appetites; inſomuch, that he is affirmed to have committed inceſt with his wife's ſiſter; and was ſo inadvertent in this unlawful intercourſe, that it came to be diſcovered, to the ſhame and ſcandal of them both (*c*). And whereas men are not wont to fall into ſhameful and ſcandalous practices on a ſudden, and without ſome previous or gradual introductions; neither did he: For, in the courſe of this narrative, we ſhall learn, that he was defiled or corrupted in his youth, by one of his own ſex, probably before he left the univerſity; and alſo, what horror the unexpected ſight of that perſon ſtruck upon his guilty mind, many years after in Ireland (*). But here we are to obſerve, that upon the diſcovery of that intrigue aforeſaid, it appears he was driven to make ſuit for his pardon, which having procured, he tranſported himſelf to the city of Dublin, in the ſaid kingdom; where, either by the recommendations he brought over, or his aſſiduous addreſs,

(*a*) Ant. Wood, in Athen. Oxon. laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 739.

(*b*) Biſhop Atherton's laſt Letters to his wife and daughters, hereafter more expreſsly recited.

(*c*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, Lord Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, within the kingdom of Ireland, &c. 4*to*. Lond. 1641.

(*) In the quotation to which the marginal note refers, under the letter (*q*).

[*A*] *Whether allied to the ancient family of the Atherton's, near Atherton in Lancaſhire*, &c.] Of which county, Sir John Atherton was, in the third year of Queen Elizabeth, High-Sheriff; as was alſo John Atherton, Eſq; perhaps his ſon, in the twenty-fifth of the ſame reign; who both bore for their arms —— *Gules, Three Falcons, Or* (1). Nor are we certain, whether that pedigree of the Athertons, which is ſtill in being, among Mr Roger Dodſworth's manuſcript collections at Oxford (2), does relate directly to that Lancaſhire family: But it ſhould ſeem to do ſo, becauſe there is alſo among thoſe collections, an extract of notes taken by the ſaid Mr Dodſworth, out of between forty and fifty old Evidences, which being communicated to him by John Atherton, of Atherton aforeſaid, in the year 1635 (3), ſhould ſeem moſt likely to concern chiefly his own family; and from whence, not improbably, that pedigree might be drawn, or at leaſt augmented. It was this laſt John Atherton, or another of his name, contemporary with him, who, with certain other learned perſons, wrote a collection of Latin verſes, in praiſe of Sir Richard Napier, Doctor of Phyſick, as he is ſtiled in the title thereof (4), whence thoſe verſes appear to have been written after the year 1642, Sir Richard being created Doctor in that faculty, the latter end of the ſaid year (5).

(1) T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in the Sheriffs of Lancaſhire.

(2) Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptorum in Angliæ & Hiberniæ, &c. Oxon. fol. 1697, p. 214.

(3) Idem. p. 231.

(4) Inter Codices Manuſcripti Aſhmoleani.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. in Faſti, col. 28.

[*B*] *He*

addreſs, he obtained the parſonage of St John's church, and became Chaplain to Adam Loftus, Viſcount Liſle, and Lord Chancellor of that kingdom; through whoſe favour alſo, he is reported to have been further preferred, and made a Dignitary of Chriſt-Church in the ſaid city, according to the above cited account of his life (*d*). Yet for all this good fortune, this noble friendſhip, to recover his character and ſettle him in creditable courſes; nothing but his turbulent oppoſitions, trayterous ingratitude, tyrannical oppreſſions, and avaritious extortions; nothing but his diſcarding all religious duties from himſelf, and converting others to his vices; above all, his moſt abominable lewdneſs; can we find, unleſs it be his exemplary penitence and condign puniſhment, to fill up the remainder of his ſtory! but of theſe particulars in their order. We are informed that in the year 1634, he made ſuch oppoſitions in affairs relating both to Church and State [*B*], as he afterwards heartily repented of. As for his ingratitude, beſides other examples which may occur (*), we have a very flagrant inſtance of it, in the ſaid account of his exploits, which declares, that he moſt ungratefully betrayed that indulgent patron abovementioned into diſgrace (*e*), with the ſtern and haughty Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford; between whom and that Lord Chancellor, there being a notorious contention fomented, and carried on with too much rigour and exaction of unreaſonable ſubmiſſion, as the King himſelf judged, on the Lord Deputy's part, how little ſoever thereof appears in the publick hiſtories, or in his own papers that are printed (*f*); our induſtrious ſollicitor of promotion took that opportunity to ſhift on this ſide, after he had got what he could on the other, and ſo to inſinuate himſelf into the ſaid Deputy's good graces, that, as others ſay, it was this Lord who firſt preferred him; and further, for his ſufficiencies in the Canon Law, and eccleſiaſtical affairs (qualifications the Deputy knew well, for the ſchemes he had in view, how to make uſe of in ſuch a tractable inſtrument) that he was by him made Prebendary of Chriſt Church aforeſaid; and afterwards alſo advanced by him to the biſhoprick of Waterford and Liſmore, in the year 1636, he being then Doctor of Divinity (*g*). In this vineyard he laboured very profitably, and did grind the people of his dioceſe, the Roman Catholicks eſpecially, with too much ſeverity; as it is ſufficiently intimated by thoſe, who veil over his other vices (*h*). In ſhort, his epiſcopal government ſeems an entire ſcene of oppreſſion and extortion [*C*], of averſion to all religious duties, and converſion.

(*d*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, &c. ut ſupra.

(*) See Biſhop Atherton's reply to a nobleman, for his civil entertainment of him, in the note [*C*].

(*e*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. II. and III. and the Earl of Straffo'd's Letters and Diſpatches, &c. fol. 1739, Vol. II. p. 372, &c.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Idem.

[*B*] *He made ſuch oppoſitions in affairs relating both to Church and State.*] Even as well in the eſtabliſhed ceremonies of the Church, and the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, as in the ordinances of government, he could not be quiet and conformable; but would be ever impoſing ſome diſguſtful alteration, or withdrawing himſelf from all obedience to them. For we are told, even by a reverend author, who has varniſhed over his crimes, at leaſt his capital ones, with too little regard to his own credit, that when he became a penitent, he confeſſed, and not without diſſuading others from becoming ſuch incendiaries, ſuch peſtilent diſturbers of human ſociety, 'That 'he had exerciſed too much zeal and forward-'neſs, both in *introducing* and *preſſing* ſome *church-'innovations*, and in dividing himſelf from the houſe 'of *convocation*, *anno* 1634, in oppoſition to the '*articles of Ireland*, then voted to be received, on 'purpoſe to *pleaſe ſome men's perſons*, who did not-'withſtanding afterwards with *juſt cauſe* forſake him (6).' And theſe oppoſitions he made to ſuch a vio-lent degree, how lightly or generally ſoever, here expreſſed, as made him take notice, and judge no leſs of them himſelf, than that providence, for theſe, as well as his more ſhameful offences, had a juſt hand in his overthrow; and therefore, for avoiding the like, he gave good counſel to others.

(6) The Penitent *Death* of a woeful *Sinner*; or the Penitent Death of *John Atherton*, late Biſhop of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, &c. by *Nicholas Bernard*, D. D. then Preacher of St *Peter's* Church in *Drogheda* in *Ireland*. The third impreſſion, reviewed by the Author, &c. *London*: printed by *R. Ibbitſon*, 8*vo* 1651, p. 27, 28.

[*C*] *An entire ſcene of oppreſſion and extortion.*) In truth his epiſcopal government ſeems to have been a continual warfare, with Proteſtants as well as Papiſts; and even the indigent, as well as opulent; being ſpurred on by pride, covetouſneſs, and cruelty, to the harraſſing and perſecuting them in the eccleſiaſtical courts, &c. to the great wrong and ruin of many. Nor was it without the Deputy's knowledge and toleration, that he was thus ever reſtleſs and rapacious in rending from, and ſtripping, whole families, of poſſeſſions they had been long and quietly ſettled in, when any colour could be found to make them part of the Biſhop's Revenue; whereby he not only hooked in ſeveral conſiderable eſtates to his own See, but raked up alſo a plentiful one to himſelf. But when his worldly views of enjoying it, after his groſs and ſenſual manner, were all over, 'He did 'then confeſs, he had been guilty of much over-'reaching of men; but if his eſtate might be con-'tinued to his wife, he had given charge for ſa-'tisfaction to be made to a Penny (7). And then 'alſo, he did himſelf give ſatisfaction to any he had 'wronged in ſmall matters; then, he ſent for ſome 'who were mean perſons, and aſked them forgive-'neſs; and endeavoured, to his utmoſt, to take off the 'fines of thoſe whom he had proſecuted too bitterly 'in the *High Commiſſion Court* (8).' Thus much Dr Bernard has owned; and another late author, who has been a greater compurgator of our Biſhop than he, but with more prudence with-held his name from his work, than he has with impartiality compoſed it; yet acknowledges it as the character of this his martyr for the recovery of church-lands, 'That he 'was of a proud, paſſionate, and litigious temper;' and adds, 'That, as his affairs *forced* him, ſo his 'inclinations induced him to contend, and go to 'law.' And a little farther, that 'This proneneſs 'of going to law, and too eagerly proſecuting his 'own ſuits, had he taken only the *fair courſe* of 'law, was a ready way to create him many ene-'mies, &c (9).' But that thoſe enemies raiſed a conſpiracy againſt his life, and ſwore it away, for crimes the good man was innocent of, his own confeſſions, minced and diſguiſed as they are, ſufficiently confute. Yet our laſt quoted author, to ſtrengthen his Hypotheſis, tells us, 'There is a par-'ticular ſtory, of a received and credited tradition, 'that upon a certain time, the *unfortunate* Biſhop 'being at a certain *great man's* houſe, which an-'tiently belonged to the Biſhoprick, and as he ap-'prehended, of right did ſo ſtill; upon his taking 'leave, he thanked the *great man* for his civil treat-'ment, *and hoped to return him the ſame, in the 'ſame place*; which made the other turn from him 'with great indignation (10).' From this time, 'tis in this author ſuppoſed, his ruin was meditated, and carried on, 'till accompliſhed. But if that *great man* was the Earl of Cork, as ſome circumſtances hereafter occurring, may ſuggeſt it was; they came to an agreement, and ſeemed to have compromiſed all differences (*), long before the Biſhop's ruin was either accompliſhed, or meditated, as is there ſurmiſed. It may be here further obſerved, as what relates to this part of our diſcourſe, that when he arrived at his ſhort ſtate of penitence, before his fatal fall, that 'he would often apply to himſelf, that memorable 'ſpeech of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who ſaid, *Had he been 'as diligent to have done* God *ſervice, as he had 'done the* King, *he had kept the* King's *favour ſtill*.

(8) Ibid. p. 30.

(9) The Caſe of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, *Fairly Repreſented*; againſt a late partial edition of Dr Bernard's Relation, and Sermon at his Funeral, &c. Printed for Luke Stokoe, &c. 8*vo*, 1710. p. 14, 16.

(10) Id. p. 15.

(*) See the Earl of Strafford's account thereof in the note [*F*].

(7) Idem. p. 54.

'So

converſion of others to his own carnal abominations [*D*]; eſpecially thoſe which were moſt odious and ignominious; in the gratification whereof, he ſeems to have given himſelf up, without bounds or diſtinction. As no condition, ſo no ſex over whom he could get any aſcendancy, eſcaped this ravenous and rampant Prelate; who was ever overbearing the one or the other; ever in litigation, or in league more irkſome, with the men; or in fornication, or adultery with the women. Many of his feats in this part of his character have indeed been apparently ſtifled, or ſtudiouſly palliated, through a falſe notion of tenderneſs to the Church; as if the blemiſhes of any individual profeſſor of, or pretender to, religion, could caſt a blot upon religion itſelf, any more than gold can be impaired in it's value, by being ſometimes confined in a dirty purſe; yet enough is deſcended to us, to ſhew, by the means this man took to bring himſelf to juſtice, the reaſonableneſs of it's execution in the end upon him. But firſt, among the gallant encounters and overthrows performed by this conſecrated warrior, in the female field of honour, whereof we have obſerved ſomething before; there further occurs, his ready manner of lending an hundred pounds to a certain man in his neighbourhood, and then, while he had locked him into his ſtudy to count it over, as readily making him a cuckold (*i*). It alſo appears, that he was not only very expert, but intenſe; beſtowed a great deal of application and exerciſe in this kind of diſcipline; and ſeduced, or otherwiſe preſſed ſo many women into the wars of Venus, that if a liſt were to be taken, and a muſter made of all this Biſhop's concubines, they would form a band, amounting to the number of no leſs than ſixty-four (*k*). However, it was his mind only that ſeemed invincible in his rencounters with them, which would ſpur his body on, even when diſcomfited, to rally and renew the charge. For it is obvious, that this abſolute and licentious reſignation to a libidinous life, was a vice rather of the ſpirit than the fleſh; more owing to the ſecond nature of cuſtom, than the firſt, of any predominant elaſticity in his conſtitution; and that he had no corporal inſtigation extraordinary, more than others; for his forces were ſo foiled; ſo routed and defeated, that he was often reduced to receive into his ſervice the woeful recruits of *Cantharides* (*l*). Nor did he neglect all the aids of mental incentives; the moſt prevailing chafers of cogitation, like the General who uſes exhortations, to kindle freſh bravery in his diſanimated invalids; as Dr Bernard has more candidly informed us, than in other places, upon this part of his ſtory, he is wont to do: where he acquaints us, that ‘ his *reading* of *naughty books*, and *viewing* of *immodeſt pictures* [*E*], *frequenting* of *plays*,

(*i*) The Life and Death of John Atherton, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Idem.

(*l*) Ibidem.

‘ So had he been as converſant in the *goſpel*, for ‘ the *inſtruction of men*, as he had in the *law*, ‘ for the *ſettling of lands*, he had not by the *law*, ‘ ſo *deſervedly* loſt *lands*, *body*, and *eſtate*, all at ‘ once (11).

(11) A *Caveat* to the *Miniſtry* and *People*: or, a *Sermon* preached at the *Funeral* of the ſaid Penitent, &c. By Dr N. Bernard, 8*vo*, 1651, printed with the Penitent Death, &c. p. 92.

[*D*] *Averſion to all religious duties himſelf, and converſion of others to his own carnal abominations.*] For how little converſant he was in the Goſpel, as he confeſſed in the laſt note, may further appear in that other acknowledgment he made, ‘ Of his neglecting publick ‘ preaching, and catechiſing in the church; and private prayer in his family; for which ſins of omiſſion, ‘ he was juſtly given over to the ſins of commiſſion: ‘ For the neglect of the commandments of the firſt table, left to fall into the breach of the ſecond. That ‘ he had come to the ſacrament, and adminiſtred it, ‘ with his ſins upon him. His roving thoughts at divine ſervice, and ſermon, with divers others, &c. ‘ And here he declared a very obſervable paſſage: ‘ Not many years agone (therefore not a great while ‘ after his advancement to his Biſhoprick) he had a ‘ dangerous long ſickneſs; when being ſenſible of the ‘ long neglect of his paſtoral charge, he made a ſolemn ‘ vow to God, that if he ſhould recover again, he ‘ would be diligent both in preaching and catechiſing ‘ every Sunday. After his recovery, it ſo fell out, that ‘ the firſt time he went to church, with an intent to ‘ have begun, the Judges of *Aſſize* were at *Waterford*; ‘ and then a thought aroſe within him, that if he ‘ ſhould now enter upon that practice, which he had ‘ not uſed before, it would be imagined, he did it for ‘ fear of them; and ſo deferring it that day, he never ‘ did it afterwards (12).’ As for his abilities, in *preaching* or *ſpeaking*; the ſame author ſays, ‘ ’Tis known, ‘ what an excellent faculty he had naturally, in a ready ‘ preſent expreſſion of what he underſtood, either in ‘ eccleſiaſtical or civil affairs (13).’ And yet his depravities turned that faculty to his diſpraiſe, and would not ſuffer him to exerciſe it, except in the oppreſſion of others, or his own repentance. But for his abilities in *compoſing*; they being employed little enough upon what they ſhould be, he was apt to cloud his thoughts with ſuch obſcurities, as could not eſcape even his own cenſure. For our Doctor aforeſaid, recommending *perſpicuity*, and *plainneſs* in *ſermons*; adds, ‘ What hope ‘ is there of *opening* mens underſtandings, when the ‘ matter delivered is *cloſed* up from them. It was ‘ St Paul's aim, to ſpeak words eaſy to be underſtood; ‘ and ſo it ſhould be ours. There is little difference ‘ in ſpeaking in an *unknown Tongue*, and ſpeaking of ‘ things in an *unknown ſtile*. Theſe ſtrong lines, and ‘ forced eloquence, in ſo high a language, doth little ‘ ſuit with God's Oracles; leſs fit that word that muſt ‘ ſave the ſoul: A *fault* which this our *Brother* much ‘ *condemned* himſelf for (14).’ But thoſe talents of ſpeaking, or writing, even in perfection, would render ſuch a poſſeſſor of them but more pernicious; ſuch a one, as the Doctor ſays of the Biſhop, who, ‘ Inſtead ‘ of *converting* others had *corrupted* them; who, inſtead of opening their eyes, had ſhut his own; inſtead of gaining others out of darkneſs, had lived in ‘ the works of darkneſs himſelf; and inſtead of turning men from the power of Satan, had drawn more ‘ ſubjects to him’ (15).’ In one ſentence more, ſtill ſtronger than all thoſe, the Doctor ſays, in his very introduction of that ſermon, that, ‘ For his *life*, to ‘ give it the *leaſt commendation*, would be a *ſcandal* to ‘ the *ſpeaker*.’

(12) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, p. 52, 53.

(13) Idem. p. 21.

(14) Dr Bernard's Funeral Sermon, at the Death of Biſhop Atherton; ut ſupra, p. 114, but ſhould be 130.

(15) Idem. p. 7.

[*E*] *His reading of naughty books, and viewing of immodeſt pictures.*] The Biſhop ſeems to have had ſome collection of theſe naughty books, and immodeſt pictures, which were his movers to fouler faults; not only by his naming ſome of them ſo particularly to Dr Bernard, as he did in his ſtate of contrition, and paſſing ſuch a juſt and equitable ſentence upon them, as to wiſh they were all burnt (16), having been ſo inflammatory to his own imaginations, and ſo inſtrumental to his deſtruction; but alſo, from what is intimated in a little tract publiſhed ſoon after his death; wherein the author hinting at ſome vices, which were more peculiarly the product of warmer climates, however they may have ſometimes been tranſplanted, or caſually found to run up as weeds of themſelves in ſome miſmanaged or uncultivated ſoils, leſs natural to them; yet wonders that their recommendations ſhould be ſuffered to appear ſo publickly and permanently, as in print; to the great corruption of youth, not only then preſent, but in generations to come *. So alludes to ſuch figures as were ſet forth in ſo many indecent attitudes, aſcribed to an obſcene poet, whom they profanely call the divine *Aretin*; as alſo that viler work of another of their divines, who was no leſs than an *Archbiſhop*, beſides ſeveral others of the like kind, with which Italy their country abounds; ‘ But not to be found it ‘ is

(16) The Penitent Death, &c. ut ſupra, p. 27.

(*) Read alſo, the learned Mr *Roger Laſtrati*'s Reflexions upon the Tranſlating and Printing ſuch lewd Books; and upon our *Italianated* Travellers; with his Comment on their Proverb—*Engleſe Italianato, e un Diabolo Incarnato*. In his *Scbole Maſter*; 4*to*, 1571, from *fol.* 26 *to* 30.

'*plays*, and *drunkenneſs*, *&c.* were the cauſes and movers to *fouler facts*:' And adds, '*Let men by this example forbear them* (*m*).' But what was worſt of all, he became at laſt a Doctor in his Iniquity, and an Advocate for it; inſomuch, that when he had infuſed his practical doctrine into any of his female converts, he was ſo far from endeavouring to diſſemble, or make any ſecret of it, that he would juſtify it's orthodoxy; ſhew how expedient and ſalutary it was; and argue as if it was phyſically uſed, to circulate and purify the blood (*n*), or prevent repletions, ſtagnations, and the like. It is poſitively affirmed, that he was admoniſhed to reclaim, and amend this libertine courſe of life, in a very ſolemn manner, by his own ſiſter, the wife of one Mr Leakie; whoſe mother being dead, and having been very well acquainted, while living, with thoſe enormous debaucheries to which the Biſhop had abandoned himſelf; it was vulgarly reported, that her ghoſt appeared often to his ſaid ſiſter, and charged her to go over and warn him, that if he did not forthwith reform his wicked life, it would aſſuredly be cut off at the gallows (*o*). 'Tis certain that a rumour of ſuch an apparition was very rife, and made a great alarm about that time, and long after, both in England and Ireland; and we have heard, there were ſome pamphlets or accounts then printed diſtinctly of it (*). But did we allow, that it was only a bare fancy or conceit of her's, the effect of a dream, or a mere device of her own, or her friends, to render her arguments or intreaties with her brother of greater authority and regard (which yet has not been ſuppoſed) whereby ſhe was inſtigated, under the pretence of an extraordinary injunction, to give him ſuch admonition; even any of thoſe motives might be ſufficient, to make her a ſpecial meſſenger to him. Accordingly ſhe did go to Ireland [*F*], and declared to the Biſhop what ſhe ſaid had been revealed to her; uſing many affectionate and pathetick exhortations, that he would no longer ſuffer the devil to have ſuch power over him, to the ruin and diſgrace of himſelf and his whole family. But he, with that headſtrong and preſumptuous obſtinacy, to which he was now hardened, anſwered her, *What muſt be, ſhall be*; *marriage and hanging go by deſtiny* (*p*). So he ſent her back as a weak woman, and went forward himſelf, ſtill mending his pace, but varying his path to perdition. For as ſome appetites which have been vitiated by an evil habit of body, or inordinate inclination

(*m*) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton late Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, *&c.* With ſome Annotations, and the Sermon at his Burial. By Nicholas Bernard, D. D. *&c.* Lond. 8*vo*, 1651, p. 27.

(*n*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, ut ſupra.

(*o*) Idem.

(*) And ſome few years ſince to be ſeen in the *Harleian Library*.

(*p*) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, as before.

' is hoped, in any perſon's library in England, what-
' ever there might be in that of a late Prelate in
' Ireland (17).' As to thoſe prints, or poſtures as they are commonly called, of Aretin's, they were, from the drawings which Julio Romano made, about the year 1525, engraved by Marc Antonio of Bologne, in about ſixteen plates; and Aretin only wrote the verſes under them; manifeſt enough, both from the different parts of the work, he being no engraver; and even the title, by which he himſelf diſtinguiſhed it (18). But the plates were long ſince bought up by a merchant of France, and deſtroyed, as hath been ſufficiently related elſewhere; together with an account at large, of his other lewd compoſitions (19). But for the other Perſon above glanced at, it was Joannes de Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento; who did publiſh a little piece upon a more unnatural ſubject, moſt ſhamefully praiſing the deteſtable vice his own country is, or ſhould be, abhorred for, and glorying in his own practice of it. There have not been wanting diſſolute and mercenary editors in more countries than that which firſt brought it forth, to revive and propagate the impreſſions of it; and though the author afterwards publiſhed books which bear a different character; they have not cleared his own for the publication of that. But writers of other nations, as well as ours, have deſervedly ſtigmatized and expoſed him for it. Among the reſt, that learned author, who names himſelf Iſaac Rabottenu of Louvain, and publiſhed a famous book in the year 1569 (according to the date at the end of his dedication) in which he has, by ſuch a ſwarm of authorities, ſo ſtung the Popes, and all their churchmen, that it is wondered the Spaniſh Inquiſition had not fired the hive which produced them. This book was about a dozen years after, both tranſlated into Engliſh and printed, at the expence of John Still (the ſame we take it who was afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) and by him dedicated, ' To the right worſhipful,
' wiſe, and virtuous gentleman, maſter Philip Sidney,
' Eſq; (20).' There was another edition, or the ſame, with a new title-page, dated above fifty-four years after; in which we read theſe words, ' Joannes de la
' Caſa, Archbiſhop of Benevento, hath written a book
' in commendation of Sodomitry, calling it a Godly
' Worke; and ſaying, that he took great delight in
' the ſame, and uſed no other bedfellow. He was
' Deacon of the Apoſtolicall Chamber, and the Pope's
' Ambaſſadour, throughout the whole country of Ve-
' nice; and he is the ſame which firſt permitted the
' Regiſter of the forbidden bookes to be extant, in
' the yeare 1549, the 7th of May: And the booke
' whereof we mention, was printed at Venice by the
' Printers called *Nouas* (21).'

[*F*] *Accordingly ſhe did go to Ireland.*] It is very probable, that Mrs Leakie, during the courſe of thoſe years that her brother was in Ireland, went thither oftener than this once, and upon other occaſions than this. And yet even this ſeems to be alluded to, in one of the Earl of Strafford's letters from Dublin, to Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. For there is an expreſſion in it, that ſeems to approach remarkably cloſe to the point, though his Lordſhip had as yet, but ſlender cognizance of her buſineſs there with her brother. The words are theſe: ' I will enquire after Mrs Leakye, and her errand;
' and if it be to be met with, I will learn, *what*
' *the Devil hath to ſay to the Biſhop of Waterford:*
' Sure I am, the Earl of Cork, wiſheth them toge-
' ther already (22).' This letter is dated the laſt of December 1636, which was the firſt year of Dr Atherton's being in that Biſhoprick. 'Tis likely, the Lord Deputy had heard, ſhe had threatened her brother, that the Devil would be with, or have him, by the Earl of Cork's deſire to haſten their meeting. Yet the anſwer which Archbiſhop Laud returned to that letter, near nine months afterwards, is for leading us quite beſide the track of that conjecture or application; where he ſays, ' Certainly, that buſineſs of Mrs Leaky,
' was a money buſineſs; and if that Devil be ſo
' faſt knit up in the Biſhop's purſe, it ſeems they
' will have but a cold pluck of it; but that mat-
' ter is now quite out of ſpeech (23).' This letter is dated from Croydon, Auguſt 28, 1637. And in the ſame letter, the Archbiſhop ' thanks his Lordſhip
' for his care of the Biſhoprick of Waterford and
' Liſmore; and for an agreement ſigned by his
' Lordſhip and the Council, of great advancement to
' the Biſhoprick (24).' In anſwer to this, the Lord Deputy tells the Archbiſhop, ' The agreement made
' betwixt the Earl of Cork, and Biſhop of Water-
' ford, is indeed in my judgment a very good one;
' and I now like it much the better, that it is
' pleaſing to your Grace alſo (25).' This is dated from Dublin Caſtle, the 18th of October 1637. A few months before the Earl of Cork (between whom and Strafford, there was great enmity) was forced to compound, and parted with *Ardmore* to the See of Waterford: Yet the Biſhop wanted as much of his eſtate, as was worth, in the whole, 2000 pounds *per Annum*.

(17) Remarks upon a Letter out of Ireland, concerning the Remonſtrance for regulating Church Government, *&c.* 4*to*, 1641, one ſheet.

(18) Il Libro de i Sonnetti, e de la Figure luſſurioſe.

(19) Bayle's Dictionary in the article of ARETIN (PETES).

(20) Therefore the ſaid tranſlation was not firſt publiſhed later than 1582, this Mr Philip Sidney being knighted in the latter end of that year.

(21) See the Bee-Hive of the Romiſh Church. A Work of all good Catholicks to be read, and moſt neceſſary to be underſtood, *&c.* Tranſlated into Engliſh, by George Gilpin the Elder. Lond. printed by Mary Dawſon, 8*vo*, 1636, lib. vi. p. 341. b. Alſo Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy; the Fourth Edition, Folio, Oxon. 1632, p. 447.

(22) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *&c.* Vol. II. fol. 42.

(23) Idem. fol. 99.

(24) Ibid. fol. 101.

(25) Fol. 120.

inclination of mind, even to nauſeate the moſt wholſome diet, and hunger after that which is not fit for food; ſo his depraved palate, ſatiated, it ſeems, with the Fair, plunged him into the moſt odious impurities, and he fell from their ſex, prepoſterouſly to prey on his own; at leaſt, one became to him as magnetick as the other. Nay it is further aſſerted, that he could not circumſcribe himſelf here; but had more enlarged views, and acted greater parts in his own tragedy, for ſuch the cataſtrophe will prove it; as if the world was to be new tenanted, with a race of Centaurs, or other monſters more ſtrange and formidable than were ever begotten by the Heathen bards of old, or ſubſiſt in profane hiſtory; by indulging his corruptions to ſuch a hideous debaſement of his kind, as to render him unſatisfied even in the ſphere of his own ſpecies! And this is thought to be pointed at, in thoſe compariſons of him, ſo often, to the vileſt animals, in their moſt uncleanly habits (*). At length, in the midſt of his foul career, to the ſcandal and abhorrence of all rational and ſober ſociety with him, he was ſtopped ſhort, and ſurprized with the dreadful ſight of a perſon he little thought of; from the firſt appearance of whom, he was totally damped and diſmayed. 'Twas the man (ſays the author above) who had been the 'corrupter of him in his youth; whom he had not ſeen in twenty years before, and 'now came *caſually* out of England into Ireland to viſit him; the ſight of whom did 'ſo affright him, as if ſome ghoſt had appeared to him; he ſaid his very heart 'miſgave him, and his conſcience apprehended him, as ſome preſage, or meſſenger 'of a preſent vengeance, drawing nigh him (*q*).' This is all we are permitted, by Dr Bernard, to know of that man. Whether he was afterwards any evidence againſt the Biſhop, is an incident, which, among many others, that author wanted either ſincerity or liberty to inform us. But this we learn from him, that about three weeks after, a *Bill of Complaint* was preferred againſt Biſhop Atherton, in the Parliament at Dublin. Hereupon he was ſuddenly ſeized, and ſtrictly impriſoned; then followed his arraignment, which laſted a long while, and ended, on Friday the twenty-ſeventh of November, 1640, with ſentence of death. The Doctor does own, 'that the Biſhop's 'carriage then was by all condemned; and that it is not his intent, in the leaſt meaſure, to 'excuſe it (*r*).' And this is all he lets us know of the Biſhop's Tryal; at leaſt as to thoſe facts in particular, for which he loſt his life. For ſo it has been contrived, that you may read his two diſcourſes over, The *Penitent Death* of the ſaid Biſhop, and the *Caveat to the Miniſtry and People*, or his funeral ſermon; I ſay, through an hundred and ſixty-ſix pages (*s*), and remain ignorant of what the Biſhop ſuffered death for [*G*]; unleſs you draw

(*) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 29, &c.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*r*) Idem. p. 1.

(*s*) In his octavo edition.

[*G*] *Ignorant of what the Biſhop ſuffered death for.*] Dr Bernard, who was Archbiſhop Uſher's chaplain, publiſhed thoſe *two diſcourſes* by his command, as he ſays himſelf before them (26). But the Doctor, or whoever elſe had an hand in them, has ſo ſophiſticated, equivocated, and canted in them throughout; ſo amuſingly befringed, and *philactered* the margins with holy texts of Scripture, and pious quotations out of the Fathers, Schoolmen, &c. ſo blended and twiſted all the Biſhop's crimes and vices, in a general and ambiguous manner together, whenever he deſcribes the unloading his conſcience, and repeats any of his confeſſions, that the reader is quite diſſatisfied from end to end, in the very firſt enquiry he would make——What the cauſe was of the Biſhop's condemnation? 'Tis ſaid, he was ſo reſerved and tenacious, that in the title of the firſt edition, he conceals the function (*) of the criminal, as well as his crime; and that it runs thus; *The Penitent Death of a Woefull Sinner, or the Penitent Death of John Atherton, Executed at Dublin*, &c (27). The next edition was printed in 1642, which not having ſeen, we know not wherein it varies. The third edition, as he altered and enlarged it himſelf, is what we here make uſe of: However, thus much may be gathered out of the Doctor's work, upon this head; that as to the Biſhop's *male-practices*, if we may be allowed to make a new or uncommon interpretation of a word, upon an uncommon ſubject, it is apparent enough, that his viſitor out of England, as above-mentioned, was one of thoſe with whom he had tranſacted them; and that he muſt be a different perſon (becauſe he had not ſeen the Biſhop in twenty years) from his Lordſhip's ſteward, as ſome ſtile him (28), or his proctor, and apparator, according to others (29), who ſuffered death as well as the Biſhop, for their carnal communications together; what other men he had ſuch intimate dealings with, is not come to our knowledge. As to the beſtiality he is accuſed of, we have been informed, by a gentleman of repute, who had been long in Waterford, as well as other parts of Ireland, and converſant with many grave and intelligent perſons there, that he had often heard, there was a favourite but unlucky Mare, by which the unweary Biſhop got his deadly downfal. And how true it is, we know not, but a late editor of Dr Bernard's book on the Biſhop, has named in the title-page, another four-footed Favourite, with whom our dainty courtier would in like manner ſolace; for the title of that edition runs thus, ——— *The Caſe of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford, in Ireland; who was convicted of the Sin of Uncleanneſs with a Cow, and other Creatures; for which he was hanged at Dublin*, &c (30). This title page has moved the ſpleen of a late apologiſt in this cauſe, before quoted, to miſlead the world with a new-fangled *Caſe of Biſhop Atherton*; in which he objects no untruth to that title, but chides the editor, for printing that creature in capital letters, and indeed for ſetting forth any edition at all; yet objects not to Dr Bernard, who gave the world three editions of it. He has alſo ſhewed a ſtrange favour for the criminal, and as ſtrangely forborne to ſpeak one word againſt the crime he juſtly ſuffered for, according to Law (*). He is further nettled, that the ſaid publiſher ſhould make his edition ſo much known, as to have it carried far and near, upon the wings of advertiſements (31); as if all his care was, for concealing the ſinner, not chaſtiſing, or deterring the ſin. But to uſe a few of his own words upon this topic, where he is in a humour of communication, may not be here unneceſſary: 'When I firſt read 'Dr Bernard's book, ſays he, I was ſo far from 'learning from his relation, what the crime was, 'for which the Biſhop died, that I was forced for 'ſatisfaction, to enquire of a learned man, who had 'been born, and bred up in the kingdom of Ireland, *What this unfortunate Biſhop's heinous crime 'was?* And, as far as I can remember, his anſwer 'was, *He ſuffered for this unnatural ſin.* But added, 'he thought it a great conſpiracy againſt him; that 'he had, in the judgment of moſt men, hard and 'ſevere meaſure; and by very many, that he died 'innocent, and was not guilty of that *brutal fact*, 'for which he was executed (32).' And a little further, this author himſelf, 'grants it to be true, 'that the Biſhop was convicted, and died for that 'crime (33).' And yet, in one of the anonymous letters, he prints at the end, which, as he ſays, he received from Waterford, after he had new-dreſſed up

(26) In his dedication to the moſt reverend Father in God, James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

(*) So the *Caſe-writer* obſerves, but A. Wood, quoting the title of that edition, mentions the function in it. Ath. Oxon. V. I. in Faſti, col. 244.

(27) This edition was printed at Dublin in quarto, 1641.

(28) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly ſtated, ut ſupra, p. 39.

(29) The Life and Death of J. Atherton, Lord Biſhop of Waterford, ut ſupra.

(30) London: Printed in octavo, 1710, &c.

(*) Coke's Inſt. 3. C. 10.

(31) See the *Tatler* in the original edition, for February 12, 1709-10. And The *Poſt-Man* for March the 18th, &c.

(32) The Caſe of John Atherton, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(33) Idem. p. 10.

draw concluſions from the indirect and bordering intimations, ſprinkled up and down therein; or collate them with more ingenuous and communicative narrations, as hath been here attempted; and then the blind-folded particulars will looſen their bandage, and better diſcover each other. In this manner, if we conſider one of the Doctor's alluſions, it may appear more emphatical; where, now after the Biſhop's ſentence, among his penitential reflections, the Doctor ſays, 'He apprehended it, as no ſmall 'token of God's love to him, in giving him his portion of *ſhame* in this world, as a 'means to ſhun it in the world to come; which he once expreſſed with ſuch a height 'of affection, as I wondered at it; believing, that nothing but *this*, or the like, 'would have wrought upon his maſterleſs diſpoſition; which under any other troubles, 'he feared would ſtill have lingered, like *Lot* in *Sodom*, ready to be fired, till he was 'hauled out; or like *Cattle* within a houſe, and *fire* about them, yet ſtir not till they are 'drawn out (*t*).' After his condemnation, he was returned priſoner again to the caſtle at Dublin; and Dr Bernard the next day repaired to him, probably by direction from Archbiſhop Uſher, whoſe Chaplain he was as we have obſerved, to prepare his ſoul for it's ſeparation from this life. He was allowed ſeven days to fit himſelf for his diſſolution, and leave the world, from which he had made himſelf ſuch a deſpiſed outcaſt; to diſburthen his mind of his ſins, to repent, and ſeek forgiveneſs for them. And indeed, the picture of him in this moſt lamentable period; under all his violent conflicts, and bitter agonies; his ſtinging recollections, and cruciating remorſe; his *plenary* confeſſion, and grievous repentance; in ſhowers of tears, raptures of prayer, with the moſt proſtrate deteſtation of himſelf, and deſires to be cut off, as a mortified limb, from the body of Humankind; is ſo remarkable, ſo deeply affecting, and commanding of attention; ſo forcibly forbidding, and convincingly admoniſhing all Readers to avoid the miry ways which led him to this terrible ſtate and end; that we were induced to give the foregoing

(*t*) Idem. p. 23.

up the Biſhop's caſe, it is affirmed of the beſtiallity alledged, 'That all agree, it is not that, but too 'much freedom with his own ſteward, one Child 'by name; for which he was put to death (34).' By another author, he is named John Child, and called the Biſhop's proctor, who, as we obſerved, was hanged for that ſame freedom there was between them; but it was in March following, therefore three months after the Biſhop's execution, and at Bandon-Bridge, in or near Cork, having been condemned at the aſſizes held there (35.) There is a dying ſpeech in print, made, or pretended to be, by him at his execution; wherein, as we have been informed, he recanted one of the facts or circumſtances, he had accuſed the Biſhop with, whether concerning the beſtiality, we know not. But partly upon the ground of this Pamphlet, it ſhould ſeem Dr Bernard intimates, 'That the Biſhop did, not only at his 'tryal, but ſince (his condemnation) deny the *main* '*thing* in the indictment, which the *law* laid hold 'of; and which hath been ſince confirmed, ſays he, 'by the confeſſion of his chief accuſer, at his exe-'cution alſo; yet, (the next words are, that the Biſhop) 'in his own conſcience, applauded and magnified 'God's juſtice in it (36).' Nay, the ſame author had told us, but in the antecedent page, 'That the 'Biſhop acknowledged the juſtice of the law of *man*, 'as God's in condemning him:' Which ſeems not very conſiſtent with that pretended denial before, and after he was condemned, of the main thing, which the law took hold of: And the Doctor does alſo in his own perſon ſpeak, a little further, of 'Thoſe things (but what things he ſpeaks not) he 'was juſtly condemned for (37).' Beſides, the Biſhop himſelf, in his laſt letter to his wife, hereafter recited, confeſſes how much he had deſerved his puniſhment. As for what is to be found on this matter in the Engliſh edition of Sir James Ware (38), it is only a repetition of that paſſage in Dr Bernard, about the pretended denyal and confeſſion as above; which was an interpolation of the tranſlator's, and has miſguided ſome to infer, as if the Biſhop was condemned wrongfully, and through revenge for his recovering of lands, before-mentioned (*), as a late editor of Sir James Ware has obſerved; where he mentions all Sir James ſays, which ſignifies no more, than that the Biſhop was exceeding penitent, and with abundance of tears and groans, bewailed the ſins of his paſt life (39). He alſo adds, that 'Sir James Ware, at the time of Biſhop Ather-'ton's execution, was a member of the Privy-Coun-'cil, and had opportunities enough of knowing the 'truth; and zeal enough to declare it, if there had 'been room to have acquitted him.' Then he quotes many places in Dr Bernard, as we have done, to prove the Biſhop's guilt: So leaves the 'Reader to judge, 'whether thoſe exaggerated *expreſſions* of the Biſhop 'can be conſtrued to relate to the commiſſion of '*common frailties*, or to the crime for which he 'was brought to puniſhment? Whether he fell a ſa-'crifice to his *litigations*, rather than to *juſtice?* 'or, whether Dr Bernard acquits him, when he tells 'us, he was *juſtly condemned?*' And laſtly ſays, he believes, 'No body can be ſo unjuſt to think, that 'I caſt a blemiſh upon the order, by relating 'the miſerable fate of one of their body (40).' This is all we have met with of the capital crimes, which produced this condemnation. But had that Tryal of Biſhop Atherton, which laſted ſo long a while, or the complaint in Parliament, been ever publiſhed, or a fair and proper extract of it; as it might have been, without any reproach to the Prelacy; as that execrable affair of the Lord Audley, has been often printed (41), without any reflection on the Peerage; the law might then be found to have laid hold of no more than it had cauſe to do, and the juſtice of it, might have been more poſitively maintained: Then alſo we might better have ſeen, whether through any temptations to explain the Biſhop's ſtory, which the Doctor's blind book may have been the ſource of, he has been loaded with any greater burden of offences, than he drew upon himſelf, which was heavy enough, God wot: It might moreover, by the ſhameful puniſhment denounced on thoſe offences, have ſcared others more from committing them, and prevented the re-compilements of his Caſe, under the pretence of fairly repreſenting it, but falſely gloſſing it over, with miſguiding principles and ſuſpected partiality, not ſo much to the cloth, as the crimes. It is not improbable but that Trial is in being; or ſome Narrative of it, more compleat than any account of the Biſhop's condemnation that has been exhibited; becauſe the names of the witneſſes have been imparted to the publick, or ſeveral of them; as, beſides the *menial ſervant*, who ſwore home againſt the Biſhop, ſeemingly the ſame before-named; there was another, called Howell Powell, a man of good ſubſtance in Waterford; another named White, was the Sheriff of that city; and there was alſo one Butler, a Counſellor at Law, Recorder of the city at that time, and a man of intereſt and fortune; and ſaid to be the fierceſt of his proſecutors: But their characters are all diſparaged to us; they are ſaid, none of them to have proſpered after it; and 'tis laboured to make us imagine, it was a judgment upon them, for this conſpiracy (42). But if that Trial is in being, or any tolerable account of it; as the light of Truth has a ſurpriſing faculty of ſtruggling thro' dark clouds, ſhe poſſibly may, one time or other, oblige the world with it; to the further defeat of falſhood, and terror of all backſliders.

(34) Appendix to the Caſe of John Atherton, in the firſt Letter, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 39.

(35) The Life and Death of Biſhop Atherton, 4to, ubi ſupra.

(36) The Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 49.

(37) Idem. p. 51.

(38) Sir *James Ware*'s Antiquities and Hiſt. of *Ireland*, edit. fol. Lond. 1704. in his Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, p. 27, 28.

(*) See Mr *Carte*'s Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. fol. 67.

(39) The whole Works of Sir *James Ware*, reviſed and improved, by *Walter Harris*, Eſq; Vol. I. *Dublin*. Fol. 1739. pag. 540. In the *Life* of Biſhop Atherton.

(40) Mr *Harris*'s Life of Biſhop *Atherton*, as before, pag. 541. This Author alſo informs us, that the Biſhop was made Prebendary of St *John*'s, on the 22d of April, 1630; from the *Chapter Book* of *Chriſt-church*; alſo Chancellor of Chriſt-Church, in 1635, and at the ſame time, held the Rectories of Killaban, and Ballintubride, or Fontſtown, in the Dioceſe of Leighlin; beſides his Living in Somerſetſhire, by Diſpenſation. Ibid. pag. 539.

(41) *In folio*, 1679, alſo in the Collection of State Tryals, alſo in 12*mo* 1708, and in 8*vo*, 1710.

(42) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly ſtated, &c. p. 40, 41.

[*H*] *The*

foregoing ſhort view of his life, for no other end, but the benefit which may accrue, from the *Abſtract* we ſhall here ſubjoin of *The Week's Preparation* he made for his death [*H*]; which

[*H*] *The Week's preparation he made for his death.*] In which is to be ſhown, how after his condemnation, he judged and condemned himſelf for his heinous ſins, and the dreadful ſufferings he endured for the ſame. On Saturday the 28th of *November*, being the day after his ſentence, Dr Bernard went firſt to ſee him in Dublin caſtle; and after having had ſome ſpeech with him, of the ſcandal of the fact, juſtice of the ſentence, and miſery of his condition, without repentance (43); he, in an hour's time, made him pliable to attention, determined to open himſelf unreſervedly to him, deſirous of being made ſenſible of what might be his future ſtate, and that he would ſee the end of him. The Doctor then, firſt adviſed him to lay aſide his rich *cloaths*, to let the *chamber* be kept *dark*, to admit of no *company*, but ſuch as came to give him ſpiritual counſel, and ſo to commit himſelf cloſe priſoner to his *thoughts*; to *eat* in ſolitude; give himſelf to *faſting*; even to the afflicting of his *body*, which he had ſo *pampered*, as a means to affect the ſorrow of his *ſoul*; and alſo, to get his *coffin* made, and have it in his chamber (44). Thus he was by degrees, not only brought to recollect all his tranſgreſſions; but, the more entirely to diſcharge his conſcience, he drew out the black corruptions therein, with his own pen, all into one *Indictment*; that he might at once, as in a glaſs, view the face of his ſoul (45). And then, to the further aſtoniſhment of himſelf, when he had added his marginal aggravations, of time, place, perſon, and other circumſtances, they appeared *exceeding ſinful*. His ſevere and publick reprehenſion of others, for the crimes he had committed, his relapſes, and repetitions of them, he ſadly lamented, and grieved for a receipt to augment his grief. *All my friends*, ſaid he, *as aſhamed of me, have forſaken me; but if God withdraw his grace, what ſhall I do?* ſo begged the Doctor to get ſome compaſſionate people in the town to *pray for him*; for which he thought there was more cauſe, than for any bodily ſickneſs (46). He ſaw there was a *fountain* of ſalvation opened to him for *ſin* and for *uncleanneſs*, but like the poor impotent man at the pool of *Bethesda*, wanted one to put him in (47); and returned God hearty thanks for ſending a brother to aſſiſt him. Thus did he wreſtle for a proportionable meaſure of ſorrow, all Monday and part of Tueſday. The next day he kept a *faſt*; and was then ſo altered, that, ſuch a countenance, ſays the Doctor, of a *perplexed ſoul*, did I never ſee, as he ſeemed to me that morning, ſo ſore had the weight of his ſins preſſed his feeble conſcience that night, in a private *audit* between God and himſelf (48). In this ſenſe of his wretched condition, and loathing of himſelf, he ſaid to the Doctor, *Look not upon me, as one that hath had ſome honour in the Church, from which I am* worthily fallen; *but as upon the moſt abject, baſe perſon in the world:* So ſet his whole heart open indeed, in a *plenary, particular confeſſion*, of all his ſins he could remember from his youth till now (49); with ſuch bitter tears, and ſorrowful ſighs, kneeling, or proſtrate on the ground, as made the Doctor himſelf weep more, than he had ever done at the loſs of the deareſt friend (50). Then in his prayers, who had never before felt what belonged to them, he was earneſt and vehement to admiration. He wiſhed for the fears and troubles of *Francis Spira*, whoſe life and death he had a great deſire to read, but the Doctor thought it unfit. He was troubled at the Doctor's weeping, becauſe himſelf could outwardly expreſs no greater ſign of compunction, and had many other terrible conflicts. Fears, doubts, and fits of deſpair, would ſometimes ſhake him, and he ran through many tryals with the Doctor, for ſigns of ſaving grace (51). He repented that the night before he had ſlept ſo quietly; and the next night, he was kept awake with ſuch intolerable horrors of mind, that in the morning he repented of his repentance. His time now grew ſo ſhort, that as he had not years, nor months, nor weeks to live, he counted how many hours his miſdeeds had allowed him. But here there was a ſudden alteration in the government, which gave ſome perſons a notion it might be in his favour; for Sir Chriſtopher Wandeſford, the new Deputy of Ireland, while the Earl of Strafford was in England preparing for his own Trial, now dying, on Thurſday the 3d of December, ſome ſuppoſitions of a reprieve were ſuggeſted to the Biſhop, at leaſt till another Governor ſucceeded; but it moved him not; nor any body elſe to promote it, eſpecially of the Cloth, who thought it neceſſary he ſhould ſuffer for expiation, and that no umbrage might lie upon the Church. And the Biſhop himſelf was now ſo well prepared, that he choſe rather a preſent and *deſerved death*, than the prolonging of an *ignominious life*; and though he had a thought to have petitioned for being beheaded, he anſwered himſelf by himſelf, with indignation, *That a dog's death was too good him* (52), and ſo judged himſelf to the laſt. He wiſhed his grave were at the bottom of the ſea, and a mill-ſtone about his neck; and ſent for, and charged the Clerk of St John's, and the Verger of Chriſt-Church, not to ſuffer him to be buried in an ordinary part of the church-yard, but in a remote corner, where no body had been buried before (53). And now came on many other acts of his penitence, as deſire of making ſatisfaction, reſtitution, and payments of debts, as beforementioned. It was his deſire to have been degraded of the honours he had received, either in the church or univerſity. He gave good counſel to all about him, not omitting the Doctor (54), and expreſſed his intentions to have reformed his family, and given over all his law-buſineſs. The ſtories he had read of ſome pious and penitent men's death, had now animated him againſt the terrors of his own; inſomuch, that the night before he was to leave this world, it was a wonder to ſee his reſolution in taking leave of all his family, eſpecially his children, and giving them good advice; and ſome hours after, in taking his laſt farewel of his wife, with heavenly counſel and comfort, in her moſt paſſionate ſorrow. After his week's preparation came Saturday morning, which was execution day; when he told the Doctor, that if they did not bury him 'till Sunday, he would be deſired to preach: *But I pray ſpeak no good of me* (55) only what, abating any ſcandal to the miniſtry, would render him an example of *uſeful warning* to mankind. Now he appeared totally weaned from the world, and full of inward conſolation, as if he had already been in the ſuburbs of Heaven. Shed abundance of tears again; but as of ſorrow before, now of joy; and here the Doctor makes him a deep interpreter of the myſtical writings, expounding the *hidden manna*, and *white ſtone*, in the *Revelations*, to ſignify the bleſſed ſtate he was in (56). And here we have his other holy raptures, upon the ſweet and comfortable temper he was ſtrengthened with, to receive his doom. After he had taken leave of the priſoners in the caſtle, and refreſhed his *ſoul* with the *morning ſervice*, he made, as ſome refreſhment to his body, a ſlight breakfaſt, upon a little ſalt-butter, brown bread, and ſmall beer, the better to make his *ſpeech*; hoping at night to be invited to the *Supper of the Lamb*, in another World (57). When the time drew nigh, and he heard the crowd gathering, his heart quivered at the thoughts of his children, but he recovered himſelf, and gave away, as tokens of remembrance, his gloves, ſtaff, girdle, and pious books to ſome friends, and to the Doctor his ſeal-ring (58). Then the Sheriff of the county, who was a Papiſt, came to receive him; who, though the *Lord Chief Juſtice* of the *King's Bench*, and Juſtice *Creſſey* had granted the Biſhop's petition, that he might not be pinioned, refuſed the requeſt; as alſo, to do it with a ſtrong black ribband, or leather girdle, which were offered; but bound him with a three penny cord, and would have had him held in the coach beſides, in a man's lap, as they went (59). At the place of execution, a fellow who got upon one end of the gallows derided and interrupted him, which he bore patiently, and his footman got his head broke for his diligent attendance by the coach-ſide (60), which moved him. And as he was ready to aſcend the ladder, another called out to him about ſome papers and leaſes, who was rebuked for the inhuman inſult. He then made a large ſpeech; but becauſe he had not penned it down, our Doctor evades relating it, as what would

(43) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. p. 2.
(44) Idem. p. 4.
(45) Page 5.
(46) Page 7.
(47) Page 8, 9.
(48) Page 12.
(49) Page 13.
(50) Page 14.
(51) Page 21.
(52) Page 24.
(53) Page 25.
(54) Page 30.
(55) Page 32.
(56) Page 36.
(57) Page 40.
(58) Page 41.
(59) Page 44.
(60) Page 46.

do

which he ſuffered before a great multitude, on Gallows-Green at Dublin, on the fifth day of December in the year aforeſaid. And we cannot but believe, that if ſuch a rare example of the dreadful ſorrows and ſufferings he endured for his vices, both in his penitence and puniſhment, had been duly known, and conſidered by many perſons in the world, ſince he left it; it might have preſerved them in credit, retained them at home in their own country, and prevented thoſe detections, or thoſe fears of them, which have made Lords as well as Commons, and Clergy as well as Laity, fugitives abroad. Not long before the Biſhop was executed, his wife and daughters received the laſt letters he wrote to them; which are here annexed [*I*], entirely as we find them, for the ſatisfaction of

do him wrong, unleſs he could remember exactly his own words. Yet could give us near ten lines of it, in which he ſays, *I think I am the firſt of my profeſſion, that ever came hither to this ſhameful end* (61). And ſo he goes on till he is entring upon his open confeſſion, and there the Doctor breaks off, and ſays in his own words; in ſumme, he owned the juſtice of the law of man, and that the hand of God was throughout the *whole* (as if there was ſomething wonderful in all parts of the diſcovery); 1. In the Witneſſes and Informers; ſome of whom were at dinner with him the day before the complaint. 2. The Jury; whom he believed honeſt gentlemen, and that they went according to their conſciences: and though he thought the evidence was not ſo clear, but they might have ſtuck at it, yet, he ſaid it was *Digitus Dei* (62); the *juſtice* of which, *he fully and ſolemnly acknowledged* to a friend, at the inſtant he heard the jury had returned him guilty; though he denied the main thing in the indictment, which the jury laid hold of, as we have before obſerved. Yet here, in his own conſcience, he ſtill applauded and magnified God's juſtice in it: So burnt a volume of papers he had wrote out of law books in his own defence. 3. In the Judges; who, though they were hot againſt him, he imputed it only to their zeal againſt *vices* which did *deſerve* it: Yet thought, he ſhould not have been denied counſel; and conceived ſome errors he had pleaded in the indictment, reaſonable; but moſt willingly ſubmitted, as God's hand was in it. 4. In the infatuation of Himſelf: For that he could have ſent his chief accuſer into England, and had him indicted for a hand in a ſtealth there; and by this time have outlawed him, and made his teſtimony void. That he could have alſo excepted againſt twenty of his jury (though juſt before, the Doctor has ſaid, he believed them very honeſt and conſcientious gentlemen) and have put it off 'till next Term, before which he might have had other thoughts. That he knew the foreman was outlawed alſo; yet that he omitted theſe things thro' the height of his ſpirit, in ſcorning to ſtoop to ſuch poor ſhifts and protractions, and the confidence he had, that there would be no need of them; as truſting in his wit and expreſſions; which, till now, had not miſcarried: But even here alſo, that he took it to be God's hand evidently, which he thankfully embraced (63). And theſe are ſome of the branches of that dying ſpeech, as Dr Bernard has pruned them off to us, concerning thoſe things he ſays the Biſhop was juſtly condemned for, and now ſpoke of to the publick, but not one of them here appears; for though he begun it in the Biſhop's words, he ends it in his own. And as the Biſhop had opened his whole life to him, as to his ghoſtly Father, without any extenuation: his ſaid ghoſtly Father might, in this point, have followed his example, and have been as explicit with the world, as the Biſhop was with him; and as a true penitent, did deſign he ſhould be; when he expreſsly deſired, that a *name of infamy* might reſt upon himſelf (64); and not be imputed to his profeſſion. But the imprudent or ill-adviſed concealment of his crimes, yet liberal diſplay of ſuch prodigious repentance, may have proved a detrimental friendſhip to him, and nouriſhed apprehenſions of ſins, perhaps beyond meaſure, to account for ſuch unmeaſurable ſorrows. But to conclude; after the Biſhop had made his ſpeech, he prayed and wept in ſuch a manner, as drew tears from the people, all on their knees about him, even the Prieſts and Papiſts who heard him (65); and deſired, if any of them, belonging to the town of Waterford, were preſent, that they would commend him to his neighbours there, and let them know, he had taken notice, that *none of the Romiſh Church*, though differing from him in religion;

(61) Page 48.

(62) Page 49.

(63) Page 5

(64) Page 54.

(65) Page 55.

had a hand in this complaint againſt him (66): Nor is there the leaſt hint of any who had. He then took leave of all who were near him, put off his morning gown, hat, and black cap, and called to his man for his other cap and handkerchief. When he was ſetting his foot on the ladder, he would fain have taken a friendly farewel of the Sheriff; who made him no anſwer (67). So he went up the ladder, pinned the handkerchief about his face with his own hands; then after a ſhort prayer, and giving the ſignal that he was prepared, a woeful and ſhameful end was put to a wicked and ſcandalous life. After he had hung ſome three quarters of an hour (68), he was cut down, and his corps carried back, and the Doctor with it, in the coach which brought them, to the houſe where they were received; and that ſame night, about ten o'clock, when the Doctor had preached a ſhort diſcourſe (afterwards enlarged, and printed) by way of *funeral ſermon* upon the occaſion, in St John's church, to ſatisfy the expectations of the people; the Biſhop was buried in the church-yard belonging thereto, according to the directions he had given; and there the Doctor performed the laſt office; with whoſe words we ſhall cloſe this ſcene of the Biſhop's tragedy. 'Object not his life, to juſtify your own: If you 'remember his life, forget not his death; as the 'one was offenſive, ſo let the other be uſeful; 'as the one made the breach, ſo let the other re-'repair it (69).'

(66) Page 57.

(67) Page 58, 59.

(68) Page 61.

(69) Page 65.

[*I*] *His wife and daughters received the laſt letters he wrote to them, which are here annexed.*] Theſe letters, as Dr Bernard has given them us, are as follow:

'*The* LETTER *to his* WIFE.

'My Deare Wife,

'MARKE well theſe laſt words of him, who 'theſe *twenty years* and *upwards*, hath been 'your huſband, and might have ſo continued much 'longer, by the courſe of nature, had not his *con-'tinued and crying ſinnes*, deſervedly *drawne this pu-'niſhment upon him, to be cut off from the living, 'as unworthy of their ſociety in this life.* I ſuffer 'for my wickedneſſe, which I beſeech God in his 'mercy through Jeſus Chriſt to forgive me. In my 'ſuffering, you ſuffer both in your *credit* and *eſtate*, 'and what elſe ſoever concernes this world. This 'advantage you have of me; I have only left unto 'me a ſmall time of repentance, but you, by God's 'grace, may have a large time of amendment; 'which I would have you improve to the full, and 'not loſe a minute. Turne unto the Lord your 'God with all your heart. Cloath yourſelf with 'patience and thankſgiving. I doubt not but God 'will have mercy on you, and prove a huſband to 'you, and a father to my children; yea, I doubt not, 'but you ſhall live with the ſame happineſs, and 'greater content, than if I were with you.

'Serve Him, He will not fail you.

'Bring up your children in the fear of God: 'That houſhold which you keep, let it be the ſer-'vants of God.

'Above all things, be diligent in private prayer: 'Make all your needs known unto the Lord: Un-'dertake nothing, which you cannot find in your 'heart to begge a bleſſing for.

'Miſconſter not theſe my dying advertiſements, 'which proceed, as in the preſence of God, from 'true affection; that at length, I might really give 'ſome ſupply to my former defaults, and put you 'in a right way of everlaſting comfort; that tho' 'we part in this world, yet we may enjoy a more

of the curious. As for that idle ſtory, which might have been for ſome time ſpread among ſome of the credulous and common people, of his ghoſt alſo appearing, as that of his ſiſter's mother-in-law was before rumoured to do, and as if it were to frighten, or torment his proſecutors; it no ſooner haunted a Paragraph in one place (*u*), but a pamphlet aroſe of it in another; containing an *Account of the Apparition of John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford*; and ſaid to be publiſhed from an original manuſcript, in the cuſtody of the late Dr John Quick, and communicated by his ſon: With *Remarks* upon, or a full *Reply* to, *The Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly repreſented*, as above quoted. To which Account, and Reply (*w*), we refer thoſe, who have further enquiries to make upon that ſubject, or would further elucidate, or ſtrengthen this *Caveat to the Miniſtry and People*, as Dr Bernard has before intitled alſo one of his diſcourſes upon this Biſhop; whoſe own dying will and intreaty was, That *himſelf* might be made a uſeful *warning* to *others*.

(*u*) Letter from Waterford, in the Caſe of John Atherton, &c. fairly repreſented, p. 42.

(*w*) Printed in octavo, about the year 1711.

' happy meeting in Heaven; and after all our af-
' flictions, be there partakers of endleſſe bliſſe. So
' prayes, and ever ſhall praye, as long as he lives,

' Your huſband,

JOHN ATHERTON.

' Caſt not away this paper when you have read
' it, but keep it as a jewel, and peruſe it often;
' as the *legacie* of him, who can now give no
' other.

' Decemb. 1, 1640.

' *The* LETTER *to his* CHILDREN.

' My deare Children,

' IT was ever my deſire to have ſeen you well
' preferred, but God thought otherwiſe, and *my*
' *ſins* would not ſuffer it; which have not only *ſen-*
' *tenced me to death*, but bereaved me of that ſmall
' worldly bleſſing, which I propoſed unto you as a
' patrimony, and evidence of my fatherly affection.
' And how, now it will be diſpoſed of, or what
' ſhare will come to your lot, I leave to God; who,
' as he hath given you body and ſoul, ſo I doubt
' not but wil, of his great goodneſſe, provide for
' your eſtate. What is left unto me, and cannot
' be taken from me, I freely impart and give unto
' you; not dividing it amongſt you by ſhares and
' proportions, but giving each of you the whole;
' wherein, though you communicate one with ano-
' ther in my bleſſing, and laſt counſel; yet each,
' without wrong to the other, may take and challenge
' the whole to herſelfe.

' Firſt, the Bleſſing of God the Father, the Son,
' and the Holy Ghoſt, light upon you; give you, a
' true knowledge of his word, a true fear of his
' will, and a true faith in his promiſes.

' Let no day paſſe over you, wherein you do not
' cal yourſelves to a reckoning before you ſleep, and
' make your peace with God, for the offences of that
' day.

' Be conſtant in private prayer, twice every day
' at leaſt, upon your knees; and God wil be a father
' unto you.

' Do nothing, great or ſmal, without firſt crav-
' ing a bleſſing from God; and forbeare that, upon
' which you cannot find in your hearts to crave ſuch
' a bleſſing.

' Be content with whatſoever God ſhall afford you;
' poverty or riches: Take heed, repine not at his
' pleaſure; who in the end, though it be ſometimes
' contrary to our ſence; works all things for the good
' of his children.

' If you marry, prefer an honeſt man that fears
' God, before al other reſpects in the world.

' Be obedient to your mother; love one another;
' and live in hope to injoy again in Heaven the
' company of your father,

' Now ready to dye,

' Decem. 4, 1640.

' JOHN ATHERTON.

' Caſt not away this looſe paper; but each of
' you take a copy of it, and preſerve it by you as
' a jewel all the dayes of your life (70).' G

(70) Dr Bernard's Penitent Death of a Woeful Sinner, &c. from p. 67 to 72.

ATKINS or ETKINS (JAMES), Biſhop of Galloway in Scotland, was the ſon of Henry Atkins Sheriff and Commiſſary of Orkney, and was born in the town of Kirkwall in the Stewartry of Orkney. He was educated in the college of Edinburgh, where he commenced Maſter of Arts; and from thence went to Oxford in 1637-8, to finiſh his ſtudies under the tuition of Dr Prideaux the Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. Soon after he was appointed Chaplain to James, Marquis of Hamilton, his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner for Scotland; in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that, by the application of his noble patron upon his return to England, he obtained from the King a preſentation to the church of Biſſa, in the Stewartry of Orkney; where continuing ſome years, his prudence, diligence, and faithfulneſs, in the diſcharge of his office procured him much veneration and reſpect from all perſons, eſpecially from his Ordinary, who conferred upon him the dignity of Moderator of the Preſbytery. In the beginning of the year 1650, when James, Marquis of Montroſe, landed in Orkney, Dr Atkins was nominated by the unanimous votes of the ſaid preſbytery, to draw up a declaration in their names, containing the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty and allegiance to King Charles II: for which the whole preſbytery being depoſed by the aſſembly of the Kirk at that time ſitting at Edinburgh, Dr Atkins was likewiſe excommunicated as one who held a correſpondence with the ſaid Marquis. At the ſame time the council paſſed an act for the apprehending and bringing him to his trial: but upon private notice from his kinſman Sir Archibald Primeroſe, then clerk of the council, he fled into Holland, where he lay concealed till the year 1653; and then returning into Scotland, he ſettled with his family at Edinburgh, where he reſided quietly and obſcurely till the year 1660. Upon the reſtoration of the King, he accompanied Dr Thomas Sydſerf, Biſhop of Galloway, (the only Scotch Biſhop, who ſurvived the calamities of the uſurpation) to London, where the Biſhop of Wincheſter preſented him to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorſetſhire. In 1677, he was elected and conſecrated Biſhop of Murray in Scotland, to the great joy of the epiſcopal party; and, in 1680, he was tranſlated to the

the ſee of Galloway, with a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh [*A*]. He continued to govern his dioceſe ſeven years, and died at Edinburgh of an apoplexy, Oct. the 28th, 1687, aged 74 years. His body was decently interred in the church of the Grey-Fryars [*B*]; and his death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men (*a*) [*C*]. (*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1170, 1171.

[*A*] *He had a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh.*] The reaſon of this diſpenſation, it ſeems, was, becauſe it was thought unreaſonable to oblige a reverend Prelate of his years, to reſide among ſuch rebellious and turbulent people, as thoſe of his dioceſe were; the effects of whoſe furious zeal had often appeared in their affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and often murdering the curates (1.)

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1171.

[*B*] *His body was interred in the church of the Grey-friyars.*] His funeral ſermon was preached by John, Biſhop of Dunkeld; and upon his coffin was placed this inſcription:

Maximus, Atkinſi, pietate, et maximus annis,
Ante diem, invita religione, cadis.
Ni caderes, noſtris inferret forſitan oris
Haud impune ſuos Roma ſuperba deos.

Which may be thus engliſhed;

Atkins, rever'd for piety and years,
Thou dieſt, and ſad religion is in tears.
For oh! did'ſt thou her righteous cauſe ſuſtain,
Rome and her gods might tempt our ſhores in vain.

[*C*] *His death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men.*] His ſincere piety, conſtant loyalty, ſingular learning, and true zeal for the Proteſtant religion, made his death a very great loſs to the Church of Scotland. He very zealouſly oppoſed the taking off the penal laws in that kingdom; at which time, notwithſtanding the infirmities of age and ſickneſs, under which he laboured, he was daily conveyed to the Parliament, where he publickly declared his averſion to the aboliſhing the ſaid laws, and uſed all his intereſt with the members, in perſuading them to a firm and conſtant adherence to the Proteſtant religion, and a zealous oppoſition to all deſigns which might be prejudicial thereto (2). (2) Id. ibid.

T

ATKINS (RICHARD), author of ſome pieces, particularly A Treatiſe *Of the Original and Growth of Printing* [*A*], was deſcended of a good family ſeated at Tuffleigh, in Glouceſterſhire; his father being ſon and heir of Richard Atkins, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of Weſt-Wales, and one of Queen Elizabeth's Counſel of the Marches of Wales, and brother to Sir Edward Atkins of Lincoln's-Inn, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; and his mother ſecond daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimer in Buckinghamſhire, Bart. by his wife the Lady Elizabeth Sandys, daughter and heireſs of William Lord Sandys of the Vine near Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire, deſcended from Margaret Bray, the only child of John Bray, next brother and heir to Sir Reginald Bray, Knight-Banneret, and Knight of the Garter, who died without iſſue. Our author, having been partly educated in Engliſh and grammar learning under two very bad maſters, was ſent to the college ſchool at Glouceſter; from whence he was removed, at fourteen years of age, to Baliol college

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly a Treatiſe* of the Original and Growth of Printing in England.] The liſt of his works given us by Mr Wood (1), conſiſts of, I. The above-mentioned Treatiſe; printed at London, in 1664, in four ſheets, *4to.* II. His *Vindication*, London 1669, *4to.* III. *A Relation of ſeveral paſſages in the weſtern war of England*, in which himſelf was concerned. IV. *Sighs and Ejaculations.* Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Vindication.* I ſhall give the reader an extract from his *Original and Growth of Printing in England*, which he publiſhed by order of Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State. It is tranſcribed from an old manuſcript Chronicle, ſaid to be preſerved in the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, containing an hiſtorical account of the introduction of that noble art into this kingdom; and is as follows. 'Thomas Bourcher, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved 'the then King (Henry VI) to uſe all poſſible means 'for procuring a mould (for ſo it was called) to be 'brought into this kingdom. The King, (a good 'man, and much given to works of this nature) 'readily hearkened to the motion, and taking private advice how to effect this deſign, concluded 'it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to 'ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome 'of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where 'John Guthenberg had newly invented it, and was 'himſelf perſonally at work. 'Twas reſolved, that 'leſs than one thouſand marks would produce 'the deſired effect; towards which ſum, the Archbiſhop preſented the King with three hundred 'marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the deſign was committed to Mr ROBERT 'TOURNOUR, who was then of the robes to the King, 'and a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any 'of his condition. Mr TOURNOUR took to his aſſiſtance Mr CAXTON, a citizen of good abilities, 'who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtaying 'in the Low-Countries. Mr TOURNOUR was in diſguiſe (his beard and hair quite ſhaven off); but 'Mr CAXTON appeared known and public. They 'having received the ſum of one thouſand marks, 'went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, not 'daring to enter Harlem itſelf; for the town was 'very jealous, having impriſoned and apprehended 'divers perſons, who came from other parts for the 'ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid till they had ſpent the 'whole one thouſand marks in gifts and expences, 'ſo that the King was fain to ſend five hundred 'marks more; Mr TOURNOUR having written to 'the King, that he had almoſt done his work, a 'bargain (as he ſaid) being ſtruck between him and 'two Hollanders for bringing off one of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach 'the new art. At laſt, with much ado, they got 'off one of the under-workmen, whoſe name was '*Frederick Corſells*, (or rather *Corſellis*) who late 'one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into 'a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe, and ſo 'the wind, (favouring the deſign) brought him ſafe 'to London. 'Twas not thought ſo prudent to ſet 'him on work at London, but by the Archbiſhop's 'means, who had been vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor of the univerſity of Oxon, *Corſellis* was carried with a ſtrong guard to Oxon; 'which guard conſtantly watched to prevent *Corſellis* from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made 'good his promiſe in teaching how to print; ſo 'that at Oxford, Printing was firſt ſet up in England; which was before there was any printing-preſs, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, except the city of Mentz, which claims 'ſeniority as to printing, even of Harlem itſelf; 'calling herſelf, *Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicæ inventricem primam:* though 'tis known to 'be otherwiſe, that city gaining that art by the 'brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who 'had learned it at home of his brother, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf at Mentz. This preſs at 'Oxon was at leaſt ten years before there was any 'printing in Europe, (except at Harlem and Mentz) 'where alſo it was but new-born. This preſs at 'Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be 'the ſole printing place in England, as being too 'far from London, and the ſea; whereupon the 'King ſet up a preſs at St Albans, and another at 'the abbey of Weſtminſter, where they printed ſe-

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595.

'veral

college in Oxford, and continued there about two years in the quality of a gentleman commoner. From Oxford he removed to Lincoln's-Inn; and ſoon after travelled into France, with the ſon of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour by a ſecond venter: but that young gentleman dying before they could proceed farther, he returned home, improved himſelf in the accompliſhments of a courtier, and married. Afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars in England, he raiſed a troop of horſe for the ſervice of the King at his own expence; by which he ſuffered much in his eſtate. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II, he was appointed one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Glouceſterſhire; in which ſtation he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a loyal ſubject of the King, and an affectionate ſon of the Church of England. His character is that of 'an ingenious and obſerving man, who ſaw the vanity of this world ſooner 'than others, tho' of elder years; which fitted him the better for another.' At length being committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea goal in Southwark, for debt, he died there the fourteenth of September 1677, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St George the Martyr, by the care and appointment of Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Edward Atkins, Eſq; afterwards one of the Barons of the Exchequer, both nearly related to the deceaſed (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 595, 596.

'veral books of divinity and phyſic; for the King, 'for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and council, 'permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor 'did any Printer exerciſe that art, but only ſuch 'as were the King's ſworn ſervants, the King him-'ſelf paying the price and emolument for printing 'books.' But the authority of this Chronicle may well be called in queſtion for theſe reaſons; firſt, becauſe Mr Atkins does not pretend to have ſeen the original, but only to have tranſcribed it from a copy, ſent him by an anonymous friend: ſecondly, he gives no account by whom it was written, or how it was bequeathed to the library at Lambeth: thirdly, no author beſides Mr Atkins, and thoſe who follow him, mention this Chronicle as being in that library: fourthly, it is not to be found there now, the late Earl of Pembroke having employed a perſon to ſearch for it, but in vain; laſtly, there are inconſiſtencies in it, and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known. I ſhall not here enter upon an examination of this ſubject, but ſhall refer the reader to Mr Palmer's *General Hiſtory of Printing*, where the miſtakes of this Chronicle are fully laid open, and the true origin of the Art hiſtorically deduced. I ſhall only add, that the deſign of Mr Atkins's book is little more than an invective againſt the company of Stationers, and to prove, that *Printing* is a branch of the *Royal Prerogative*, and a *Flower* of the *Engliſh Crown*.

T

ATKYNS (Sir ROBERT) Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, deſcended of a very ancient family, ſettled at the time of his birth, and long before in Glouceſterſhire (*a*) [*A*]. His father was Sir Edward Atkyns, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and his mother Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (*b*). This Sir Robert of whom we are to ſpeak, was born ſome time in the year 1621. He received the firſt tincture of letters, in his father's houſe in Glouceſterſhire, from whence he removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he ſtudied in Baliol college for ſome time, and was removed thence to the Inns of Court, that is, as may be ſuppoſed from his arms in the chapel windows to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Law (*c*), in which he became very eminent, as well as for his loyalty in thoſe melancholy times preceding, and following the murder of King Charles I. On this account, he was in the month of April 1661, made Knight of the Bath, with many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, at the coronation of King Charles II (*d*). He was alſo, on the twenty-eighth of September in the ſame year, created Maſter of Arts, in full convocation at Oxford (*e*). Thenceforward, he was conſidered in Weſtminſter-Hall, as one of the great ornaments of his profeſſion. In 1671, he was appointed one of the King's Serjeants at Law (*f*), and in 1672, he was appointed one of the Judges of his Majeſty's Court of Common-Pleas (*g*), in which honourable ſtation he behaved with great wiſdom and integrity, till the year 1679, when, from a foreſight of very troubleſome times, he thought fit to reſign, and to retire

(*a*) Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 242. edit. 1671.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 480.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Europe, A. D. 1710, in the remarkables, p. 10.

(*g*) Ibid. Hiſt. of Europe, p. 10.

[*A*] *Settled at the time of his birth in Glouceſter.*] The family of the Atkyns's did antiently reſide in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns, lived in the reign of King Edward III, and died in London, and was buried in the church of St Peter Cheap, 2 Hen. IV, in the year 1401. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas, followed the profeſſion of the Law, in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns, was ſon of Richard, and was of the ſame profeſſion. Richard Atkyns, Son of Thomas died 11 Hen. VII. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of Richard, died 4 Hen. VIII, and was ſucceeded by David Atkyns, who married Alice, daughter of an eminent merchant in Cheapſtow, and removed to Tuffleigh, near Glouceſter; he died 1552. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of David, married Margaret, daughter of John Cook of London, and was Judge of the Sheriffs Court in London; he argued the firſt caſe in Plowden's Commentaries, and died before his father 1551, and lies buried in Aldermanbury church in London. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas, was under age at his father's death, and was granted in Ward, to Thomas Wendy, Eſq; Phyſician to King Edward VI, and was found by inquiſition to be ſeized of the manors of Tuffleigh, Hempſted, and Morecot, in the pariſh of Minſterworth, and of Brickhampton, in the pariſh of Churchdown, held of the King *in capite*; and of lands in Sodbury, Beleſly, and Tudenham, all in the county of Glouceſter. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Marſh, of Wareſley, in Huntingtonſhire, Eſq; and was one of the Juſtices of the Seſſions in North Wales, and one of the Council of the Marches of Wales; he died 1610, and lies buried at Hempſted. Sir Edward Atkyns, third ſon of Richard, (whoſe elder brothers have ſince been extinct) married Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt, in Hertfordſhire: he died one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, aged eighty-two years (1). It was Sir Robert Atkyns, whoſe Life we are now writing, purchaſed the family ſeat and manor of Saperton, from Sir William Pool in 1660 (2.) It was remarkable of this family, that there was always ſome perſon belonging thereto preſiding in ſome of the courts of judicature in this kingdom, for upwards of three hundred years (3).

(1) Sir Robert Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(2) Ibid. p. 637.

(3) Ibid. p. 638.

[*B*] *Declared*

retire into the country, which he accordingly did (*b*). His attachment to the laws and liberties of his country, made him unwilling to afford any countenance, as he muſt have done if he had continued a Judge, to the arbitrary proceedings which about that time came into faſhion, and againſt which, he had with ſo much ſtrength of argument, and profound learning declared, in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton (*i*) [*B*]. In this retirement he acted as became ſo great a man, for as he did nothing to diſturb the government of his country, ſo he was far from meanly deſerting her cauſe, or that of her friends (*k*). In July, 1683, when the unhappy Lord Ruſſel was firſt impriſoned, on account of that conſpiracy, for which he afterwards ſuffered, application was made to Sir Robert Atkyns, for his advice, which, in ſo nice a conjuncture, and when it might have been ſo dangerous to himſelf, he did not either refuſe or decline. This letter, ſo curious in point of matter, and ſo declarative, not only of the prudence and learning, but of the courage and integrity of this worthy perſon, the reader will find in the notes [*C*]. The ſame perſon to whom Sir Robert wrote this letter, tranſmitted him, immediately

(*b*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 391.

(*i*) Sir Robert Atkyns's Parliamentary and Political Tracts, Printed for R. Goſling, 1734, 8*vo*, p. 126.

(*k*) See Sir R. A's preface to the Vindication of Lord Ruſſel's Innocency.

[*B*] *Declared in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton*.] This was a very nice and intricate affair, and in order to make it clear to our readers, we muſt give a ſhort account of this caſe from it's beginning. Upon a writ out of the court of Chancery, bearing date 8 Febr. 25 Car. II, directed to Sir William Soame, Sheriff of Suffolk; commanding to return a Knight for that county, in the place of Sir Henry North, lately dead; Sir William made a double return, in one indenture, ſpecifying Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, to be duly elected, and in another, the Lord Huntingtower. This election being examined in parliament, Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, was declared duly elected, whereupon he brought his action of treſpaſs, upon the caſe, for the pains and expence, which he had been at, to obtain his ſeat in parliament, againſt Sir William Soame, in the Kings-Bench. The defendant pleaded the general iſſue, and upon a trial, the jury found for the plaintiff, and gave him eight hundred pounds damages. Sir William Soame, ſued a Writ of Error in the Exchequer, and there two of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, were for reverſing the judgment given in the Court of King's-Bench as erroneous. But Sir William Ellis, and Sir Robert Atkyns, both judges of the Common-Pleas, were of opinion, that the judgment was good, and the argument here referred to, is, That made by Judge Atkyns, in ſupport of his opinion. In this argument he maintains, That the plaintiff had a juſt cauſe of action, that the law gave him a remedy, and that he had taken his proper remedy, by bringing an action upon the caſe. On each of theſe heads he inſiſted largely, from reaſon, law, and hiſtory, and then proceeded to anſwer all the objections that had been made againſt the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench. In the courſe of his harangue, it is manifeſt, that he was not a little apprehenſive of offending the Houſe of Commons, who were wont to look upon themſelves, as ſole judges in ſuch matters. But by wiſely declining to meddle with any points, which did not immediately regard the Record before them, he ſecured himſelf from danger, and ſuſtained at the ſame time the juriſdiction of the Courts in Weſtminſter-Hall, with much courage and learning. However the judgment was reverſed, notwithſtanding all that he, and Sir William Ellis could ſay, and ſo the plaintiff loſt his damages, and ninety-eight pounds coſts. But Sir Robert Atkyns, in quieter times, thought fit to print his argument, and to intimate, that this caſe needed a redreſs, by error in Parliament (4). Nothing however was done therein, even after the Revolution. In the printed collection of our author's tracts, this is placed after his argument, in the caſe of William Williams, Eſq; but for what reaſon I cannot imagine, ſince it is prior in point of time, by no leſs than ten years, the Record in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, being of Trinity Term 26 Car. II, and that in the caſe of Williams, in Trinity Term 36 of the ſame King.

(4) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

[*C*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is not certain, to whom this letter was addreſſed, probably it was to ſome noble relation, or to ſome ſollicitor, or other very intelligent perſon, who had the care of Lord Ruſſel's affairs. It has alſo no date, but that may be eaſily ſupplied. On the 28th of June, 1683, Lord Howard, who is the perſon hinted at to be *particeps criminis* in the following letter, ſurrendered, and charged Lord Ruſſel with High-Treaſon; this Lord was tried on the 13th of July following, and conſequently, the date of this Letter muſt fall ſome time between the beginning of the month, and the ſaid 13th of July (5).

(5) See the proceedings againſt Lord Ruſſel, in the third volume of State Tryals.

SIR,

'I Am not without the apprehenſions of danger 'that may ariſe by adviſing in, or ſo much as 'diſcourſing of publick affairs; yet no fear of danger ſhall hinder me from performing the duty we 'owe one to another, to counſel thoſe that need our 'advice, how to make their juſt defence, when they 'are called in queſtion for their lives, eſpecially if 'they are perſons, that have, by their general carriage, and converſation, appeared to be men of 'worth, and lovers of their King and country, and 'of the religion eſtabliſhed among us. I will follow the method you uſe, and anſwer what you 'aſk, in the order I find it in your letters. I 'cannot ſee any diſadvantage or hazard, by pleading the general plea of Not Guilty: If it fall out 'upon the proofs, that the crime is only miſpriſion 'of treaſon, and not the very crime of treaſon, the 'jury muſt then find the priſoner not guilty of treaſon; and cannot upon an indictment of treaſon, 'find the party guilty of miſpriſion, becauſe he was 'not indicted for the offence of miſpriſion; and treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon, are offences that the 'law hath diſtinguiſhed the one from the other, and 'the one is not included in the other; and therefore, if the proofs reach no farther, than to prove 'a miſpriſion, and amount not to treaſon, the priſoner may urge it for himſelf, and ſay, that the 'proofs do not reach to the crimes charged in the 'indictment, and if the Truth be ſo, the court ought 'ſo to direct the jury not to find it. Now being 'in company with others, where thoſe others do 'conſult and conſpire, to do ſome treaſonable act, 'does not make a man guilty of treaſon, unleſs by 'ſome words or actions, he ſignify his conſent to 'it, and approbation of it; but his being privy to it 'and not diſcovering of it, makes him guilty of 'miſpriſion of treaſon, which conſiſts in the concealing 'it, but it makes him not guilty of treaſon; and if 'the ſame perſon be preſent a ſecond time, or oftener, 'this neither does not make him guilty of treaſon, 'only it raiſes a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he likes it, and 'conſents to it, and approves of it, or elſe he would 'have forborn, after being once amongſt them: But the 'ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion does not ſufficiently prove a guilt 'in treaſon, nor can it go for any evidence, and 'that upon two accounts. Firſt, the proofs in caſe of 'treaſon muſt be plain, and clear, and poſitive, and not 'by inference or argument, or the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion 'imaginable; thus ſaith Sir Edward Coke, in many 'places in his 3d Inſtitutes in the chapter of High-'Treaſon. Secondly, In an indictment of High-Treaſon, there muſt not only be a general charge of treaſon, nor is it enough to ſet forth of what ſort or 'ſpecies the treaſon is: As killing the King, or levying war againſt him, or coining money, or the 'like; but there muſt be alſo ſet forth ſome overt or 'open act, as the Statute of the 25th of Edward III, 'calls it, or ſome inſtance, given by the party or 'offender, whereby it may appear, he did conſent to 'it, and conſult, and approve of it: And if the 'barely being preſent, ſhould be taken, and conſtrued, to be a ſufficient overt, or open act, or 'inſtance, then there is no difference between trea-'ſon,

immediately on that noble Lord's conviction, a full and exact account of his trial, and the evidence on both ſides, on which Sir Robert wrote his remarks freely, with ſuch a ſpirit of candour, loyalty, and zeal for the laws, as will always do honour to his memory (*l*). This letter which is to be found in his printed works, is dated the twenty-third of July, 1683, two days after Lord Ruſſel was executed, which however could not be known to him at that diſtance (*m*). His great zeal for liberty, and his known affection for ſeveral perſons, at that time under the diſpleaſure of the government, would certainly have drawn him into ſome inconveniences, if his own prudence in keeping very little correſpondence, the popular opinion of his great integrity, and the King's perſonal eſteem, had not protected him. We may be the more fully perſuaded of this, from the following inſtance. One Mr Laurence Braddon, having taken upon him to proſecute the diſcovery of what he called the Earl of Eſſex's murder, whom he ſuppoſed to have been aſſaſſinated in the Tower, though the Coroner's inqueſt had found him *felo de ſe*; applied himſelf to one Mr Hugh Speke, a young gentleman of fortune, and who had the honour to be well acquainted with Sir Robert Atkins, to whom he wrote a very warm letter, in recommendation both of Mr Braddon and the deſign he was upon, intreating Sir Robert to aſſiſt him therein. This letter however, never came to Sir Robert's hand, for Mr Braddon being apprehended in the country, this letter was found upon him, and though in February 1683-4, he was convicted at the King's-Bench-Bar for a miſdemeanor, in conſpiring to make the people believe, that the Earl of Eſſex was murdered, and with him Mr Hugh Speke, meerly for writing the aforeſaid letter, for which he was fined a thouſand pounds, yet Sir Robert Atkyns was

(*l*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

(*m*) Ibid.

'ſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon; for the being preſent without conſenting, makes no more than miſpriſion; therefore there muſt be ſomething more than being barely preſent to make a man guilty of treaſon, eſpecially ſince the law requires an overt or open act, to be proved againſt the priſoner accuſed. See Sir Edward Coke's 3d Inſtitutes, fol. 12, upon thoſe words of the ſtatute (*per overt fact*) and that there ought to be direct and manifeſt proofs, and not bare ſuſpicions or preſumptions, be they never ſo ſtrong and violent. See the ſame fol. in the upper part of it, upon the word *Proveablement*. And the ſtatute of the 5th of Edward VI, cap. ii. requires, that there ſhould be two witneſſes to prove the crime; ſo that if there be but one witneſs, let him be never ſo credible a perſon, and never ſo poſitive, yet if there be no other proof, the party ought to be found not guilty; and thoſe two witneſſes muſt prove the perſon guilty of the ſame ſort or ſpecies of treaſon. As for example, if the indictment be for that ſpecies of treaſon, of conſpiring the King's death, both witneſſes muſt prove ſome fact, or words tending to that very ſort of treaſon; but if there be two witneſſes, and one proves the priſoner conſpired the death of the King, and the other witneſs prove the conſpiring to do ſome other ſort of treaſon, this comes not home to prove the priſoner guilty upon that indictment; for the law will not take away a man's life, in treaſon, upon the teſtimony and credit of one witneſs; it is ſo tender of a man's life, the crime and the forfeitures are ſo great and heavy. And as there muſt be two witneſſes, ſo by the ſtatute made in the thirteenth year of his preſent Majeſty, cap. i. (intituled, for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon) thoſe two witneſſes muſt not only be lawful, but alſo credible perſons. See that ſtatute in the 5th paragraph, and the priſoner muſt be allowed to object againſt the credit of all, or any of the witneſſes; and if there be but one witneſs of clear and good credit, and the reſt not credible, then the teſtimony of thoſe that are not credible muſt go for nothing, by the words and meaning of this ſtatute: See the ſtatute. Now were I a jury-man, I ſhould think no ſuch witneſs a credible witneſs, as ſhould appear either by his own teſtimony, or upon proof made by others againſt him, to have been *particeps criminis*, for that proves him to be a bad, and conſequently not ſo credible a man; eſpecially if it can appear, the witneſs has trapanned the priſoner into the committing of the crime: Then the witneſs will appear to be guilty of a far higher crime, than the priſoner, and therefore ought not to be believed as a credible witneſs againſt the priſoner, for he is a credible witneſs that has the credit of being a good and honeſt man, which a trapanner cannot have; and this trapanning proves withal, that the trapanner did bear a ſpight and malice againſt the perſon trapanned, and intended to do him a miſchief, and deſigned to take away his life. Shall ſuch a one be a credible witneſs, and believed againſt him? God forbid! Then again, it cannot but be believed, that ſuch perſons as have been guilty of the ſame crime, will, out of a natural ſelf-love, be very forward, and willing to ſwear heartily, and to the purpoſe, in order to the convicting of others, that they may, by this ſervice, merit their pardon, and ſave their own lives. And for this reaſon are not ſo credible witneſſes, ſuch as the ſtatute of 13 Car. II, does require. Read over the whole chapters of Sir Edward Coke, of high-treaſon, and of petty-treaſon; for in this latter of petty-treaſon, there is much matter that concerns high-treaſon. I wiſh with all my ſoul, and I humbly and heartily pray to Almighty God, that theſe gentlemen, that have given ſo great proof of their love to the true religion, and of the juſt rights, and liberties of their country, and of their zeal againſt Popery, may upon their trial appear innocent; I am ſo ſatisfied of their great worth, that I cannot eaſily believe them guilty of ſo horrid a crime. I pray God to ſtand by them, in the time of their diſtreſs. I wiſh I might have the liberty fairly to give them what aſſiſtance I could, in that wherein I might be any way capable of doing it. I beſeech Almighty God, to heal our diviſions, and eſtabliſh us upon the ſure foundation of peace, and righteouſneſs. I thank you, for the favour you have done me, by imparting ſome publick affairs, which might perhaps have been unknown to me or not known till after a long time, for I keep no correſpondence. When there is an occaſion, pray oblige me by a further account, eſpecially what concerns theſe gentlemen; and though I have written nothing here, but what is innocent and juſtifiable, yet that I may be the ſurer againſt any diſadvantage or miſconſtruction, pray take the pains to tranſcribe what notes you think fit, out of this large paper, but ſend me this paper back again, incloſed in another, by the ſame hand that brings it. There is, nor ought to be, no ſuch thing as conſtructive treaſon; it defeats the very ſcope, and deſign of the ſtatute of the 25th of Edw. III, which is to make a plain declaration, what ſhall be adjudged treaſon by the ordinary courts of Juſtice. The conſpiring any thing againſt the King's perſon, is moſt juſtly taken to be, to conpire againſt his life; but conſpiring to levy war, or to ſeize the guards, is not conſpiring againſt the King's life; for theſe are treaſons of a different ſpecies.

'Your faithful friend and ſervant,

R. A.

[*D*] *And*

was never queſtioned, though his name was ſo often mentioned in the courſe of thoſe proceedings (*n*). It was not long after, that our publick ſpirited lawyer gave an open teſtimony, of his unſhaken zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, by his excellent argument in the caſe between the King and Sir William Williams, who was proſecuted by the Attorney-General, for ſigning an order for the printing of Dangerfield's narrative, by order of the Houſe of Commons, he being at that time Speaker of the Houſe. In this argument, Sir Robert entered deeply into the nature and power of Parliaments, and ſhowed a prodigious ſkill, not only in the laws, but in the hiſtory and antiquities of this kingdom, for which reaſon, this argument of his, when it came to be printed, was looked upon as a political, as well as a law tract, and as ſuch is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem (*o*) [*D*]. In the ſucceeding reign of James II, he gave another ſignal proof of his knowledge as a lawyer, and his ſteadineſs as a patriot, by his argument in the caſe of Sir Edward Hales, which hath been alſo printed, and, like the author's other works, received with juſt admiration and applauſe (*p*) [*E*]. This piece he ſupported by another, in anſwer to a book publiſhed by Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, wherein he endeavoured to juſtify the judgment given in that cauſe by authorities (*q*) [*F*]. When matters came to a criſis, and things ſeemed ripe for bringing about that great change, ſince called the Revolution; Sir Robert Atkyns did all that could be expected from him, to further and promote it. On this account, he was received with great marks of diſtinction by King William and his royal conſort, who, in the month of May, 1689, made him Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Nevill, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, Eſquires, being the other Barons (*r*). This dignity however, did not hinder him for vindicating in print, the memory of the deceaſed Lord Ruſſel, who, though his attainder was reverſed by act of Parliament, yet there were not wanting ſome, who maintained the juſtice of his ſentence with great eagerneſs. Againſt theſe, Sir Robert Atkyns wrote two pieces with the ſame ſpirit and accuracy, viſible in his other diſcourſes, though he was then very far in years, and had alſo much buſineſs upon his hands (*s*) [*G*]. On the nineteenth of

(*n*) See the Tryal of Braddon and Speke, in the third Volume of State Tryals.

(*o*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 177.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 291.

(*r*) Compleat Hiſt. of England. Vol. III. p. 528.

(*s*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 333.

[*D*] *And as ſuch, is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem.*] The title to this tract is, *The Power, Juriſdiction, and Privilege of Parliament, and the Antiquity of the Houſe of Commons aſſerted* (6). The occaſion of it was this, An information was exhibited againſt William Williams, Eſq; late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, for endeavouring to ſtir up ſedition and procure ill-will, between the King and his ſubjects, by appointing a certain ſeditious and infamous libel, entitled *The Information of Thomas Dangerfield*, to be printed and publiſhed. The defendant pleaded to the juriſdiction of the court, ſetting forth, that he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and that in obedience to their order, he had appointed that Narrative to be printed; wherefore he demanded the judgment of the Court of Kings-Bench, whether it ought to take farther cognizance of the matter. Sir Robert Atkyns's argument is in ſupport of this plea, and therein he undertakes to prove three propoſitions. Firſt, That what was done in this caſe, was done in a courſe of juſtice, and that in the higheſt court of the nation, and according to the law and cuſtom of Parliament. Secondly, That however, that which was done in this caſe, was not to be imputed to the defendant, who acted in it but as the ſervant, or miniſter, of the Parliament, though in a very honourable ſtation. Thirdly, That theſe, being matters tranſacted in Parliament, and by the Parliament, the Court of Kings-Bench ought not to take conuſance of them, nor had any juriſdiction to judge or determine them. To each of theſe points, Sir Robert ſpeaks freely, fully, and from the beſt authorities. It muſt be allowed, that he ſometimes digreſſes pretty far, but the reaſon is viſible; he intended to give the people a juſt idea of the ſubject, which at that time was extreamly neceſſary, and it muſt be acknowledged, that this argument of his admirably anſwered his purpoſe.

(6) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

[*E*] *Received with juſt admiration and applauſe*] The title of this treatiſe is, *An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with Penal Statutes* (7). The reaſon of it is this: An action was brought in Eaſter Term, in the ſecond year of King James II, againſt Sir Edward Hales, for acting as a Colonel of Foot, without receiving the Sacrament, or taking certain oaths appointed by an act of Parliament, to be taken within a certain time; whereupon he was legally indicted in the county of Kent, and convicted, whereby the plantiff became entitled to the forfeiture of five hundred pounds. To this the defendant pleaded, that the King, by his letters patents, had diſpenſed with his taking the Sacrament, or the oaths, and thereupon demurred generally: The plaintiff joined in demurrer, and judgment was given for the defendant. This induced Sir Robert Atkyns, to conſider at large the doctrine of Diſpenſations, which in this diſcourſe is fully handled.

(7) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 177.

[*F*] *Given in that cauſe by authorities.*] While Sir Robert was employed in writing this treatiſe, the Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert, ſent abroad a book entitled, *A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's Caſe.* The reaſon of his writing it was, becauſe he apprehended a diſquiſition would be made into this affair in Parliament, and therefore he thought it incumbent on him, to give the cleareſt account he could, of his own conduct in that affair. Sir Robert Atkyns having before written on the ſubject, and maintained the reverſe of moſt of the propoſitions maintained by the Chief Juſtice, conceived it to be abſolutely neceſſary for him to join to his former book, an examination and refutation of this treatiſe of Sir Edward Herbert (8). In doing this, he treated him however with all the candour and decency imaginable, and though he leaves no ſtone unturned to ſhew the inſufficiency of what had been alledged, in favour of the judgment, given in the Court of Kings-Bench; yet throughout the whole, he expreſſes a great reſpect for the Chief Juſtice, and admits, that in the pronouncing this judgment, all the Judges, except two, concurred in his opinion. In diſcuſſing the Doctrine of Diſpenſations, Sir Robert had frequent occaſion to mention the Canon Law, and the proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical courts; but not thinking that what he had ſaid therein was full enough, he reſolved to compoſe another treatiſe on that ſubject, which he accordingly did. It is entitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in the Realm of England, occaſioned by the late Commiſſion in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.* It is a very clear, as well as a very learned piece, containing a great deal of matter in a very little room, ſo that whoever reads it, and is inclined to purſue the plan there laid down, may be in a ſhort time acquainted with all that is to be met with, in our law or hiſtory, on this ſubject. This tract is generally annexed to that on the Diſpenſing Power, which is the reaſon of my giving an account of both in one note.

(8) Ibid. p. 291.

[*G*] *Alſo much buſineſs on his hands.*] The firſt defence of the Lord Ruſſel's innocency (9), was written in anſwer to a piece entitled, *An Antidote againſt Poiſon*; wherein the laſt ſpeech of the Lord Ruſſel was examined, and great pains taken to prove, that it was artful rather than ſincere; and many arguments added to ſhow, that this Lord ſuffered juſtly, and that the complaints of his friends had no foun-

(9) Ibid. p. 333.

of October, 1689, the Marquis of Hallifax, whom the Lords had choſen for their Speaker, deſired to be excuſed from diſcharging that office any longer, upon which, The Lord Chief Baron Atkyns, was immediately choſen in his ſtead, and ſo continued till the Great Seal was given to Sir John Somers, in the beginning of the year 1693 (*t*). The laſt act of this great man's life, which deſerves to be particularly taken notice of, is his ſpeech to Sir William Aſhurſt, Lord Mayor of London, elect, when he was ſworn before him in the Exchequer, October 30, 1693 (*u*). The government was then very apprehenſive, and thought it neceſſary to convince the people of their danger, for which no man was thought to be more fit than the Chief Baron, who diſcharged his duty with great zeal and ſpirit, and with proportionable ſucceſs. This ſpeech hath alſo been preſerved, and will always afford entertainment to the curious, on account of the extraordinary matters of fact mentioned therein (*w*) [*H*]. In the beginning of the Summer, 1695, Sir Robert Atkyns ſhewed an inclination of reſigning his great office. He was then in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and might well be eſteemed deſirous of paſſing the reſt of his days in quiet. Yet it is a prevailing opinion, that his reſignation was owing to another and more ſecret cauſe, *viz.* his failing in his deſign of becoming Maſter of the Rolls, in the room of Sir John Trevor (*x*). Some pains were taken to perſuade the Lord Chief Baron from this reſolution, but he continued ſteadily fixed therein, ſo that in the beginning of June, 1695, Sir Edward Ward, then Attorney General, was made choice of, to preſide in the court of Exchequer. Sir Robert Atkyns thenceforward laid aſide all thoughts of publick affairs, and retired to his ſeat of Saperton-hall in Glouceſterſhire, where he ſpent the laſt fourteen years of his life in eaſe and quiet. He died in the beginning of the year 1709, aged eighty-eight years (*y*). He was a man of great probity, as well as of great ſkill in his profeſſion, a warm friend to the Conſtitution, which he was ready to maintain againſt all opponents. Beſides the ſeveral learned tracts mentioned in the notes, he is ſaid to have been the author of a treatiſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the court of Chancery (*z*). In the courſe of his life he was twice married, firſt to Mary, daughter of Sir George Clerk, of Walford in Northamptonſhire, and a ſecond time, to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres (*a*). He left behind him an only ſon, Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom in the next article, and to him deſcended three very conſiderable eſtates in the county of Glouceſter, *viz.* Saperton, Pinbury, and Swell, with a fine ſeat belonging to each of them. Theſe eſtates he entailed, in caſe the iſſue male of his ſon ſhould fail, on the iſſue male of his brother, Sir Edward Atkyns, Knt. but this ſettlement he was afterwards prevailed upon to break through (*b*). Having mentioned this Sir Edward Atkyns, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader, that he was our author's younger brother, though his predeceſſor in the Exchequer, having ſat as Lord Chief Baron there, in the reign of King James II. This Sir Edward, was the father of Sir Richard Atkyns, who was Colonel of

(*t*) Hiſt. of Europe, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Atkins's Tracts, p. 407.

(*w*) See the note [*H*].

(*x*) Remarks on the State of the Law, p. 35.

(*y*) Atkins's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*z*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(*a*) Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, p. 10.

dation. Sir Robert Atkyns in his anſwer, keeps cloſe to the printed trial, and endeavours to make it plain, that, according to the rules of law, the indictment was inſufficient, and that with reſpect to the rule of legal evidence, there was a great deficiency in point of proof. Soon after the publication of this anſwer, and while a bill was depending in Parliament for reverſing the Lord Ruſſel's attainder, the author of the Antidote appeared again in print. His piece was called, *The Magiſtracy and Government of England Vindicated*, &c. Wherein he uſed a good deal of rough language, and treated Sir Robert Atkyns very tartly. It was generally ſuppoſed, that the author of theſe tracts was Sir Bartholemew Shore, an eminent lawyer, and one of the King's counſel, at Lord Ruſſel's trial. Sir Robert Atkyns intimates, ſo much in his reply, which he called, *A Farther Defence of Lord Ruſſel's Innocency* (10). In this piece he ſhews, the weakneſs of his adverſary's arguments, and, with great ſolidity of reaſon, expoſes a practice in the preceding reigns of making florid rhetorical ſpeeches, againſt priſoners tried for high-treaſon, on which he expreſsly charges the death of Lord Ruſſel. Sir Robert alſo inſiſts on the expediency of allowing ſtate priſoners counſel at their trials, and what he advances on this head, is ſo clear and ſo convincing, that it raiſed that ſpirit among the true Patriots of thoſe times, to which we owe the enjoyment of an excellent law to that purpoſe. In the ſame treatiſe, Sir Robert maintains, that King Charles's guards were troops maintained in defiance of law, the trained bands being as he ſays, the proper guards of their King and country, and therefore he thinks, the laying an attempt againſt theſe guards in the indictment, as an act of overt-treaſon, was inſufficient; and he cites an expreſſion of the Lord Chief Juſtice at the trial, which ſeems to prove his Lordſhip thought ſo too.

(10) Ibid. p. 385.

(11) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 407.

[*H*] *Extraordinary matters therein mentioned.*] In this celebrated harangue (11), Sir Robert draws a terrible picture of the power and deſigns of the French King: He ſays, his intention was to become Monarch of the Weſt, that he intended to ſubdue England, and ſettle Popery therein; he magnifies his power at ſea, as equal to that of England, Holland, and Spain, taken together. Next he proceeds to ſhew, that King Charles II, and King James II, had entered into engagements with the French King, in order to make themſelves abſolute, and to ſettle Popery here. In the third place, he ſpeaks of the changes made in the coronation oaths of King Charles I, and King James II. After this, he proceeds to compliment the Lord Mayor, aſſuring him, that the choice made by the city at that juncture, gave great pleaſure to all good men. This leads him to ſpeak of the functions of a Mayor, which are very concifely deſcribed, and pathetically recommended to the conſideration of the perſon to whom he ſpoke. At the concluſion of his harangue, he touches again on the French King, with a good deal of warmth. How ſeaſonable this ſpeech was, and of how great ſervice to the government, appears from it's having ſeveral editions, and it's being preſerved with other curious papers in that valuable collection of State Tracts, in the reign of King William (12), which is ſo deſervedly eſteemed. All theſe pieces of Sir Robert Atkins, have been collected into one volume, and whoever inclines to be thoroughly informed of the true conſtitution of his country, of the grounds and reaſons of the Revolution, and of the danger of ſuffering prerogative to joſtle law, cannot read a better or a plainer book. His ſtile is ſtrong, but not ſtiff; there is a mixture of wit, but of ſuch wit, as is proper to the ſubject; comes in pertinently, and ſerves to enlighten, not to amuſe or miſlead, the reader; whatever he ſays, is ſupported by authorities, and there is ſuch a viſible candour in all his diſcourſes, that if a man does not reliſh his arguments, he muſt at leaſt admire the manner in which they are offered. In a word, whether we conſider him in his private,

(12) Vol. II. P. 361.

of a regiment of horſe, in the reign of King William III, and though he died a very young man, yet he had the reputation of being a gallant and experienced officer (*c*). (*c*) Ibid.

private, or in his publick ſtation; as a gentleman, or as a judge; as an eminent lawyer, or a diſtinguiſhed patriot; as a ſtateſman, or an author; we ſhall ſee nothing but what is great and amiable, worthy of love and of reſpect, and of that veneration which is due to virtuous men from poſterity. E

ATKYNS (Sir ROBERT) junior, ſon to the former Sir Robert Atkyns, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Hertfordſhire. He was born in the year 1646 (*a*), and educated with great care under the eye of his father. He became very early a great lover of, and in a ſhort ſpace a great proficient in, the laws and hiſtory of his country in general, which by degrees led him to that undertaking, which will for ever preſerve his memory (*b*). As he had a very conſiderable eſtate ſettled upon him, he affected chiefly a country life, and was eminent for all the virtues which could adorn an Engliſh gentleman. He was choſen to repreſent his county in Parliament, as often as he would accept that great honour (*c*). His knowledge and integrity, induced many of his neighbours to make him the arbitrator of their differences, which he readily undertook, and generally executed to the ſatisfaction of both parties (*d*). He married Louiſa, daughter to Sir John Carteret, of Hawns in Bedfordſhire (*e*), but having by her no iſſue male, he gave occaſion thereby to his father, to ſettle his eſtate on the male iſſue of Sir Edward Atkyns, which ſettlement was the unlucky occaſion of a law-ſuit between the father and ſon (*f*). As for this Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom we are now ſpeaking, though he differed pretty much from his father in his opinions [*A*], yet he inherited both his prudence and his probity, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by men of all parties (*g*). His deſign of writing the Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, took birth from an intention of the ſame ſort in Dr Parſons, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Glouceſter, who had been at great pains and trouble to collect the materials for ſuch a work, in the compiling of which, he was hindered by many great infirmities, and a general declining ſtate of health (*h*). Sir Robert Atkyns having once conceived the uſe and value of ſuch a hiſtory, thought himſelf obliged to carry on, and to compleat it, as a juſt return for that great affection, which the inhabitants of this county had ſhown for his family, and for himſelf (*i*). After once he had undertaken it, he was indefatigable in the enquiry after, and procuring all the numerous helps neceſſary to ſo extenſive a deſign, and having ſucceeded in this ſcheme of his, beyond perhaps his own expectations, he digeſted his matter into an eaſy and familiar method, that after all the trouble he had ſuſtained, his reader might feel as little of it as poſſible. This great and valuable work he lived to perfect, and ſend to the preſs, though he did not ſurvive long enough to ſee it publiſhed (*k*). A fire which conſumed the houſe of Mr Bowyer the Printer, deſtroyed a great part of the copies of this Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, which conſequently render it ſcarce and dear, for which reaſon it ſeemed neceſſary to give the reader a view of it's contents in the notes (*l*) [*B*]. This learned and worthy gentleman, reſided uſually at Pinbury

(*a*) See the Monumental Inſcription prefixed to his Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 301.

(*b*) Geo. Hickes, Theſaur. Septen. in prefat. p. 49.

(*c*) See the Monumental Inſcription.

(*d*) From a Letter in relation to Sir Robert Atkyns, from Mr Stephens to the author.

(*e*) Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*f*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, amongſt the Remarkables, p. 11.

(*g*) Hickes, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Preface to the Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 37.

(*i*) See the preface cited above.

(*k*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) See alſo the preface.

[*A*] *Differed much from his father in his opinions.*] The following paſſage from his hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, occaſioned by his mentioning the ſiege of Glouceſter in 1643, will ſufficiently prove the truth of our obſervation, and account, perhaps, better for the coldneſs between the father and ſon, than any detail of family differences (1). 'The unfortunate ſiege of this 'city, gave a ſtand to the King's victorious army; 'which being raiſed as has been related, it turned the 'ſtate of the war, and the King could never after 'obtain ſucceſs; which confirms that the greateſt of 'Kings, and the beſt of men, are not ſecured from the 'violence of the wicked. This royal family will al'ways be honoured in the memory of good men, and 'muſt have been ſo throughout the Chriſtian world, 'had it been as proſperous as it is deſerving. King 'James I, was the moſt learned King; King Charles I, 'was the moſt religious King; King Charles II, was 'the beſt natured King; and King James II, was the 'beſt friend; which virtue was moſt eminent, in 'his tender love to his children, and his ſteady kind'neſs to his ſervants. This ſucceſſion of Kings has 'been oppreſſed by their virtues; for peace, religion, 'good nature, and friendſhip, ruined them. It is re'markable of this royal family, that the witty King 'was over-reached by the wit of the Spaniſh Ambaſſa'dor: That the religious King was murdered by re'bellious ſaints: The voluptuary was conſpired againſt 'by men of no religion; and the beſt friend was be'trayed, and forſaken by them whom he moſt entirely 'loved. It does not hence follow, that this family 'will always be unfortunate.'

(1) Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, p. 354.

[*B*] *A view of it's contents in the notes.*] The title of this work is plain and comprehenſive, *viz. The Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkyns.* It is a large folio, conſiſting of 859 pages, excluſive of the preface and index. In the firſt place, our author gives us preparatory inſtructions for the better underſtanding the enſuing diſcourſe. Theſe introductory remarks, conſiſt of abundance of curious particulars, ſuch as, An hiſtorical account of the ſeveral religious foundations within the dioceſe: A view of our antient conſtitution, The original of our laws, The riſe of our national councils. Then he proceeds to ſhew, That there were but fifty lay freeholders in Glouceſterſhire, in the reign of King William I, and of theſe, their families, deſcents, and eſtates, there is a diſtinct account. We are next preſented with a general deſcription of the county, and of the city of Glouceſter, then comes the hiſtory, in regular order, under fifteen heads. 1. We are informed in what Hundred each pariſh lies, it's diſtance from Glouceſter, and from the two next market towns, with the beſt account that can be had of the derivation of it's name, and an account of the religious houſe, or ancient family, to which it belonged. 2. Contains the hiſtorical antiquities of each place, with ſo much of Doomeſday book, as relates to Glouceſterſhire, and in many of the pariſhes, the ſucceſſion of proprietors, is ſet down for ſix or ſeven hundred years. 3. Gives the names of the Lords of manors, and a genealogical hiſtory of their families. 4. Shews the deanery each pariſh belongs to, that is the rural deanery. 5. Sets down the value of every living, the names of the patrons and incumbents from the Reformation. It gives alſo the value of impropriations and exempted tythes. 6. Exhibits the true ſtate of the firſt fruits, tenths, and other charges of the clergy. 7. Gives the Hiſtory of the charities, deſcribes their form, and whatever is remarkable in them. 8. Preſerves the memorial of monuments, as a due encouragement to virtue. 9. Enumerates the charities in each pariſh above twenty pounds. 10. Shews the extent of every pariſh, the nature of the ſoil, the brooks, rivers, &c. 11. Sets down the names of the ſeveral hamlets

Pinbury Park in Glouceſterſhire, during the ſummer, and at his houſe in Weſtminſter during the winter-ſeaſon, where in 1711, he was ſeized with a dyſentery, of which he died on the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, having ſurvived his father ſomewhat more than a year (*m*). His corps was carried down to Glouceſterſhire, and interred in the pariſh-church of Saperton, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, by Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow (*n*) [*C*]. It is worthy of remark, that two authors of the moſt oppoſite principles, Anthony Wood (*o*), and the author of the Annual Hiſtory of Europe, ſpeak with equal reſpect of our author (*p*), which ſhows that the virtues of ſome men, can command the reſpect of all parties.

(*m*) See the Hiſt. of Europe, 1711. p. 573.

(*n*) See the Inſcription.

(*o*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 155.

(*p*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, and 1711, as cited above.

hamlets in each pariſh, with the number of their families, and their diſtance from the pariſh church. 12. Gives the number of houſes, inhabitants, and freeholders. 13. Contains the yearly births and burials. 14. Informs us of the publick taxes, and how they have altered from time to time in method of collection, and in proportion. 15. Preſents us with the trade, the battles and curioſities of each place. The whole is enriched with maps, plans, and curious draughts of all the gentlemens ſeats in the county. Ancient records in the tower are duly applied to ſuch places as they have any relation to. And whatever is to be met with in the works of Camden, or Dugdale, in Latin, is here tranſlated into Engliſh, that the uniformity of the work might be preſerved. There is alſo exhibited a table of the coats of arms, of the nobility and gentry in the county, antient and modern. In ſhort, all the pains poſſible has been taken to make this as compleat a hiſtory of the county, as it could be in the power of one man to frame, and with a little induſtry, any native of Glouceſterſhire may from time to time, add whatever is neceſſary to preſerve it always perfect.

[*C*] *By Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow*] There is on this monument a very copious inſcription (2), containing a juſt character of the deceaſed, but inaſmuch as there is nothing contained therein which the reader will not find in this life, it has not been thought neceſſary to tranſcribe it. Let this however be remarked that it ends thus. *His ſorrowful widow erected this monument to his memory, tho' he left behind him one more durable,* THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF GLOSTERSHIRE. E

(2) At the End of the preface.

ATTERBURY (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, and father of the celebrated Dr *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (*a*), was the ſon of Mr *Francis Atterbury*, Rector of Middleton-Malſor, or Milton, in Northamptonſhire [*A*], and born about the year 1631. In 1647, he was entered a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, being then about ſeventeen years of age (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the twenty-third of February 1649 (*c*), and was created Maſter of Arts, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Chancellor (*), the firſt of March 1651 (*d*). In 1654, he became Rector of Great or Broad Riſington, in the dioceſe and county of Glouceſter; and, after the Reſtoration, took a preſentation for that benefice under the Great Seal, and was inſtituted again to confirm his title to it. On the eleventh of September 1657, he was admitted Rector of Milton or Middleton-Keynes, in Buckinghamſhire; and took the ſame method of corroborating his title to this living, at the King's return (*e*). July the twenty-fifth, 1660, he was made Chaplain Extraordinary to Henry Duke of Glouceſter (*f*); and the ſame year, December the 1ſt, was created Doctor in Divinity (*g*). In 1693, returning from London, he was unfortunately drowned near his own houſe (*h*), leaving behind him two ſons, Lewis and Francis (*i*). He publiſhed three occaſional Sermons [*B*].

(*a*) *See his article.*

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 910.

(*c*) Id. Faſt. Vol. II. col. 70.

(*) Oliver Cromwell.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 98.

(*c*) *Brief Account of the author*, &c. p. 14, 15. prefixed to Dr Lewis Atterbury's *Sermons*, publiſhed by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, Lond. 1743. *See the next article.*

(*e*) Ibid. & Wood Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, Faſt. ib. col. 128.

(*h*) Id. Athen. ib. col. 911.

(*i*) *See the two following articles.*

[*A*] *Mr Francis Atterbury, Rector of——Milton in Northamptonſhire*] He was an eloquent, judicious, and uſeful preacher, and left behind him the character of a worthy and good man. He was one of the many children of Lewis Atterbury, of Great Houghton, in that county; where the family of Atterbury flouriſhed for many years (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2), he ſubſcribed the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1648.

[*B*] *Three occaſional ſermons.*] *viz.* I. *The good ſubject, or, the right teſt of religion and loyalty*; preached the 17th of July, at the aſſizes at Buckingham, London, 1684, 4*to*. II. *The ground of Chriſtian feaſts, with the right way of keeping them*; preached at a meeting of ſeveral natives, and inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in the pariſh church of St Mary le Bow, the 30th of November, 1685; London, 1686, 4*to*. III. *Babylon's downfall, or, England's happy deliverance from Popery and Slavery*, London, 1691, 4*to*. It is the ſubſtance of a ſermon, preached at Guildhall chapel, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the 28th of June, 1691 (3). T

(1) Mr Archdeacon Yardley's *Brief Account*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 910.

(3) Ib. col. 911.

ATTERBURY (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, elder brother of Dr *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (*a*), was born at Caldecot, in the pariſh of Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire, the ſecond of May, 1656 (*b*). He was educated at Weſtminſter-School, under the celebrated Dr Buſby, between whom, and our Divine's father, Dr Lewis Atterbury, there was a friendſhip and intimacy. In the eighteenth year of his age, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated in that univerſity the tenth of April 1674, under the tuition of Dr George Walls. The twenty-firſt of September 1679, he was ordained Deacon at Chriſt-Church by Dr John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, and Dean of that college. He commenced Maſter of Arts the fifth of July 1680; and, the year following, was ordained Prieſt, at Bugden, by Dr Thomas Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln [*A*]. In 1683, he officiated as Chaplain to Sir William Pritchard, Knt, then Lord Mayor of London. In February 1684, he was inſtituted Rector of Sywell in Northamptonſhire; which living he afterwards reſigned, upon his accepting

(*a*) *See the next Article.*

(*b*) See *A Brief Account of the Author*, &c. prefixed to his *Sermons* publiſhed by Edward Yardley, B. D. Archdeacon of Cardigan. Lond. 1743.

[*A*] *He was ordained Prieſt——by Dr Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln.*] What hopes that prelate then entertained of our young Divine, appears from the certificate of his ordination, in which the Biſhop teſtifies, 'That he was a perſon (both for life and learning) 'capable and worthy of orders,' and that 'it did further appear, by a good and pious ſermon he then 'preached before the ſaid Biſhop, that he was able to 'execute the miniſterial function with benefit to any 'congregation, to the cure of which Providence ſhould 'call him (1).'

(1) *Brief Account of the author*, &c. prefixed to his Sermons, publiſhed by Mr Archdeacon Yardley, p. 7, 8.

[*B*] *He*

accepting of other preferment. The eighth of July 1687, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law. In December 1688, he married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingfield (c) [B]. In 1691, we find him Lecturer of St Mary Hill in London; and, not long after his marriage, he ſettled at Highgate [C], where he ſupplied the pulpit of the reverend Mr Daniel Lathom, who was very old, and had loſt his ſight. Upon the death of this gentleman, Dr Atterbury was unanimouſly elected, the ſixteenth of June 1695, by the truſtees of that chapel, to be their preacher; being at the ſame time one of the ſix preaching Chaplains to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at Whitehall and St James's: which place he continued to ſupply, after that Princeſs's acceſſion to the throne, and likewiſe during part of the reign of King George I. In September 1707, he was preſented, by the Queen, to the rectory of Sheperton in Middleſex, the incumbent thereof being deprived for neglecting to take the oaths within the time limited by law. On the third of March 1719, he was collated by Dr John Robinſon, Biſhop of London, to the rectory of Hornſey in Middleſex; in which pariſh the chapel of Highgate is ſituated. Dr Atterbury never roſe to any dignity in the Church, as might have been expected from the power and intereſt of his brother, who even refuſed him the archdeaconry of Rocheſter, in his own gift [D]. At about ſeventy years of age, he had a ſlight ſtroke of the palſy, which occaſioned his going frequently to Bath; where he died [E], after a ſhort illneſs, on the twentieth of October 1731. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons and other pieces [F]; and, ſince his death, two volumes of

(c) *He was brother of Sir Robert Bedingfield, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, in 1707.*

[B] *He married Penelope, the daughter of Mr John Bedingfield.*] Of this marriage came three ſons and a daughter. The firſt and ſecond ſon died in their infancy. The third ſon, named Bedingfield Atterbury, was born the 8th of January, 1693, and, after a ſchool education at Weſtminſter, was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated the 9th of April, 1713. He commenced Maſter of Arts the 20th of January, 1718, and took Deacon's orders. He was a ſober, modeſt, and ingenious young gentleman. But the hopes, which his parents and friends conceived of him, were ſoon diſappointed; for he died of the ſmall-pox the 27th of December, 1718. Dr Atterbury's daughter, named after her mother, was born the 15th of June, 1699; married to Mr George Sweetaple, of St Andrew's, Holbourn, Brewer; and died in Auguſt, 1725, leaving one daughter, who lived to inherit her grandfather's fortune, but died about ſeven months after him, the 3d of June, 1732, in the eleventh year of her age. Mrs Atterbury, the mother, died the 1ſt of May, 1723 (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[C] *He ſettled at Highgate.*] When he firſt reſided there, he obſerved what difficulties the poor in the neighbourhood then underwent, for want of a good Phyſician or Apothecary; and therefore he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſick, and, having attained a good ſkill therein, he practiſed it (*gratis*) occaſionally among his poor neighbours (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 11.

[D] *His brother (the Biſhop of Rocheſter) refuſed him the archdeaconry of Rocheſter.*] The editor of Dr Atterbury's ſermons has given us ſome letters, which paſſed between the two brothers upon this occaſion. The firſt is from the Doctor to the Biſhop, upon a report of the death of the Archdeacon of Rocheſter. The Biſhop had, the day before, given his brother reaſons, why he thought it improper to make him his Archdeacon. To which the Doctor here replies: 'Your Lordſhip very well knows, that Lanfranc, 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had a brother for his 'Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father 'was a puiſny Judge, when he was Lord Chancellor. 'And thus, in the ſacred hiſtory, did God himſelf 'appoint, that the ſafety and advancement of the 'patriarchs ſhould be procured by their younger bro'ther; and that they, with their father, ſhould live 'under the protection and government of Joſeph (4).' In anſwer to this, the Biſhop informs his brother, that the Archdeacon was not dead, but well, and likely to continue ſo: 'When he was in danger, of late, ſays 'he, the firſt perſon I thought of was you. But there 'are objections againſt that, in point of decency—It 'had been a much properer poſt for my nephew, if 'God had pleaſed to ſpare his life (5).' This is followed by two others, from the Biſhop to his brother, acquainting him, that he had reſolved to collate Dr Brydges, the Duke of Chandois's brother, to the archdeaconry of Rocheſter, then actually vacant; aſſuring him at the ſame time, he would uſe all his endeavours to procure him ſome good dignity in the Church, 'Such, ſays he, as you, and I, and all the world ſhall 'agree, is every way proper for you (6).' Dr Atterbury was far from being ſatisfied with the reaſons aſ-

(4) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(5) Ibid. p. 15.

(6) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

ſigned by the Biſhop for his refuſal; as appears by his laſt letter, in which he ſays: 'I cannot imagine what 'indecency there can be, to have raiſed your elder 'brother in place under you—There is ſome ſhew of 'reaſon, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none 'for the not giving it.—I hope I ſhall be content with 'that meaner poſt, in which I am, my time, at long'eſt, being but ſhort in this world, and my health not 'ſuffering me to make thoſe neceſſary applications 'others do: Nor do I underſtand the language of the 'preſent times; for I find, I begin to grow an old 'faſhioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight 'and value of words, which in our times riſe and fall 'like ſtock (7).'

(7) Ibid. p. 18, 19.

[E] *He died at Bath.*] By his will he gave directions to be buried at Highgate, and that a monument ſhould be erected in the chapel, and an inſcription in ſuch or like words as he ſhould leave behind him. All which was punctually complied with: A fluted marble column, with a pedeſtal and capital of the Corinthian order, ſurmounted with his paternal arms, being ſet up on the wall near the pulpit, with an inſcription on the pedeſtal, expreſſing his ſeveral preferments, his marriage, iſſue, age, and death. Underneath the baſe of the column, is a book opened; on the leaves of which is, *Abi, ſpectator, et te brevi moriturum ſcito!* i. e. *Go, ſpectator, and know that thou ſhalt ſoon die* (8). By his ſaid Will, Dr Atterbury gave ſome few books to the libraries at Bedford and Newport, and his whole collection of pamphlets, amounting to upwards of 200 volumes, to the library of Chriſt-Church, Oxford. He charged his eſtate for ever with the payment of 10l. yearly to a ſchoolmiſtreſs, to inſtruct girls at Newport-Pagnel, which ſalary he had himſelf in his life-time paid for many years. He remembered ſome of his friends, and left a reſpectful legacy of an hundred pounds to his dear Brother in token of his true eſteem and affection. He likewiſe made the Biſhop's ſon (after his grand-daughter, who did not long ſurvive him) heir to all his fortune (9)

(8) Ibid. p. 21—23.

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

[F] *He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and other pieces.*] Here follows a catalogue of the works of Dr Lewis Atterbury. I. *The Penitent Lady; or Reflections on the Mercy of God. Written by the famed Madam La Valliere, ſince her retirement from the French Court to a Nunnery. Tranſlated out of the French, by a Divine of the Church of England.* 12mo. 1684. II. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Lady Compton, Aug.* 4, 1687. 4to. III. *Ten Sermons, preached before her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at the Chapel at St. James's. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the ſix Preachers to her Royal Highneſs.* 8vo. 1699. Dedicated to her Royal Highneſs. IV. A ſecond volume of twelve Sermons, on, 1. *The Being of a God.* 2. *His Juſtice and Mercy.* 3. *Miracles.* 4. *Dreams.* 5. *The Image of God in Man.* 6. *The Real Preſence in the Sacrament.* 7. *The Reſurrection.* 8. *Superſtition.* 9 and 10. *Reaſon and Religion.* 11. *Thankſgiving.* 12. *Submiſſion to the Will of God. Preached at St James's and Whitehall, by Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the ſix preaching Chaplains there*

of his Sermons have been publiſhed by the reverend Mr Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan [G].

there to her Majeſty. 8vo. 1703. Dedicated to the Queen. V. *Some Letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.* VI. *A Sermon, preached at Whitehall, Auguſt* 23, 1705. *Being the day appointed for a public thankſgiving for the late glorious ſucceſs of her Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of her Allies, under the command of John Duke of Marlborough. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D.* 4to. 1705. VII. *An anſwer to a Popiſh book, intitled,* A true and modeſt account of the chief points in controverſy between the Roman Catholicks and the Proteſtants; together with ſome conſiderations upon the Sermons of a Divine of the Church of England (*viz.* Dr Tillotſon) by N. Colſon. *Wherein, the objections, which N. C. has brought againſt the arguments, which his Grace, the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made uſe of in his ſermons againſt Popery, are conſidered, and anſwered on theſe following heads:* 1. *The Church of Rome not Catholic.* 2. *The Supremacy.* 3. *The Infallibility of the Church.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *The Communion in one kind.* 6. *Prayers in an unknown tongue.* 7. *The Invocation of Saints.* 8. *Images.* 9. *Purgatory.* 10. *Indulgencies.* 8vo. 1706. VIII. *The Re-union of Chriſtians: Or, the means to re-unite all Chriſtians in one confeſſion of Faith. Tranſlated from the French. With an Appendix, in which ſome account is given both of the author and the book.* 8vo. 1708. IX. *The Perfect and Upright Man's Character and Encouragement: In a Sermon occaſioned by the death of the Lady Gould, and preached at the chapel in Highgate, March* 22, 1712-13. X. *A Sermon preached at Whitehall, on Thurſday June* 7, 1716, *being the day of public thankſgiving to Almighty God for ſuppreſſing the late unnatural Rebellion: And at the chapel at Highgate, June* 10. *By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and Chaplain to his Majeſty at Whitehall.* 4to. 1716.

[G] *Two volumes of his ſermons, publiſhed by the Rev. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan.*] Theſe ſermons are publiſhed in compliance with the Will of the deceaſed, who deviſeth to the publiſher of them, whom he appointed his executor, all his manuſcript ſermons, and other manuſcript books and papers of his writing or compoſition, deſiring that he do reviſe and ſelect ſuch of them, as he ſhall think may ſerve to the honour of God, and bring no diſcredit to his memory, and that he do cauſe ſuch to be printed (10). Moſt of theſe diſcourſes, the editor aſſures the public (11), were noted by the author to be printed, tho' they had not all his laſt hand to fit them for the preſs; and that, in the reviſal of them, he hath taken care to do juſtice both to the author and the reader. We ſhall ſubjoin the character he gives of the author and his ſermons. 'If nature was more laviſh in giving his brother, the Biſhop, the moſt ornamental and uſeful endowments of a fine genius, a ready wit, an eloquent pen, and an engaging and proper elocution; ſhe was not wanting in beſtowing on our author good and ſound natural parts, which, even in his youth, he much improved by ſevere ſtudies. By his conſtant and repeated pulpit exerciſes, for upwards of forty years together, he acquired the reputation of a plain, uſeful, and ſolid preacher. The drift of his diſcourſes was to make men better Chriſtians, and therefore he never choſe to dwell upon nice and high ſpeculations; and whenever he did enter upon thoſe more elevated ſubjects, his principal endeavour was, to render ſuch conſiderations uſeful towards amending the lives of his congregation. His delivery was akin to the ſtyle of his diſcourſes, plain and eaſy, without any manner of affectation. His ſtyle has nothing in it of labour, and, perhaps, may ſometimes, by nicer judges, be taxed with want of accuracy: But, the truth is this; his ſenſe flowed eaſily from him, and he was happy in a plain and intelligible way of expreſſing himſelf; and therefore was the leſs careful of turning and ſmoothing his periods, or ſtudying for the choiceſt words to convey his meaning; and yet, notwithſtanding this, we often are ſurprized to find in his diſcourſes ſuch beauteous ſtrokes, as, though they do not ſmell of the lamp, yet the moſt florid writer might juſtly be proud of. The great Archbiſhop Tillotſon was his acquaintance, and the works of that excellent Prelate what he admired and ſtudied; and it is not improbable that to this was owing that eaſy, flowing, ſtyle, in which his ſermons are indited (12).' T

(10) Original Will.

(11) *Brief Account*, &c. p. 23, 24.

(12) Ibid. p. 24. *ad fin.*

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I, was born, the 6th of March 1662, at Middleton or Milton-Keynes, near Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire (*a*). He had his education in Grammar learning at Weſtminſter-School; and from thence, in 1680, was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church college in Oxford (*b*): where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the politeneſs of his wit and learning; and gave early proofs of his Poetical Talents, in a Latin verſion of Mr Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel* [*A*], an Epigram on *a Lady's Fan* [*B*], and

(*a*) Mr Archdea. Yardley's *Brief Account*, &c. (See the preceding Article) p. 6. and Brown Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, Vol. I. p. 304.

(*b*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1063.

[*A*] *His Latin verſion of Mr Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel.*] It was publiſhed, in 1682, in quarto, under the title of *Abſalon & Achitophel Poema Latino Carmine donatum.* We ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning, as a ſpecimen of the author's ſkill in Latin verſe.

Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes
Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, & uni
Non ſervire toro, fato adverſante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;
Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et ſponſæ & lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile:
Tunc *Iſraëlis*, cælo cedente, monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque fovebat;
Quaque erat imperii limes, ibi meſſe feraci
Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſim generatur imago.
Ornavit regale caput Diadema *Michalis*;
Cultori ingratum, vel quod ſterileſcerat, arvum:
Non aliud par hujus erat; nam plurima mater
Jam pridem multos utero ſatis ubere natos
Jeſſidi peperit: ſed ſacra cubilia vernæ
Cum premerent, ſoboles obliquo tramite ſceptrum
Arripuit, ſpurioque fuit de ſanguine princeps.
Has inter ſtirpes eluxerat *Abſalon*, ipsâ
Nec forma inferior, ceſſit virtute nec ulli:
An magè divino pater inſpiratus amore
Ipſum progenuit majore libidinis æſtro
Præcocis ingenii, vel quod bene conſcia fata
Felicem dederint ad ſceptra virilibus anſam
Formæ ornamentis, & iter proclive paraſſent;
Huic Fama in campis ſonuit matura remotis,
Invictumque ducem agnôrant ſocialia regna:
Pace minas oculis, animoque excuſſerat arma
Quælibet, ut natus tantum videatur amori.

Anthony Wood tells us (1), Mr Atterbury was aſſiſted in this tranſlation by Mr Francis Hickman, ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. Another Latin verſion of the ſame poem was publiſhed the ſame year at Oxford by Mr William Coward of Merton College, afterwards an eminent Phyſician (2).

(1) Athen. Vol. II. col. 1063.

(2) See the Article DRYDEN (JOHN).

[*B*] *His Epigram on a Lady's Fan.*] The reader may ſuppoſe the Fan to be a white one, and that the author borrowed it, and wrote the following lines between the ſticks.

Flavia the leaſt and ſlighteſt toy
Can with reſiſtleſs art employ:
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of ſmall force in love;

Yet

and a tranſlation of two *Odes of Horace* [C]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June the thirteenth, 1684 (c); and that of Maſter, April the twentieth, 1687 (d). This year, he made his firſt Eſſay in controverſial writing, in a piece, intitled, *An Anſwer to ſome Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation* [D]. During his ſtay in the univerſity, he is generally thought to have borne no inconſiderable part in the famous controverſy, between Dr Bentley, and the honourable Mr Charles Boyle (afterwards Earl of Orrery) concerning the genuineneſs of *Phalaris's Epiſtles* [E]; though Mr Atterbury's name was not made uſe of on that occaſion (e). At

(c) Idem. *Faſt.* ib. col. 225.

(d) Ibid. col. 230.

(e) Stackhouſe's *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr* Fr. Atterbury, &c. p. 7—11, Lond. 1727, 8vo.

Yet ſhe, with graceful air and mein,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs it's wanton motions ſo,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow;
Gives coolneſs to the matchleſs dame,
To every other breaſt a flame.

Mr Stackhouſe tells us (3), the Lady, to whom Mr Atterbury addreſſed theſe verſes, became afterwards his wife.

(3) In his *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr* Fr. Atterbury, &c. p. 7.

[C] *His tranſlation of two Odes of Horace.*] The firſt is, *The Dialogue between Horace and Lydia*, Od. 9. Lib. iii.

HORACE.

Whilſt I was fond, and you were kind,
Nor any dearer youth, reclin'd
On your ſoft boſom, ſought to reſt,
Phraates was not half ſo bleſt.

LYDIA.

Whilſt you adored no other face,
Nor lov'd me in the ſecond place,
My happy celebrated fame
Outſhone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame.

HORACE.

Me Chloe now poſſeſſes whole,
Her voice and lyre command my ſoul;
Nor wou'd I death itſelf decline,
Cou'd her life ranſom'd be with mine.

LYDIA.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
And warmth for warmth my heart returns:
Twice cou'd I life with eaſe reſign,
Cou'd his be ranſom'd once with mine.

HORACE.

What if ſweet love, whoſe bands we broke,
Again ſhou'd tame us to the yoke;
Shou'd baniſh'd Chloe ceaſe to reign,
And Lydia her loſt pow'r regain?

LYDIA.

Tho' Heſperus be leſs fair than he,
Thou wilder than the raging ſea,
Lighter than down, yet gladly I
With thee wou'd live, with thee wou'd die.

The other is, Od. 3. Lib. iv.

He, on whoſe birth the Lyric Queen
Of numbers ſmil'd, ſhall never grace
The Iſthmian gauntlet, nor be ſeen
Firſt in the fam'd Olympic race:
He ſhall not, after toils of war,
And taming haughty monarchs pride,
With lawrell'd brows conſpicuous far,
To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride.
But him the ſtreams, that warbling flow
Rich Tyber's flow'ry meads along,
And ſhady groves (his haunts) ſhall know
The maſter of th' Æolian ſong.
The ſons of Rome, majeſtic Rome!
Have fix'd me in the Poets choir,
And envy now, or dead or dumb,
Forbear to blame what they admire.
Goddeſs of the ſweet-ſounding lute,
Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
Who canſt the finny race, tho' mute,
To cygnets dying accents raiſe;
Thy gift it is, that all with eaſe
My new unrival'd honours own;
That I ſtill live, and living pleaſe,
O Goddeſs, is thy gift alone.

[D] *His anſwer to ſome conſiderations on the ſpirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation.*] The *Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther* were publiſhed under the name of Mr Abraham Woodhead, an eminent Roman Catholic of thoſe times, who wrote ſeveral tracts in defence of the Church of Rome; but the true author was Mr Obadiah Walker, maſter of Univerſity College. Mr Atterbury's *Anſwer* was publiſhed the 10th of Auguſt, 1687, and preſently after animadverted upon by Mr Thomas Deane, fellow of Univerſity College (4). Another edition of the *Anſwer* was publiſhed at London in 1723, in 8vo. It is a very learned performance, and written with uncommon ſpirit and vivacity. It refutes all the objections brought againſt Luther's doctrines and manners, and concludes with obſerving, that, 'Let the *Spirit* of Martin Luther be as 'evil as it is ſuppoſed to be, yet the proof of this 'would not blaſt any ſingle truth of that religion he 'profeſſed; though upon a faithful enquiry it will be 'found, that his life was led up to thoſe doctrines 'he preached, and his death was the death of the 'Righteous.' This vindication of that great Reformer induced Biſhop Burnet (5) to rank the author among thoſe eminent Divines, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their admirable defences of the Proteſtant Religion. Our Prelate himſelf, in that part of his ſpeech, at his tryal, in which he vindicates himſelf from the ſuſpicion of a ſecret inclination to Popery, appeals to this book, as well as the whole tenor of his preaching and writings ever ſince: and Mr Wynne, his counſel, obſerves, in his defence of the Biſhop, how grievous it was for one, of his Lordſhip's character and function, to be charged with deſigns in favour of Popery, who was the only Clergyman in England, that ever thought it worth his while to *draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther*, the great inſtrument of our Reformation from Popery.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 616, 1064.

(5) In his *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 674.

[E] *He is thought to have borne no inconſiderable part in the controverſy ——— concerning the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Epiſtles.*] The occaſion of the controverſy was this. The honourable Mr Boyle, afterwards Lord Orrery, was a ſtudent in Chriſt-Church, and under the tuition of Mr Atterbury, when, about the year 1695, he obliged the world with a new edition of *Phalaris's Epiſtles*; in the preface to which, he complains of Dr Bentley, the King's library-keeper, who had *(pro ſolita ſua humanitate)* denied him the inſpection of a valuable manuſcript. This ſarcaſm ſo exaſperated the Doctor, that, in order to his revenge on Mr Boyle, he publiſhed a long letter to Dr Wooton, who was then employed in writing on the State of antient and modern Learning; in which he undertakes to prove, that the *Epiſtles*, which go under the name of *Phalaris*, are ſpurious, and probably the work of ſome modern ſophiſt. This drew from Mr Boyle a reply, ſo full of

At what time he entered into holy orders, is not certainly known: but, in 1693, upon the death of his father, he made application to the Earl of Nottingham, to ſucceed in the rectory of Milton, which he then called the height of his ambition and wiſhes, as being the place of his birth. But, being diſappointed in his expectation of this preferment (†), and long ſince tired of a college life [*F*], Mr Atterbury reſolved to quit the univerſity, and produce himſelf on a more active ſcene: and accordingly, making London his reſidence, he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, and was elected Preacher at Bridewell, and Lecturer of St Bride's (*f*). In 1694, our young divine preached a remarkable ſermon at Bridewell chapel, before the governors of that and Bethlehem hoſpital, on *the Power of Charity to cover Sin* (*g*); to which Mr Benjamin Hoadly (ſince Biſhop of Wincheſter) publiſhed ſome *Exceptions* [*G*]. The ſame year, he was warmly attacked for his ſermon, preached before the Queen at Whitehall, intitled, *The Scorner incapable of true wiſdom* (*h*) [*H*]. But the largeſt field of controverſy, in which he ever engaged, was that which opened itſelf in the year 1700, and continued four years, between him, Dr Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and

(†) *It was given to Dr* Wooton.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 18, 19, & 51.

(*g*) *Sermons*, &c. *by* Fr. Atterbury, D. D. Vol. I. p. 37, edit. 1740.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 88.

genteel ſatire and fine rallery, that, on which ſide ſoever truth and argument may be ſuppoſed to lie, the wit, and the laugh too, was evidently on Mr Boyle's. This reply was ſaid to be written, jointly, by a ſelect club of ingenious men belonging to Chriſt-Church; among whom Mr Boyle's tutor was thought to be the chief. And this is plainly alluded to in that witty performance *The Battle of the Books*, &c. where Mr Boyle is introduced, on the ſide of the Antients, *clad in a ſuit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods* (6). Mr Budgell however is of opinion (7), that Mr Boyle muſt have been the author of the greateſt part of that book, ſince the ſame ſtyle and ſpirit runs through the whole piece, ſo that it muſt have been formed and put together by one hand; and he never yet heard, he tells us, any reaſon to doubt but that hand was the late Earl of Orrery. Mr Stackhouſe (8) thinks it evident, from the ſtrength of genius, warmth of invention, and eaſy diſplay of wit and learning, in Mr Boyle's reply, that Dr Bentley was foiled by ſome *eminent maſter*, however decent it might be thought at that time, for a young gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and ſharpen it with this ſarcaſm; *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat.*

(6) See the *Tale of a Tub*, edit. 1733, 12mo. p. 188.

(7) See his *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, p. 194.

(8) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 10, 11.

[*F*] *He grew tired of a college life.*] This we learn from a letter of his to his father, dated from Oxford, October 24, 1690 (9); in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'My pupil (*Mr Boyle*) I never 'had a thought of parting with till I left Oxford. I 'wiſh I could part with him to-morrow on that ſcore; 'for I am perfectly wearied with the nauſeous circle 'of ſmall affairs, that can now neither divert nor in'ſtruct me. I was made, I am ſure, for another 'ſcene, and another ſort of converſation; though it 'has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. 'I have thought and thought again, Sir, and for ſome 'years; now, I have never been able to think other'wiſe, than that I am loſing time every minute I ſtay 'here. The only benefit I ever propoſe to my ſelf 'by the place, is ſtudying; and that I am not able 'to compaſs. Mr Boyle takes up half my time; and 'I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman: 'and while I am with him, I will do what I can to 'make him a man. College and univerſity buſineſs 'take up a great deal more; and I am forced to be 'uſeful to the Dean in a thouſand particulars; ſo that 'I have very little time.'

(9) Publiſhed in Mr Budgell's *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery*, p. 238.

[*G*] *His ſermon —— on* The Power of Charity to cover Sin; *to which Mr Hoadly publiſhed ſome* Exceptions.] Mr Atterbury's text was, *Charity ſhall cover the multitude of ſins*, 1 Pet. iv. 8. which words of St Peter he explains in this ſenſe; "That the vir"tue of *Charity* is of ſo great price in the ſight of "God, that thoſe perſons, who poſſeſs and exerciſe it "in any eminent manner, are peculiarly entitled to "the Divine favour and pardon, with regard to num"berleſs *Slips* and *Failings* in their duty, which they "may be otherwiſe guilty of: This great Chriſtian "perfection, of which they are maſters, ſhall make "many *Little Imperfections* to be over-looked and un"obſerved; it ſhall *cover the multitude of Sins* (10)." Mr Hoadly, in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Letter to D. Atterbury*, publiſhed in 1708 (11), excepted againſt this doctrine, as farther enlarged and explained by Mr Atterbury. Among other things, he ſays: 'If 'God will accept of *one duty* in *lieu* of *many others*, 'and if our performance of *That* ſhall be our *Juſti-*

(10) *Sermons*, &c. *by* Fr. Atterbury, D. D. &c. Vol. I. p. 40, edit. 1740.

(11) *See* Mr Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 224, edit. 1715, 8vo.

'*fication*, notwithſtanding our omiſſion of *many others*; 'this is a ſort of *Salvation*, in my judgment, un'worthy of the *Nature* of *Man* to *receive*, and un'worthy of the *Nature* of *God* to *offer*. —— Let me 'therefore (*adds he in the concluſion*) intreat you to 'review the groundleſs and pernicious doctrine you 'have unwarily taught on this ſubject: conſider, if '*Charity* ought to be repreſented as founded upon a '*Temper* inconſiſtent with *Innocence* and an *unſpotted* '*Conſcience*; as productive of *vice*, and *folly*, and '*madneſs*; as leading to the neglect of the principal 'branches of itſelf; and the like: and whether it be'comes a *Chriſtian Divine* to ſet the ſeveral parts of 'God's Law at *variance*, and to make the perfor'mance of *one* of them an *atonement* for the neglect 'of *others*, as indiſpenſibly required.' We ſhall not enter into the controverſy, but only obſerve, that the author of the *Sermon* did not think fit to make any reply to the *Exceptions*.

[*H*] *His ſermon intitled*, The Scorner incapable of true Wiſdom.] It was immediately attacked in a piece, intitled, *A Two-fold Vindication of the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the author of the* Hiſtory of Religion, *the firſt part defending the ſaid author againſt the defamations of* Mr Francis Atterbury's *Sermon, and both thoſe eminent perſons againſt a traiterous libel, intitled*, The Charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr Tillotſon conſidered. *In Two Letters to the Honourable* Sir R. H. *The ſecond containing [illegible] of the ſaid Sermon, and a reply to the ſame Libel. Wherein ſome right is done to that great and good man* Dr Tillotſon *in the points of the* Original of Sacrifices, *the* Sacrifices of Chriſt, Future Puniſhments, &c. *And a word in defence of the eminent Biſhop of Saliſbury. By another hand*, London, 1695, in octavo. The author of the *Hiſtory of Religion*, vindicated in this piece, was Sir Robert Howard, who, taking himſelf to be meant, in that paſſage of Mr Atterbury's ſermon, where he ſays, that 'Some men, who write 'pretended *Hiſtories of Religion*, are beholden to the 'real religion of others, that their hiſtories are not 'written (12),' obſerves, in a letter prefixed to the above-mentioned piece, how improper a place (the pulpit) Mr Atterbury had taken to vent a paſſion unſuitable to Chriſtianity, or common morality. 'Yet 'he ſeems (*adds* Sir Robert) to have a Chriſtian conſi'deration, that hinders him from writing ſome-body's 'life: if he means mine, I will free him from his 'tender Chriſtianity, and own that I writ the *Hiſtory* 'of *Religion*; and if he pleaſes to uſe the freedom I 'give him, I aſſure him, I ſhall not be diſpleaſed with 'any truth that he can write: but if his uſual paſſion 'guides him other ways, I ſhall attend him with ſuch 'anſwers, and make him ſuch ſuitable returns, as will 'be proper for the occaſion, and conſider his calling 'with as little reſpect, as he did the ſacred place 'where he choſe to rail.' The author of the *firſt letter* ridicules one of the reaſons, aſſigned by our preacher, *Why the ſcorner ſeeketh wiſdom, and findeth it not*, namely, *Becauſe the ſcorner is a man of quick and lively parts, and ſuch men are apt to give themſelves a looſe, beyond plain reaſon and common ſenſe* (13): 'That is, *ſays our author*, the Scorner ſeeks 'for what he has, and he miſſes it, becauſe he poſ'ſeſſes it:' And 'According to him, (*Mr Atter'bury*) the only hopeful Candidate of Wiſdom is 'Sancho Pancha.'

(12) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. I. p. 192.

(13) Ibid. p. 186.

[*I*] *His*

and others, concerning *the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations* [*I*]: in which

[*I*] *His controverſy with Dr Wake, and others, concerning the* Rights, Powers, *and* Privileges *of* Convocations.] The curious reader will be pleaſed to ſee here a ſhort hiſtory of this remarkable controverſy, with ſome account of the many books and pamphlets it occaſioned. In the year 1697, came out an anonymous pamphlet in 4*to*, intitled, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations*, ſuppoſed to be written by the Reverend Dr Binckes, on occaſion of the interruption of thoſe aſſemblies. The chief points the author inſiſted upon, were, 1ſt, The Clergy's Right to meet in Synods, according to the Canons of the Chriſtian Church, and the Conſtitution of this Realm: 2dly, Their Right of aſſembling in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and ſits: And, 3dly, A Right of treating and deliberating about ſuch affairs as lie within their proper ſphere, and of coming to ſit reſolutions upon them, without being neceſſitated antecedently to qualify themſelves for ſuch acts and debates, by a licence under the Broad Seal of England. The opinions of men in both Houſes of Convocation were ſtrangely divided about theſe queſtions: ſome thinking them rights entirely due to the Clergy, and eſſential to the being of Eccleſiaſtical Synods; others looking upon them as introductive of too bold an Independency, and as encroachments on the regal authority. Among thoſe of the latter opinion appeared Dr Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) who, in the year 1697, publiſhed his book, intitled, *The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over their Eccleſiaſtical Synods aſſerted, with particular reſpect to the Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm and Church of England; occaſioned by a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. In this book, he endeavours to prove, 1ſt, That the right of calling the Clergy together in ſynods is veſted ſolely in the Prince: 2dly, That the Clergy, ſo aſſembled, have no right to debate or determine any point of doctrine or diſcipline, without his permiſſion: 3dly, That the Prince may annul, alter, or ſuſpend the execution of any of their conſtitutions or decrees: and, laſtly, that no Synod can diſſolve itſelf without conſent of the Prince. The ſame year, came out an anonymous piece, ſaid to be written by one Mr Wright, a gentleman of the Law, intitled, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occaſioned by a Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. the author of which maintains the ſame opinions with Dr Wake. Not long after, Dr Wake's book was attacked by Mr Samuel Hill, Rector of Kilmington, in an anonymous piece, intitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum: or, The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities, of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, againſt all oppreſſive Doctrines and Conſtitutions; occaſioned by Dr Wake's Book*, &c. 1697, 8*vo*. This produced from the Doctor, *An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, as by Law eſtabliſhed, by our Convocations approved, and by our moſt eminent Biſhops and Clergymen ſtated and defended, againſt both the Popiſh and Fanatical oppoſers of it*. London, 1698, 8*vo*. Mr Hill defended himſelf, in a piece, intitled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church farther defended, in anſwer to the* Appeal *of Dr Wake*, 1698, 8*vo*. The next year, appeared, on Dr Wake's ſide of the queſtion, a ſmall anonymous tract, intitled, *A Brief Enquiry into the Ground, Authority, and Rights of Eccleſiaſtical Synods, upon the Principles of Scripture and right Reaſon*; occaſioned by a late Book, intitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum*, 1699, 8*vo*. And, much about the ſame time, another, intitled, *Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of a Divine Right*, &c. 1699, 4*to*. The next year, Mr Atterbury entered into the controverſy, and publiſhed his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation ſtated and vindicated, in Anſwer to a late Book of Dr Wake's, intitled, The Authority of Chriſtian Princes*, &c. *and ſeveral other pieces*, London, 1700, 8*vo*. This book appeared, at firſt, without the author's name: but, the year following, Mr Atterbury publiſhed a ſecond edition, with his name prefixed to it, and very conſiderable additions, which were printed ſeparately for the uſe of the purchaſers of the firſt edition. He treats Dr Wake's book as 'A ſhallow, empty, performance; written without 'any knowledge of our conſtitution, any ſkill in the 'particular ſubject of debate; upon ſuch principles as 'are deſtructive of all our Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Liberties; and with ſuch aſperſions on the 'Clergy, both dead and living, as were no leſs 'injurious to the body, than his doctrine.' ——— 'The very beſt conſtruction, *he tells us*, that has been 'put upon Dr Wake's attempt by candid readers, is, 'that it was an endeavour to advance the prerogative 'of the Prince in Church matters as high, and to depreſs the intereſt of the Subject ſpiritual as low as 'ever he could, with any colour of truth.' ——— 'Were all Dr Wake ſays ſtrictly true and juſtifiable, *adds our author*, yet whether the labouring 'the point ſo heartily as he does, and ſhewing himſelf ſo willing to prove the Church to have no rights 'and privileges, be a very decent part in a Clergyman, I leave his friends to conſider —— But, when 'all a man advances, is not only ill deſigned, but ill 'grounded, and his principles are as falſe, as they 'are ſcandalous (as I have evidently proved his to be) 'there are no names and cenſures too bad to be beſtowed on ſuch writers, and their writings (14).' This may ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit, with which Mr Atterbury entered into this controverſy. The ſecond edition is dedicated to *The Archbiſhops of the Provinces and the Preſidents of the Convocations of Canterbury and York*. We ſhall not enter into a detail of the principles and arguments advanced in this book, which are directly the reverſe of thoſe laid down by Dr Wake; but ſhall give the reader Dr White Kennet's character of it (15). 'The bulk of this book, *ſays* 'the Doctor, the ſpecious preface to it, the number 'of citations, and, above all, the ſpirit of aſſurance, 'made people think this would determine the whole 'matter. And then the artificial giving a great and 'juſt character of the King, the many inſinuating addreſſes to the Commons, the pretty ways of ingratiating with the inferior Clergy, the high zeal 'for our Church, and pleading fundamental rights 'and liberties of it, with the briſkneſs of running 'down an adverſary into the utmoſt contempt and 'odium; all this was apt to create in many a kind 'reception of the book; which when ſet off with 'the induſtrious applauſe of conſiderable people, who 'admire every thing of themſelves and their own, 'gave all poſſible advantage to the cauſe and this defence of it.' Mr Atterbury having, in his *Rights*, &c. occaſionally remarked upon Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, as too free in cenſuring the manners of the Clergy, though 'Capable of this excuſe, that *the author*, being a *ſtranger*, might not 'then have thoroughly acquainted himſelf with the 'ſtate of our Church, or the character of it's members;' his Lordſhip wrote a piece againſt him, entitled, *Reflections on a Book, entitled, Rights*, &c. 1700, 4*to*; wherein he obſerves, that the author of the *Rights*, &c. 'Had ſo entirely laid aſide the Spirit 'of Chriſt, and the characters of a Chriſtian, that, 'without large allowances of charity, one can hardly 'think, that he did once reflect on the obligations he 'lay under to follow the humility, the meekneſs, and 'the gentleneſs of Chriſt. So far from that, he ſeems 'to have forgot the common decencies of a man or of 'a ſcholar.' His Lordſhip adds, that 'A book writ 'with that roughneſs and acrimony of ſpirit, if well 'received, would be a much ſtronger argument againſt 'the expediency of a Convocation, than any he 'brings or can bring for it.' The year following, Dr White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, undertook a particular reply to Mr Atterbury's book, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Synods, and Parliamentary Convocations, in the Church of England, hiſtorically ſtated, and juſtly vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr Atterbury, Part I*, 1701, 8*vo*. In the *Preface*, he tells us, the *Hiſtorical* part of the argument, in this diſpute, had been very falſly repreſented, and the zeal for our Church was indeed without any knowledge in the conſtitution of it. He charges Mr Atterbury with great unfairneſs and diſingenuity in the ſecond edition of his book, in which are a vaſt number of material alterations in points of Hiſtory and Law, not one of which he has mentioned in the *Addenda*, tho' he had profeſſed to the world, that *all* the alterations of moment were contained in thoſe ſeparate ſheets. He declares the motives of his own writing to be, 'To reprove that deriding and inſulting way of 'raillery

(14) *See the preface.*

(15) *See his Eccleſiaſtical Synods*, &c. Part i. p. 31.

which, however the truth of the queſtion may be ſuppoſed to lie, he diſplayed ſo much

'raillery and wrath, that wounds religion, and does 'but weaken that Church, whoſe prieſts ſhall *ſo* at-'tempt to vindicate her rights and powers; to pro-'mote the peace of our Mother-Church, by the King 'and Parliament's conſtant protection of her; and to 'requeſt his brethren, not to ſet up for independence 'and another fatal ſeparation; which none but their 'enemies can project or wiſh.' Soon after, came out a pamphlet in 4to, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Richard Weſt, intitled, *The Principles of Mr Atterbury's Book conſidered, and his Arguments againſt Dr Wake, and others, ſtated and examined*; and another in 4to, intitled, *Mr Atterbury's Arguments for the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation conſidered.* The ſame year, Dr Hody, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, publiſhed his *Hiſtory of Engliſh Councils and Convocations*, in 8vo. There appeared likewiſe, about the ſame time, an anonymous pamphlet in 8vo, intitled, *The Regal Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* This was followed by *Some Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about the Convocations, particularly Dr Wake, Dr Kennet, and the Author of* Mr Atterbury's Principles, *&c. by a Gentleman in the Country*, 1701, 4to. This piece is not intended as a defence of Mr Atterbury, but only to ſhew, that his antagoniſts, notwithſtanding their pretences to moderation, have failed in that point in their writings. Dr Kennet then publiſhed *An Occaſional Letter on the Subject of Engliſh Convocations*, 1701, 8vo. in vindication of the *temper*, with which he had proceeded in the controverſy. The ſame year, came out a pamphlet in 4to, ſaid to be written by Dr Edmund Gibſon, (now (*) Biſhop of London) intitled, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the preſent Convocation*; in which he vindicates the Archbiſhop's right to prorogue the Lower Houſe of Convocation, as well as the Upper. This was preſently anſwered by a pamphlet, aſcribed to Mr Atterbury, intitled, *The Power of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to adjourn itſelf, vindicated from the Miſrepreſentations of a late Paper*, &c. Then followed a pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr George Hooper (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) intitled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, from Monday, Feb.* 10, 1700, (*Engliſh Account*) *to Wedneſday, June* 25, 1701. *Drawn up by the Order of the Houſe*, 4to. Soon after, came out, by the author of the *Letter to a Friend*, &c. a Reply to the two foregoing pieces, intitled, *The Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, aſſerted in a Second Letter*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by *A Letter* to the author of the *Narrative*, containing *A Vindication of the Proceedings of ſome Members of the Lower Houſe, with relation to the Archbiſhop's Prorogation of it, May* 8, 1701, 4to. This was anſwered (it was ſaid, by Mr Atterbury himſelf) in a piece, intitled, *A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the choice of Members, and the execution of a Parliament-Writ, for the enſuing Convocation*; dated *Nov.* 17, 1701, 4to. The author recommends a more than ordinary care in the choice of members, conſidering the preſent diſputes between the two houſes; which if they are determined in prejudice of the lower Clergy, there will be an end of the rights and liberties of their houſe, and they will become from that moment an uſeleſs and inſignificant part of the conſtitution. This was followed by a *Second Letter* upon the ſame ſubject, dated *Dec.* 10, 1701. In anſwer to both theſe pieces, appeared *The Caſe of the* Præmunientes *conſidered*, 1701, 4to: And, about the ſame time, another Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence of a conſtant Practice, to enter the Parliament, as well as the Provincial, Writ in the front of the Acts of every Synod, conſidered in a Letter to the Author of that Aſſertion*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by a ſecond Reply, intitled, *The late Pretence*, &c. *further conſidered and diſproved*, &c. 1701, 4to. This occaſioned *A Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, &c. *in defence of the two former*, dated *Jan.* 8, 1701, by the ſame hand; which was preſently replied to in *An Anſwer to a Third Letter*, &c. *wherein the great diſingenuity of the author of it is plainly ſhewn, and the raſhneſs and falſhood of his former aſſertion is fully proved upon him*, 1701, 4to. In 1702, came out *Dr Atterbury's Caſe of the Schedule ſtated, wherein an account is given of the riſe and deſign of that inſtrument, and of the influence it hath on the adjournments of the Lower Houſe of Convocation; and all the authorities urged in behalf of the Archbiſhop's ſole power to prorogue the whole Convocation are occaſionally examined. By a member of the Lower Houſe of Convocation*, 4to. This was anſwered in a piece, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Edmund Gibſon, intitled, *The Schedule review'd, or the Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, cleared from the Exceptions of a late* Vindication of the Narrative of the Lower Houſe, *and of a Book, intitled,* The Caſe of the Schedule ſtated, 1702, 4to. This was followed by *The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the Lower Houſe of Convocation cleared, and the Evidences of it's ſeparation from the Upper Houſe produced on ſeveral heads, particularly in the point of making ſeparate applications* (*as a diſtinct body of men*) *to other bodies or perſons, in purſuance of an argument for the* Power of the Lower Houſe to adjourn itſelf, 1702, 4to. About the ſame time, Mr Nicholſon, afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle, publiſhed *A Letter to Dr White Kennet, in defence of his* Hiſtorical Library, *againſt Mr Francis Atterbury's Objections* to that work, in his *Rights*, &c. in which he treated Mr Nicholſon, with a good deal of abuſe and invective, particularly, for defining *Convocations* to be *only occaſional aſſemblies of the Biſhops and inferior Clergy, for ſuch purpoſes as the King ſhall direct, when they meet.* The year following, Dr Gibſon publiſhed, *A ſhort State of ſome preſent Queſtions in Convocation, particularly of the Right to continue or prorogue; by way of Commentary upon the Schedule of Continuation*, 1703, 4to. To this Dr George Hooper replied in his *Summary Defence of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly concerning Adjournments, in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled,* A Short State, &c. 1703, 4to. This was anſwered by Dr Gibſon, in his *Marks of a defenceleſs Cauſe in the proceedings and writings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly in their third and laſt Syſtem of principles invented by the* Vindicator *of their* Narrative, *and repeated in a Pamphlet, intitled,* A Summary Defence, &c. 1703, 4to. The ſame author likewiſe publiſhed, *The pretended Independence of the Lower Houſe upon the Upper, a groundleſs notion*, &c. *being a Vindication of* Synodus Anglicana, *and the* Schedule *review'd; together with the integrity of [illegible] from the cenſures and reflexions of a late Pamphlet, intitled,* The Parliamentary Original, &c. 1703, 4to. About this time, our author's original antagoniſt in this controverſy, Dr Wake, publiſhed his large work, intitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other public Aſſemblies, hiſtorically deduced from the converſion of the Saxons to the preſent time; occaſioned by a book, intitled,* The Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c. 1703, Folio. In the preface, he tells us, that, upon his firſt peruſal of Dr Atterbury's book, he ſaw ſuch a ſpirit of wrath and uncharitableneſs, accompanied with ſuch an aſſurance of the author's abilities for ſuch an undertaking, as he had hardly ever met with in the like degree before. Afterwards he ſays, 'In my examination of the whole book, I found in it 'enough to commend the wit, though not the ſpirit 'of him who wrote it.—To pay what is due even to 'an adverſary; it muſt be allowed, that Dr Atterbury 'has done all, that a man of forward parts and a 'hearty zeal could do, to defend the cauſe which he 'had eſpouſed. He has choſen the moſt plauſible to-'pics of argumentation; and he has given them all 'the advantage, that either a ſprightly wit or a good 'aſſurance could afford them. But he wanted one 'thing; he had not *Truth* on his ſide: And error, 'though it may be palliated, and by an artificial ma-'nager, ſuch as Dr Atterbury without controverſy is, 'be diſguiſed ſo as to deceive ſometimes even a wary 'reader, yet it will not bear a ſtrict examination. 'And accordingly I have ſhewn him, notwithſtanding 'all his other endowments, to have deluded the world 'with a meer *Romance*; and, from the one end of his 'diſcourſe to the other, to have delivered a hiſtory, 'not of what was really done, but of what it was his 'intereſt to make it believed had been done.' Dr Atterbury made no reply to Dr Wake's book; ſo that here the Convocation diſpute ended for the preſent, there

(*) *An.* 1749.

much learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the intereſts of his order, that the *Lower Houſe* of *Convocation* returned him their thanks [*K*], and the univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity [*L*]. January the twenty-ninth, 1700, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Totneſs, being promoted to that dignity by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter (*i*). The ſame year he was engaged with ſome other learned divines, in reviſing an intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, with Greek *Scholia*, collected chiefly from the Fathers, by Mr Archdeacon Gregory (*k*). Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne in 1702, Dr Atterbury was appointed one of her Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary (*l*); and, in October 1704 (*m*), he was advanced to the Deanry of Carliſle [*M*]. About two years after this, he was engaged in a diſpute with Mr Hoadly, concerning the advantages of *Virtue* with regard to the *preſent* life [*N*], occaſioned

(*i*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.* p. 97.

(*k*) *See the* Preface *to* A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. Lond. 1701, 4*to*.

(*l*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 51.

(*m*) Willis's *Survey*, &c. Vol. I. p. 304.

there being little after this of any importance written on the ſubject, till the year 1708, in which Dr Atterbury publiſhed, without his name, *Some proceedings in the Convocation, A. D.* 1705, *faithfully repreſented: To which is prefixed an account of the ſeveral ineffectual Attempts at divers times made by the lower Clergy, towards quieting all diſputes, and proceeding upon Synodical Buſineſs*, 4to. This was anſwered in a Pamphlet intitled, *Partiality detected, or a Reply to a late Pamphlet, intitled*, Some Proceedings, &c. *diſcovering the many partial repreſentations and unjuſt reflections, contained in the ſaid Pamphlet, particularly as to what concerns the Proceedings of the Convocation in Ireland*, 1708, 4to. Before we conclude this remark, we will tranſcribe a ſhort ſtory, relating to the diſputes then on foot, from a Pamphlet, intitled, *The preſent State of Convocations, in a Letter*, &c. 1702, 4to; after premiſing, that Dr Atterbury had declared, in one of his pieces, that, *If he deceived his readers, he was contented to forfeit all credit with any good man for ever.*

'After the form of prorogation had been this day '(*February the* 12th) read and ſigned in the Upper 'Houſe, as the Clergy were departing out of the Je-'ruſalem-Chamber, Dr Atterbury towards the door 'was earneſtly puſhing on ſome members, and crying, '*Away to the Lower Houſe, to the Lower Houſe.* The 'Chancellor of London, turning back to him, aſked, '*If he were not* aſhamed *to be always promoting con-'tention and diviſion?* Dr Atterbury anſwered to this 'effect; *That he was not* aſhamed *to be for the rights 'of the Clergy; that there never was an inſtance be-'fore the laſt year, where the clergy were diſmiſſed by 'a prorogation in the Upper Houſe.* The Chancellor 'replied; *I am afraid, Sir, you are not to be believed; 'for I think, by your own confeſſion*, you have forfeited 'your credit with all good men for ever.' We ſhall conclude with Biſhop Burnet's ſevere reflections on our author's conduct in theſe diſputes. Having obſerved, that the *High-Church* party of that time had ſet up a complaint of the want of Convocations, the danger of the Church, &c. he ſays (16): 'Some books were 'writ to juſtify it, with great acrimony of ſtyle, and a 'ſtrain of inſolence, that was peculiar to one *Atter-'bury*, who had indeed very good parts, great learn-'ing, and was an excellent preacher, and had many 'extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious 'and virulent out of meaſure, and had a ſingular ta-'lent of aſſerting paradoxes with a great aſſurance, 'ſhewing no ſhame when he was detected in them, 'though this was done in many inſtances. But he let 'all theſe paſs, without either confeſſing his errors, or 'pretending to juſtify himſelf. He went on ſtill vent-'ing new falſhoods in ſo barefaced a manner, that he 'ſeemed to have outdone the Jeſuits themſelves. He 'thought the government had ſo little ſtrength or cre-'dit, that any claim againſt it would be well received. 'He attacked the Supremacy of the Crown with rela-'tion to eccleſiaſtical matters, which had been hither-'to maintained by all our Divines with great zeal.'

(16) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. II. p. 249.

[*K*] *The* Lower Houſe *of* Convocation *returned him thanks.*] On the 8th of April, 1701, Dr Finch, having been ſent with a meſſage from the Lower to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, returned with an account, that no meſſage would be received from them for want of the Prolocutor's preſence. Hereupon the Dean of Glouceſter took occaſion to obſerve, that, ſince the Upper Houſe refuſed this coreſpondence with them, it was now time for that houſe to return their thanks to Mr Atterbury, for his learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating the rights of Convocation. Upon which a debate enſued, and it was propoſed to change the form of thanks, from *learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating*, to *his endeavours to aſſert and vindicate*; but, upon a diviſion, it was carried for the firſt motion, and the thanks of the houſe returned accordingly (17).

(17) *Hiſtory of the Convocation, which met Feb.* 6, 1700. Lond. 1702, 4*to*.

[*L*] *The Univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] In conſequence of the vote of the Lower Houſe of Convocation mentioned in the laſt remark, a letter was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, expreſſing, that, *whereas Mr Francis Atterbury, late of Chriſt Church, had ſo happily aſſerted the rights and privileges of an Engliſh Convocation, as to merit the ſolemn thanks of the Lower Houſe of it for his learned pains upon that ſubject; it might be hoped, that the univerſity would be no leſs forward in taking ſome public notice of ſo great a piece of ſervice to the Church: And that the moſt proper and ſeaſonable mark of reſpect to him, would be to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, without doing exerciſe, or paying fees.* The univerſity approved the contents of this letter, and accordingly created Mr Atterbury Doctor in Divinity (18).

(18) Ibid.

[*M*] *He was advanced to the Deanry of Carliſle.*] Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-haſtineſs to get poſſeſſion, he took out his inſtruments before his predeceſſor Dr Graham had reſigned. This miſtake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he firſt waited on Dr Nicholſon, then Biſhop of Carliſle, that prelate demanded of him a formal reſignation from Dr Graham, without which, he told him, he could not admit him. The new-appointed Dean ſeemed to laugh at this demand: But the Biſhop, who reſolved to ſhew Dr Atterbury no favour, and barely to do him juſtice, continuing obſtinate, the Doctor, to his no ſmall mortification, was kept a whole month at Carliſle, unadmitted, and ſlightly regarded, till the reſignation, inſiſted on, was produced. This reſignation, however, upon examination, was found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being almoſt a month ſubſequent to Dr Atterbury's collation, which rendered the latter null and void. Hereupon being returned to London, he contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his predeceſſor, to a certain place; where he deſired him to antedate his reſignation, and, inſtead of the 5th of Auguſt, to date it the 8th of July, that ſo it might be reconciled to his letters patent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who thought the propoſal a very odd one, deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and, having adviſed with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who all aſſured him, the practice was both ſcandalous and dangerous, he ſent a civil letter to Dr Atterbury, excuſing himſelf for not complying with his requeſt. When the Doctor found this ſtep ineffectual, he took another no leſs extraordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to prevail with a conſiderable officer in Chancery, to alter the date of the Reſignation in the original Record. But this propoſal was likewiſe rejected; and ſo the publick inſtruments continued irregular (19). All the reflection we ſhall make upon this ſtory, is, that in the Civil Law, the clandeſtine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falſi*, and the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falſi*.

(19) *See a ſmall Tract, intitled* A Letter from the South, by way of Anſwer to a Letter from a Northern Divine; giving an account of a ſtrange Attempt made by Dr A—, &c.

[*N*] *His diſpute with Mr Hoadly concerning the advantages of* virtue *with regard to the* preſent *life.*] Dr Atterbury's ſermon, which occaſioned this diſpute, was on 1 *Cor.* xv. 19. *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable.* Which he explains thus: 'If all the benefits, we 'expect from the Chriſtian inſtitution, were confined 'within the bounds of this preſent life, and we had 'no hopes of a better ſtate after this, of a great 'and laſting reward in a life to come; we Chriſtians 'ſhould be the moſt abandoned and wretched of 'creatures: All other ſorts and ſects of men would 'evidently

occaſioned by his Sermon, preached the thirtieth of Auguſt 1706, at the funeral of Mr Thomas Bennet, a Bookſeller (*n*). In 1707, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter, appointed him one of the Canons Reſidentiaries of that Church; and, in 1709, Sir John Trevor, a great diſcerner of men and their abilities, was ſo ſtruck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls-chapel (*o*). This year he was engaged in a freſh diſpute with Mr Hoadly, concerning *Paſſive Obedience* [O], occaſioned by his Latin Sermon, intitled, *Concio ad Clerum Londinenſem habita in Eccleſia S. Elphegi* (*p*). In 1710, came on the famous tryal of Dr Sacheverell, whoſe remarkable ſpeech on that occaſion was generally ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by our author, in conjunction with Dr Smalridge and Dr Friend (*q*). The ſame year, Dr Atterbury was unanimouſly choſen Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and had the chief management of affairs in that houſe [P]. The eleventh of May 1711, he was appointed, by the Convocation, one of the Committee for comparing Mr Whiſton's doctrines with thoſe of the Church of England; and, in June following, he had the chief hand in drawing up *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion* (*r*) [Q]. In 1712, Dr Atterbury was made Dean of Chriſt-Church

(*n*) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. II. p. 1.

(*o*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 52.

(*p*) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. II. p. 305.

(*q*) Boyer's *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*. Lond. 1722. p. 427.

(*r*) Id. *Political State*, &c. for *June* 1711.

'evidently have the advantage of us, and a much 'ſurer title to happineſs than we (20).' In proof of which aſſertion, he endeavours to ſhew, that, were there no other life but this, Firſt, men would really be more miſerable than beaſts; and, ſecondly, the beſt men would be often the moſt miſerable: 'I mean, *ſays he*, as far as happineſs or miſery 'are to be meaſured from pleaſing or painful ſenſa-'tions; and, ſuppoſing the preſent to be the only 'life we are to lead, I ſee not, but that this might 'be eſteemed the true meaſure of them (21).' This doctrine Mr Hoadly examined, in *A Letter to Dr Francis Atterbury, concerning Virtue and Vice* (22), publiſhed in 1706; in which he undertakes to ſhew, that Dr Atterbury has extremely miſtaken the ſenſe of his text: that 'the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks of Chriſtians 'profeſſing Faith in Chriſt; Dr *Atterbury*, of perſons 'practiſing the moral precepts of religion; the *A-'poſtle* ſpeaks of the condition of ſuch Chriſtians, 'in a ſtate of the moſt bitter perſecution; Dr *At-'terbury*, of the condition of virtuous perſons, in 'the ordinary courſe of God's providence; the '*Apoſtle* deſigns nothing by his aſſertion and ſuppo-'ſition, but to ſhame thoſe ignorant, unwary, pro-'feſſors of Chriſtianity, out of the denial of a ge-'neral reſurrection; Dr *Atterbury*, on the contrary, 'draws from them an abſolute argument for the 'certainty of a future ſtate: So that upon the re-'view it ſeems evident, that Dr *Atterbury* has miſtaken 'the aſſertion itſelf, the perſons concerning whom 'the Apoſtle intends it, the times to which he ma-'nifeſtly limits it, and the concluſion which he de-'ſigned ſhould be drawn from it (23).' Mr Hoadly, then, endeavours to ſhew, that the practice of virtue, even in this life, contributes more to the happineſs of mankind, than that of vice; for which, beſides the arguments from reaſon and nature, he produces the expreſs declarations of ſcripture. Dr Atterbury, in his volume of *Sermons*, publiſhed by himſelf, prefixed a long *preface* to the ſermon at Mr Bennet's funeral; in which he replies to Mr Hoadly's arguments, and produces the concurrent teſtimonies of expoſitors, and the authorities of the beſt writers, eſpecially our Engliſh Divines, in confirmation of the doctrine he had advanced. In anſwer to this Preface, Mr Hoadly publiſhed, in 1708, *A ſecond* Letter, *&c.* and, in the preface to his *Tracts*, tells us, theſe two *letters* againſt Dr Atterbury were deſigned to vindicate and eſtabliſh the tendency of virtue and morality to the preſent happineſs of ſuch a creature as man is; which he eſteems a point of the utmoſt importance to the Goſpel itſelf.

(20) *Sermons*, &c. *Vol. II. p. 2, 3.*

(21) Ib. p. 5.

(22) See Hoadly's *Tracts*, London, 1715, 8vo.

(23) Page 111, 112.

[O] *His Diſpute with Mr Hoadly concerning* Paſſive Obedience.] Dr Atterbury, in his pamphlet, intitled, *Some Proceedings in Convocation*, A. D. 1705, *faithfully repreſented*, had charged Mr Hoadly (whom he ſneeringly calls, *the modeſt and moderate Mr Hoadly*) with, 'treating the body of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, 'with language more diſdainful and reviling, than 'it would have become him to have uſed towards 'his *Preſbyterian* antagoniſt, upon any provocation, 'charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilſt 'he himſelf was preaching it up in the State.' This induced Mr Hoadly to ſet about a particular examination of Dr Atterbury's Latin Sermon; which he did in a piece intitled, *A Large Anſwer to Dr Atterbury's charge of Rebellion*, &c. London 1710, wherein he endeavours to lay open the Doctor's artful management of the controverſy, and to let the reader into his true meaning and deſign; which, in an *Appendix* to the *Anſwer*, he repreſents to be 'The 'carrying on two different cauſes, upon two ſets of 'contradictory principles,' in order to 'gain himſelf 'applauſe amongſt the ſame perſons at the ſame 'time, by ſtanding up for and againſt liberty; by 'depreſſing the prerogative, and exalting it; by 'leſſening the executive power, and magnifying it; 'by loading ſome with all infamy, for pleading for 'ſubmiſſion to it in one particular, which he ſup-'poſeth an encroachment, and by loading others 'with the ſame infamy, for pleading againſt ſub-'miſſion to it, in caſes that touch the happineſs of 'the whole community.' This, he tells us, is 'A 'method of controverſy ſo peculiar to one perſon '(Dr *Atterbury*) as that he knows not that it hath 'ever been practiſed, or attempted by any other 'writer.' Mr Hoadly has likewiſe tranſcribed, in this *Appendix*, ſome remarkable paſſages out of our author's *Rights, Powers, and Privileges*, &c. which he confronts with others, from his Latin *Sermon*.

[P] *He had the chief management of affairs in that houſe.*] Biſhop Burnet, in his account of this Convocation (24), having obſerved, that the Queen, in appointing a committee of Biſhops to be preſent, and conſenting to their reſolutions, not only paſſed over all the Biſhops made in King William's reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the Biſhops of Briſtol and St David's, then newly conſecrated, in a diſtinction above all their brethren, by adding them to the committee, upon the indiſpoſition of the Archbiſhop and others, adds: 'All 'this was directed by Dr *Atterbury*, who had the con-'fidence of the chief miniſter; and becauſe the o-'ther Biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence 'with the former miniſtry, it was thought fit to 'put the marks of the Queen's diſtruſt upon them, 'that it might appear with whom her royal favour 'and truſt was lodged.' The ſame hiſtorian informs us (25), that, in this Convocation, a doubt being ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's licence, by which ſhe had appointed the above-mentioned committee, did ſtill ſubſiſt after a prorogation by a royal writ, and the Attorney-General having given his opinion, that it was ſtill in force, whereupon the Biſhops went on with the buſineſs, with which the former ſeſſions had ended; Dr *Atterbury* thereupon ſtarted a new notion, that, 'As in a Seſſion of Parliament, a prorogation 'put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they 'were to begin all a-new, the ſame rule was to be 'be applied to Convocations;' in purſuance of his favourite notion, that 'The proceedings in Parlia-'ment were likewiſe to be obſerved among them.' This being contrary to precedents, and the expreſs words of the royal writ, by which the Archbiſhop had prorogued the Convocation, the Biſhops did not agree to it, but reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations. And this occaſioned a diſpute between the two houſes, which put a ſtop to all buſineſs, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen.

(24) *See the* Hiſtory of his own Time, *Vol.* II. p. 569, 570.

(25) Ibid. p. 602, 603.

[Q] *He drew up a* Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion.] Let us hear Biſhop Burnet's account of this affair. The Convocation, he tells us (26), having

(26) Ib. p. 570, 571.

Church [*R*], notwithſtanding the ſtrong intereſt and warm applications of ſeveral great men in behalf of his competitor Dr Smalridge (*s*). The next year ſaw him at the top of his preferment, as well as of his Reputation: for, in the beginning of June 1713, the Queen, at the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford, advanced him to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, and deanry of Weſtminſter; and he was conſecrated at Lambeth the 4th of July following (*t*). It is ſaid, he had in view the Primacy of all England, and that his credit with the Queen and Miniſtry was ſo conſiderable, and his ſchemes ſo well laid, as probably to have carried it, upon a vacancy, had not Her Majeſty's death, in Auguſt 1714, prevented him (*u*). At the beginning of the ſucceeding reign, his tide of proſperity began to turn; and he received a ſenſible mortification preſently after the coronation of King George I, when, upon his offering to preſent his majeſty (with a view, no doubt, of ſtanding better in his favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his own perquiſites as Dean of Weſtminſter, the offer was rejected, not without ſome evident marks of diſlike to his perſon (*w*). During the rebellion in Scotland, which broke out in the firſt year of this reign, Biſhop Atterbury gave an inſtance of his growing diſaffection to the eſtabliſhed government, in refuſing to ſign the *Declaration* of the Biſhops [*S*]. Beſides which, he conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the Court in the Houſe of Lords, and drew up ſome of the moſt violent *Proteſts* with his own hand (*x*). Thus he went on, 'till the year 1722, when, the Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a plot in favour of the *Pretender* [*T*], he was accordingly apprehended, on the 24th

(*s*) *Memoirs*, &c. P. 53.

(*t*) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, P. 528.

(*u*) *Memoirs*, &c. ib.

(*w*) Ib. p. 74.

(*x*) Ib. p. 76 & 79.

having entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a committee being appointed to draw up a Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after ſome heads were agreed on, 'Atterbury procured, that the drawing up of this 'might be left to him: And he drew up a moſt 'virulent declamation, defaming all the adminiſtra-'tions from the time of the Revolution. Into this 'he brought many impious principles and practices, 'that had been little heard of or known, but were 'now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before 'the Queen.' The Lower Houſe, he adds, agreed to *Atterbury*'s draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another Repreſentntion to be drawn in more general and more modeſt terms. But it was not ſettled, which of theſe two draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or, whether any Repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen. The author of the *Memoirs of Queen Anne* (27), ſpeaking of this affair, tells us, 'The leading men among the Clergy, eſ-'pecially thoſe, who ſought after honour and pre-'ferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with 'the new Miniſtry, and to ſtrengthen the Houſe of 'Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among 'others, Dr *Atterbury* had a deep ſhare in this buſineſs, and led moſt of the Clergy by his pretended 'zeal for their intereſts. This *Repreſentation* was 'very long, and contained a great deal concerning 'the atheiſm and irreligion of the times, which 'they aſcribed chiefly to the late growth of hereſy 'and ſchiſm, and to the printing of wicked and 'atheiſtical books, which tended to promote many 'dangerous opinions; the fault being laid chiefly 'on thoſe, who had been lately in power.' The *Repreſentation* in queſtion, tho' never preſented, was yet printed and diſperſed; and ſoon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Nation vindicated from the aſperſions caſt on it in a late pamphlet, intitled*, A Repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of Religion, &c. in which the author undertakes to prove, againſt the *Repreſentation*, firſt, that the nation is much mended, in point of licentiouſneſs, and impiety, ſince the Revolution; ſecondly, that the *Repreſentation* gives a diſingenuous and unfair account of the ſpreading of Atheiſm, Deiſm, and Hereſy, and, whilſt it complains of the growth of Popery, advances ſuch notions, as, were they true, would oblige the nation to return to the Church of Rome; and, thirdly, that it has omitted the chief cauſe of theſe evils, the miſconduct of our ſpiritual guides; which conſidered, it is next to a miracle, he ſays, that the laity are ſo good and virtuous, as they are at preſent.

(27) Page 107, 108, edit. 1729, 2vo.

[*R*] *He was made Dean of Chriſt-Church.*] 'No 'ſooner was he ſettled there, *ſays the writer of his* 'life (28), till all ran into diſorder and confuſion. 'The Canons had been long accuſtomed to the mild 'and gentle government of a Dean (*), who had 'every thing in him that was endearing to mankind, 'and could not therefore brook the wide difference 'that they perceived in Dr *Atterbury*. That imperious and deſpotic manner, in which he ſeemed 'reſolved to carry every thing, made them more 'tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make 'fewer conceſſions, the more he endeavoured to graſp 'at power, and tyrannize. This oppoſition raiſed 'the ferment, and, in a ſhort time, there enſued ſuch 'ſtrife and contention, ſuch bitter words and ſcan-'dalous quarrels among them, that 'twas thought 'adviſeable to remove him, on purpoſe to reſtore 'peace and tranquillity to that learned body, and 'that other colleges might not take the infection. 'A new method of obtaining preferment, by in-'dulging ſuch a temper, and purſuing ſuch practices, 'as leaſt of all deſerve it! In a word, *adds this* '*writer*, where-ever he came, under one pretence or 'other, but chiefly under the notion of aſſerting his 'rights and privileges, he had a rare talent of 'fomenting diſcord, and blowing the coals of con-'tention; which made a learned Succeſſor *, in 'two of his preferments, complain of his hard fate, 'in being forced to carry water after him, to ex-'tinguiſh the flames, which his litigiouſneſs had every 'where occaſioned.'

(28) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 62, 63.

(*) Dr Aldrich.

(*) Dr Smalridge.

[*S*] *He refuſed to ſign the* Declaration *of the Biſhops.*] In that juncture of affairs, when the *Pretender*'s *Declaration* was poſted up in moſt market-towns, and, in ſome places, his title proclaimed, it was thought proper, by moſt bodies of men, to give the government all poſſible aſſurance of their fidelity and allegiance; and accordingly there was publiſhed *A Declaration of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops in, and near, London, teſtifying their abhorrence of the preſent Rebellion; and an exhortation to the Clergy, and People under their care, to be zealous in the diſcharge of their duties to his Majeſty King George.* This paper the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and, by his inſtigation, Biſhop Smalridge, refuſed to ſign, on pretence of a juſt offence taken at ſome unbecoming reflections caſt on a party, not inferior to any (they ſaid) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were theſe: *We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion ſhould ſhew themſelves hearty friends to the Government upon this occaſion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of England, becauſe the chief hopes of our enemies ſeem to ariſe from diſcontents artificially raiſed among us; and becauſe ſome, who have valued themſelves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with Papiſts in theſe wicked attempts; which as they muſt ruin the Church, if they ſucceed, ſo they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the reſt of us do not clearly and heartily declare our deteſtation of ſuch practices.* The reader muſt be left to judge, whether there be any thing in theſe words ſo exceptionable, as to countenance ſuch a behaviour, at ſuch a time.

[*T*] *The Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a Plot, in favour of the Pretender*, &c.] Various methods were attempted (as we learn from the *Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons*) and various times fixed, for putting this deſign in execution. The firſt intention

24th of Auguſt, and committed priſoner to the Tower [*U*]. This commitment of a Biſhop upon a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, as it was a thing rarely practiſed ſince the Reformation, ſo it occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people [*W*]. On the 23d of

was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade theſe kingdoms, at the time of the Elections for Members of Parliament. But the conſpirators, being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved, next, to make an attempt at the time, it was generally believed, his Majeſty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as could paſs into England, unobſerved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormand; who was to have landed in the river, with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe. The Tower at the ſame time was to have been ſeized, and the city of London made a place of arms. But this deſign alſo being diſappointed by many concurring events, the conſpirators found themſelves under a neceſſity of deferring their enterprize, 'till the breaking up of the camp: During which interval, they laboured, by their agents and emiſſaries, to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army; and depended ſo much on their defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the *Pretender* on the Throne, though they ſhould have no aſſiſtance from abroad. What ſhare our Prelate was ſuſpected to have had in this conſpiracy, appears from the ſame *Report*, which charges him with carrying on a traiterous correſpondence, in order to raiſe an inſurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it. In ſupport of which accuſation, three letters were produced, ſuppoſed to be written by the Biſhop, to General Dillon, the late Lord Mar, and the *Pretender* himſelf, under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Muſgrave*, and *Jackſon*. This occaſioned a *Reſolution* of the Houſe of Commons, March the 11th 1723, *That Francis, Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender on the Throne.*

[*U*] *He was apprehended, and committed priſoner to the Tower.*] Two officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Meſſenger, went about two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Biſhop's houſe at Weſtminſter, where he then was, with orders to bring him, and his papers, before the Council. He happened to be in his night-gown, when they came in; and being made acquainted with their buſineſs, he deſired time to dreſs himſelf. In the mean time his Secretary came in; and the officers went to ſearch for his papers; in the ſealing of which, the Meſſenger brought a paper, which he pretended to have found in his cloſe-ſtool, and deſired that it might be ſealed up with the reſt. His Lordſhip obſerving it, and believing it to be a forged one of his own, deſired the officers not to do it, and to bear witneſs, that the paper was not found with him. Nevertheleſs, they did it; and, though they behaved themſelves with ſome reſpect to him, they ſuffered the meſſengers to treat him in a very rough manner, threatening him, if he did not make haſte to dreſs himſelf, they would carry him away undreſt as he was. Upon which, he ordered his Secretary to ſee his papers all ſealed up, and went himſelf directly to the Cockpit, where the Council waited for him (29). The behaviour of the meſſengers upon this occaſion ſeems to have been very unwarrantable, if what the author of *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England*, &c. tells us, be true, that the perſons, directed by order of King and Council, to ſeize his Lordſhip and his papers, received a ſtrict command to treat him with great reſpect and reverence. However this was, when he came before the Council, he behaved with a great deal of calmneſs, and they with much civility towards him. He had liberty to ſpeak for himſelf as much as he pleaſed, and they liſtened to his defence with a great deal of attention; and, what is more unuſual, after he was withdrawn, he had twice liberty to re-enter the Council-chamber, to make for himſelf ſuch repreſentations and requeſts as he thought proper. It is ſaid, that, while he was under examination, he made uſe of our Saviour's Anſwer to the Jewiſh Council, while he ſtood before them; *If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I alſo aſk you, you will not anſwer me, nor let me go.* After three quarters of an hour's ſtay at the Cock-pit, he was ſent to the Tower privately, in his own coach, without any manner of noiſe or obſervation (30). As to his behaviour, and treatment within thoſe walls, they are neither ſo material, nor ſo certainly known, as to deſerve a particular narration; though, if his own account may be credited, his uſage there was far from being juſtifiable: for, in his *Speech* to the Houſe of Lords, he makes this complaint: 'I have been under a 'very long and cloſe confinement, and have been 'treated with ſuch ſeverity, and ſo great indignity, 'as, I believe, no priſoner in the Tower, of my age, 'and function, and rank, ever was; by which means 'what ſtrength and uſe of my limbs I had, when 'I was firſt committed in Auguſt laſt, is now ſo far 'declined, that I am very unfit to make my de'fence againſt a bill of ſuch an extraordinary nature. 'The great weakneſs of body and mind, under which 'I labour, ſuch uſage, ſuch hardſhips, ſuch inſults, 'as I have undergone, might have broken a more 'reſolute ſpirit, and much ſtronger conſtitution, than 'falls to my ſhare.' And in a *letter* of his, which was intercepted the 26th of February 1722-3, there is the following paſſage, of very dark and ambiguous import: 'You may, *ſays he to his friend*, 'when you ſee *Br——y*, impart the ſtory of that 'villainy to him, and deſire his advice upon it, at 'what time, and in what manner, it may be pro'per for me to bring that matter upon the ſtage, 'and ſhew what extraordinary methods are taken to 'get at me, and beg the Lords protection in the 'caſe againſt ſuch vile practice. I hope *William* has 'not given in to it, and then my way will (ſome 'time or other) be clearer towards a complaint: 'Whenever it is proper, I think the raſcal, my 'neighbour, may be ſummoned before the Lords, 'and made to tell, who employed him to proffer 'ſuch ſums, and be puniſhed by them for ſuch prac'tices.' Who the perſon is, whom he ſtigmatizes with ſo odious a character, is not ſo apparent; but we may venture to ſay, it could be no one employed by the government to uſe him ill, much leſs to oppreſs him by methods of violence and corruption. It is true, there was an unhappy miſunderſtanding between him and Colonel *Williamſon*, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, from his very firſt commitment; but, whether this dark paſſage has any relation thereto, we cannot ſay.

(29) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 86, 87.

(30) Ib. p. 87, 88.

[*W*] *This Commitment——occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people.*] Thoſe, who were the Biſhop's friends, and pretended to the greateſt intimacy with him, laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Miniſtry. They knew the Biſhop ſo well, they ſaid, his love to our Conſtitution, and attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, his profeſſed abhorrence of Popery, and ſettled contempt of the *Pretender*, and his caution, prudence, and circumſpection, to be ſuch, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of ſubverting the government, ſo hazardous in itſelf, and ſo repugnant to his principles; and therefore, they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Miniſter of State or two, who were reſolved to remove him, on account of ſome perſonal prejudices, as well as the conſtant moleſtation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had ſhewn in the late election. The friends to the Miniſtry, on the other hand, were ſtrongly of opinion, that the Biſhop was ſecretly a favourer of the *Pretender*'s cauſe, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power; but upon their re-admiſſion, had relinquiſhed that purſuit, and his confederates therein, and became a good ſubject again. They urged, that the influence, which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, aſſiſted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things, contrary to his declared ſentiments, and inconſiſtent with that cunning and caution, which, in other caſes, he

of March, 1722-3, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for *inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter*; a copy of which was ſent to him, with notice that he had liberty of Counſel and Sollicitors for making his defence. Under theſe circumſtances, the Biſhop applied, by petition, to the Houſe of Lords, for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture [*X*]; and, on the fourth of April, he acquainted the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, by a letter, that he was determined to give that Houſe no trouble, in relation to the bill depending therein; but ſhould be ready to make his defence againſt it, when it ſhould be argued in another houſe, of which he had the honour to be a member (*y*). On the ninth, the bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons [*Y*], and was the ſame day ſent up to the Houſe of Lords for their concurrence (*z*). On the ſixth of May, being the day appointed by the Lords for the firſt reading of the Bill, Biſhop Atterbury was brought to Weſtminſter [*Z*], to make his defence. The counſel for the Biſhop were, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Eſq; for the King, Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg. The proceedings continued above a week; and on Saturday May the eleventh, the Biſhop was permitted to plead for himſelf; which he did in a very eloquent ſpeech [*AA*]. On Monday the thirteenth, he

(*y*) Ib. p. 101, 102, 103.

(*z*) Ib. p. 105, 107.

was maſter of. And to obviate the difficulty, ariſing from the Biſhop's averſion to Popery, and the *Pretender*'s bigotry to that religion, they talked of a new-invented ſcheme of his, not to receive the *Pretender*, whoſe principles were not to be changed, but his Son only, who was to be educated a Proteſtant in the Church of England, and the Biſhop to be his Guardian, and Lord Protector of the kingdom, during his minority (30). Theſe, and many more ſpeculations, amuſed the nation at that time, and men, as uſual, judged of things by the meaſure of their own affections and prejudices.

(30) Ib. p. 90—92.

[*X*] *He applied to the Houſe of Lords for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture*]. He particularly deſired their opinion in relation to a ſtanding order of that Houſe, prohibiting, under a penalty, any Lord to appear, either in perſon, or by his counſel, before the Houſe of Commons, to anſwer any accuſation there. The Debates among the Lords, upon this occaſion, were many; the privileges peculiar to their Houſe were largely inſiſted on, and the late encroachments, made upon them by the Commons, loudly complained of; but at laſt it was carried, by a majority of ſeventy-eight to thirty-two, that the Biſhop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that Houſe, appear, if he thought fit, in the Houſe of Commons, and in what manner he thought fit, make his defence and vindication there. The Biſhop, however, was not pleaſed with this conceſſion, nor willing to truſt his cauſe, where he thought himſelf injured, and even prejudged (31).

(31) Ib. p. 102, 103.

[*Y*] *The Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons.*] The tenor of it was this: 'That after the firſt of June, 'in the year 1723, he ſhall be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices, eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, and that, from thenceforth, the ſame ſhall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he ſhall for ever be diſabled, and rendered incapable, from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument, within this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions; as alſo from exerciſing any office, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, whatever; that he ſhall ſuffer perpetual exile, and be for ever baniſhed this realm, and all other his Majeſty's dominions; that he ſhall depart out of the ſame by the 25th of June next; and if he return into, or be found within this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions, after the ſaid 25th of June, he, being thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall ſuffer as a felon, without benefit of Clergy, and ſhall be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majeſty, his heirs, or ſucceſſors: That all perſons, who ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting to his return into this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions, or ſhall conceal him within the ſame, being lawfully convicted thereof, ſhall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of Clergy; that if any of his Majeſty's ſubjects (except ſuch perſons as ſhall be licenſed for that purpoſe under the ſign manual) ſhall, after the 25th of June, hold any correſpondence in perſon with him, within this realm, or without, or by letters, meſſages, or otherwiſe, or with any perſon employed by him, knowing ſuch perſon to be ſo employed, they ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged felons, without benefit of Clergy: And laſtly, that offences againſt this Act, committed out of this realm, may be tried in any county within *Great-Britain* (32).'

(32) *See* Abſtract of the Acts of *that* Seſſion, p. 38.

[*Z*] *He was brought to Weſtminſter.*] The firſt day, he was diſturbed in his paſſage thither, by the clamours and inſults of the mob; but, upon his application to the Houſe of Lords for ſafety and protection, ſtrict orders were given to ſeize and ſecure all who ſhould be guilty of ſuch inhumanity, and a guard appointed to defend his perſon; ſo that, all the week after, he paſſed along the ſtreets very quietly, and without moleſtation, being pitied, rather than reviled (33).

(33) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 109.

[*AA*] *His Speech.*] As it is not our deſign, and indeed would ſpin this article out to too great a length, to take a view of the evidence for and againſt the Biſhop, we ſhall only ſelect a paſſage or two from his ſpeech, in which he plays the Orator, and endeavours to work upon the paſſions of his hearers. 'Here is a Plot, *ſays he*, of a year or two ſtanding, 'to ſubvert the government with an armed force; 'an invaſion from abroad; an inſurrection at home; 'juſt when ripe for execution, it is diſcovered; and 'twelve months after the contrivance of this ſcheme, 'no conſultation appears, no men correſponding together, no proviſion made, no arms, no officers provided, not a man in arms; and yet the poor Biſhop has done all this. What could tempt me to 'ſtep thus out of my way? Was it ambition, and 'a deſire of climbing into an higher ſtation in the 'Church? There is not a man in my office, farther 'removed from this than I am. Was money my 'aim? I always deſpiſed it too much, conſidering what 'occaſion I am now like to have for it: For out of a 'poor Biſhoprick of five hundred pounds *per annum*, 'I have laid out no leſs than a thouſand pounds 'towards the repairs of the church and Epiſcopal 'Palace; nor did I take one ſhilling for dilapidations. The reſt of my little income has been ſpent, 'as is neceſſary, as I am a Biſhop. Was I influenced 'by any diſlike of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and ſecretly inclined towards a Church of greater pomp 'and power? I have, my Lords, ever ſince I knew 'what Popery was, oppoſed it; and the better I knew 'it, the more I oppoſed it. I began my ſtudy in 'Divinity, when the Popiſh controverſy grew hot, 'with that immortal book of Tillotſon's, when he 'undertook the Proteſtant cauſe in general; and as 'ſuch, I eſteemed him above all. You will pardon 'me, my Lords, if I mention one thing: Thirty 'years ago, I writ in defence of *Martin Luther* (34), 'and have preached, expreſſed, and wrote to that 'purpoſe from my infancy; and whatever happens 'to me, I will ſuffer any thing, and, by God's 'grace, burn at the ſtake, rather than depart from 'any material point of the Proteſtant religion, as 'profeſſed in the Church of England. Once more; 'Can I be ſuppoſed to favour arbitrary power? The 'whole tenor of my life has been otherwiſe: I was 'always a friend to the liberty of the ſubject, and, 'to the beſt of my power, conſtantly maintained it: 'I may have been thought miſtaken in the meaſures 'I took to ſupport it; but it matters not by what 'Party I was called, ſo my actions are uniform.' Afterwards ſpeaking of the method of proceeding againſt him as unconſtitutional, he ſays: 'My ruin 'is not of that moment to any number of men, 'to make it worth their while to violate, or even 'to ſeem to violate, the Conſtitution in any degree, 'which

(34) *See the remark* [*E*].

he was carried, for the laſt time, from the Tower, to hear the reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence [*BB*]. On the fifteenth, the bill was read the third time; and, after a very long and warm debate [*CC*], paſſed on the ſixteenth, by a majority of eighty three to forty-three. On the twenty-ſeventh the King came to the Houſe, and and confirmed it by his royal aſſent. It is ſaid, his Majeſty paſſed this bill with ſome regret, being much concerned, as he expreſſed it, that there ſhould be juſt cauſe of dooming to perpetual baniſhment a Biſhop of the Church of England, and a man of ſuch eminent parts and learning. To alleviate, however, in ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of of this ſentence, the Biſhop's daughter, Mrs Morrice, was permitted to attend her father in his travels; and his ſon-in-law, Mr Morrice, by virtue of his Majeſty's ſign manual, had leave to correſpond with him. On the eighteenth of June, 1723, this eminent Prelate, having the day before taken leave of his friends, who, from the time of paſſing the bill againſt him, to the day of his departure, had free acceſs to him in the Tower, embarked (*aa*) on board the Aldborough man of war, and landed the Friday following at Calais. From thence he went to Bruſſels; and afterwards to Paris, where he reſided till his death, ſoftening the rigours of his exile by ſtudy, and converſation with learned men; and by a conſtant epiſtolary correſpondence with the moſt eminent ſcholars, particularly with M. Thiriot, an ingenious French gentleman, for whom he had a great eſteem, and who has obliged the public with ſome of the Biſhop's Original Letters, which are chiefly *Critiques* on ſeveral French authors. Biſhop Atterbury died at Paris the fifteenth of February 1731. His body was brought over to England, and interred the twelfth of May following, in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*DD*]. Some time before his death,

(*aa*) Ib. p. 110—129.

' which they ought to preſerve againſt any attempts ' whatſoever. Though I am worthy of no regard; ' though whatſoever is done to me, may, for that ' reaſon, be looked upon to be juſt; yet your Lord- ' ſhips will have ſome regard to your own laſting ' intereſt, and that of poſterity. This is a proceed- ' ing, with which the Conſtitution is unacquainted; ' which, under the pretence of ſupporting it, will at ' laſt effectually deſtroy it. For God's ſake, lay aſide ' theſe extraordinary proceedings; ſet not up theſe ' new and dangerous precedents. I for my part ' will voluntarily, and chearfully, go into perpetual ' baniſhment, and pleaſe myſelf that I am, in ſome ' meaſure, the occaſion of putting a ſtop to ſuch ' precedents, and doing ſome good to my Country; ' and will live, where-ever I am, praying for it's ' proſperity; and do, in the words of Father Paul, ' to the State of Venice, ſay, *Eſto perpetua:* It is ' not my departing from it, I am concerned for; let ' me depart, and let my country be fixed upon the ' immoveable foundation of law and juſtice, and ſtand ' for ever.' After a ſolemn proteſtation of his innocence, and an appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, for the truth of what he had ſaid, he concludes thus: ' If on any account, there ſhall ſtill be thought by your ' Lordſhips, to be any ſeeming ſtrength in the proofs ' againſt me; if, by your Lordſhips judgments, ſpring- ' ing from unknown motives, I ſhall be thought to ' be guilty; if for any reaſons, or neceſſity of ſtate, ' of the wiſdom and juſtice of which I am no com- ' petent judge, your Lordſhips ſhall proceed to paſs ' this Bill againſt me; I ſhall diſpoſe myſelf quietly ' and tacitly to ſubmit to what you do; God's will be ' done: *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and* ' *naked ſhall I return*; and, whether he gives or takes ' away, *bleſſed be the name of the Lord!*'

[*BB*] *The Reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence.*] Mr Reeve and Mr Wearg were both men of great knowledge and ſagacity in the Law, but of different talents in point of Eloquence. Their Speeches on this occaſion were made publick; and they ſeem to have formed their *Replies*, deſignedly, in a different way. The former ſticks cloſe to the matter in evidence, and enforces the charge againſt the Biſhop with great ſtrength and perſpicuity: The latter anſwers all his objections, and refutes the arguments brought in his defence, in an eaſy, ſoft, manner, and with great ſimplicity of reaſoning. Mr Reeve is wholly employed in facts, in comparing and uniting together circumſtances, in order to corroborate the proofs of the Biſhop's guilt: Mr Wearg is chiefly taken up in ſilencing the complaints of the Biſhop and his Counſel, and replying to every thing they advance, in order to invalidate the allegations of his innocence. The one, in ſhort, poſſeſſes the minds of the Lords with ſtrong convictions againſt the Biſhop: The other diſpoſeſſes them of any favourable impreſſion, that might poſſibly be made upon them by the artifice of his defence. And accordingly Mr Reeve is ſtrong, nervous, and enforcing; but Mr Wearg, ſmooth, eaſy, and inſinuating, both in the manner of his expreſſion, and the turn of his periods. Mr Wearg pays the higheſt compliments to the Biſhop's eloquence; but at the ſame time repreſents it as employed to impoſe upon the reaſon, and miſguide the judgment of his hearers, in proportion as it affected their paſſions; and he endeavours to ſtrip the Biſhop's defence of all it's ornaments and colours of Rhetoric. We ſhall only tranſcribe a paſſage from the concluſion of his ſpeech, in which he aſſerts the lenity of the government in the mildneſs of the puniſhment to be inflicted on the Biſhop. ' The nature of the puniſhment, *ſays* ' *Mr* Wearg, has been much talked of in the courſe ' of theſe proceedings, and great lamentations made ' upon it; but ſurely without any reaſon; for I may ' venture to affirm, this is the mildeſt puniſhment ' that ever was inflicted for ſuch an offence. His ' life is not touched; his liberty nor property af- ' fected; he is only expelled the ſociety, whoſe ' government he diſapproves, and has endeavoured ' to ſubvert; and deprived of the publick employ- ' ment, which the government had entruſted him ' with: The enjoyment of his life, his private eſtate, ' and his liberty under any other government, that ' may be more agreeable, is allowed him. This is ' ſcarce to be called a puniſhment, being nothing ' more than what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ' publick ſecurity.'

[*CC*] —— *A very long and warm debate.*] The Speakers *for* the Bill were, amongſt others, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Cholmondley, and Finlater, Lord Lechmere, Dr Willis, Biſhop of Sarum, and Dr Gibſon, Biſhop of London: Thoſe *againſt* it, the Earl of Strafford, Duke of Wharton, the Earls Poulet, and Cowper; the Lords Bathurſt, Trevor, and Gower; and Dr Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter. The principal arguments alledged *againſt* the Bill were, the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an extraordinary way of proceeding, and the want of legal, and ſufficient, evidence againſt the Biſhop: The arguments in it's favour were, beſides aſſerting the legality, and ſufficiency of the evidence, the neceſſity of applying extraordinary remedies to extraordinary diſeaſes, and that, when the very being of the State lies at ſtake, if the Common-Law cannot reach great offenders, the Legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. The Bill did not paſs without a ſtrong *Proteſt*, ſigned, Wharton, Strafford, Bruce, Poulet, Dartmouth, Craven, Hay, Bathurſt, Gower, Weſton, Exeter, Willoughby Br. Cowper, Bingley, Scarſdale, Saliſbury, Montjoy, Cardigan, Angleſey, Foley, Oſborne, Uxbridge, Arundel, Guilford, Middleton, Hereford, Stawell, Denbigh, Northampton, Fr. Ceſtrienſ. Litchfield, Aſhburnham, Trevor, Compton, Maſham, Berkley Strat. Pomfret, Brooke, Oxford and Mortimer (35).

(35) *See the* Hiſtorical Regiſter *for that time; and the* Debates in the Houſe of Lords, &c. *for the ſame period.*

[*DD*] *He was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] His funeral was performed in a very private manner, attended only by his Son-in-law, Mr Morrice, and his two

death, he publiſhed a vindication of himſelf, Biſhop Smalridge, and Dr Aldrich, from a charge, brought againſt them by Mr Oldmixon, of having altered and interpolated the copy of Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* [*EE*]. Biſhop Atterbury's *Sermons* are extant in four volumes in *octavo*: thoſe contained in the two firſt were publiſhed by himſelf, and dedicated to his great patron Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Wincheſter; thoſe in the two laſt were publiſhed, after his death, by Dr Thomas Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain [*FF*]. His *Epiſtolary Correſpondence* with Mr Pope [*GG*] is extant in the collection of that Poet's *Letters*. As to Biſhop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been differently repreſented by the oppoſite parties,

two Chaplains, Dr Savage, and Dr Moore. Upon the urn, which contained his bowels, was inſcribed, *In hac urna depoſiti ſunt cineres, Franciſci Atterburi, Epiſcopi Roffenſis.*

[*EE*] *He publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf —— from the charge —— of altering and interpolating Lord Clarendon's* Hiſtory of the Rebellion.] Mr Oldmixon, in the *Preface* to his *Hiſtory of the Stuarts*, ſuggeſts, that 'The *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, as it 'was publiſhed at Oxford, was not entirely the 'work of the Lord Clarendon;' that, in the original Manuſcript, 'the characters of the Kings, whoſe 'reigns are written, were different from what they 'appear in the Oxford Hiſtory;' and that the copy had been 'altered and interpolated, while it was at 'the Preſs.' As a confirmation of this ſuggeſtion, he produces a letter *(from Colonel* Ducket) in which that Gentleman affirms, that Mr Edmund Smith, of Chriſt-church, author of the Tragedy of *Phædra and Hippolytus*, had declared to him, a little before his death in 1710, that 'what was publiſhed under 'Clarendon's name, was only patch-work; and that 'he himſelf was employed by Dr Aldrich, Dr Atterbury, and Dr Smalridge, ſucceſſive Deans of 'Chriſt-Church, to interpolate and alter the original;' and that, 'Among ſeveral hundreds of alterations 'and additions, he had made by their order, the 'application of the famous ſaying, concerning Cinna '(36), to the character of Mr Hampden was one.' This paſſage of Mr Oldmixon's preface was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed in the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, &c (37), and Dr Atterbury ſtrongly called upon to juſtify himſelf; which he did in a piece, dated from Paris, the 26th of October 1731, and intitled, *Biſhop Atterbury's Vindication of Biſhop Smalridge, Dr Aldrich, and himſelf, from the ſcandalous reflections of Oldmixon, relating to publication of the Lord Clarendon's hiſtory.* This *Vindication* was ſent by him, with a letter, to the author of the *Bibliotheque*, &c. who publiſhed them both in French in that *Journal* (38). The Biſhop, in juſtification of himſelf, declares, he never ſaw Lord Clarendon's hiſtory in manuſcript, either before or ſince the publication of it, nor ever read a line of it but in print; and that, with regard to Mr Smith, he never (as far as he could recollect) exchanged a word with him in all his life, nor ſo much as knew him by ſight, till after the edition of that hiſtory. As for Biſhop Smalridge, he was not any way concerned in preparing it for the Preſs; the reviſal of the manuſcript being ſolely intruſted to the care of Biſhop Spratt, and Dean Aldrich, by the Earl of Rocheſter, who himſelf aſſiſted in that work; and all three were perſons of known probity and truth, and incapable of conſpiring in a deſign to impoſe on the publick. He then urges the improbability of any alterations having been made in that hiſtory, not only from the expreſs declaration of the editors, in the *Preface* to the *Firſt Volume*, that *They who put forth the Hiſtory, durſt not take upon them to make any alterations in a work of this kind*, &c. but alſo from the great difficulty, if not impoſſiblity, of imitating the author's ſtile and manner, particularly his characters, which are allowed to be the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and beautiful part of the work, and to be really inimitable. And as to the words in the cloſe of Mr Hampden's character, they are perfectly in my Lord Clarendon's manner, and contain nothing new in them, but only ſum up in ſhort, what he has ſcattered thro' different parts of the *Firſt Volume*. With reſpect to the teſtimony of Mr Smith, Dr Atterbury obſerves, that, as it was undoubtedly falſe, in regard to Dr Smalridge and himſelf, ſo is it as little to be relied upon in regard to Dr Aldrich; his perſonal averſion for whom, and the well-known reaſons of it, making it altogether incredible, that he ſhould have the leaſt ſhare in his confidence, on ſo nice, or indeed on any occaſion.

[*FF*] *The two laſt Volumes of his Sermons were publiſhed by Dr Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain.*] The editor, in excuſe of himſelf, for not publiſhing a greater number of the Biſhop's poſthumous Sermons, ſince every one will naturally conclude, that he left a great many more behind him, having been a conſtant Preacher about twenty years, and an occaſional one a great deal longer; tells us, in his preface, that the true reaſon of his not doing it was this: 'He (the Biſhop) burnt a good many of them him-'ſelf at Paris, and, by a writing found among what 'were left, ſignified, that theſe were the only ones 'fit to be printed; ſo that, without acting con-'trary to the Biſhop's opinion of his own perfor-'mances, of which he was certainly the beſt judge, 'no more could, and therefore no more ought to 'be publiſhed: And it being from thence reſolved, 'that no more ſhould, the only effectual way, *adds 'the Editor*, was, to commit the reſt to the flames: 'which was accordingly done, in my preſence, by 'William Morrice, Eſq; his dutiful and worthy Son-'in-law and executor.'

[*GG*] *His* Epiſtolary Correſpondence *with Mr* Pope.] Among the letters, which paſſed between the Biſhop, and that Gentleman, for whom he had the higheſt friendſhip and eſteem, is the following, dated from the *Tower*, *April* 10, 1723.

'Dear Sir,

'I Thank you for all the inſtances of your friend-'ſhip, both before, and ſince my misfortunes. A 'little time will compleat them, and ſeparate you 'and me for ever. But in what part of the World 'ſoever I am, I will live mindful of your ſincere 'kindneſs to me; and will pleaſe myſelf with the 'thought, that I ſtill live in your eſteem and affection 'as much as ever I did; and that no accidents of 'life, no diſtance of time or place, will alter you 'in that reſpect. It never can me, who have loved 'and valued you ever ſince I knew you, and ſhall 'not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell 'you ſo; as the caſe will ſoon be. Give my 'faithful ſervices to Dr Arbuthnot, and thanks for 'what he ſent me, which was much to the purpoſe, 'if any thing can be ſaid to be to the purpoſe, in 'a caſe that is already determined. Let him know, 'my defence will be ſuch, that neither my friends 'need bluſh for me, nor will my enemies have great 'occaſion of triumph, though ſure of the victory. 'I ſhall want his advice before I go abroad, in 'many things. But I queſtion whether I ſhall be permitted to ſee him, or any body, but ſuch as are 'abſolutely neceſſary towards the diſpatch of my 'private affairs. If ſo, God bleſs you both! and 'may no part of the ill fortune that attends me 'ever purſue either of you! I know not but I may 'call upon you, at my hearing, to ſay ſomewhat 'about my way of ſpending my time at the Deanry, 'which did not ſeem calculated towards managing 'plots and conſpiracies. But of that I ſhall conſider— 'You and I have ſpent many hours together upon much 'pleaſanter ſubjects; and that I may preſerve the old 'cuſtom, I ſhall not part with you now, till I have cloſed 'this letter with three lines of *Milton*, which you will, 'I know, readily, and not without ſome degree of 'concern, apply to your ever affectionate, *&c.*

"Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them ſoon;
"The world was all before him where to chuſe
"His place of reſt, and *Providence* his guide.

(36) *He had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief.*

(37) *For* July, Auguſt, *and* September, 1730. *Tom.* V. *Part* i. *Art.* 5. p. 154, &c.

(38) *For* October, November, *and* December, 1731. *Tom.* VII. *Part* i. *Art.* 9. p. 457. &c.

[*HH*] *He*

parties, it is univerſally agreed, that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher [*HH*].

[*HH*] *He was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher.*] His learned friend Biſhop Smalridge, in the ſpeech he made, when he preſented him to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, as Prolocutor, ſtyles him, *Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes, in pleriſque Artibus et Studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis litterarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus.* i. e. 'One, 'who is well acquainted with all parts of literature, 'long and ſucceſsfully exerciſed in moſt arts and 'ſtudies, and moſt accompliſhed in thoſe ſciences, 'which admit of the greateſt perfection.' In his controverſial writings, he was ſometimes too ſevere upon his adverſary, and dealt rather too much in ſatire and invective: but this his panegyriſt imputes more to the natural fervor of his wit, than to any bitterneſs of temper, or prepenſe malice. *Sit igitur veniæ, ſit laudi, ſit gratitudini locus; ſi quid forte aſperius, ſi quid ardentius, ſi quid liberius effuderit, lector paulo humanior id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiæ tribuet, ſed aut ingenio ſuapte natura aliquantulum præfervido, aut fortaſſe iracundiæ, in milite pro aris focisque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem ſuam eripiente, facilè ignoſcendæ. Quod ſi plures in illius ſcriptis effulgent virtutes, ſi res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; ſi eas validiſſimis argumentis firmaverit; ſi puro ac dilucido ſermone in ipſis legentium animis inſcripſerit; eruditioni apud eruditos, eloquentiæ apud diſertos ſuus conſtet honos.* i. e. 'Be there then room left for 'pardon, for praiſe, for gratitude. If ſome ſharp, 'warm, and free expreſſions have fallen from him, 'a good-natured reader will not aſcribe them to re'ſentment, envy, or arrogance; but either to a natu'ral warmth of diſpoſition, or perhaps to a paſſion, 'very excuſable in a ſoldier, who is fighting for all that 'is near and dear to us, and a ſon, who endeavours 'to reſcue his mother from injury and violence. But 'if many and great beauties ſhine in his writings; if 'he has treated of things, in themſelves difficult, ſo as 'to make them uſeful and entertaining; if he has 'confirmed them by the ſtrongeſt arguments; if he has 'imprinted them in the minds of his readers by a 'purity and perſpicuity of ſtyle; let the learned give 'due applauſe to his learning, and the eloquent ſet 'a juſt valué on his eloquence.' In his *Sermons*, however, he is not only every way unexceptionable, but highly to be commended. There is that exactneſs of method, and juſtneſs of thought, thoſe weighty arguments, judicious reflections, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole; as denote him the celebrated preacher he was, and not undeſerving this commendation given him by his friend. *Quo audientium plauſu apud Populum, apud Magiſtratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos è roſtris frequenter concionatus eſt! Qua facundia et Mariæ in cœlum jam receptæ aures ſæpe demulſit, et Sororis Animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppreſſum recreavit!* i. e. 'With what applauſe has he often 'preached before the People, the Magiſtrates, the 'Clergy, the Senate, and the Court! How often 'has he charmed the ears of the late Queen Mary, 'now with God; and with what addreſs did he 'adminiſter conſolation to her ſiſter (*), almoſt op'preſſed and overcome by her late affliction (†)!' The truth is, his talent as a preacher was ſo excellent and remarkable, that it may not improperly be ſaid, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his ſeveral promotions in the Church. We ſhall conclude Biſhop Atterbury's character as a preacher, with the encomium beſtowed on him by the author of the *Tatler* (39); who, having obſerved that the Engliſh clergy too much neglect the art of ſpeaking, makes a particular exception with regard to our Prelate (‖); who, ſays he, 'has ſo particular a regard to his congre'gation, that he commits to his memory what he has 'to ſay to them; and has ſo ſoft and graceful a 'behaviour, that it muſt attract your attention. 'His perſon *(continues this author)*, it is to be 'confeſſed, is no ſmall recommendation; but he is 'to be highly commended for not loſing that advan'tage, and adding to the propriety of ſpeech, (which 'might paſs the criticiſm of Longinus) an action, 'which would have been approved by Demoſthenes. 'He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many 'of his audience, who could not be intelligent 'hearers of his diſcourſe, were there not explanation 'as well as grace in his action. This art of his is 'uſed with the moſt exact and honeſt ſkill. He never 'attempts your paſſions, till he has convinced your 'reaſon. All the objections, which you can form, 'are laid open and diſperſed, before he uſes the 'leaſt vehemence in his Sermon; but when he thinks 'he has your head, he very ſoon wins your heart, 'and never pretends to ſhew the beauty of holineſs, 'till he has convinced you of the truth of it.' T

(*) *Queen* Anne.

(†) *For the death of the Prince of* Denmark.

(39) No. 66.

(‖) Then only *Dean.*

AUBREY, in Latin ALBERICUS (JOHN), deſcended from an antient genteel family in Wiltſhire (*a*), was born at Eaſton-Piers, in the Northſ diviſion of that county, November the third, but whether in 1625, or 1626, is uncertain (*b*). He was chriſtened very ſoon after his birth, *being*, as himſelf expreſſes it, *weakly, and not in a probability of living* (*c*). He received the firſt tincture of letters, in the grammar-ſchool at Malmſbury, under Mr Robert Latimer, who taught there forty years, and was the Preceptor of his countryman (as being alſo a native of Wiltſhire) the famous Thomas Hobbes (*d*) [*A*], with whom, as he commenced a friendſhip, even in his childhood, ſo he maintained it, as long as Mr Hobbes lived, without declenſion or interruption. May the ſixth, 1642, Mr Aubrey was entered a gentleman-commoner of Trinity college at Oxford (*e*). There he purſued his ſtudies with much diligence, and dedicated himſelf early to the ſervice of his country, by making her Hiſtory and Antiquities his peculiar delight. About this time, the ſcheme of that invaluable work the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, was talked of in the univerſity; to which Mr Aubrey, not only contributed all the aſſiſtance which his pains and induſtry could afford, but preſerved to poſterity, at his own

(*a*) Memoirs of his Life, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. iii.

(*b*) See the ſame Memoirs.

(*c*) From his own notes.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Aubrey, p. iv. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187, edit. 1681.

(*e*) Memoirs, p. iv.

[*A*] *The famous Thomas Hobbes.*] The author of the life of Mr Aubrey placed before his Antiquities, and alſo before his Miſcellanies, tells us, that at the grammar-ſchool of Malmeſbury, he was contemporary with Mr Hobbes (1). Father Niceron copies this in his Memoirs (2). From him it is tranſcribed into the two laſt editions of Moreri (3). And yet without queſtion it is a very groſs error, as the reader from the following obſervations will perceive. Mr Hobbes was born, as Mr Aubrey himſelf tells us, April 5, 1588 (4). When he was fourteen years old (5), he went from the grammar-ſchool to the univerſity, which of conſequence muſt be in 1602, that is, at leaſt twenty-three years before Mr Aubrey was born. The miſtake aroſe thus: Anthony Wood, who ſpeaks very ſparingly of Mr Aubrey, though he was under great obligations to him, tells us as it were by chance in his life of Thomas Hobbes; that Mr Aubrey and he, that is, Mr Hobbes, were bred under the ſame maſter, and Dr Blackbourne in the latin life, ſaying ſo too (6). The writer of his life ſuppoſing they muſt have been ſo at the ſame time, ſet it down ſo without any further inquiry, and theſe implicit copiers have reported it with as little judgment.

(1) Memoirs before the firſt Vol. of Antiquities of Surrey, p. iv. Memoirs before the Miſcellanies, p. 11.
(2) Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres, T. IV. p. 311.
(3) See the article of AUBREY in the edition at Baſle. A. D. 1732, and the ſame article in the laſt edition.
(4) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 22. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col 647.
(5) Id. col. 641.
(6) See this paſſage in note [*C*].

[*B*] *Deſtroyed*

own expence, a curious draught of the remains of *Oſney Abbey*, near *Oxford*, which were entirely deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion (*f*) [*B*]. In 1646, he was admitted a ſtudent of the Midddle-Temple, but the death of his father, which happened on the twenty-firſt of October, 1652, and with ſeveral eſtates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, Hereford, Brecknock, and Monmouth, brought him alſo many law-ſuits, hindered him from applying himſelf to that ſtudy, to which, otherwiſe, he would have devoted his thoughts (*g*). Theſe law-ſuits, together with other inevitable misfortunes, by degrees eat up all his eſtates, and forced him to lead a more active life than he was otherwiſe inclined to, engaged him in frequent and expenſive journies, and not a little diſcompoſed the natural mildneſs of his diſpoſition. He did not, however, entirely abandon his books, or break off his acquaintance with the learned at Oxford, or at London. On the contrary, he kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the lovers of Antiquity, and Natural Philoſophy, in the univerſity, and furniſhed the celebrated Anthony Wood, with a conſiderable ſhare of the materials, out of which he compoſed his two large and uſeful works (*h*). He likewiſe preſerved an intimacy with thoſe great wits and profound ſcholars, who then met privately, and were afterwards formed into the *Royal Society*. At London, Mr Aubrey frequented Miles's coffee-houſe, in the New Palace Yard, where the famous Harrington was ſurrounded every evening, by all the men of parts and reading, which that fertile age produced. There they ballotted, diſputed on government, and gave a free looſe to their ſentiments on all ſorts of ſubjects (*i*). A little after the Reſtoration, Mr Aubrey went to Ireland, and returning from thence in the autumn of 1660, narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck near Holy-Head (*k*). On the firſt of November, 1661, his notes inform us, that he ſuffered another ſhipwreck. *I then*, ſays he, *made my firſt addreſſes in an ill hour to* Joan Sommer (*l*). When he married is uncertain, but from this remark we may be ſure, that he found no great felicity in that ſtate. In the year 1662, he was elected and admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. In June 1664, he travelled through France to Orleans, and returned again to England in the month of October. In 1666, he ſold his eſtate in Wiltſhire, and his troubles coming then very thick upon him, he was obliged to diſpoſe by degrees of all he had left, ſo that in the ſpace of four years, he was reduced, not only to ſtraights but to indigence (*m*). Yet his ſpirit remained unbroken, as appears by his own remark on his circumſtances. From 1670, ſays he, *I have, I thank God, enjoyed a happy delitеſcency* (*n*). This obſcurity, which he calls happy, conſiſted in following the bent of his genius, while he owed his ſubſiſtence to the kindneſs of his friends; and in labouring to inform that world, in which he knew not how to live. His chief benefactreſs was the late Lady Long, of Draycot in Wilts, in whoſe houſe he had an apartment, and by whom he was generouſly ſupported as long as he lived. But how long that was is uncertain. All that is known concerning it is this, that he died on a journey at Oxford, in his way to Draycot, ſuddenly, was there buried, as near as can be conjectured, in 1700 (*o*). He was a man of good natural parts, much learning, and indefatigable application, a great lover of, and diligent ſearcher into, Antiquities, a good Latin poet, an excellent naturaliſt, but withal ſomewhat credulous, and ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition. As to his works, we ſhall give a full account of them in a note [*C*].

(*f*) Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. II. p. 136.

(*g*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*h*) Mr Aubrey's preface to the Antiquities of Surrey. See alſo, Memoirs, &c. p. iv.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 647. See alſo our article of HARRINGTON.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*l*) His own notes in the Memoirs, p. vii.

(*m*) Memoirs, p. xii.

(*n*) His own notes taken from his Diary.

(*o*) Memoirs, p. xii. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

[*B*] *Deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion.*] This curious draught was finely etched by Mr Wenceſlaus Hollar, and inſerted in the monaſticon, Vol. II. p. 136. with this inſcription, *Inſignes hujuſce Fabricæ Ruinas, quas, Antiquitatis ergo, plurimum ſuſpexit, Adoleſcentulus jam hinc Oxonienſibus aſcriptus, & (quod commodius accidit) paulo antequam Bello Civili funditus è medio tollerentur, delineandas curavit, poſteris quaſi redivivas, L. D. C. Q. Joannes Albericus de Eſton Piers in Agro Wilts, Arm.* i. e. *The Noble Ruins of this Fabrick drawn from a love to Antiquity, while yet a Youth at Oxford, and (which was not a little lucky) but a ſhort time before they were entirely deſtroyed in the Civil War, ſecured now and as it were revived, are dedicated to Poſterity, by John Aubrey of Eſton Piers in the County of Wilts, Eſq*; This circumſtance ought the rather to be remarked, becauſe by ſome accident or other, many copies of the monaſticon want this plate (7), and he will certainly be no loſer by it, who ſhall be at the expence of having it engraved again.

(7) Memoirs of Aubrey's Life, &c. p. 5.

[*C*] *A full account of them in a note.*] I. *The life of* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury, MS. written in engliſh but never publiſhed, the principal matter contained therein, being made uſe of by Dr Blackbourne in his *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, which was publiſhed in 1681 (8). This is taken notice of by Mr Wood, who adds two or three circumſtances relating to our author, but not a word of the aſſiſtances he received from him: Whereas Dr Blackbourne, in his liſt of Mr Hobbes's friends, hath theſe words, *Jo. Albericus, vulgo Aubrey, è Soc. Reg. Armig. Amicus ejus in primis, ex Vicinia Malmſburienſi Oriundus, & ſub communi Preceptore Inſtitutus, Vir Publico Bono magis quam ſuo Natus; qui Princeps mihi ſcribendi Anſam præbuit, & Materiam humaniter ſuppeditavit.* That is, *John Aubrey of the Royal Society, Eſq; one of his oldeſt Friends, born in the Neighbourhood of Malmſbury, educated under the ſame Maſter. A Man born rather for the publick good than his own, who chiefly encouraged me to the undertaking this work, and kindly ſupplied me with materials* (9). Before this Latin life there is the following Epigram;

(8) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(9) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

In Tho. Hobbes.

Futilis exornet Barbatos pompa Magiſtros,
Et Schola Diſcipulos cogat inepta leves:
Affulſit nova Lux tenebroſo Hobbeſius Orbi,
Quanta eſt Laus Hominem reſtituiſſe ſibi?

Jo. Awbrey, Arm. è Soc. Reg.

On Thomas Hobbes.

Exterior Gravity may Schools erect,
Where Idle Folks may empty Notions ſcan:
But Hobbes new light did on the World reflect,
How great his Praiſe who Man made known to Man?

Jo. Awbrey, Eſq; of the Royal Society.

II. Miſcellanies upon the following ſubjects, 1. Day-Fatality. 2. Local-Fatality. 3. Oſtenta. 4. Omens. 5. Dreams. 6. Apparitions. 7. Voices. 8. Impulſes. 9. Knockings. 10. Blows inviſible. 11. Propheſies. 12. Marvels. 13. Magick. 14. Tranſportation in the Air. 15. Viſions in a Beril or Speculum. 16. Converſe with Angels and Spirits. 17. Corpſe Candles in Wales. 18. Oracles. 19. Extaſies. 20. Glances of

Love and Envy. 21. Second-ſighted Perſons. 22. The Diſcovery of two Murthers by Apparitions (10). As to the nature of this work it appears ſufficiently from the title, however, it may not be amiſs to add the firſt paragraph of the author's dedication, dated in 1696, and addreſſed to James (Bertie) Earl of Abingdon. 'My Lord, when I enjoyed the content-'ment of ſolitude in your pleaſant walks, and gar-'dens at Lavington, the laſt ſummer, I reviewed ſe-'veral ſcattered papers which had lain by me for 'ſeveral years, and then preſumed to think, that if 'they were put together, they might be ſomewhat 'entertaining: I therefore digeſted them there in this 'order, in which I now preſent them to your Lord-'ſhip. The matter of this collection is beyond human 'reach, we being miſerably in the dark as to the 'œconomy of the inviſible world, which knows what 'we do, or incline to, and works upon our paſſions, 'and ſometimes is ſo kind as to afford us a glimpſe 'of it's preſcience.' In 1697, as appears by a letter dated the firſt of June in that year, directed to Mr Awnſham Churchill, bookſeller, Mr Aubrey corrected for the preſs a printed copy of his book with conſiderable alterations and additions, intended doubtleſs for a ſecond edition (11), which did not however appear 'till after the death both of the author and the bookſeller, viz. in 1721, in 8vo. containing 236 pages the index included. To this edition is prefixed ſome memoirs of the life of the author, by the editor of that edition, who was according to my information, a very worthy Gentleman ſtill living.

(10) Second edition in 8vo, printed in 1721.

(11) Printed at the end of the Memoirs of Mr Aubrey, prefixed to the ſaid ſecond edition.

III. *A* Perambulation *of the County of* Surrey, *begun* 1673, *ended* 1692. This work the author left behind him in manuſcript, and it was printed and publiſhed in the year 1719, in 5 Vols. 8vo. The author's account of this laborious undertaking is worthy notice. 'In the year 1673, ſays he, it was my intention to 'have deſcribed the pleaſant county of Surrey, which 'I am ſorry I did not compleat. Not finiſhing it, 'I made an abſtract of all natural remarks, a copy 'whereof, I after gave to Dr Robert Plott of Oxford, 'when he had publiſhed his new hiſtory of Oxford-'ſhire, hoping that he would have been pleaſed to 'undertake the finiſhing of mine, and go through 'with it, but he would not hearken to it. For ſaid 'he, the next county I go upon in this kind will be 'Staffordſhire, and if any other it ſhall be my native 'county of Kent, which is a great county, I lent my 'papers to my worthy friend Mr A. Wood, to extract 'ſome notes for his hiſtory of the univerſity of Oxford. In October laſt 1691, he deſired me to take 'them with me and tranſcribe them fair, and to 'preſerve them, there being many good remarks, 'that deſerve not to be buried in oblivion. I wiſh 'I had done it ſoon after my perambulation, while 'the idea of them was freſh and lively.——They 'will be of ſome uſe to ſuch as love antiquities, or 'natural hiſtory; and on that account, I expoſe them 'to the view of the candid reader, wiſhing him as 'much pleaſure in the peruſal of them as I had in 'the ſeeing of them (12).' This addreſs is dated, St Thomas's day, 1691, but the perambulation itſelf bears date May 1, 1692, conformable to the title. The editor, who I take to be the ſame perſon beforementioned, tells us, that he reſurveyed the county, and brought the account of monuments, &c. down to 1718.

(12) The author's preface prefixed to the firſt Volume.

IV. *The Natural Hiſtory of the North Diviſion of* Wiltſhire. An unfiniſhed manuſcript remaining in the Muſæum at Oxford (13). In the dedication prefixed to this manuſcript, addreſſed to Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, he gives this account of his work. 'I was from my childhood affected with the 'view of things rare, which is the beginning of 'philoſophy, and though I have not had leiſure to 'make any conſiderable progreſs in it, yet I was 'carried on by a ſecret ſtrong impulſe to undertake 'this taſk; I knew not why, unleſs for my own 'private pleaſure; credit there was none, for it pro-'cures the diſreſpect and contempt of a man's neigh-'bours, but I could not be quiet 'till I had obeyed 'this ſecret call.————I am the firſt that ever 'made an eſſay of this kind for Wiltſhire, and for 'ought I know in the nation, having begun it in '1666 (14).' This dedication is dated, Greſham College, June 6, 1685. But he afterwards changed his opinion as to a patron. For in the dedication of his miſcellanies before-mentioned, to the Earl of Abingdon in 1696. He has theſe words, 'My Lord, 'it was my intention to have finiſhed my deſcription 'of Wiltſhire, half finiſhed already, and to have 'dedicated it to your Lordſhip, but my age is now 'too far ſpent for ſuch undertakings; I have there-'fore devolved that taſk on my countryman, Mr 'Thomas Tanner *, who hath youth to go through 'with it, and a genius proper for ſuch an under-'taking.' However, this manuſcript never was publiſhed, though it is ſaid, the copy at Oxford is very fair, and more correct than any other of his writings.

(13) Memoirs, &c. p. ix.

(14) In the Appendix to the fifth Volume of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. 403.

(*) The late excellent Biſhop of St Aſaph.

V. Monumenta Britannica, *or a Diſcourſe concerning* Stone Henge, *and* Rollrich Stones *in Oxfordſhire*, MS. This is ſaid to have been written at the command of King Charles II, who meeting Mr Aubrey at Stone Henge, as his Majeſty was returning from Bath: He was pleaſed to converſe with him in relation to that celebrated monument of antiquity; as alſo to approve of his notion concerning it, which was this. That both it and the Stones in Oxfordſhire, were the remains of places dedicated to ſacred uſes by the Druids, long before the time of the Roman Invaſion (15). This MS. was in the hands of the late Mr Awnſham Churchill, and is ſtill in being (16), ſo that very poſſibly ſome time or other it will be printed.

(15) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(16) Gibſon's edition of Camd. Britannia.

VI. Architectonica Sacra: *A Diſſertation concerning the Manner of our Church Building in England*, MS. in the Muſæum at Oxford (17), 'tis but a very ſhort piece, yet curious, and would be of great uſe for underſtanding our Britiſh antiquities, if any publick ſpirited perſon would cauſe it to be tranſcribed, and ſent abroad into the world.

(17) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

VII. *The Idea of Univerſal Education* (18). Concerning which we can only ſay, that we know he wrote ſuch a thing (19), though we know not what is become of it. There are beſides many letters of our author's, relating to Natural Philoſophy, and other curious ſubjects, publiſhed in ſeveral collections (20).

(18) Ibid. p. xiv.

(19) See a Letter from the learned and reverend Mr Andrew Paſchall, to Mr Aubrey, printed in the ſaid Memoirs.

(20) Philoſophical Letters of the reverend Mr Ray, publiſhed by William Derham, 8vo, 1718, p. 144, 250, 251, and 269. Miſcellanies on ſeveral uſeful Subjects, 12mo, 1714, p. 11, 13, 15, 22, 47, and 54.

AUDLEY, or according to the old and proper manner of ſpelling it, ALDITHLEY, for the former is only a corruption of the latter (*a*). An antient and noble family, deriving their name from the village of Aldithley in Staffordſhire (*b*), being in truth, no other than a branch of the moſt noble and antient family of Cerdon, ſettled at the aforeſaid place in the reign of King John. Of this family was

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 646.

(*b*) Cart. n. Hen. III. p. 1. m. 6.

AUDLEY (James) Lord Audley, of Heleigh in the county of Stafford, born about the year 1314, being the ſeventh of Edward II (*a*). By the ſpecial favour of Edward III, he had livery of all the lands of his inheritance, in the third year of that Prince's reign, though he was not then of full age (*b*). This Prince, ſoon after, did him a greater favour; Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who was this Lord's guardian, had, in his minority, exacted from him a recognizance for ten thouſand marks, which debt, on the attainder of Mortimer, becoming due to the King, he totally diſcharged the Lord Audley therefrom (*c*). In 1343, the ſame Prince made him Governor of Berwick upon Tweed, and the two next years he ſerved in France (*d*). In 1348, he was elected into the noble Order of the Garter, then firſt founded (*e*), and in 1353, he reduced a great part of the country of Valois (*f*). In 1356, and thirtieth of Edward

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 648.

(*b*) Clauſ. 3 Edw. III. m. 7.

(*c*) Clauſ. 8 Edw. III. m. 4.

(*d*) Clauſ. 16 Ed. III. m. 32. Rot. Franc. Edw. III. m. 11.

(*e*) Inſtitution of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

(*f*) Leland Collect. Vol. I. p. 830.

Edward III [*A*]. He was preſent at the famous battle of Poictiers, where, having demanded of the Black Prince leave to charge in the front, it was, on account of a vow he had made, given him; there, with four Eſquires who attended him, he performed ſuch extraordinary feats of arms, as diſtinguiſhed him from all the gallant noblemen, who that day engaged; at length, however, he was ſo grievouſly wounded, that his Eſquires were conſtrained to bear him out of the field of battle, to lay him under a hedge, and there take off his armour, and bind up his wounds. As ſoon as the French were beaten, the Prince enquired for Lord Audley, and being informed that he was grievouſly wounded, and lay in a litter hard by, *By my faith*, ſaid he, *of his hurts I am right ſorry, go and ask if he may be brought hither, otherwiſe I will go to him where he is.* Then two of his Knights went to Lord Audley, and ſaid, *Sir, the Prince deſireth greatly to ſee you. Ah Sirs*, replied he, *I thank the Prince, that he is pleaſed to think of ſo poor a Knight as I am.* Then he directed his ſervants to carry him in his litter to the Prince, into whoſe preſence when he came, his Highneſs embraced him with great tenderneſs, and after many compliments, ſaid, *Sir James, I, and all here preſent, acknowledge you to have diſtinguiſhed yourſelf from us all, in the bloody buſineſs of this day, wherefore, I retain you for ever to be my Knight, with five hundred marks of yearly revenue, which I ſhall aſſign you of my heritage in England. Sir*, ſaid Lord Audley, *God grant me to deſerve the great goodneſs you have ſhewn me*; and ſo he took his leave, being very feeble. This annuity Lord Audley beſtowed upon his four faithful Eſquires, which coming to the Prince's ears, he ſending for him, ſaid, *My Lord, we thank you for doing what we ought to have done, and we give you beſides, a penſion of ſix hundred marks by the year (g).* This account we have from *Froiſſard*, and it appears to have been exactly true from the records, wherein we find an annuity of four hundred pounds to the Lord Audley, charged on the coinage of the Stanneries in Cornwall, during the life of the Lord Audley, and a year afterwards (*h*). In 1360, he attended King Edward III, and his three ſons, in their wars in France (*i*); and in the year following, ſwore to the peace then concluded in the Name of King Edward (*k*). For theſe ſervices he was appointed Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter for life (*l*); and was alſo Governor of *Aquitain*, and Seneſchal of *Poictou* (*m*). He married firſt, Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (*n*), by whom he had iſſue a ſon, Nicholas, and two daughters, Margaret and Joan. Secondly, he married Iſabel, by whom he had a daughter named alſo Margaret (*o*). By his will, made in 1386, he directed his body to be buried in the choir of his abbey at Stilton, before the high altar, in caſe he died in the Marches; but if in Devon or Somerſetſhire, then in the choir of the Friars Preachers at Exeter, before the high altar there; and he directed that there ſhould be about his corps, five great tapers, and five mortuaries of wax, burning on the day of his funeral, as alſo forty pounds ſterling to be diſtributed to the poor, to pray for his ſoul. He gave likewiſe to his ſon Nicholas, one hundred pounds in money, one dozen of ſilver veſſels, and all the armour for his own body. To his daughter Margaret Hillary, ten pounds in money; and to the Monks of Stilton Abbey, ten pounds to pray for his ſoul (*p*). He deceaſed the firſt of April in the ſame year (*q*), and was ſucceeded in his honours

(*g*) Froiſſard, p. 81—84.

(*h*) Pat. 33 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14. per Inſpex.

(*i*) Froiſſard, p. 100.

(*k*) Id. p. 146.

(*l*) Pat. 34. Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14.

(*m*) Froiſſard, c. 255.

(*n*) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. II. p. 234, b. n. 30.

(*o*) Clauſ. 15 Ric. II. m. 3.

(*p*) Courtney, l. 121. b.

(*q*) Ech. 9. Ric. II. n. 1. Staff.

[*A*] *In* 1356, *and thirtieth of Edward* III.] The battle of Poictiers was fought on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. The Engliſh army was commanded by Edward, Prince of Wales, and did not conſiſt of above nine thouſand men at the moſt; the French Army under King John conſiſted of fifty-thouſand foot, and as many horſe, among whom were the flower of the French nobility, as Froiſſard ſays expreſsly (1). The King of France, and his youngeſt ſon Philip, who bravely defended his father, when his two elder brothers were fled, were both taken priſoners with many other perſons of great quality, with as many private men as the Engliſh army could with ſafety to themſelves carry away (2). Daniel in his hiſtory gives us a ſhort account of the Lord Audley's adventure, but as ſhort as it is, there are ſome miſtakes. His words are theſe, *The moſt remarkable inſtance of honour and valour, was the Lord* James Audley, *who having vowed to be the foremoſt of the battle performed his word, and confirmed it with many wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred marks per annum fee ſimple in England; he preſently gave it to four of his Eſquires, who had underwent the ſame dangers as himſelf. The Prince knowing it, aſked him whether he did not accept his gift? He anſwered yea, but thoſe men had deſerved it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it. The Prince was well pleaſed at this reply; and gave five hundred marks more to him; as if he reſolved that ſo much worth ſhould not go unrewarded* (3). It is certain, that Mr Daniel had no authority for ſuggeſting that the Prince at firſt took amiſs what the Lord Audley had done. In the next place, the laſt gift was not five, but ſix hundred marks. By his manner of wording it, one would imagine the laſt gift was fee ſimple, whereas, it was not as is ſhewn in the text. Speed in his hiſtory mentions but one gift, which he ſays, the Lord Audley divided amongſt his Eſquires, and yet which is remarkable, he cites Froiſſard (4). It is alſo obſervable, that our own old hiſtorian *Henry Knyghton* is ſilent as to him, though he gives us a moſt particular account of this battle (5), and I ſhould have ſaid the ſame thing of Walſingham; if I had not found him quoted to prove the contrary in Dugdale. For as he is printed in Mr Camden's collection; thus he writes (6), *Ibi claruit Victoria Domini Jac. Arundel Militis, qui potenti Virtute confregit, & perforavit aciem Gallicorum, &c.* Mr Dugdale leaving out the proper name, applies the reſt of the paſſage to Lord Audley, by what authority I know not. (7). He cites indeed another edition of Walſingham in his margin, but in that citation there is a viſible error (8), for he makes Walſingham place this victory under 1357, whereas all other hiſtorians, and Walſingham with them, fix it to the year preceding. All I would infer from theſe remarks is this, that the French hiſtorians, who treat either expreſsly or occaſionally of our affairs, and eſpecially of our wars in France, ought to be ſedulouſly examined, becauſe in them many particulars are found unrecorded by, and very probably abſolutely unknown to, our own hiſtorians, who being moſt of them ſedentary men, and taking their accounts from others, are leſs likely to be acquainted with minute circumſtances than thoſe who lived upon the ſpot, and were more immediately concerned in the event of thoſe military exploits of which they write.

(1) Froiſſard, p. 83.

(2) Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ, p. 521. Speed, p. 712.

(3) Daniel's Hiſt. in Kennet's Collection, Vol. I. p. 226.

(4) In his Chronicle, p. 712.

(5) Ap. X. Script. p. 2613.

(6) Hiſt. Angl. p. 172.

(7) Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

(8) Th. Walſing. A. D. 1357, p. 864, n. 30.

honours and large eſtate by his only ſon Nicholas [*B*], then fifty years of age.

[*B*] *His only Son Nicholas.*] This James Lord Audley, died poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate in ſeveral counties, which as is ſaid in the text, deſcended to his ſon Nicholas, who dying the 22d of July 1392, being the 15th of Richard II, without iſſue, John Touchet, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Roger Hillarie, became his heirs. Now this John was the ſon of another John Touchet, by Joan the elder ſiſter of Margaret, and daughter of that Lord Audley, whoſe life this note refers to (9), whereby the ancient Barony of Heleigh, paſſed into the family of Touchet, and the preſent Earl of Caſtlehaven, ſits at preſent in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers by that title. E

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 749.

AUDLEY (EDMUND) ſon of James, Lord Audley, by Eleanor his wife, but what year he was born in does not appear (*a*). He was educated in Lincoln college in Oxford, and in the year 1463, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity, and it is preſumed, that of Maſter of Arts alſo, though it does not appear from the regiſter, which is imperfect (*b*). In 1471, he became Prebendary of Farendon in the church of Lincoln, and in October, 1475 (*c*), attained the like preferment in the church of Wells. On Chriſtmas-day the ſame year, he became Archdeacon of the Eaſt riding of Yorkſhire, and had other conſiderable preferments (*d*). Theſe preferments he quitted, on his being promoted to the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, in 1480, being the twentieth of Edward IV, in which ſee he ſucceeded John Ruſſel, who was tranſlated to Lincoln, and who was tutor to Edward Prince of Wales (*e*). In 1492, being the eighth of Henry VII, our Biſhop Audley was tranſlated to Hereford (*f*), and thence in 1502, being the eighteenth of the ſame King, to Saliſbury, and about that time was made Chancellor of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*g*). He was a man of learning [*A*], and of a generous ſpirit. In 1518, he gave four hundred pounds to Lincoln college to purchaſe lands, and beſtowed upon the ſame houſe, the patronage of a chantry which he had founded in the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*h*). He was a benefactor likewiſe to St Mary's church in Oxford, and contributed to the erecting the curious ſtone pulpit therein. Biſhop Godwin likewiſe tells us, that he gave the organs (*i*); but Anthony Wood ſays that does not appear (*k*). This good Biſhop departed this mortal life, the twenty-thrrd of Auguſt 1524, being the ſixteenth of Henry VIII, at Ramſbury in the county of Wilts, and was buried in a chapel which he erected to the honour of the *Aſſumption* of the *Virgin Mary*, in the cathedral of Saliſbury, being then doubtleſs a very old man, ſince he had ſat forty-four years a Biſhop. He was ſucceeded by Cardinal Campejus (*l*), but whether he enjoyed the honour of being Chancellor to the Order of the Garter, is uncertain.

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(*b*) Reg. Congreg. Aa. fol. 125. a.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 519.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 185.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul Angl. P. i. p. 581. edit. 1616. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pat. 8 H. VII, p. 2. m. 2. Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 544. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(*h*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 161.

(*i*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

(*l*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. ubi ſupra

[*A*] *He was a Man of learning.*] It may appear a little odd to the critical reader, that the life of this Biſhop ſhould find a place in this work, tho' he makes no figure in hiſtory, and was no writer. But when our reaſons are heard, we make no doubt we ſhall ſtand excuſed. It is very reaſonable in a Dictionary of this nature, to inſert what can be collected of perſons any way remarkable. Now Biſhop Audley, is certainly the moſt eminent inſtance of the early exerciſe of the power of tranſlating which is to be met with. His being of a noble family, probably was the ſole motive to his firſt preferments, but we may naturally conclude, that he owed his tranſlation to his two laſt Biſhopricks, to the attachment of himſelf and his family, to the Lancaſtrian Line. Beſides, when Dr Seth Ward endeavoured to fix the honour of Chancellor of the Garter to his ſee of Saliſbury, he modeſtly called it, a reſtoring of it, becauſe it had belonged to this his predeceſſor. Our Biſhop Audley was himſelf a man of letters tho' no author, and a great encourager of learning in others, for which we find him particularly complimented in a letter from the Univerſity of Oxford, the occaſion this: Amongſt other Oxford Divines, there was one Edward Powell, who had written a book under the Title of *Propugnaculum ſummi ſacerdotii Evangelici ac ſeptenarii Sacramentorum adverſus* M. Lutherum, *fratrem fumoſum et* Wiclifiſtum *inſignem. lib. iii.* Lond. 1523. 4to, that is, *The Bulwark of the Papacy and Seven Sacraments againſt Martin Luther, &c.* (1) which, as it was intended to check what was then thought Hereſy, was very acceptable to the univerſity, by order of which, a letter was written to compliment the Biſhop of Saliſbury who was patron to this Powell, and who had given him a Prebend in his Cathedral (2). A Letter was alſo written to Dr Powell himſelf, and another to the King, in which all the books compiled againſt Luther and his writings by members of this univerſity are enumerated, and this book of Powell's is particularly commended (4). Our Biſhop alſo as a mark of his reſpect to the univerſity of Oxford, in which he had been bred, gave to Chickley's Cheſt which had been then lately robbed, the ſum of two hundred pounds, which in thoſe days was a conſiderable benefaction (5). E

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 53.

(2) In Epiſt. Univ. Oxon. FF. E. 87.

(3) Ibid. E. 88.

(4) Ibid. E. 89.

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 662.

AUDLEY, or rather AWDELY (THOMAS) deſcended of an antient and honourable, nay, if we might altogether depend on the authority of a certain author (*a*), we might add, once noble family, of the county of Eſſex [*A*]. He was born in 1488, but

(*a*) Lloyd's State Worthies. p. 72.

[*A*] *Once noble family in Eſſex.*] Lloyd the Biographer ſpeaking of this noble perſon, ſays, his birth was generous, his education more, Eſſex bred him to that honour which his anceſtors loſt (1). It is true, there is not much to be built on this author's authority, his affectation of eloquence tranſporting him ſometimes, where the love of truth would never have carried him. However, ſuppoſe that Lloyd's expreſſion proves only that he was an Eſſex man, which however, is what might have been proved without him, ſince it is affirmed by Fuller and the author of *the Worthies of England* (2); and then let us ſee what we can make of his ſuggeſtion, that our Chancellor's family was noble before he was made a Baron by creation. Sir William Dudgale ſays expreſsly, that he knows not what family our Audley ſprung from; he goes farther, and from the Arms, aſſerts that he was not of the antient family of Audley (3), which however may be doubted: for Dugdale himſelf informs us, that Hugh Audley Earl of Glouceſter, was with others aſſigned to array all the able men of Eſſex in the 13th of Edward III. And tho' it be true, that this noble family ended in that Earl, yet it is as true, that there were others of this name ſettled in the ſame county of Eſſex, who had ſummons to parliament in the reigns of Henry V, and his ſon Henry VI. Now it is by no means either impoſſible or improbable, that in the ſubſequent reigns of Edward IV, and Richard III (4), this family might be much diſtreſſed, and there might be very plauſible reaſons offered in favour of their changing even their paternal coat, in order to preſerve a fair eſtate,

(1) State Worthies, p. 72.

(2) England's Worthies in Ch. and State, 8vo, 1684, p. 190.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 470, 471.

but in what month does not appear. Being by nature endowed with great abilities; from his anceſtors he inherited an ample fortune, and was alſo happy in a regular education; paſſing from the univerſity, whether of Cambridge or of Oxford, is not certain, to the Inns of Court (*b*). At what time he was entered of the Inner-Temple, does not appear, but in the year 1526, being the eighteenth of Henry VIII, Mr Audley, then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, was Autumn Reader of that houſe (*c*). At this time, there is reaſon to believe, he read on the Statute of Privileges, which he handled with ſuch caution, and, withal, with ſo much learning and eloquence, that he acquired great reputation thereby (*d*). This, with the Duke of Suffolk's recommendation, to whom he was Chancellor, brought him to the knowledge of his Sovereign (*e*), whoſe affairs, at that time, needing men of Audley's character, who, with the learning of a Lawyer, had all the politeneſs uſually acquired in Courts, favour quickly followed. He was, by the King's influence, choſen Speaker of that Parliament which ſat firſt on the third of November, 1529, in the twenty-firſt year of the King (*f*); which, from the acts paſſed therein, is by ſome ſtiled the *Black Parliament*, and by others, on account of it's duration, the *Long Parliament* (*g*). As ſoon as the Houſe of Commons proceeded to buſineſs, great complaints were made therein againſt the Clergy, and againſt the proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, upon which, ſeveral bills were ordered to be brought in (*h*), which put the whole Order into a ferment, and eſpecially provoked ſome of the Prelates. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, inveighed boldly againſt theſe tranſactions, in the Houſe of Lords, with which the Houſe of Commons were ſo much offended, that they thought proper to complain of it, by their Speaker, to the King (*i*); the Biſhop was thereupon forced to explain himſelf, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, in the King's name, excuſing the matter, with reſpect to his Lordſhip, to the Houſe, it ended there with reſpect to him; but as to the buſineſs of Reformation, it went on more briſkly than ever, as the reader will ſee in the note [*B*]. The beſt hiſtorians agree, that great care was taken by the King, or at leaſt by his Miniſtry, to have ſuch perſons choſen into this Houſe of Commons as would proceed therein readily and effectually, and with the ſame view, Audley (*k*) was made choice of, to ſupply the place of Sir Thomas More, who was become Speaker of the Lord's Houſe, and Chancellor of England. The New Houſe and it's Speaker juſtified his Majeſty's expectations, by the whole tenor of their behaviour, but eſpecially by the paſſing of a law, which, as it is not to be found among our ſtatutes, we ſhall take the liberty to mention here. The King, it ſeems, had borrowed very large ſums of money of particular ſubjects, and had entered into obligations for the repayment of the ſaid ſums. The Houſe being informed of this, brought in, and paſſed a Bill, in the preamble of which they declared, that inaſmuch as thoſe ſums had been applied by his Majeſty to publick uſes, therefore they cancelled and diſcharged the ſaid obligations (*l*), *&c.* The King, to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with this loyal Houſe, continued the Parliament, which ſat again in the month of January, 1530-1. In this ſeſſion alſo, many extraordinary things were done, amongſt the reſt, there was a law made, whereby the Clergy were exempted from the penalties they had incurred, by ſubmitting to the legantine power of Wolſey. This took it's riſe in the Lord's Houſe, and when it came down to the Commons, they were for inſerting a clauſe in favour of the laity, being conſcious, that many of themſelves had alſo incurred the penalties of the ſtatute. But the King took umbrage at this. He ſaid, that Acts of Grace ought to flow ſpontaneouſly, and that this was not the method of obtaining what they wanted. In ſhort, the Houſe, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of it's Speaker, and ſeveral of it's

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*c*) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. edit. 1671. p. 164.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 306. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*f*) Lord Herbert's Hiſtory, in Biſhop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II. p. 136. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 45. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Book ii. p. 79. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1529. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 72.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 382.

(*h*) Lord Herbert, p. 136.

(*i*) Id. ibid. Burnet, Book ii. p. 80. Hall, A.D. 1529.

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 307. Baily's Life of Fiſher, edit. 1655. p. 94. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*l*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 81.

eſtate, and this would tally exactly with Lloyd's expreſſion of our Lord Audley's recovering an honour his anceſtors had once poſſeſſed. This will appear ſtill more feaſible, if we conſider this Lord's Arms as they are exhibited by Dugdale himſelf (5), compared with thoſe of the Earl of Caſtlehaven, who bears the Arms of the antient family of Audley, as he enjoys a Barony, in right of being deſcended from a female of that houſe.

(5) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 185.

[*B*] *As the reader will ſee in a note.*] It is requiſite that we ſhould give a diſtinct account of this ſpeech, becauſe there is a good deal of diverſity among our hiſtorians with reſpect to this matter. In that life of Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, which is ſaid to be written by Dr Baily, we are told, 'that at the ſame time the writs were directed to the counties, &c. for the election of Members, there came private letters directing whom they ſhould chuſe, which letters few or none durſt diſobey; ſo that to uſe my author's expreſſion, there was a Parliament filled to the King's hearts deſire (6). The ſame author farther tells us, 'The 'regulation of all abuſes of the Clergy were referred 'to the Houſe of Commons, where ſevere complaints 'againſt the whole Clergy, as well as againſt particu-'lar Clergymen, were daily preſented, whereof ſome 'the Houſe of Lords took into conſideration, and 'ſome they rejected (7).' I have tranſcribed this ſentence entire, that the nonſenſe of it might appear to be the author's own. After this, what credit can we give to his ſpeech which is penned in a ſtile not agreeable to thoſe times, and concludes thus, 'My 'Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that 'except you reſiſt manfully by your authorities this 'violent heap of miſchiefs offered by the Commons, 'you ſhall ſee all obedience firſt drawn from the 'Clergy, and ſecondly, from yourſelves; and, if 'you ſearch into the true cauſes of all theſe miſchiefs 'which reign among them, you ſhall find that they 'all ariſe through want of faith (8).' He then proceeds to inform us, that the Commons by their Speaker, Mr Audley, complained grievouſly to the King, as if the Biſhop repreſented them as Infidels or Hereticks. Whereupon he owns the King ſent for Biſhop Fiſher and reproved him, tho' according to our author, he juſtified to the King's face all he had ſaid; which drew from his Majeſty this admonition, *to uſe his words for the time to come more temperately* (9). And that, ſays this author, was all, which gave the Commons little ſatisfaction. This is ſo far from being true, that Fiſher explained away his ſpeech, and ſaid, That in ſpeaking of want of faith, he intended only the people of Bohemia, which explanation of his was reported to the Houſe of Commons by the King's command, and thereupon the buſineſs dropt (10). But what demonſtrates the ſpeech in Baily's life to be a forgery, is the mention therein made of a Bill for veſting the ſmall monaſteries in the King; which Bill however was not brought in, in 1529 when this ſpeech was made, but in 1535.

(6) Baily's Life of John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, edit. 1655, p. 94.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Id. p. 96.

(9) Id. p. 97.

(10) Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII, in Biſhop Kennet's Collection, Vol. II, p. 137.

it's members, who were the King's ſervants, was obliged to paſs the bill without the clauſe; but when they had done ſo, the King granted them likewiſe a pardon, and ſo they parted very well pleaſed with each other, the Houſes riſing in the month of June (*m*). In the receſs, the King thought it neceſſary to have a letter written to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, or rather by the three eſtates in Parliament, which letter was drawn up and ſigned by Cardinal Wolſey, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, four Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marquiſſes, thirteen Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty-three Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons (*n*). Lord Herbert tells us, this letter was written by Parliament, but this is a miſtake, ſince the letter is dated the thirteenth of July, and the Houſes roſe on the twenty-firſt of the preceding month (*o*). The purport of this letter, was to engage the Pope to grant the King's deſire in the divorce buſineſs, for the ſake of preventing a civil war, on account of the ſucceſſion, and to threaten him if he did not, to take ſome other way. To gratify the Speaker for the great pains he had already taken, and to encourage him to proceed in the ſame way, the King made him this year Attorney for the duchy of Lancaſter (*p*), advanced him in Michaelmas term, to the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*q*), and on the fourteenth of November following, to that of his own Serjeant (*r*). In January 1531-2, the Parliament had it's third ſeſſion, wherein the grievances occaſioned by the exceſſive power of the Eccleſiaſticks and their courts, were regularly digeſted into a book, which was preſented by the Speaker, Audley, to the King (*s*). The King's anſwer was; He would take advice, hear the parties accuſed ſpeak, and then proceed to Reformation (*t*). In this ſeſſion, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, for the better ſecuring the rights of his Majeſty, and other perſons intereſted in the care of wards, *&c.* which rights it was alledged, were injured by fraudulent wills and contracts. This bill, when it came into the Houſe of Commons, could not make it's paſſage at all, nay the members were ſo much out of humour, that they expreſſed a deſire of being diſſolved, alledging, that they had ſat too long, and been at too great an expence. But the King would not permit this; however, after they had done ſome buſineſs, they had a receſs to the month of April (*u*). When they next met, the King ſent for the Speaker, and delivered to him the anſwer which had been made to the roll of grievances, preſented at their laſt ſitting (*w*). The Houſe was very little ſatisfied therewith, and indeed their temper was now pretty much altered. For, towards the cloſe of the month, one Mr Themſe moved, that the Houſe would intercede with the King, to take back his Queen again (*x*). The King extremely alarmed at this, on the thirtieth of April, 1532, ſent for the Speaker, whom he diſcourſed to this effect. 'That he was amazed at what had paſſed in the 'Houſe, and that he marvelled, any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which 'could not properly be determined there. As for this particular, that it concerned his 'ſoul ſo much, that he many times wiſhed the marriage had been good, but ſince the 'Doctors of the univerſities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no leſs 'than abſtain from her company. Which therefore, he wiſhed him to take as the true 'reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetites, ſince, being in the one and 'fortieth year of his age, it might be juſtly preſumed, ſuch motions were not ſo quick 'with him, all which that they might the better underſtand, he had informed himſelf 'in all parts of Chriſtendom concerning ſtrange marriages, and that, ſaving in Spain and 'Italy, he could never find any man had ſo much as married two ſiſters, if the firſt was 'carnally known. But for the brother to marry the brother's wife, was ſo abhorred 'among all nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelf, and therefore 'wiſhed them to believe that his conſcience was troubled (*y*).' On the eleventh of May, the King ſent for the Speaker, Audley, again, and then told him, that he had found that the Clergy of his realm were but half his ſubjects, or ſcarce ſo much, every Biſhop and Abbot at the entering into his dignity, taking an oath to the Pope, deregatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which contradiction he deſired his Parliament to take away. Upon this motion of the King's, the two oaths he mentioned were read in the Houſe of Commons, which Houſe would probably have complied with the King's requeſt, if the plague had not forced his Majeſty to put an end to the ſeſſion ſomewhat abruptly (*z*). This was on the fourteenth of May, and two days after, *viz.* May the ſixteenth, 1532, Sir Thomas More, Knt. then Lord Chancellor of England, went ſuddenly, without acquainting any body with his intention, to Court, his Majeſty being then at York place, and there, about three in the afternoon, ſurrendered up the ſeals to the King (*a*). The King going out of town to Eaſt-Greenwich, carried the ſeals with him, and there, on Monday the twentieth of May, delivered them to Thomas Audley, Eſq; with the title of Lord Keeper, and at the ſame time conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*b*). On the ſixth of September following, Sir Thomas delivered the old ſeal which was much worn, and received a new one in it's ſtead, yet with no higher title (*c*); but on the twenty-ſixth of January, 1533, he again delivered the ſeal to the King, who kept it a quarter of an hour, and then delivered it to him with the title of Lord Chancellor, in execution of which office, he ſealed, in the King's preſence, a ſubpœna to one John Gilbert (*d*). A little after, the King granted to him the ſcite of the priory of Chriſt Church, together with all the church-plate, and lands belonging to that houſe (*e*), concerning which gift, there is a great deal ſaid by our hiſtorians, and

(*m*) Holligſhead, p. 923. Herbert, p. 151. Burnet, Book ii. p. 109.

(*n*) See the Letter at large in Latin and Engliſh in Herbert, p. 143.

(*o*) Herbert, p. 142.

(*p*) Pat. 22 H. VIII. p. 2.

(*q*) Orig. Jurid. in Chron. p. 83.

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 115. Hall, A.D. 1532. Herbert, p. 155.

(*t*) Id. ibid.

(*u*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 117. Herbert, p. 158.

(*w*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 66.

(*x*) Herbert, p. 158. Burnet, Book ii. p. 118.

(*y*) Herbert and Burnet, as above.

(*z*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 120.

(*a*) Herbert. p. 162.

(*b*) Rymer Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 435. Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. Chron. p. 82. Herbert.

(*c*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 439. Dugdale, as above.

(*d*) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XIV. p. 446.

(*e*) Fuller, B. vi. p. 306.

and not a little falſhood and confuſion in what they ſay, as in the note the reader will perceive [C]. In his high office, he did the buſineſs of the King as effectually as when Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. For in July 1535, he ſat in judgment on Sir Thomas More, his predeceſſor, (as he had before on Biſhop Fiſher) who, though in the month of November, 1534, he had been attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon (f), yet he was now indicted of high-treaſon, for that he had traiterouſly imagined to deprive the King of his title and dignity of Supreme Head of the Church, in reſpect to which, he firſt *malicioſe ſilebat*, i. e. kept a malicious ſilence, and had afterwards ſaid, the act about ſupremacy was a two-edged ſword, for if one anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul, and if the other, his body. Upon which indictment the jury found him guilty (g). The Lord Chancellor Audley then pronounced judgment of death upon him. This done, we are told that Sir Thomas More ſaid, that he had for ſeven years bent his mind and ſtudy upon this cauſe, but as yet he found it no where writ by any approved Doctor of the Church, that a layman could be head of the Eccleſiaſtical State. To this Audley returned, Sir, Will you be reckoned wiſer, or of a better conſcience, than all the Biſhops, the Nobility, and the whole kingdom? Sir Thomas rejoined; My Lord Chancellor, for one Biſhop that you have of your opinion, I have a hundred of mine, and that among thoſe that have been Saints; and for your one Council, which what it is God knows, I have on my ſide all the General Councils for a thouſand years paſt; and for one kingdom, I have France and all the other kingdoms of the Chriſtian world. He added alſo, that their act was not well made, becauſe they had ſworn profeſſedly to do nothing againſt the Church, which, throughout all Chriſtendom, is one, entire and undivided, wherefore they had not authority, without the conſent of other Chriſtians, of making laws, or ſo much as aſſembling a council againſt the union and concord of the Chriſtian world. But I am not ignorant, added he, why you have adjudged me to death, namely, becauſe I would never aſſent to the buſineſs of the King's new matrimony (h). As our Chancellor was very active in the buſineſs of the divorce, he was no leſs ſo in the buſineſs of abbies, and had particularly a large hand in thoſe proceedings, which were previous to the diſſolution of the religious houſes, which had not two hundred pounds by the year (i). This was in the twenty-ſeventh of Henry VIII, and the bill ſticking long in the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty became impatient, and therefore ſent for the members of that Houſe to attend him in his gallery, where he paſſed through them with a ſtern countenance, without ſpeaking a word; the members not having received the King's command to depart to their Houſe, durſt not return till they knew the King's pleaſure, ſo they ſtood waiting in the gallery. In the the mean time the King went a hunting, and his Miniſters, who ſeem to have had better manners than their maſter, went to confer with the members; to ſome they ſpoke of the King's ſteadineſs and ſeverity, to others, of his magnificence and generoſity. At laſt the King came back, and paſſing through them again, ſaid, with an air of fierceneſs peculiar to himſelf, That if his bill did not paſs it ſhould coſt many of them their heads. Between the Miniſters perſuaſions and the King's threats, the matter was brought to an iſſue; the King's bill, as he called it, paſſed, and by it, he had not only the lands of the ſmall monaſteries given him, but alſo their jewels, plate, and rich moveables (k). This accompliſhed, methods were uſed to prevail with the Abbots of larger foundations to ſurrender. To this end, the Chancellor ſent a ſpecial agent to treat with the Abbot of Athelny, to offer him a hundred marks *per annum* penſion, which he refuſed, inſiſting on

(f) Herbert, p. 184. Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 201.

(g) Herbert, p. 184. Burnet, Book ii. Baily's Life of Fiſher, p. 162, 212.

(h) Hiſt. Martyr. Anglor. ap. Strype, ubi ſupra.

(i) Parl. Rolls 27 Hen. VIII. Godwin's Annals, ed. 1675, p. 80. Herbert, p. 191. Burnet, Collier, Vol. II. p. 114.

(k) Gurdon's Hiſt. of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 363.

[C] *As in the note the reader will perceive.*] As to the hiſtory of the diſſolution of this Priory, it remains at preſent in a ſort of Chaos, out of which it will be a difficult thing to produce order, yet as our ſubject leads us to it, we ſhall do therein what we may. Fuller in his *Church Hiſtory* writes, that 'King 'Henry VIII, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, 'ſingled out the Priory of Chriſt-Church near Ald-'gate, and diſſolved the ſame. This he beſtowed as 'a boon on Thomas Audley, Speaker in the Parlia-'ment, and indeed it was an excellent receipt to clear 'his voice, to make him ſpeak ſhrill and loud for his 'maſter (11).' Biſhop Burnet tells us, that in his opinion this Priory was diſſolved, or rather ſuppreſſed, in virtue of the Pope's Bull, and cenſures Fuller for his reflection on the Speaker, becauſe ſays he, Audley when he received this gift was not Speaker, but Chancellor (12). But both Fuller and he are miſtaken in their dates, and in ſome meaſure in the fact. Fuller who ſays, it was ſurrendered by the Prior, for whoſe name he leaves a blank on a promiſe of preferment, places it in the month of July 1531 (13). Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was ſuppreſſed in 1533 (14). The truth of the matter is, that the Prior, Nicholas Hancock, with the conſent of his chapter, on account of the bad circumſtances the convent was in, did ſurrender under the ſeal of their houſe all that they were poſſeſſed of into the hands of the King. This Act is ſubſcribed by Nicholas Hancock, the Prior, and eighteen other perſons, and is atteſted by a Notary Publick to have been done ſpontaneouſly, ſolemnly, and authentically, on the 24th day of February 1531, according to the computation of the Church of England. That is, on the 24th of February 1531-2, and in the 23d of Henry VIII (15). Seven months after the date given us by Fuller, and about two years earlier than the date mentioned by Biſhop Burnet. Yet the Biſhop is right in cenſuring Fuller, for though the Priory was ſurrendered to the King in 31, yet he did not give it to Audley 'till after he was Chancellor, and this donation was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1534 (16). Fuller is alſo miſtaken in aſſerting, that this was the firſt religious Houſe ſurrendered to the King's uſe, ſince it is certain that the Monaſtery at Sheene had been ſurrendered in the month of November preceding (17). Hall in his Chronicle tells us, that the Priory church and ſteeple were offered to whoſoever would take them down; but no body accepting this offer, Sir Thomas Audley was forced to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, looſed ſtone from ſtone, and throwing them down, moſt part of them were broke in the fall and remained uſeleſs (18). Fuller carries this hiſtory farther, 'As for the Lord Audley, ſays 'he, on whom this Priory was beſtowed, Margaret 'his ſole daughter and heir, was married to Thomas 'Howard Duke of Norfolk who dwelt therein, and 'from him was called the Duke's-Place (19).'

(11) Book vi. p. 306. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1525.

(12) Hiſtory of the Reformation. Vol. I. p. 182.

(13) Fuller, Book vi. p. 306.

(14) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

(15) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV. p. 411.

(16) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 182.

(17) Rymer's Fœder. T. XIV.

(18) Hall's Chronic. A. D. 1525.

(19) Fuller, B. vi. p. 307.

on a greater ſum (*l*). The Chancellor was more ſucceſsful with the Abbot of St Oſithes in Eſſex, with whom he dealt perſonally, and, as he expreſſes it in a letter to Cromwell the Viſitor-General, by great ſollicitation prevailed with him; but then he inſinuates, that his place of Lord Chancellor being very chargeable, he deſired the King might be moved for addition of ſome more profitable offices unto him (*m*). In ſuing for the great abbey of Walden, in the ſame county, which with much ado he obtained, beſides extenuating it's worth, he alledged under his hand, that he had in this world ſuſtained great damage and infamy in ſerving the King, which the grant of that ſhould recompence (*n*). But if the year 1536 was grateful to him in one reſpect, it was far from being ſo in another, ſince notwithſtanding the obligations he was under to Queen Anne Bullen, he was obliged, by the King's command, to be preſent at her apprehenſion and commitment to the Tower (*o*). He ſat afterwards with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he gave ſentence of divorce on the pre-contract between the Queen and the Lord Piercy (*p*); and on the fifteenth of May in the ſame year, he ſat in judgment on the ſaid Queen (*q*), notwithſtanding we are told by Lloyd, that with great addreſs he avoided it (*r*). The lengths he had gone in ſerving the King, and his known diſlike to Popery, induced the northern rebels in the ſame year, to name him as one of the evil counſellors, whom they deſired to ſee removed from about the King's perſon (*s*); which charge however, his Majeſty, as far as in him lay, wiped off, by his well-penned anſwer to the complaints of thoſe rebels, wherein an excellent character is given of the Chancellor (*t*). When the authors of this rebellion came to be tryed, the Chancellor declined ſitting as Lord High-Steward, which high office was executed by the Marquis of Exeter (*u*), on whom ſhortly after, *viz.* in 1538, Audley ſat as High-Steward, and condemned him, his brother, and ſeveral other perſons, to ſuffer death as traytors (*w*). In the latter end of the ſame year, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of November, 30 Hen. VIII, the Chancellor was created a Baron of this realm, by the ſtile of Lord Audley of Walden in the county Eſſex, and was likewiſe inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*x*). In the ſeſſion of Parliament in 1539, there were many ſevere acts made, and the prerogative carried to an exceſſive height. The eſtabliſhing thoſe which were ſtiled the ſix bloody articles, may well ſerve as an inſtance of the former, and the giving the King's proclamation the force of a law, is a pregnant proof of the latter. It does not very clearly appear, who were the King's principal counſellors in theſe matters; but it is admitted by the beſt hiſtorians, that the rigorous execution of theſe laws which the King firſt deſigned, was prevented by the interpoſition of the Lord Audley, in conjunction with Cromwell who was then Prime Miniſter, and the Duke of Suffolk, the King's favourite throughout his whole reign (*y*). In the beginning of the year 1540, the court was exceſſively embarraſſed. Cromwell had brought about the marriage between his maſter and Anne of Cleves, and the King from the beginning expreſſed a great coldneſs for the lady; however he married her, and heaped extraordinary honours upon his Miniſter, created him Earl of Eſſex, made him Lord High-Chamberlain of England, and honoured him with the Garter, which he ſeems to have done only to make his fall the greater, and by ſo much the more acceptable to the people; for ſhortly after he was committed to the Tower, and attainted by bill, which though it ſeems to have been a method made uſe of merely to avoid his tryal by his Peers, yet it was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords without oppoſition, or ſo much as one vote againſt it, which ſhews the diſpoſition of the times, and the temper of the Chancellor (*z*). Immediately after his fall, a new queſtion was ſtirred in Parliament, *viz.* How far the King's marriage was lawful? This was referred to the judgment of a ſpiritual court, and there are yet extant the depoſitions of Thomas Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and Cuthbert, Lord Biſhop of Durham, wherein they jointly ſwear, that the papers produced to prove the retraction of the Lady Anne's contract with the Duke of Lorrain, were inconcluſive and unſatisfactory (*a*). Other Lords and Ladies depoſed to other points, and the iſſue of the buſineſs was, that the marriage was declared void by this court, which ſentence was ſupported by an act of parliament, affirming the ſame thing, and enacting, that it ſhould be high-treaſon to judge or believe otherwiſe (*b*). This obſtacle removed, the King married the Lady Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and couſin-german to Anne Bullen (*c*). Nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that the Chancellor was ſtreightly attached to the Houſe of Norfolk; and yet in the latter end of the year 1541, he was conſtrained to be an inſtrument in the ruin of the unfortunate Queen. Information of her bad life before her marriage, being laid firſt before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by him communicated to the Chancellor (*d*). The King being made acquainted with the matter, appointed Lord Audley one of the Commiſſioners to examine her, which they did, and there is yet extant a letter ſubſcribed by him and the other Lords, containing an exact detail of this affair, and of the evidence on which in the next ſeſſion of Parliament the Queen and others were attainted (*e*). The whole of this buſineſs was managed in Parliament by the Chancellor, and there is reaſon to believe, that he had ſome hand in another buſineſs tranſacted in that ſeſſion, which was the opening a door for the diſſolution of hoſpitals, the King having now waſted all that had accrued to him by the ſuppreſſion of abbies (*f*). Some other things of the like nature, were the laſt teſtimonies of the Chancellor's concern for his maſter's intereſt, but the next year he did ſtill more for the

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 306.

(*o*) Godwin's Annals, p. 80. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Collier, Vol. II. p. 116.

(*p*) Godwin's Annals, p. 81. Collier, Vol. II. p. 117.

(*q*) See the copy of the royal Commiſſion in the General Dictionary, Tom. III. p. 452.

(*r*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73.

(*s*) Speed's Chron. 1037. Herbert, p. 208.

(*t*) Speed. Chron. 1039.

(*u*) Godwin's Annals, p. 93.

(*w*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 216.

(*x*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 383. Pat. 30 H. VIII, p. 5.

(*y*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 219. Collier, p. 168.

(*z*) Godwin, p. 100. Herbert, p. 225.

(*a*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 307. Godwin, p. 101.

(*b*) Herbert, p. Collier, p. 178.

(*c*) Godwin, p. 101. Herbert, p. 225.

(*d*) Godwin, p. 103. Herbert, p. 229.

(*e*) Speed, 1046. Collier, Vol. II. p. 184.

(*f*) Herbert, p. 242. Collier, p. 188.

the Houſe of Commons. The caſe is very remarkable and therefore we ſhall relate it: In the 34th of Henry VIII, George Ferrers, Eſq; Burgeſs for Plymouth, was arreſted, and carried to the Compter, by virtue of a writ from the Court of King's-Bench. The Houſe on notice thereof, ſent their Serjeant to demand their member, in doing which, a fray enſued at the Compter, his mace was broke, his ſervant knocked down, and himſelf obliged to make his eſcape as well as he could. The Houſe upon notice of this, reſolved they would ſit no longer without their member, and deſired a conference with the Lords; where, after hearing the matter, the Lord Chancellor Audley declared the contempt was moſt flagrant, and referred the puniſhment thereof to the Houſe of Commons; whereupon Thomas Moyle, Eſq; who was then Speaker, iſſued his warrant, whereby the Sheriff of London, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought to the bar of the Houſe, and committed, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to Nwegate (*g*). This precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who at that time expected the Commons would offer him a ſubſidy; the miniſtry, and the Houſe of Lords, knowing the King's will, gave the Commons the compliment of puniſhing thoſe who had impriſoned one of their members. Dyer, mentioning this caſe, ſays, The Sages of the Law held the commitment of Ferrers legal, and though the privilege was allowed him, yet was it held unjuſt (*b*). As the Chancellor had led a very active life, he grew now infirm, tho' he was not above fifty years old, and therefore began to think of ſettling his family and affairs. But previous to this, he obtained from the King a licence to change the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, into that of Magdalen, or Maudlin (*i*) ſome will have it, becauſe in the latter word his own name is included (*k*). To this college he was a great benefactor, beſtowed on it his own arms, and is generally reputed it's founder (*l*). His capital ſeat was at Chriſt-Church in town, and at Walden in Eſſex; and to preſerve ſome remembrance of himſelf and fortunes, he cauſed a magnificent tomb to be erected in his new chapel at Walden (*m*). About the beginning of April 1544, he was attacked by his laſt illneſs, which induced him to reſign the ſeals; but he was too weak to do it in perſon, and therefore ſent them to the King, who delivered them to Sir Thomas Wriotheſley with the title of Keeper, during the indiſpoſition of the Chancellor (*n*); which is a circumſtance not remarked by any of our hiſtorians, and which notwithſtanding we ſhall fully juſtify in a note [*D*]. On the nineteenth of April, Lord Audley made his will, wherein, amongſt other things, he directs, that his executors ſhould, upon the next New-year's day after his deceaſe, deliver to the King a legacy of one hundred pounds, from whom, as he expreſſes it, *he had received all his reputations and benefits* (*o*). He died on the laſt of April, 1544, when he had held the ſeals upwards of twelve years, and in the fifty-ſixth of his life, as appears by the inſcription on his tomb (*p*) [*E*] He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, by

(*g*) Hiſtory of Parliaments, Vol. II. p. 365.

(*b*) Lex Parliamentaria, 263.

(*i*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 120.

(*k*) Sceleton Cant. MS.

(*l*) Fuller, as above.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*n*) Rymer, Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

(*o*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*p*) Weaver's Funeral Inſcriptions, p. 614.

[*D*] *Juſtified in a Note*] We are indebted for this remarkable paſſage to Mr Rymer's excellent collection, wherein we have the following account of this matter, '*Memorandum quod Die Lunæ, &c.* i. e. Memorandum that on Monday the 21ſt of April, in the year of the reign of our Lord Henry VIII, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and of the Churches of England and Ireland, Supreme Head, the thirty-fifth, Thomas Audeley, Knight, Lord Audeley of Walden, the Chancellor of England being then thro' infirmity of body weak, and conſidering his incapacity to execute the functions of his office, either in in doing juſtice to the King's ſubjects, or in overlooking the proceſſes paſſing under the Great Seal of our Sovereign Lord the King; the ſaid ſeal then in the hands of the ſaid Thomas Lord Chancellor, to our ſaid Lord the King, by Edward North, Knight, and Thomas Pope, Knight, ſent, and the ſaid Edward and Thomas, the ſaid ſeal in a certain white leathern bag included and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſaid Lord Chancellor to the King's Majeſty, at his New Palace in Weſtminſter, about three in the afternoon, in the preſence of Thomas Hennage, Knight, and Anthony Denny, Eſq; did there preſent, humbly beſeeching on the part of the ſaid Thomas Lord Chancellor, his ſaid Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to accept the ſaid ſeal. Whereupon our Sovereign Lord the King, the ſeal, by the hands of the ſaid Edward and Thomas did receive and accept, and in his cuſtody did retain 'till the next day, *viz.* until Tueſday the 22d of April, in the 36th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; on which day, about three in the afternoon, our ſaid Lord the King, the ſaid ſeal, in the ſame chamber, in preſence of Anthony Denny, Eſq; and Thomas Carden, Eſq; unto the Honourable Thomas Wriotheſley, Knight, Lord Wriotheſley, to keep and exerciſe during the infirmity of the ſaid Thomas Audeley Lord Chanceller committed, and him the ſaid Thomas Lord Wriotheſley, Lord Keeper of the King's Great Seal, during the infirmity of the ſaid Lord Chancellor there conſtituted and ordained, with authority to exerciſe and perform all and ſingular ſuch acts, as the Lord Chancellor of England, by virtue of his office, might do and perform; and the ſaid Thomas Lord Wriotheſley, the ſaid ſeal, from the hands of our Sovereign Lord the King, thankfully receiving the care and cuſtody of the ſaid ſeal upon him took, and therewith retired (20).

(20) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 20.

[*E*] *Inſcription on his Tomb.*]

EPITAPH of Thomas Lord Audley, in Walden-Church.

The ſtroke of death's inevitable dart,
Hath now (alas!) of life bereft the heart
Of Sir Thomas Audley, of the Garter Knight,
Late Chancellor of England, under our Prince of might;
Henry the eighth, worthy of high renown,
And made by him, Lord Audley of this town.
Obiit ultimo Aprilis, A. D. 1544. Henrici 36.
Cancellariatus ſui 13. Ætatis 56. (21)

(21) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 614.

To this we will add his character as contained in the following Elegy, the diction of which is far from being deſpicable, as the matter is perfectly conſiſtent with his hiſtory.

Treaſure of arms and arts, in whom were ſet
The mace and books, the court and college met,
Yet both ſo wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, and neither, either wrong,
But pois'd and temper'd, each reſerv'd it's ſeat,
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat;

by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Mary, Mary died unmarried, ſo Margaret became his ſole heir (*q*). She married firſt Lord Henry Dudley, a younger ſon of John Duke of Northumberland, and he being ſlain at the battle of St Quintin's in Picardy, in the year 1557 (*r*), ſhe married a ſecond time, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to whom ſhe was alſo a ſecond wife, and had by him a ſon Thomas, who by act of Parliament, in the twenty-ſeventh of Elizabeth, was reſtored in blood; and in the thirty-ninth of the ſame reign, ſummoned to Parliament by his grandfather's title as Baron of Walden (*s*). In the firſt of James I, he was created Earl of Suffolk, and being afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England, he built on the ruins of the abbey of Walden that noble palace, which, in honour of our Chancellor, he called Audley-End (*t*).

(*q*) Catalogue of Nobility, by R.B.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(*s*) Journal of Parliament 27 Eliz.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 280.

The courtier was not of the furious ſtrain,
The hand that acts, doth firſt conſult the brain;
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice and might,
The ſcholar did direct the courtier right,
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conſpire
And twiſt their curles about the hallow'd fire,
'Till in that harmony of ſweets combin'd
We can nor muſk, nor ſingle amber find,
But gums meet gums, and their delights ſo crowd,
That they create one undiſtinguiſh'd cloud;
So to thy mind theſe rich ingredients preſt,
And were the mould and fabrick of thy breaſt,
Learning and courage mixt, and temper'd ſo,
The ſtream could not decay, nor overflow;
And in that equal tide, thou didſt not bear,
From courage, raſhneſs; nor from learning fear (22).

(22) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 75.

E

AVESBURY (ROBERT of) a very antient Engliſh hiſtorian. We are altogether ignorant at what time he was born, or who were his parents; but as to his condition, he tells us himſelf, in the title of his hiſtory, that he was regiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's court (*a*). His deſign ſeems to have been the compoſing a hiſtory of the reign of that glorious Prince Edward III, from ſuch authentick materials as came to his hands, but when he had ran through about thirty years, he was very probably ſurprized by death, in the latter end of the year 1356, or in the beginning of the year following (*b*). As he propoſed to himſelf only a plain narrative of facts, illuſtrated by exact copies of ſuch publick papers as came into his power; he did not trouble himſelf much about the elegance of his ſtile. We may however affirm, that it is far from being harſh, or diſagreeable, allowing for the bad taſte and rudeneſs of thoſe times, and that the apparent candour and impartiality of the hiſtorian, makes us full amends for his want of eloquence. His accuracy in point of dates, is another very great advantage, which our author has, over moſt of the writers of his time, and his care in ſtating all publick actions from records, rather than from his own notions, is another incident, which renders his hiſtory truly valuable. One may juſtly wonder how ſo curious a MS. as this came to lie ſo long hid, even from ſome of the moſt induſtrious ſearchers after Engliſh antiquities. The learned and induſtrious Leland, moſt certainly never ſaw it, otherwiſe, we cannot doubt of his taking notice of it. It was likewiſe unknown to Bale, though he had a great collection in this way, and was particularly curious about MSS. which concerned our hiſtory. Fox, the Martyrologiſt, had ſeen it (*c*). Archbiſhop Parker, had it in his cuſtody, and peruſed it (*d*). So had John Stowe, who mentions Aveſbury in his Chronicle (*e*), and, from him, Pits ventures to tell us, that he flouriſhed about 1340, though he is ſo modeſt, as not to pretend to any acquaintance with his works (*f*). A foreign writer following this authority, fixes him to the ſame year (*g*). What is not a little extraordinary, the famous Mr Jocelin, chaplain to Archbiſhop Parker, never ſaw this MS. though in his patron's poſſeſſion (*h*): neither in later times did it come to the hands of the induſtrious Anthony Wood (*i*), otherwiſe he would certainly have cited it in his hiſtory, and antiquities of the univerſity of Oxford, there being in this hiſtory, a large account of a ſquabble between the ſcholars and townſmen of Oxford, in 1354 (*k*), of which Wood ſpeaks copiouſly from other writers (*l*). At laſt, after being ſo long buried in obſcurity, the indefatigable Thomas Hearne, printed it at Oxford, from a MS. belonging to Sir Thomas Seabright (*m*). This MS. was the ſame that had formerly been in the hands of Archbiſhop Parker, from whom it paſſed to William Lambard, the famous Antiquary, from him to Thomas Lambard, and at length it came to Sir Roger Twiſdale, a remarkable lover of Engliſh hiſtory, and with the reſt of his valuable library, was purchaſed by Sir Thomas Seabright (*n*). Beſides theſe, there are two other MSS. in being, one in the Harleian Library, and the other, in the Univerſity Library at Cambridge, with both which, the accurate printed edition was compared. All theſe MSS. are thought to be as old, as the time in which our author flouriſhed. There is joined to this hiſtory, and in the ſame hand writing, a French chronicle, from the firſt planting of Britain, to the reign of King Edward III; but this, Mr Hearne, with good reaſon, conceives to have been the work of ſome other author, and therefore did not print it with Aveſbury's hiſtory (*o*). In all probability, the reaſon they were thus joined together was this, that the French chronicle ends exactly where our author begins. That Aveſbury himſelf could not ſo eaſily write in French, appears plainly from this, that he choſe to inſert long papers in that language, in his Latin hiſtory; whereas, he would ſurely have tranſlated them, if he had been ſo well ſkilled in French, or elſe have written the whole in that language, which would have made it more uniform. In the Harleian MS. this chronicle hath the following title, *Cronica Gallice, cujuſdam Anonimi, à primis incolis Britaniæ uſque ad initium Regni Regis, E. III, vulgo nuncupat, fructus temporum* (*p*). This title was placed there by Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, a celebrated

(*a*) See the rubrick on the MS. in the Harleian Library.

(*b*) Prefat. T. H. P. 5.

(*c*) Act. & Monum. T. I. p. 472.

(*d*) Vid. Prefat. T. H. p. 48.

(*e*) Page 282, edit. 1631.

(*f*) In Appendice ad Opus de illuſtrib. Scriptor. ib. Angliæ, p. 899.

(*g*) Carol. DuFreſne in indice Scriptorum ad A. D. 1340.

(*h*) Præfat. T. H. ad Hiſt. R. de Aveſbury, p. 22.

(*i*) Præfat. T. H. p. 26.

(*k*) Page 197.

(*l*) Hiſt. &. Antiq. Oxon. ad An. Dom. 1354.

(*m*) Prefat. T. Hearne, p. 22.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 23.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 12.

(*p*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

brated Antiquary, and once the poſſeſſor of that MS. There were likewiſe added to the MS. copies, certain notes of a miſcellaneous nature, under the title of, Minutiæ, *i. e. Trifles*, theſe too are denied by Mr Hearne, to have been written by Aveſbury, however, he has preſerved them, as well as a genealogical table, which ſhows the right Edward III, had to the crown of France (*q*). As this antient hiſtorian is ſo little known to the generality of readers, and as the printed copy of his works is now become as ſcarce as many MSS. it cannot be improper to give a conciſe account of his work, and the character it bears in the judgment of ſome of the ableſt criticks in this kind of learning, in the notes [*A*]. In the ſame place, the reader will alſo find a farther account of Mr Hearne's edition of this author, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe, in his appendix, there are ſeveral curious pieces, which the inquiſitive reader will be glad to hear of, and know where to find. This method we ſhall make uſe of, whenever we mention any of the old hiſtorians publiſhed by him, becauſe as theſe books grow every day more ſcarce, their contents ought to be publiſhed elſewhere, and eſpecially in a work like this; wherein is endeavoured an hiſtorical and critical account of all our antient hiſtorians, for the works of many of whom, the publick ſtands indebted to the labours of this induſtrious man [*B*]. A few of the Minutiæ alſo are added as curioſities worthy particularly the Engliſh

(*q*) Vide Hiſt. R. de Aveſb. p. 264.

[*A*] *In the Notes*] The title of this hiſtory in the MS. ran thus, Mirabilia geſta magnifici Regis Angliæ Domini Edwardi tercii poſt Conqueſtum, Procerumque, tactis Primitus quibuſdam geſtis de tempore Patris ſui Domini Edwardi ſecundi, quæ in Regnis Angliæ, Scociæ & Franciæ, ac in Aquitannia & Britannia, non humana ſed Dei Potencia, contigerunt, per Robertum de Aveſbury, Curiæ Cantuarienſis Regiſtri Cuſtodem, compilata, Anglorum Memoriæ merito commendanda Legi poterunt in hac verba. That is, *The wonderful acts of the moſt magnificent Lord Edward the third, after the Conqueſt, King of England, and of his Peers, with ſome touches of what happened in the time of his father Edward the ſecond, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, as alſo Acquitain and Britanny, not through the will of Men but of God, compiled as worthy of being known to Engliſhmen, by Robert of Aveſbury, Keeper of the Regiſter of the Court of Canterbury, in the following Words* (1). He opens his hiſtory with the marriage of Edward the ſecond with Iſabella the daughter of Philip the French King, ſirnamed the Fair, which was ſolemnized the 25th of January 1307. By which lady he had his ſon Edward, afterwards King Edward the third, in the year 1313. He then proceeds to ſhew, that King Edward the ſecond reigned with a continued ſeries of ill fortune for nineteen years, till Queen Iſabella and her ſon Edward landing with ſome foreign troops at Harwich, and joining with the Barons, dethroned him. Edward the third, then entered on the government, being but fourteen years old, and was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter on the feaſt of the converſion of St Paul, in the year 1326 (2). After this, we have the hiſtory of the famous Roger Mortimer to the time of his fall and death. The pretenſions of Edward the third on the kingdom of Scotland come next under the author's care, and are very largely treated, and then in it's order. The hiſtory of the war carried on in that country, the victory of Huntingmore, and the peace with the Scots (3). After this we have an account of King Edward's pretenſions to the French crown, with the war that followed in ſupport of them. A particular account of the great atchievements of King Edward, and of his ſon Edward the Black Prince, with ſeveral original letters of the Prince and Sir John Wyngfield (4). Another Scots war employs afterwards his pen, in which King David Bruce was taken priſoner. He alſo relates very minutely, all the tranſactions between King Edward and the Baliol family, the taking and retaking the town of Berwick, and concludes his work with an account of a bad ſeaſon in the year 1356 (5). Then follows a liſt of the perſons killed and taken priſoners in the famous battle of Poictiers, which was fought by Edward the Black Prince, on the 19th of September in the ſame year (6). Dr Robert Brady made great uſe of our hiſtorian, and mentions him with much reſpect in theſe words. Robert of Aveſbury wrote the life of Edward the third, and as he reports of himſelf, was Keeper of the Regiſtry of the Court of Canterbury, he lived in the time of Edward the third. A MS. in Sir Simonds D'Ewes library in Stow Lanthorn in Suffolk (7). Mr Tyrrell cites him alſo, and ſays he was a conſiderable writer of that age, and very exact in his account of King Edward's actions beyond the ſea, as having taken them from ſeveral original letters of perſons of note (8). It ſeems the MS. this gentleman had, went no lower than the year 1355, but that publiſhed by Mr Hearne, contains the occurrences of the next year to the end of Summer, or rather to the beginning of Autumn (9).

(1) Aveſb. Hiſt. de reb. geſt. Edward tii, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. p. 6.

(3) Ibid. p. 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 218, 224.

(5) Ibid. p. 252.

(6) As all our hiſtorians ſay.

(7) In his account of authors and records made uſe of by him in the laſt volume of his hiſtory.

(8) In the Preface to his third Volume of his General Hiſtory of England.

[*B*] *To the labours of this induſtrious man.*] Before this edition of Aveſbury by Hearne, there is a Preface of forty pages, dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, the 21ſt of November 1720. It contains a very large account of the MSS. made uſe of in this edition, together with abundance of literary anecdotes which one would hardly expect there. He is particularly hard upon Anthony Wood, whom he charges with making uſe of the MS. collections of Twyne and Langbain, without quoting them, and this he tells us of his own knowledge (10). There are alſo ſome curious remarks on the ſtory of Roſamond, and explanatory notes on the fray between the townſmen and ſcholars of Oxford mentioned in the text (11). Then follow teſtimonies relating to the author, and a liſt of the ſubſcribers to this edition. The book itſelf comes next, and contains 255 pages. It is very carefully printed from the MS. with various readings, and all the marginal remarks of the ſeveral poſſeſſors of the MS. he had conſulted, together with ſuch emendations as could be collected from Walſingham and other antient Engliſh hiſtorians. The Minutiæ take up eleven pages excluſive of a ſcheme, ſhewing the genealogy of Edward the third, and his claim in conſequence thereof to the crown of France. Thus far the MS. We have then in one leaf, a liſt of the Saxon authors which had come to the hands of Mr John Jocelyn mentioned in the text (12). To this is added another liſt of the MS. writers of Engliſh hiſtory, and the places where their works were to be found (13). It contains 28 pages. Both theſe were printed from MSS. in the Cotton library. We come now to Mr Hearne's appendix. The firſt piece we meet with there is a tranſcript of an old Beadle's book at Oxford, it belonged formerly to Anthony Wood, and contains a great many curious things, it conſiſts of 14 pages, and is illuſtrated with notes and references (14). The ſecond paper is a collection of MS. notes, relating to the antient orders of the Univerſity of Oxford (15). Then we have a letter written by Dr Chriſtopher Potter, relating to the privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, with the form of degrading Mr William Prynne, this was ſent to the editor by the reverend and learned Mr Baker of St. John's (16). The fourth piece is a tranſcript of a very antient roll relating to the manor of Woodſtock, made in the reign of Edward the firſt, and of which the editor had this copy, through the kindneſs of John Brydges, Eſq; of Lincoln's-Inn, a great collector of ſuch curioſities (17). The laſt piece, and indeed the moſt curious of them all, is a tranſcript of the love letters, between Henry the eighth, and Anne Bullen, taken from the originals kept in the Vatican at Rome, A. D. 1682 (18). After the index, there follows in this as in moſt of Mr Hearne's books, a liſt of the pieces publiſhed by him to that time, and which is a full proof of the uſefulneſs of ſuch notes as this. There is inſerted in this catalogue a very curious piece printed from an authentick MS, the title of which follows,

(9) Vide Hiſt. p. 252.

(10) Præfat. ad R. de Aveſbur. p. xxviii.

(11) Ibid. p. xxxiii.

(12) Hiſt. p. 367.

(13) Ibid. p. 269.

(14) Ibid. p. 299.

(15) Ibid. p. 314.

(16) Ibid. p. 328.

(17) Ibid. p. 337.

(18) Ibid. p. 347.

Engliſh reader's notice, who cannot ſo much as have a chance of meeting with them any where elſe. Beſides they ſerve to ſhow, what odd fragments are ſometimes met with in ancient MSS, and the care that was taken before printing was invented, to preſerve whatever might be of uſe, either to the learned, or to the common ſort of people [*C*].

follows, *Injunctions given in the viſitation of the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord C. Pole's Grace, Legate de Latere, by his Subdelegate, James by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of Glouceſter throughout his Dioceſe of Glouceſter* 1556 (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 376.

[*C*] *Either to the learned or common ſort of people.*] Theſe mixed memoranda ſeem to have depended wholly on the will of the tranſcriber, who added them to the MS. merely that the worth of the one might preſerve the other. As for inſtance, *the following genealogy, ſhowing how the Britiſh King Arthur was allied to Joſeph of Arimathea.* Helanis nepos Joſeph genuit Joſue, Joſue genuit Aminidab, Aminidab genuit Caſtellers, Caſtellers genuit Manael, Manael genuit Lambrod et Urlard, Lambrod genuit filium qui genuit Ygernam, de qua Rex Uter Pendragon genuit nobilem & famoſum Regem Arthurum, per quod patet, quod Rex Arthurus deſcendit de Joſeph (20). The following was better worth preſerving. Nota, quod in Anglia ſunt Eccleſiæ parochiales, XLVI. M^l. VIII^c. XXII. Item villa, LII. M^l. C. IIII^xx. V. Item epiſcopatus, XVII. Item Feoda Militum, LIII. M^l. CC. XV. de quibus religioſi habent, XXVIII. M^l. that is, Note, *that in England there are pariſh Churches* 46822, *Towns* 52285, *Biſhopricks* 17, *Knights Fees* 53215, *of which there are* 28000 *in the hands of the Clergy* (21); the Reader muſt obſerve that this note was written about the middle of the XIVth Century (22). The following is a receipt printed exactly after the MS, whereby the orthography of that age appears. *For to ſtanche bledyng atte the noſe, take clene clay, and tempere hit with vynegre, and with the juys of an herbe that is y clepud burſa paſtoris, and make there of a chapelet of good brede, and do a boute the hed of hym that bledeth, and hit ſhal ſtanche* (23).

(20) Ibid. p. 259.

(21) Minut. p. 264.

(22) See in the text.

(23) Minut. p. 264.

E

AUGUSTIN, or, by contraction, AUSTIN (*St*), uſually ſtiled the *Apoſtle of the Engliſh*, and the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was originally a Monk in the convent of St Andrew at Rome, and had his education under St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I [*A*]; by whom he was diſpatched into Britain, together with forty other Monks of the ſame order, for the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons to the Chriſtian religion (*a*). This miſſion was undertaken about the year of Chriſt 596 [*B*]. Auguſtin and his companions, having proceeded a little way on their journey, began to diſreliſh their employment, and concluded it was more adviſable to return, than to take ſo long a journey to a ſavage and infidel nation, to whoſe language they were utter ſtrangers. This reſolution being taken, they diſpatched Auguſtin to Rome, to obtain the Pope's leave for their return: but that Monk ſoon came back with a letter of exhortation

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 33. *See alſo* H. Huntingdon Hiſt. l. iii. init. *apud* Script. poſt Bedam Francof. 1601.

[*A*] *St Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory* I.] This pious and good Pope had himſelf projected, and undertaken, the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons, before his advancement to the See of Rome. For, walking one day thro' the market, and obſerving certain beautiful youths expoſed to ſale, he aſked of what country they were; and being informed they were Britons, he fetched a deep ſigh, and ſaid, it was a lamentable conſideration that the prince of darkneſs ſhould be maſter of ſo much beauty, and that ſo fine an outſide ſhould have nothing of God's grace within. The ſight of theſe youths made ſo great an impreſſion on Gregory's piety, that he applied himſelf to Pope Benedict, earneſtly requeſting that ſome perſons might be ſent to preach Chriſtianity in Britain. But perceiving no body willing to undertake the miſſion, he offered himſelf for the ſervice, and, with the Pope's leave, ſet forward on his journey, to the great regret of the clergy and people of Rome. He had not been gone above two or three days, before the Pope had a remonſtrance delivered to him in the ſtreets for ſending away Gregory, and was therefore obliged to re-call him. Johannes Diaconus, in his *Life of St Gregory*, tells this ſtory ſo well, that the learned reader ſhall have the pleaſure of ſeeing here the Original. *Quadam die, cum advenientibus nuper negotiatoribus, multa venalia in foro Romanæ urbis fuiſſent propoſita, multique ad emendum undique confluxiſſent; contigit et Gregorium virum Deo digniſſimum præterire. Qui cernens inter alia pueros corpore candidos, forma pulcherrimos, vultu venuſtos, capillorum quoque nitore perſpicuos, eſſe venales, interrogavit mercatorem de qua patria illos attuliſſet. Ille reſpondit, de Britannia inſula, cujus incolarum omnium facies ſimili candore fulgeſcit. Gregorius dixit: Chriſtiani ſunt iidem inſulani, an adhuc Paganis erroribus implicantur? Mercator reſpondit, Non ſunt Chriſtiani, ſed Paganis tenentur laqueis irretiti. Tum Gregorius graviter ingemiſcens, heu, proh dolor, inquit, quam ſplendidas facies princeps tenebrarum nunc poſſidet, tantaque frontis ſpecies vacuam ab interna Dei gratia mentem geſtat! Rurſum interrogavit quod eſſet vocabulum gentis illius? Mercator reſpondit, Angli vocantur. Bene, inquit, Angli, quaſi Angeli, quia Angelicos vultus habent, et tales in cœlis Angelorum decet eſſe concives. Iterum ergo interrogat, quod nomen haberet ipſa Provincia? Mercator reſpondit, Provinciales illi Deiri vocantur. Et Gregorius, Bene, inquit, Deiri, quia De Ira ſunt eruendi, et ad Chriſti gratiam convocandi. Rex, ait, illius provinciæ quomodo nuncupatur? Mercator reſpondit; Aelle. Et Gregorius alludens ad nomen, dixit, Bene rex dicitur Aelle, Alleluia etenim in laudem creatoris in partibus illis oportet decantari. Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum Apoſtolicæ ſedis Pontificem, cœpit vehementer expetere, ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi miniſtros mitteret. Quo cum neminem velle ire cognoſceret, ſemet ipſum quoque non dubitavit ingerere, dummodo ſibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi, Gregorium ſponte proficiſci cupientem, abire permiſit, imprecatus ei divinitus proſpera miniſtrari. De cujus abſentia Romani plurimum perturbati, deliberato conſilio, trifario per loca viæ contigua unde Pontifex ad B. Petri Baſilicam profecturus erat, partiuntur, eumque turmatim taliter alloquuntur: Petrum offendiſti, Romam deſtruxiſti, quia Gregorium dimiſiſti. Quibus ſententiis omnino Papa perterritus, miſit continuo nuntios qui virum domini revocarent. A quibus, trium dierum itinere jam emenſo, compulſus eſt (licet magnopere triſtaretur) ad proprii monaſterii curam redire* (1). I hope *Punning* is no offence to Religion: if it is, I know not how we ſhall excuſe St Gregory, who, upon ſo very ſerious an occaſion as the converſion of poor ignorant Pagans to Chriſtianity, could not forbear quibbling three times in a very ſhort converſation with a merchant upon that ſubject.

(1) Joan. Diacon. Vit. S. Gregor. l. ii. c. 21.

[*B*] *This miſſion was undertaken in the year of Chriſt* 596.] Bede, and the whole ſtream of authors after him, aſſign this date; ſo that the year, in which Auguſtin was ſent into Britain, is paſt diſpute. How long he continued in this iſland, till death took him away, is not ſo generally agreed. Moſt of the writers in Wharton (2), who have given us the ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, tell us, that Auguſtin ſat ſixteen years, and place his death in the year 616, about twenty years after his arrival in Britain. But Wharton (3) and the Editor of Bede (4), have ſhewn, with great probability, that he died in 604 or 605, and conſequently the interval from his miſſion to his death comprehends no more than eight or nine years.

(2) Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. *paſſim.*

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 89, *See the remark* [*W*].

(4) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. &c. publiſhed by J. Smith, S. T. P. Cantab. 1732, p. 85. not. 2.

[*C*] Ppeo

exhortation to the Miſſionaries [*C*], by which they were encouraged to proſecute their undertaking (*b*). At the ſame time the Pope wrote to Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles (*c*) [*D*], and to the King and Queen of the Franks, to aſſiſt them with neceſſaries in their journey: by means of which recommendations they were every where entertained with great kindneſs and reſpect, and furniſhed with interpreters [*E*]. And now Auguſtin and his companions, having taken their journey through France, embarked for Britain, and landing in the iſle of Thanet, ſent ſome of the French interpreters to King Ethelbert [*F*], acquainting him that they were come from Rome with the moſt joyful tidings, and offering him an everlaſting kingdom in Heaven. The King, having for the preſent ordered them to continue in the iſle of Thanet, ſome time after ſent for them, and gave them audience, ſitting in the open air [*G*]. Auguſtin having opened his commiſſion, the

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. c. 24.

[*C*] Pope Gregory's *Letter of exhortation to the Miſſionaries.*] In this Letter he tells them 'it is 'better not to enter upon a worthy deſign, than to 'break off what is commendably begun.' For this reaſon he earneſtly beſeeches them 'to exert them-'ſelves to the utmoſt in carrying on the great 'work they were engaged in, and not to be diſ-'couraged at the fatigues of the journey, or cen-'ſures of bad men; but to preſs forward with the 'greateſt zeal and application, being well aſſured 'they ſhould be rewarded with eternal glory in 'heaven.' By the ſame Letter he enjoined them to pay obedience to Auguſtin as their Abbot, and concludes with his benediction, and wiſhing them ſucceſs in their labours. But let us produce the letter itſelf. It is extant in the *ſixth Book* of *St Gregory's* Letters (5).

(5) *Vide* Bede, publiſhed by J. Smith. *In Append.* n. 6. p. 674.

Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Servis Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

QUIA melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his quæ cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, ſummo ſtudio, dilectiſſimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Deo cœpiſtis, impleatis. Nec ergo vos labor itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ deterreant: ſed omni inſtantia omnique fervore quæ inchoaſtis, Deo auctore, peragite; ſcientes quod laborem magnum æternæ retributionis gloria ſequitur. Remeanti autem Auguſtino præpoſito veſtro, quem et Abbatem vobis conſtituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite, ſcientes hoc veſtris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid in vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus ſua vos gratia protegat, et veſtri laboris fructum in æterna me patria videre concedat. Quatenus et ſi vobiſcum laborare nequeo, ſimul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia laborare ſcilicet volo. Deus vos incolumes cuſtodiat, dilectiſſimi filii. Data die decima Kalendarum Auguſtarum, imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo quarto, poſt conſulatum ejuſdem Domini Noſtri anno decimo tertio, Indictione XIV.

[*D*] —— *Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles.*] It is generally taken for granted, that here is a miſtake in the printed copies of Bede, and that *Etherius* is put inſtead of *Virgilius*, ſince Etherius was at that time Biſhop of Lyons. But whether the miſtake conſiſts in that, is a matter of doubt. For, in the firſt place, the Letter, which is in Bede inſcribed to Etherius Archbiſhop of Arles, is not to be found under that title in the collection of Gregory's Letters. In the next place, there is in that collection another Letter to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles, of the ſame tenor, but a different form. From whence we may collect, that the miſtake is rather in the Letter itſelf, than in the inſcription. Auguſtin being ready to ſet out on his journey, Pope Gregory wrote ſeveral letters in the ſame day; the originals of which lying together in his Holineſs's ſcrutore were tranſcribed by Nothelmus: and why might he not take one for another, and, by miſtake tranſpoſing the names and titles, carry to Bede the letter which was written to Etherius, Biſhop of Lyons, in the room of that which was written to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles?

[*E*] *They were —— furniſhed with French interpreters.*] Biſhop Godwin obſerves from hence, that the language of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks was at that time much the ſame: which is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince thoſe two nations were both of German original, and were tranſplanted into Britain and Gaul much about the ſame time, it being not above an hundred and fifty years ſince the arrival of the Saxons in this iſland. *Nam præterquam quod humaniſſime ubique accepti ſunt, comitatui illorum non paucos adinvenerunt qui interpretum vice fungerentur; ut eadem quodammodo lingua Angli Francique tunc uſi videantur; quod à ratione quidem non abhorret, cum uterque et Franci et Angli (ſive Anglo-Saxones malueris appellare) Germaniæ fuerint populi, unde iſti in Britanniam ante annos* 150, *illi in Galliam* 130 *vix dum elapſis migraverint* (6).

(6) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, p. 43.

[*F*] —— *Ethelbert, King of Kent.*] This prince's dominions, as Bede obſerves (7), extended as far as the Humber. It is true, the kingdoms of the Eaſt-Saxons and the Eaſt-Angles were now in being: but Ethelbert being a more potent prince than the reſt, ſeveral of thoſe petty kings were tributaries to him. He was at that time married to Bertha, daughter of Clotaire I, king of the Franks. That Lady was a Chriſtian, and, by the articles of her marriage, had the free exerciſe of her religion allowed her, and a church in the ſuburbs of Canterbury, called St Martin's. One Luidhard a French Biſhop (8), who came over with her, officiated as her chaplain and confeſſor (9). Chriſtianity having this countenance at Ethelbert's court, we may reaſonably imagine that ſeveral of the Saxons were either brought over, or at leaſt diſpoſed for converſion, before the arrival of Auguſtin. And thus, by theſe preparatory ſteps, the way was plained for the Miſſionaries, and King Ethelbert diſpoſed to give them a more favourable reception. For this reaſon Capgrave (10) calls Luidhard *Auguſtin's Harbinger*, and affirms, that he prepared the way for his coming, and made his enterprize more practicable. Which remark will appear very reaſonable to any one, who conſiders with what unexpected kindneſs Auguſtin was received at his firſt arrival in Britain.

(7) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 25.

(8) *The hiſtorians ſtyle him* Epiſcopus Sylvanectenſis, *i.e. Biſhop of* Senlis. M. Rapin, *by miſtake, calls him Biſhop of* Soiſſons.

(9) Baronii Annal. T. VIII, *ad. an.* 597.

(10) *In* Vita S. Auguſtini.

[*G*] *The King —— gave them audience, ſitting in the open air.*] The reaſon why Ethelbert received them in this manner proceeded from a ſuperſtitious fancy, which made him decline truſting himſelf in a houſe with theſe ſtrangers; for fear, if they had dealt in the black art, they might have ſurprized his underſtanding, and proved too hard for him. *Caverat enim ne in aliquam domum ad ſe introirent, vetere uſus augurio, ne ſuperventu ſuo, ſi quid maleficæ artis habuiſſent, eum ſuperando deciperent* (11). 'But theſe good men,' continues Bede, 'held no 'correſpondence with the Devil, but had their au-'thority and credentials from Heaven. When they 'were introduced to the King, they carried a ſilver 'croſs for their banner, together with the picture 'of our bleſſed Saviour, and, ſinging divine ſervice, 'they put up their prayers to God Almighty for 'his bleſſing on themſelves and thoſe they came to 'convert.' *At illi non dæmoniaca, ſed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini ſalvatoris in tabula depictum, lætaniaſque canentes, pro ſua ſimul, et eorum propter quos et ad quos venerant, ſalute æterna Domino ſupplicabant* (12). Baronius (13), in tranſcribing this paſſage of Bede, falls into ſome tragical reflexions on the condition of the modern Church of England. He repreſents the caſe, as if the Engliſh, in his time, had, in a manner, apoſtatized from Chriſtianity. He tells us, that Auguſtin the Apoſtle of the Engliſh was a monk, and that the reſt of the Miſſionaries were of the ſame order; that they appeared at their audience, and made their entrance into Canterbury, with the croſs and the picture of our Saviour carried before them: and then he complains, that theſe things were all forgotten and laid aſide by the modern Engliſh. Let us hear how Mr Collier replies to this charge. That author obſerves, that *the terms of communion ſtand by no means upon the ſame foot, they did in Gregory the Great's time* (14). Then he proceeds to a particular refutation of the Cardinal's charge.

(11) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Ubi ſupra, c. 23.

(14) Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 65.

the King told them, their doctrine was new to him, and that he could not ſuddenly recede from the religion of his country: however, as their coming was with a kind intention, he gave them leave to convert as many of his ſubjects as they could, and aſſigned their place of reſidence at *Dorovernum*, ſince called Canterbury [*H*]; which (*d*) Ibid. c. 25. they entered in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn (*d*) [*I*]. Here Auguſtin and his companions applied themſelves to the ſtrict ſeverity of the monaſtic life, and preached the Goſpel jointly with the French Chriſtians in the church of St Martin's; to which they were confined till the converſion of the King himſelf [*K*]; after which they had full liberty (*e*) Ibid. c. 26. to preach in any part of that Prince's dominions (*e*). Auguſtin was ſo ſucceſsful in his labours for the propagation of Chriſtianity, that it is ſaid he baptized ten thouſand perſons of both ſexes, in one day, in the river Swale [*L*]. And now, by direction of the Pope, he

charge. 'It may be replied, in the firſt place '(ſays he) as to the monaſtick life, that the Church 'of England has not declared againſt it in any of her 'articles. Beſides, the Cardinal may remember, that 'the diſſolution of Abbies here, was an act of the 'State, and not of the Church; that it was prior 'to the Reformation, and carried on by a prince 'and parliament of the Roman Communion in all 'points, excepting the Supremacy. Secondly, As to 'the croſs and our Saviour's picture, the Church 'of England has a great regard for both of them, 'and makes uſe of the firſt in the ſolemn admi-'niſtration of Baptiſm. 'Tis true, we dare not carry 'our reſpects to the lengths of the Church of Rome. 'And if we examine the paſſage in Bede, though 'we find St Auguſtin, and his companions, carried 'the croſs, and our Saviour's picture, in their 'proceſſion, yet there is not the leaſt intimation that 'they worſhiped them. Nay, 'tis plain that image-'worſhip was none of the doctrine of Rome in that 'age: for Pope Gregory the Great determines flatly 'againſt it.' Here Mr Collier produces part of two letters, written by St Gregory to Serenus Biſhop of Marſeilles (15), in proof of his aſſertion; and and then goes on to ſhew, that this Pope did not carry the ſupremacy up to the pretenſions ſince inſiſted on by the court of Rome, as appears from his complaint againſt John Biſhop of Conſtantinople, for taking the title of *Univerſal Biſhop* upon him (16), and from three other letters, one to the Emperor Mauritius (17), the ſecond to Anaſtatius Biſhop of Antioch (18), and the laſt to Eulogius Biſhop of Alexandria (19).

(15) Gregorii Epiſtolæ, l. vii. epiſt. 109, & l. ix. epiſt. 9.

(16) Ib. l. iv. epiſt. 34.

(17) Ib. l. vi. epiſt. 30.

(18) Ib. ep. 24.

(19) Ib. l. vii. epiſt. 30.

[*H*] *The King aſſigned their place of reſidence at —— Canterbury.*] Namely, in the pariſh of St Alphege, on the north-ſide of the *High* or *King's Street*, where, in Thorn's time, the Archbiſhop's palace ſtood, now called *Stable-gate* (20). Before Auguſtin's time, here was a kind of Oratory, or Chapel for the Royal Family, where they worſhiped and offered ſacrifice to their Gods. *Conceſſit iis locum habitationis in civitate Doroberniæ ſituatum, videlicet in parochia ſancti Alphegi ex oppoſito regiæ ſtratæ verſus aquilonem, per quam murus palacii archiepiſcopalis in longitudine ſe extendit — ſitus ille* Stablegate *vocatus eſt; fuerat enim tunc temporis quaſi oratorium pro familia regis, ut ibi adorarent, et diis ſuis libamina immolarent* (21).

(20) Dart's *Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 2.

(21) Chronica W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1759.

[*I*] *They entered* Canterbury *in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn.*] It was a very ſhort one, conſiſting only of this petition. 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni 'miſericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua 'a civitate iſta, et de domo ſancta tua, quoniam 'peccavimus. Alleluia (22). — *O Lord, according 'to thy mercy, we beſeech thee, let thine anger and 'thy fury be turned away from this city, and from 'thy holy place; for we have ſinned. Halleluiah.*'

(22) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] — *Till the converſion of the King himſelf.*] This Prince could not long hold out againſt the exemplary life of the Miſſionaries, the reaſonableneſs of their doctrine, and the miracles wrought by Auguſtin, in confirmation of it. In ſhort, King Ethelbert was baptized, and his example had a wonderfull effect in promoting the converſion of his ſubjects. One part of his conduct on this occaſion deſerves the higheſt commendation. Though he was extremely pleaſed at his ſubjects becoming Chriſtians, yet he compelled no body to his own belief, only beſtowing more countenance and affection upon thoſe that were proſelyted to Chriſtianity. For he had learned (ſays venerable Bede) from his inſtructors in the way of ſalvation, that force and dragooning was not the method of the Goſpel; that the religion of Jeſus Chriſt was to make it's way by argument and perſuaſion; to be matter of choice, and not of compulſion. *Didicerat enim a Doctoribus auctoribuſque ſuæ ſalutis, ſervitium Chriſti voluntarium non coactitium eſſe debere* (23). I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflexions on this matter, and to compare the ſpirit of moderation and Chriſtian charity, which actuated St Auguſtin and King Ethelbert, with that perſecuting, *inquiſitorial*, ſpirit, which has ſince prevailed in the Church of Rome.

(23) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 26.

[*L*] Auguſtin *baptized ten thouſand perſons in one day in the river Swale.*] This we are told by Gervaſe: 'Beatus autem Auguſtinus verbum Dei præ-'dicans, et ubique pedibus non in equis faleratis in-'cedens, concurrentibus populis baptizavit una die 'promiſcui ſexus decem millia in flumine quod ab 'incolis *Sualewe* vocatur, prope Eboracum (24) — '*But St Auguſtin, preaching the word of God, and 'going about every where on foot, not on a horſe 'with rich trappings, baptized in one day a mixed 'multitude of both ſexes, in number ten thouſand, in 'a river near York, called by the inhabitants* Sua-'lewe.' Camden (25) gives us the following extract from an antient fragment of that age, in which the hiſtory is thus related. *Upon one ſingle Chriſtmas-day (to the eternal honour of the Engliſh nation) Auſtin baptized above ten thouſand men, beſides an infinite number of women and children. But, pray, how ſhould Prieſts, or others in holy orders, be got, to baptize ſuch a prodigious number? the Archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the river* Swale, *commanded by the criers and the principal men, that they ſhould with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other. Thus were they all regenerate, by as great a miracle, as once the people of Iſrael paſſed through the divided ſea, and through Jordan, when it was turned back. For in the ſame manner here, ſo great a variety of ſex and age paſſed ſuch a deep chanel, and yet (which in human account is incredible) not one received harm. A ſtrange miracle this was! but what is yet a greater, the river cures all diſeaſes and infirmities. Whoever ſteps in faint and diſordered, comes out ſound and whole. What a joyful ſight was this for angels and men! ſo many thouſands of a proſelyte nation coming out of the chanel of the ſame river, as out of the womb of one mother! one ſingle pool preparing ſo many inhabitants for the heavenly manſions. Hereupon Pope Gregory (with all the companies of the Saints above) broke forth into joy, and could not reſt till he had written to Eulogius, the holy patriarch of Alexandria, moſt joyfully to congratulate him upon ſo vaſt a number being baptized on one Chriſtmas-day.* But this ſtory is not without it's difficulties. For in the firſt place, the river *Swale*, in which this wonderful Baptiſm was performed, is ſaid to be near York. But it does not appear from Bede, that Auguſtin ever travelled ſo far northward. In the next place, what theſe authors aſcribe to Auguſtin, is by Bede related of Paulinus Archbiſhop of York; who, according to that hiſtorian, baptized in the river Suale, which runs by Catterick. *Baptizabat in fluvio Sualua, qui vicum Cataractam præterfluit* (26). Nevertheleſs we have the teſtimony of Pope Gregory, in the above-mentioned letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, that Auguſtin baptized no fewer than ten thouſand converts. The truth of the caſe ſeems to be, that our miſſionary baptized his converts, not in the Suale near York, but in another river of the ſame name at the mouth of the Medway. The miſtake of Gervaſe and others aroſe from confounding Auguſtin with Paulinus. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that the view of theſe writers,

(24) Gervaſii Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1632.

(25) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *in fol.* p. clxvi.

(26) Bede, l. ii. c. 14.

he went over to Arles in France, where he was conſecrated Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the Engliſh nation [*M*] by the Archbiſhop of that place; after which, returning into Britain, he diſpatched away Lawrence a Prieſt, and Peter a Monk, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope with the ſucceſs of his miſſion, and to deſire his reſolution of certain queſtions. Theſe emiſſaries being returned, brought with them Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries [*N*], together

writers, in ſending him ſo far northward, ſeems to have been, partly to give the higher idea of his labours and his authority, and partly to make it the more probable that he was the occaſion of the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor (27).

(27) See the remark [*W*].

[*M*] *He was conſecrated Archbiſhop and metropolitan of the Engliſh nation.*] Baronius pretends, that Auguſtin was conſecrated a Biſhop in France, before his arrival in Britain (28). This he infers from St Gregory's letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, in which he acquaints him that the new Engliſh converts were baptized the Chriſtmas after Auguſtin's arrival (29). If this be true, Bede muſt be miſtaken in reporting that he travelled from Britain to Arles for the Epiſcopal character. But, in the beginning of the next century (30), the Cardinal ſeems to quit the authority of Pope Gregory's epiſtle, and rely upon Bede; for he tells us, that Auguſtin, purſuant to the Pope's inſtructions, went from Briton to Arles for his conſecration. M. Rapin cenſures Auguſtin for being in too much haſte to take upon himſelf the dignity of an Archbiſhop. 'Had he been content (ſays that author) with the 'ſimple title of Biſhop, there would have been no-'thing extraordinary in it. But one cannot help 'being ſurprized to ſee him aſpire to the dignity 'of an Archbiſhop, at a time when there was as 'yet no Biſhop under his juriſdiction. It is true, 'the Pope had given him leave to aſſume that title 'in caſe his miſſion was followed with ſucceſs. But, 'by *ſucceſs*, it is moſt probable Gregory meant the 'general converſion of the Engliſh, and not that of 'a part only of the kingdom of Kent, one of the 'ſmalleſt of the Heptarchy. How great a progreſs 'ſoever Auguſtin had made in reſpect to the ſhort 'time of his abode in Britain, it was however but 'ſmall in compariſon of what remained to be con-'verted. So that his precipitation in aſſuming 'the dignity of Archbiſhop and Primate of Eng-'land, at a time when there was but one ſingle 'church there, namely that of Canterbury, is doubt-'leſs not very much to his honour. All that can 'be ſaid in his juſtification is, that the progreſs, 'which Chriſtianity made at it's firſt ſetting out at 'Canterbury, gave him reaſon to think that the 'converſion of the reſt of England would ſoon fol-'low (31).'

(28) Annal. *ad an.* 597. Sect. 26.

(29) Gregor. Epiſt. 30, l. vii.

(30) Baron. ib. *an.* 601. Sect. 62.

(31) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. iii. *Etat de L'Egliſe de Kent.*

[*N*] *Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries.*] Venerable Bede has reported them at length (32); and here follows an abridgment of them, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the Engliſh reader. I. *Queſtion*, 'How 'ought the Biſhops to behave towards their Clergy? 'Into how many portions ought the offerings at the 'altar to be diſtributed? And how is a Biſhop to act 'in the church?' With reſpect to the firſt point, the Pope refers Auguſtin to St Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy. With regard to the ſecond, he tells him, that the Roman Church requires the Biſhops to divide the revenues of the church into four portions; the firſt for the Biſhop, the ſecond for the Clergy, the third for the Poor, and the fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the third point, which would have been very obſcure, if the Pope had not cleared it up in his anſwer, he ſays, that Auguſtin being a Monk, ought not to live ſeparated from his brethren, but after the cuſtom of the firſt Chriſtians, who had all their goods and poſſeſſions in common. He adds, that if there were any of the brethren, who had not received holy orders, and who could not contain, they were at liberty to marry, and might receive their portions in their own houſes; becauſe it is ſaid in Scripture, that, in the beginning of Chriſtianity, diſtribution was made to each according to their neceſſities. As to other Chriſtians, the Pope tells him, it was not neceſſary to preſcribe any rule concerning the giving alms to them, ſince Jeſus Chriſt himſelf has ſaid, *Give alms of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you.* II. *Queſtion*. 'Since there is but one Faith, how 'comes it to paſs, that the cuſtoms of Churches are 'different in relation to publick worſhip, and that 'the Gallican and Roman Churches are not uniform 'in this matter?' The Pope adviſes him, upon this head, to take from each Church, what he ſhould judge to be moſt ſuitable and convenient for the Church of England. III. *Queſtion*. 'What puniſh-'ment ought to be inflicted on thoſe, who rob or 'plunder the church of it's goods?' Gregory anſwers, that we ought to diſtinguiſh the motives of the theft, whether it was through neceſſity or covetouſneſs; and that, in puniſhing the robber, we ſhould proceed with gentleneſs and charity. As to the meaſure of the reſtitution to be made to the church, he decides, that ſhe ought by no means to receive more than ſhe loſt. IV. *Queſtion*. 'May two bro-'thers marry two ſiſters, who are not related to 'them by blood?' Gregory anſwers, that ſuch marriages are lawful. V. *Queſtion*. 'Within what de-'gree of conſanguinity are marriages lawful?' Pope Gregory bars this relation no farther than Couſin-Germans; ſo that one remove from this nearneſs of blood, leaves the parties at liberty to inter-marry; which is more than the preſent Church of Rome allows. VI. *Queſtion*. 'May a Biſhop be conſecrated 'by one Biſhop alone, when the diſtance of place 'makes it inconvenient for the Biſhops of other dio-'ceſes to aſſemble for that purpoſe?' Gregory replies, that, for the preſent, Auguſtin being the only Biſhop in England, there was a neceſſity he ſhould ordain Biſhops without aſſiſtants: But, to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he orders him to eſtabliſh Biſhops in places not too far diſtant from each other. VII. *Queſtion*. 'How am I to behave 'with reſpect to the French, and Britiſh Biſhops?' The Pope anſwers peremptorily, that he gives him no juriſdiction over the French Biſhops, becauſe the Archbiſhops of Arles had for a long time received the Pall from his predeceſſors, and he did not think it lawful to deprive them of the authority they were in poſſeſſion of; but as to the Britiſh Biſhops, he puts them all under Auguſtin's juriſdiction. VIII. *Queſtion*. 'Is it lawful to baptize a woman, who is with child?' The Pope anſwers in the affirmative, not apprehending any inconvenience that might ariſe from ſuch practice. IX. *Queſtion*. 'How long ought a woman 'to ſtay, after her lying-in, before ſhe is re-admitted into the church?' Gregory limits no time, but allows women to enter into the church as ſoon after their delivery, as they can with ſafety. X. *Queſtion*. 'How long after the birth of a Child, ought the 'ceremony of baptiſm to be deferred?' The Pope allows baptiſm to be adminiſtered, the very moment after the birth. XI. *Queſtion*. 'How long ought 'the huſband to ſtay, after the Wife's lying-in, be-'fore he returns to her embraces?' Gregory gives a very long anſwer to this queſtion, and takes occaſion to blame thoſe mothers, who ſuffer their children to be ſuckled by ſtrange nurſes, aſcribing ſo blameable a practice to their incontinence; for which reaſon he decides, that the huſband ought not to return to his wife, till after the child is weaned. Nevertheleſs he permits thoſe women, who do not ſuckle their children, to lie with their huſbands after the uſual time of purgation. XII. *Queſtion*. 'Is it law-'ful for a woman to enter into the church at all 'times?' The Pope has a great deal of reaſoning upon this head, and concludes, that the infirmities of women ought not to hinder them from aſſiſting at the public devotions of the church. XIII. *Queſtion*. 'May a Man, who has lain with a woman, come 'into the church, or receive the Communion, be-'fore he has waſhed himſelf?' Here, Gregory, as uſual, makes a good number of diſtinctions, and concludes, that ſuch men would do better to refrain ſome ſhort time from going into the church, or receiving the Communion. XIV. *Queſtion*. 'Is it 'lawful for a man, after impure dreams, to receive 'the Communion; and, if he be a Prieſt, may he 'adminiſter it?' The Pope's anſwer to this queſtion is exceedingly full of diſtinctions, between what is, and what is not a ſin. At laſt he concludes, that a man, under ſuch circumſtances, ought to abſtain from

(32) Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.

(f) Ibid. c. 27.

together with a Pall [O], and ſeveral books, veſtments, utenſils, and ornaments for the churches (f). His Holineſs, by the ſame meſſengers, gave him directions concerning the ſettling epiſcopal Sees in Britain [P], and ordered him not to pull down the idol-temples,

from the Communion. Nevertheleſs, he allows a Prieſt in this caſe to adminiſter the Sacrament, provided no other can be found to officiate in his room. Theſe are the difficulties, of which Auguſtin deſired a ſolution from his Holineſs. It is true, they do not ſerve to give us the higheſt idea imaginable of this Miſſionary's judgment. However Gregory thought it proper to reply to them in the fulleſt manner, as if they had been of the laſt importance. He had the converſion of the Engliſh very much at heart; and for this reaſon, he is ſo far from diſcouraging Auguſtin, that he beſtows the higheſt commendations on him.

[O] He received from Pope Gregory *the Pall*] This being the firſt example in our hiſtory of the Pall being ſent into England, I ſhall here entertain the reader a little with the form, antiquity, and deſign of this habit of diſtinction, and the great conſequences it has drawn along with it. The PALL, as Harpsfield (33) deſcribes it, is a ſmall piece of woolen cloth, put over the Archbiſhop's ſhoulders, when he officiates. It is not ornamented with any rich dye, but is of the original colour of the wool on the ſheep's back. It is laid upon St Peter's tomb, by the Biſhops of Rome, and then ſent away to the reſpective Metropolitans. This antient ceremony is ſuppoſed to ſignify theſe two things; firſt, that the homelineſs of the Pall might prevent the Archbiſhop's growing vain, from the richneſs of the reſt of his habit; ſecondly, that, conſidering the Pall was taken from St Peter's tomb, he might be careful to adhere to St Peter's doctrine. Thus far Harpsfield. But the learned Peter de la Marca, Archbiſhop of Paris, has a much larger and more inſtructive diſcourſe upon this ſubject. As to the form, he obſerves (34), that the modern Pall is very different from the antient. That now in uſe is nothing but a border of white woolen cloth, made round, and thrown over the ſhoulders; from which hang two other pieces, the one falling down upon the breaſt, and the other upon the back; the whole ornamented with red croſſes, and tacked on with three golden pins. But the antient Pall was a rich robe of ſtate, and hung down to the ground, being the ſame with that which the Greeks called Ὠμοφόριον. This the Latins called *Pallium*; which is a proof that it was an entire garment, and not, as at preſent, a cover only for the ſhoulders, breaſt, and back. And Pope Gregory informs us, in one of his letters (35), that it was a magnificent habit, deſigned to put the Prelate in mind, that his life ought to anſwer the dignity of his habit. The learned Peter de la Marca obſerves farther (36), that the Pall was part of the Imperial habit, and that the Emperors gave the Patriarchs leave to wear it. Thus Conſtantine's *Donation*, inſerted in Gratian's *Decretum*, informs us, that the uſe of the Pall was given to the Biſhop of Rome by that Prince. It is true, De Marca acknowledges this donation to be a counterfeit evidence: nevertheleſs the antiquity of it is not very inconſiderable, it being extant in the time of Charles the Great, and Adrian I (37). So that the Pall's being a favour from the Emperors, is an opinion of above eight hundred years ſtanding. This point may be farther proved by unqueſtionable authority; for Liberatus Diaconus tells us (38), that Anthimus, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, being expelled his See, returned the Pall to the Emperor Juſtinian; which muſt imply, that he had received it from that Prince. De Marca produces ſome other proofs of this point (39), which the reader may conſult, if he is not already ſatisfied. Among other encroachments of the Papal on the Imperial power, the privilege of granting the Pall was no inconſiderable one, as it made the Archbiſhops and Patriarchs entirely dependent on the See of Rome. The neceſſity of procuring the Pall, was decreed in the eighth General Council of Conſtantinople, held in the year 872, in the Pontificate of Adrian II. This council paſſed a Canon to oblige the Metropolitans to receive confirmation from their reſpective Patriarchs, either by impoſition of hands, or the grant of the Pall. This Canon is not in the Greek text of the council, but only in the verſion of Anaſtaſus. However we may infer thus much from it, that it was no leſs cuſtomary for the Eaſtern Patriarchs, to ſend the Pall to the Metropolitans within their juriſdiction, than for the Pope to ſend it to thoſe of the Weſt (40). After the Metropolitans of Europe had ſubmitted to the above-mentioned Canon, and owned themſelves obliged to receive the Pall, they had new conditions of ſervitude impoſed upon them by the See of Rome. For now they were obliged to promiſe obedience and ſubjection to the Apoſtolic See under their hand-writing. This new law was introduced by Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz, in the Synod held by him, A.D. 742 (41). Gregory VII, who was of an enterprizing temper, reſolved to ſecure the ſubjection of the Metropolitans by a ſtronger tye, and accordingly changed the promiſe of obedience into the following oath of allegiance; *Non ero in conſilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra, aut Papatum perdant.* i. e. 'I will neither be aſſiſting with my perſon or 'advice, to the intent that they *(the Popes)* may 'loſe life, limb, or Popedom (42).' As to the Pall, the *Decretals*, publiſhed by order of Pope Gregory IX, in the XIII Century, obliged every Archbiſhop not to call a council, bleſs the chryſm, conſecrate churches, or ordain Biſhops, till he had received his Pall from the See of Rome; at the delivery of which he was to ſwear fidelity to the Pope.

[P] *The Pope gave him directions concerning the ſettling Epiſcopal Sees in Britain.*] This he did in a letter dated the 10th of the Kalends of June. After acquainting him, that he had ſent him the Pall, as a mark of his eſteem for the great ſervice he had done in converting the Engliſh, he orders him to erect twelve Sees within his Province, and that the Biſhop of London ſhould receive the Pall from the Apoſtolic See. He likewiſe orders him to ſettle a Biſhop at York; adding withal, that, if that city and the adjacent country ſhould become Chriſtians, he was to form it into a Province, with twelve Suffragans under the Metropolitan of York; to which Archbiſhop his Holineſs deſigned to ſend a Pall, with this reſervation, that he ſhould be ſubject to the Primate of Canterbury. His Holineſs proceeds to direct, that, after Auguſtin's death, the Archbiſhop of York was to preſide over the Biſhops ordained by him, and to be perfectly independent of the See of London; that the precedency of the Biſhops of London and York was to be regulated by the priority of their conſecrations; and that they ſhould act with unanimity for the common intereſt of Chriſtianity, and not daſh or interfere with each other. I ſhall tranſcribe the letter itſelf. It is extant in Bede (43).

(40) De Marca, ubi ſupra, l. vi. c. 7. *Sect.* 5.

(41) Id. ib. *Sect.* 6.

(42) *In* Regiſt. Gregor. VII. l. vi. *poſt* Epiſt. 17.

(43) Lib. i. c. 29.

Reverendiſſimo et ſanctiſſimo fratri Auguſtino Coepiſcopo Gregorius ſervus ſervorum Dei.

CUM certum ſit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regni præmia reſervari; nobis tamen eis neceſſe eſt honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare. Et quia nova Anglorum Eccleſia ad omnipotentis Dei Gratiam eodem domino largiente, et te laborante perducta eſt, uſum tibi Pallii in ea ad ſola Miſſarum ſolemnia agenda concedimus: ita ut per loca ſingula duodecim Epiſcopos ordines, qui tuæ ſubjaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundonienſis civitatis Epiſcopus ſemper in poſterum a Synodo propria debeat conſecrari, atque honoris Pallium ab hac ſancta et apoſtolica, cui Deo auctore deſervio, ſede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus epiſcopum mittere, quem ipſe judicaveris ordinare; ita dumtaxat, ut ſi eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipſe quoque duodecem Epiſcopos ordinet, et Metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, ſi vita comes fuerit, Pallium tribuere Domino favente diſponimus; quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis vôlumus diſpoſitioni ſubjacere: poſt obitum vero tuum ita Epiſcopis quos ordinaverit præſit, ut Lundonienſis Epiſcopi nullo modo ditioni ſubjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ Civitatis Epiſcopos in poſternum honoris iſta diſtinctio, ut ipſe prior habeatur qui prius fuerit

(33) Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. c. 6.

(34) De Concord. Sacerd. et Imper. l. vi. c. 6 & 7.

(35) Epiſt. 112. l. vii.

(36) Ubi ſupra, c. 6.

(37) Id. ibid. & l. iii. c. 12.

(38) *In* Breviar. c. 21.

(39) Ubi ſupra, l. v. c. 30. *Sect.* 3. & ib. c. 33, 36. *item* l. vi. c. 6. *Sect.* 10.

temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches [Q]; cautioning him withal not to be puffed up with the miracles (g) he was enabled to work in confirmation of his miniſtry [R]. Auguſtin, having fixed his See at Canterbury, dedicated an old church, formerly built by ſome Roman Chriſtians, to the honour of our Saviour; and King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, ſince called St Auguſtin's (b) [S]. Being thus ſupported by the intereſt of King Ethelbert, Auguſtin made an attempt to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church [T]. To this purpoſe a conference was held at a place in Worceſterſhire

(g) See the remark [AA].

(b) Ibid. c. 33.

fuerit ordinatus: communi autem conſilio et concordi actione quæque ſunt pro Chriſti zelo agenda; diſponat unanimiter, recte ſentiant, et ea quæ ſenſerint, non ſibimet diſcrepando perficiant. Tua vero fraternitas non ſolum eos Epiſcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacæ Epiſcopum fuerint ordinati, ſed etiam omnes Britanniæ Sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto auctore, ſubjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ ſanctitatis, et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium ſuum fide ac moribus exſequentes, ad cæleſtia, cum dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem cuſtodiat, reverentiſſime frater. Data Die decima Kalendarum Juliarum, Imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo nono, poſt Conſulatum ejuſdem Domini anno decimo octavo, Indictione quarta.

This letter is the more curious and important, as it contains the original plan of the Engliſh Hierarchy, and as it gave riſe to the frequent diſputes in ſucceeding ages between the Sees of Canterbury, York, London, and St Andrew's in Scotland.

[Q] Gregory *ordered him not to pull down the Idol temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches.*] The reaſon of this injunction was this; that the natives, by frequenting the ſame temples they had been always accuſtomed to, might be the leſs ſhocked at their entrance into Chriſtianity. And therefore his Holineſs directed, that the idols ſhould be deſtroyed, and thoſe places of worſhip ſprinkled with holy water. And, whereas it had been their cuſtom to ſacrifice oxen to their falſe gods, he adviſed, that, upon the anniverſary of each church's conſecration, the people ſhould erect booths round about it, and feaſt therein, not ſacrificing their oxen to devils, but killing them for their own refreſhment, and praiſing God for the bleſſing. And thus by allowing them ſome gratifications of ſenſe, they might reliſh Chriſtianity the better, and be raiſed by degrees to the nobler pleaſures of the mind. And here Gregory alledges the example of God himſelf, who, when he diſcovered himſelf to the Iſraelites in Egypt, did not forbid them the cuſtomary rites of ſacrificing, but transferred their worſhip from the devil to himſelf (44). Thus Pope Gregory wiſely condeſcended to the weakneſs of the new converts, and complied with part of their prejudices, as a more likely expedient to reconcile them to Chriſtianity, than if he had indulged them in no circumſtance of their former cuſtoms, but drove them wholly from one extreme to another.

(44) Gregor. Epiſt. l. l. ix.

[R] ——— *Cautioning him not to be puffed up with the miracles, he was enabled to work, in confirmation of his miniſtry.*] After having premiſed his great ſatisfaction at the converſion of the Engliſh, he lets him know he was convinced, that God had wrought ſurprizing miracles in favour of his miſſion. He tells him, he had reaſon to rejoice, that the exterior pomp and dazzling luſtre of miracles, had brought the Engliſh to the inward reformation and ſpiritual advantage deſigned by them; but, on the other ſide, he ought to be afraid, leſt, through human infirmity, he ſhould grow vain upon this privilege. And therefore he deſires him to remember, that, when the diſciples told our Saviour, with an air of tranſport, *Lord, even the devils are ſubject unto us through thy name*, they received this anſwer; *Rejoice not, that the ſpirits are ſubject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven*, Luke x. 17. He proceeds to exhort the Archbiſhop to examine the ſtate of his mind with great care and impartiality, otherwiſe the power of working miracles might prove a ſnare to him. He adviſes him to conſider, how much the Engliſh were the favourites of heaven, ſince God enabled him to alter the courſe of nature, and perform ſuch wonderful things, to promote their converſion. He adviſes him farther, frequently to recollect his own failings, this being a good expedient to preſerve his humility, and ſuppreſs the tumours of pride. Laſtly, he puts him in mind, that whatever degrees of ſupernatural power were beſtowed upon him, they were not deſigned for figure and greatneſs, nor given for his own ſake; but intended principally for the advantage of thoſe, whoſe happineſs he was ſent to procure. *Scio, frater chariſſime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem quam eligi voluit, magna miracula oſtendit; unde neceſſe eſt, ut de eodem dono cæleſti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudendo pertimeſcas. Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimeſcas vero, ne, inter ſigna quæ fiunt infirmus animus ſui præſumptione ſe elevet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminiſſe etenim debemus, quia diſcipuli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cæleſti magiſtro dicerent*; Domine, in nomine tuo etiam dæmonia nobis ſubjecta ſunt; *protinus audierunt:* Nolite gaudere ſuper hoc, ſed potius gaudete quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem poſuerant qui de miraculis gaudebant; ſed de privato ad communem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiam revocantur quibus dicitur:* In hoc gaudete, quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *Non enim omnes Electi miracula faciunt; ſed tamen eorum nomina omnium in cœlo tenentur adſcripta. Veritatis etenim diſcipulis eſſe gaudium non debet, niſi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent. Reſtat itaque, frater chariſſime, ut inter ea quæ operante Deo exterius facis, ſemper te interius ſubtiliter judices, ac ſubtiliter intelligas, et temetipſum quis ſcis, et quanta ſit in eadem gente gratia, pro cujus converſione etiam faciendorum ſignorum dona percepiſti. Et ſi quando te Creatori noſtro ſeu per linguam, ſive per opera reminiſceris deliquiſſe, ſemper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut ſurgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis ſignis acceperis vel accepiſti, hæc non tibi ſed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi ſalute collata ſunt* (45).

(45) Bede, l. i. c. 31.

[S] *King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St Peter and St Paul, ſince called St Auguſtin's.*] 'Cœnobii 'magnificentiſſimi (*ſays* Godwin) jecit fundamenta 'ſub ipſis mœnibus Cantuarienſis civitatis, ab ipſo 'Petri et Pauli, ſed a poſteris Divi Auguſtini in hodier-'num uſque diem nuncupati. Nam nondum demo-'litum viſitur adhuc, et pars patrimonii regii cen-'ſetur. Regia vero, ſuccedentium deinceps Archie-'piſcoporum ſemper fuit et eſt adhuc palatium (46). '———*He* (King Ethelbert) *laid the foundation of 'a moſt magnificent convent, cloſe by the walls of 'the city of Canterbury, to which he gave the title 'of St Peter and St Paul; but in after-times it was 'called the Abbey of St Auguſtin, which name it re-'tains to this day. For it is not entirely deſtroyed, 'and what remains is looked upon as a part of the 'royal patrimony. It was antiently the reſidence 'of the Kings of Kent; afterwards it was given 'to the Archbiſhops, whoſe palace it ſtill continues 'to be.'*

(46) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

[T] *Auguſtin attempted to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church.*] The Britons, from the firſt time of planting Chriſtianity in the iſland, had conſtantly followed the rules and cuſtoms left them by their firſt maſters. But the Church of Rome had made certain alterations in the manner of celebrating divine ſervice, to which it pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The Churches of the Weſt, as being the neareſt to Rome, were the moſt eaſily gained; and almoſt all of them, excepting thoſe of France and Milan, conformed at laſt to the Roman Ritual. But Britain ſtill continued, as it were,

ſhire ſince called *Auguſtin's Oak*; where the Archbiſhop endeavoured to perſuade the Britiſh Prelates to make but one communion, and aſſiſt in preaching to the unconverted Saxons. But failing in this attempt, he was willing to appeal to the ſupernatural evidence of a miracle; and accordingly, at the cloſe of the diſpute, a blind Saxon being brought to the Britiſh Biſhops for a cure, and not meeting with relief, was carried to St Auguſtin, who preſently reſtored him to ſight. But this not yet ſatisfying the Biſhops, a ſecond conference was propoſed and held [*U*]; which proving as unſucceſsful as the former, Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity, as a puniſhment of their diſobedience; which, the hiſtorians tell us, accordingly fell upon them

were, A World apart. Since the embaſſy of Lucius to Pope Eleutherius, the Britons had very little communication with the Biſhops of Rome. They acknowledged them only as Biſhops of a particular Dioceſe, or, at moſt, as heads of a Patriarchate, on which they did not think the Britiſh Church ought to be any way dependent. They were ſo far from receiving orders from the Pope, that they were even ſtrangers to his pretenſions. But Auguſtin, full of zeal for the intereſts of the See of Rome, made an attempt to bring them to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Pope over all other Churches. It is not eaſy to ſay, how far Auguſtin intended to have led them, ſince it does not appear, that he had any inſtructions on this head from Gregory I, who was very far from aſpiring to that exceſs of authority, which his ſucceſſors arrogated to themſelves. However it cannot be denied, that this Pope claimed a juriſdiction over the churches of Britain, ſince, in his letter to Auguſtin, he appointed him Metropolitan of the whole iſland. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that Auguſtin would have inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on this article, if he had not been very ſure of the Pope's approbation.

[*U*] *A ſecond conference was propoſed, and held.*] The appearance at this aſſembly was much greater than at the former; for now there came ſeven Britiſh Biſhops, and a great many learned Monks from the monaſtery of Bancornaburg or Bangor, who were under the direction of their Abbot, Dinoth. Theſe Britons, at their ſetting forward to the Synod, applied themſelves to a certain Hermit, eminent for virtue and good ſenſe; and aſked his opinion, whether they ſhould give up the uſages and traditions of their Church, and acknowledge the pretenſions of Auguſtin. His anſwer was; if he was a man of God, they ought to be governed by him. They deſired to be informed how they ſhould know whether he was, or not. He replied, 'Our Saviour 'ſays; *Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and 'lowly in heart.* If therefore Auguſtin be a man 'of an affable and humble diſpoſition, it is very 'probable he has taken the yoke of Chriſt upon 'him, and offers you the ſame privilege. But if 'his behaviour be haughty and inſolent, it is plain 'he is no agent from Heaven, nor is his diſcourſe 'to be regarded.' They aſked him farther, by what marks they were to diſcover his temper of mind. The Hermit anſwered, they ſhould manage it ſo, that Auguſtin and his company ſhould come firſt to the place; and then, if he roſe up to ſalute them at their coming in, they might conclude, that he was ſent from God; but if he neglected to pay them this civility, they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him (47). Baronius is by no means pleaſed with the Hermit's criterion: he calls him a falſe Prophet, and charges him with laying down a wrong mark of humility (48). But why all this hard language upon the poor Anchoret, whom Bede acknowledges to have been eminent both for piety and prudence? But the Cardinal pretends to juſtify his ſatire from this text of St John: *If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed.* Where he ſeems not to have conſidered, that thoſe who were to be received thus coldly, and kept at ſuch a diſtance, were ſuch as *denied our Saviour's being come in the fleſh.* But Auguſtin could not charge the Britons with any infidelity or apoſtaſy from the faith; and therefore he might have received them with reſpect and civility. But Baronius will have it, that Auguſtin knew them to be an obſtinate people, and that they were not to be moved by the authority of the Apoſtolick See. If this be true, why did he give himſelf all this trouble, and appoint a ſecond meeting? Beſides, the Cardinal might have remembered, that it was always the cuſtom of the Church, to treat Hereticks and even Heathens, with common civility. But ſtill the Cardinal will not allow, that Auguſtin's not riſing up to ſalute the Britons, was a ſufficient ground for rejecting his propoſals. *What*, ſays he, *are malefactors to except againſt the authority of their judge, becauſe he will not compliment them? Our Saviour enjoined obedience to the Scribes and Phariſees, becauſe they ſat in Moſes's ſeat; for their pride was no forfeiture of their authority.* Thus Baronius argues upon the ſuppoſition of the Pope's ſupremacy, which was a doctrine the Britiſh Church knew nothing of. But to proceed to the conference. When the Britons came into the Synod, and found that Auguſtin received them ſitting, they reſented the affront, and warmly oppoſed every thing offered by him. The articles inſiſted on by Auguſtin were; that they ſhould celebrate Eaſter, and adminiſter Baptiſm, according to the practice of the Roman Church; and that they ſhould acknowledge the Pope's authority. If they would comply in theſe reſpects, and aſſiſt in the converſion of the Saxons, he would bear with the diſagreement of their cuſtoms in other caſes. But the Britons replied, they could yield none of the points conteſted (49). As to the Pope's authority, what their ſenſe was upon that article, appears by Abbot Dinoth's anſwer, who ſpoke for the reſt. He told Auguſtin, 'That the Britiſh Churches owed the de-'ference of brotherly kindneſs and charity to the 'Church of God, the Pope of Rome, and to all 'Chriſtians; but they knew of no other obedience 'due from them to him, whom they called the 'Pope; that, for their parts, they were under the 'direction of the Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, who, 'under God, was their ſpiritual overſeer and di-'rector.' This part of the conference is not related by Bede, but was tranſcribed from a manuſcript by Sir Henry Spelman (50), who has given it us in Welſh, Engliſh, and Latin, and tells us, he had it from Mr Peter Moſtin, a Welſh gentleman. It appeared to Sir Henry, to be a very old manuſcript, tranſcribed from an older, but without date or author. However, to weaken the authority of this manuſcript, it is objected, that there was at that time no Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, nor had been, ſince the metropolitical juriſdiction had been tranſlated to Menevia, by St David. In anſwer to which, it is granted, that, from the time of Dubricius, the See was transferred, firſt to Landaff, and then to St David's; but this latter tranſlation was not agreed to by all the Britiſh Biſhops; and Caerleon being the antient Metropolitical See, it was no abſurdity to mention that place, in a diſpute which turned upon antient right. But the certainty of the Britiſh Churches rejecting the Pope's authority, does not depend on the credit of this Welſh manuſcript. For the point is ſufficiently clear from Bede, who tells us (51), the Britiſh Clergy declared againſt owning Auguſtin for their Archbiſhop; whereas, had they acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, they could not but have ſubmitted to Auguſtin, who acted under his commiſſion. If it be enquired why the Britiſh Clergy were ſo tenacious of their old cuſtoms, as to break with Auguſtin, rather than alter their way of keeping Eaſter, and adminiſtering Baptiſm; it may be replied, that theſe terms were not required of them, as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of ſubmiſſion and inferiority. And therefore, the Britiſh Biſhops, perceiving their liberties were ſtruck at, and reſenting, at the ſame time, the ſeeming diſreſpect with which they were treated, were by no means in a diſpoſition to comply with any propoſitions Auguſtin could make to them.

(47) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(48) Baron. *ad an.* 604. *ſect.* 71.

(49) Bede, ut ſupra.

(50) *In the firſt Volume of his* Councils, p. 108, 109.

(51) Ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *Auguſtin*

them (*i*) [*W*]. In the year 604, Auguſtin conſecrated two of his companions, Mellitus and Juſtus, the former to the See of Rocheſter, and the latter to that of London. The ſame year, having appointed Laurence to ſucceed him, this Apoſtle of the Engliſh died at Canterbury, and was buried in the church-yard of the monaſtery that went by his name, the cathedral being not then finiſhed: but, after the conſecration of that church, his body was taken up, and depoſited in the north porch (*k*); where it lay, till, in the year 1091, it was removed and placed in the church, by Wido Abbot of Canterbury (*l*) [*X*]. The inſcription upon St Auguſtin's tomb, given us by Bede (*m*), is generally thought

(*i*) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(*k*) Ibid. c. 3.

(*l*) Chronica W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1793.

(*m*) Ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity ——— which ——— accordingly fell upon them.*] Being diſappointed in the ſucceſs of this Synod, he ſaid to them, at going away, *If ye will not accept of peace with your brethren, ye ſhall receive war from your enemies; and if ye will not preach the way of life to the Engliſh, ye ſhall ſuffer death from their hands, by way of revenge.* This unfriendly prediction, Bede tells us, was afterwards fulfilled; for Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, marched with a great army to Caerleon, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Britons. The deſcription of this battle, in which near twelve hundred of the Monks of Bangor were put to the ſword, may be ſeen in Bede (52), who takes care to inform us, that *it was fought after the Death of Auguſtin.* But ſeveral writers are of opinion, that this paſſage of Bede is interpolated, becauſe it is not found in King Alfred's Saxon verſion. And Biſhop Godwin (53) takes notice of a Charter ſigned by Ethelbert and Auguſtin, in the year 605, which he makes to be the year of this battle. In anſwer to theſe objections, it may be obſerved, that, though the conteſted paſſage be not in King Alfred's tranſlation, yet it was in all the moſt antient manuſcripts of the original (54); and that Alfred omitted tranſlating it, becauſe the hiſtory of Auguſtin's Life was not yet finiſhed; for, in the next chapter, he is ſaid to have conſecrated two Biſhops, Mellitus and Juſtus. As to the objection of Auguſtin's ſigning King Ethelbert's charter, the learned Sir Henry Spelman obſerves (55), that it was the Saxon cuſtom of that age, to paſs eſtates and privileges without inſtruments in writing; and that King Withred, who reigned about the year 700, was the firſt who introduced written deeds; ſo that all the charters, prior to this time, are to be ſuſpected of forgery. Farther, that Auguſtin died in the year 604, and before the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor, the learned Wharton endeavours to put beyond all queſtion. For he alledges the teſtimony of an antient book, cited by William Thorn; from whence it is evident, that Auguſtin and Pope Gregory both died in the ſame year; but it is paſt all diſpute, that the latter died in 604 (56). It is of great conſequence to ſettle this point, ſince no leſs depends upon it, than the truth or falſehood of an accuſation, which reflects the higheſt infamy on the memory of Auguſtin. For he is charged with having been, not only the author, but even the principal actor, in the tragedy above-mentioned. Biſhop Godwin, who is not inclined to ſpeak favourably of Auguſtin, calls him, with a ſneer, an excellent Prophet indeed, who could ſo readily foretel, what was in his own power to bring to paſs. *Vatem ſcilicet præclarum, qui illa potuit prædicere, quæ ut efficeret, in ſua novit eſſe poteſtate* (57)! Then he goes on to acquaint us, that, by his authority and influence over King Ethelbert, he eaſily prevailed with that Prince, to make war with the Britons, and to excite Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, againſt them. And in ſupport of this charge, he cites the following paſſage out of one Thomas Graius, who (he tells us) lived three hundred years ago, and wrote Annals in the French language. 'Auguſtinus ab 'Epiſcopis et aliis inter Britannos doctis hominibus 'hoc pacto rejectus, Ethelberto Cantiorum regitam 'graviter conqueſtus eſt, ut exercitum protinus gran-'dem collegerit, et in eos impetum faciens, mag-'num illorum numerum interfecerit, quorum nihilo 'magis miſertus eſt quam ſolet lupus oviculorum.—— '*Auguſtin, being in this manner rejected by the Biſhops* '*and other learned men among the Britons, complained* '*ſo heavily thereof to Ethelbert, King of Kent, that* '*That Prince immediately levied a conſiderable army,* '*and falling upon them, deſtroyed great multitudes of* '*them, taking no more pity of them than a wolf* '*does of a flock of ſheep.*' Then the Biſhop goes on to acquaint us farther, upon the authority of a very antient anonymous manuſcript, which he does not cite, that Ethelbert, at the inſtigation of Auguſtin, borrowed forces of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, for carrying on the war againſt the Britons inhabiting Wales; and that Archbiſhop Auguſtin himſelf came up with them, and gained a complete victory over them, at Cheſter (58). If this account were a true one, the Biſhop might well exclaim; *Nimium profecto hæc ſapiunt ambitionem et potentiæ in immenſum augendæ cupiditatem illam effrenem, qua ſemper a primis incunabulis Roma laboravit* (59). i. e. 'Such proceedings ſurely ſavour a little too much 'of that ambition and unbounded thirſt after power, 'which the See of Rome has conſtantly diſcovered.' But if Auguſtin, as is moſt probable, died before the ſlaughter of the Britons, then one half at leaſt of the ſtory is falſe; and if one half be not true, the reader is left to judge what credit the other part deſerves. As a farther juſtification of Auguſtin from the charge in queſtion, let us cite Mr Collier. 'As 'for Auguſtin's prediction of this calamity (ſays that 'author) it does not at all infer, he was any way 'inſtrumental in it. It amounts only to a warm ex-'preſſion, dropt upon a diſappointment, and a pro-'bable conjecture upon the poſture of affairs; for, 'at that time, the country was much embroiled, 'and the Britons ſurrounded with formidable ene-'mies, ſo that unleſs, by cloſing with Auguſtin, they 'procured King Ethelbert for their ally, he fore-'ſaw the caſe might probably go hard with them. 'Beſides, we are to obſerve, that the defeat was 'given the Britons by King Ethelfrid, a Pagan Prince, 'whoſe dominions lay beyond the Humber, and by 'conſequence could be no homager to King Ethel-'bert. For theſe reaſons, there is no manner of 'likelihood, that Auguſtin ſhould have any intereſt 'or correſpondence with him. To this we may add, 'in the laſt place, that the annals of Ulſter reckon 'the ſlaughter of the Britiſh Monks by King Ethel-'frid to the year of our Lord 613, which was cer-'tainly after the death of Archbiſhop Auguſtin: 'And this computation is allowed by the learned 'Primate Uſher (60).' Nicholas Trivet, who wrote a Chronicle in Norman French, tells us, as he is cited by Sir Henry Spelman (61), that the cruelty of King Ethelfrid, in falling upon thoſe unarmed Monks, was quickly revenged upon him. For this Prince marching forward, after the victory, towards Bangor, was encountered by a freſh body of Britons, who killed above ten thouſand of his men, routed the reſt, and purſued Ethelfrid as far as the Humber.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(54) Notæ Wheloc. *in* Bede, c. 2. l. ii.

(55) Concil. Vol. I. p. 125.

(56) Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 91.

(57) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(58) *Then called* Legeceſtria.

(59) Godwin, ibi. p. 50.

(60) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 78.

(61) Concil. Vol. I. p. 112.

[*X*] *His body was removed, and placed in the church, by Wido, Abbot of Canterbury.*] William Thorn informs us, that, on the 8th of the Ides of September, A. D. 1091, Abbot Wido tranſlated the body of St Auguſtin from the place where it had lain near five hundred years, and placed all the larger bones, together with the Saint's head, in a ſtone-coffin; on which was this inſcription:

Inclitus Anglorum Preſul, pius, et decus altum,
Hic AUGUSTINUS requieſcit corpore Sanctus.

But leaſt the Danes and Normans, who made frequent incurſions on the parts of Kent, ſhould deprive the nation of ſo valuable a treaſure; therefore, when the ceremony of the tranſlation was over, and the people were retired home, the venerable Abbot, with a few of the ſenior Monks, went privately into the church by night, and taking out the Saint's head, and part of his body, excepting only the ſmaller bones and ſome aſhes, they placed them in a ſmall urn, ſtrongly ſecured with iron and lead; which they hid in the wall under the Eaſt window. And as there were but a few brethren entruſted with the ſecret,

the

thought to be ſpurious [Y]. The Popiſh writers have, as uſual, aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give the reader a ſpecimen below [Z]. As to his character; Biſhop Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, by which he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland [AA]; and that writer is of opinion, that the

the memory of it was ſoon extinct; and the body lay concealed an hundred and thirty years, till the time of Abbot Hugh III (62); when on the fifth of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1221, it was diſcovered, and honourably depoſited in three different places. That Abbot, to excite the devotion of the people, did, at his own expence, cauſe the Saint's head to be ornamented with gold and precious ſtones, and repoſited by itſelf (63). At laſt, on the third of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1300, Thomas Findon, then Abbot of Canterbury, depoſited St Auguſtin's relics on a marble tomb, adorned with beautiful carved work; adding withal to the above-mentioned diſtich, this other, in which he expreſſed his great affection for the memory of that Saint:

Ad tumulum laudis Patris almi ductus amore.
Abbas hunc tumulum THOMAS dictavit honore (64).

(62) Chronic. W. Thorn. *ap.* X Scriptores, col. 1793, 1794.

(63) Id. ibid. col. 1877, 1878.

(64) Id. ibid. col. 1977.

[Y] *The inſcription on his tomb, given us by Bede, is generally thought to be ſpurious.*] It is this: *Hic requieſcit Dominus Auguſtinus Doruvernenſis Archiepiſcopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum ſuffultus, Aedilberctum Regem, ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Chriſti fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii ſui, defunctus eſt ſeptimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante* (65): i. e. 'Here 'reſts Auguſtin, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 'who being formerly ſent hither by St Gregory, 'Pope of Rome, and aſſiſted by God with the power 'of working miracles, converted King Ethelbert and 'his ſubjects from idolatry to the Chriſtian faith; 'and having finiſhed in peace the days of his miniſtry, 'he departed this life on the ſeventh of the Kalends 'of June, in the ſame King's reign.' Againſt the authority of this inſcription, and it's pretenſion to ſo great antiquity, it is uſually objected, that the term *Archiepiſcopus* (Archbiſhop) was not then in uſe in the Weſtern Church; as not being commonly allowed to Metropolitans (according to Mabillon and others) till about the ninth Century (96). With Auguſtin, there were buried in the ſame porch the ſix archbiſhops, who immediately ſucceeded him; and in honour of the whole ſeven, *viz.* Auguſtin, Laurence, Mellitus, Juſtus, Honorius, Deus-Dedit, and Theodactus; theſe verſes, Mr Camden tells us (67), were engraven on marble.

(65) Bede, l. ii. c. 3.

(66) Stillingfl. Orig. Eccleſ. p. 21, 22.

(67) Britannia. *publiſhed by* Bp Gibſon, *fol.* Vol. I. p. 241.

SEPTEM SUNT ANGLI PRIMATES ET PROTOPATRES,
SEPTEM RECTORES, SEPTEM COELOQUE TRIONES,
SEPTEM CISTERNÆ VITÆ, SEPTEMQUE LUCERNÆ,
ET SEPTEM PALMÆ REGNI, SEPTEMQUE CORONÆ,
SEPTEM SUNT STELLÆ, QUAS HÆC TENET AREA CELLÆ.

Seven Patriarchs of England, Primates Seven,
Seven Rectors, and Seven Labourers in Heav'n,
Seven Ciſterns pure of Life, Seven Lamps of Light,
Seven Palms, and of this Realm ſeven Crowns full bright,
Seven Stars are here beſtow'd in vault below.

Theſe ſeven Prelates were buried in the porch of the Cathedral; but all the ſucceeding Archbiſhops were interred in the body of the church, the porch not being large enough to receive any more (68).

(68) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[Z] *The Popiſh writers have——aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give a ſpecimen*] William Thorn relates, that, when Auguſtin firſt landed in the iſle of Thanet, at his getting out of the ſhip, he ſtepped upon a ſtone, which retained the print of his foot, as if it had been only mud. That hiſtorian adds, that this ſtone was taken up, and preſerved in a chapel, built by the Saint in that very place; and that great multitudes of people reſorted thither annually, on the day of it's depoſition, to pay their devotions to it, and for the recovery of their health (69). John Brompton mentions a very clear fountain of water, which Auguſtin, by his prayers, cauſed to ſpring up, at a time when he wanted water for baptizing (70). The ſame author tells us ſo very extraordinary a ſtory of St Auguſtin, that I ſhall give it the reader at length. That Prelate coming one day to preach at a village called Cumpton, in Oxfordſhire, the Prieſt of that town complained to him, that a certain officer in the army refuſed to pay him his tythes. Whereupon Auguſtin ſent for the officer, and gently reprimanded him for his obſtinacy in withholding the church's dues. But the ſoldier ſtill refuſing to comply, Auguſtin threatened him with excommunication; and then going up to the altar, he ſaid aloud in the hearing of all the people, *Let no excommunicated perſon be preſent at the Maſs.* This being ſaid, a dead corpſe, which had been buried in the church porch, came immediately out of it's grave, and, going into the church-yard, ſtood there erect and motionleſs, during the celebration of Maſs. The people, who ſaw it, came in a fright to Auguſtin, and related the matter. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, preceded by the Croſs and Holy Water, and accompanied by all the people, went to the place, and demanded of the dead body, who he was? To whom the corpſe replied: *When you commanded on God's part, that no excommunicated perſon ſhould be preſent at the Maſs, the Angels of God, who conſtantly attend your ſteps, caſt me out of the place where I was buried, telling me, that Auguſtin, the friend of God, commanded all ſtinking carcaſſes to be thrown out of the Church of God. For, in the time of the Britons, before the fury of the Anglo Saxons had laid waſte this country, I was Lord of this village; and, though often admoniſhed by the Prieſt of this church, I refuſed paying tythes, 'till being excommunicated by him I died, and was caſt down into hell.* Hereupon Auguſtin and all the company wept bitterly. Then Auguſtin bid the dead body ſhew him where the Prieſt lay buried; which being done, and a few dry bones being found, the Saint addreſſed himſelf to prayer, and then ſaid, *In the name of God, I command thee to ariſe, for I have buſineſs with thee.* Immediately the bones began to unite, and in a ſhort time the Prieſt ſtood before them; who, at the Saint's command, pronounced abſolution on the excommunicated corpſe; after which, both the dead bodies returned to their graves, and fell into duſt. Then Auguſtin, calling the officer, aſked him, if he yet perſiſted in refuſing to pay his tythes. But he, trembling and aſtoniſhed, fell at the Saint's feet, and confeſſed his crime; and, beſtowing all his goods on the church, he became a conſtant follower of Auguſtin, till the day of his death (71). If the reader is not yet ſatisfied, he may read a great deal more of ſuch Legendary ſtuff in the author cited in the margin (72).

(69) Chronic. W. Thorn, ubi ſupra, col. 1759.

(70) Chronic. J. Bromton, ubi ſupra, col. 807.

(71) Id. ib. col. 736, 737.

(72) Goſcelini Hiſt. Minor. de Vita S. Auguſtini. *Apud* Wharton, Pars ſecunda, p. 56, *&c.*

[AA] *Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, whereby he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland*] 'Homo is (*Auguſtinus*) videtur ſanctitate morum quam ſcientia aut eruditione laudatior, etſi ut 'homo vitiis non caruerit, ac illo in primis ambitionis, qua dum pluſquam nimis ardeſcerit, magnas 'hic turbas excitavit, ut quaſi contagio quodam infectus, a loco unde venerat hanc peſtem accepiſſe 'videatur, ſi Pontificum ſubſequentium ſuperbiam ad 'apertam tyrannidem graſſantium, potius quam Gregorii, et anteceſſorum ſuorum humilitatem ſpectemus (73).——*Auguſtin ſeems more worthy of praiſe 'for the holineſs of his life, than his knowledge or 'learning; though as a man he was not free from 'faults, eſpecially that of ambition, with which being 'too ſtrongly poſſeſſed, he was the occaſion of great 'diſturbances here; inſomuch that he ſeems to have 'been infected with the malignity of the place from 'whence he came, and to have brought this plague 'with him from Rome, if we conſider the pride of 'the ſucceeding Popes, who openly played the tyrants, 'rather than the humility of Gregory and his pre'deceſſors.*' What diſturbances this author means, or what marks of ambition he diſcovered in Auguſtin's conduct, I am at a loſs to ſay; unleſs he had in view the ſlaughter of the Britons, and that Prelate's taking upon himſelf the character of Metropolitan of England,

(73) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 42.

the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended [*BB*]. But in favour of Auguſtin, it muſt be ſaid, that he lived ſuitably to the character of a Miſſionary, and practiſed great auſterities. And if he betrayed any reſtleſsneſs of temper, or ſtrained his authority too far in reſpect to the Britons, it ought to be placed to the account of human infirmities, and covered by his greater merit: This is certain; he engaged in a glorious undertaking, ſurmounted danger and diſcouragement, and was bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs. And what ought to endear his memory to us, is, that he was a ſignal inſtrument in the hand of providence eſtabliſhing Chriſtianity in this iſland. The obſervation of the feſtival of St Auguſtin was firſt enjoined in a ſynod held under Cuthbert Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*n*), and afterwards by the Pope's bull in the reign of King Edward III (*o*).

(*n*) Gervas. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* Twyſden, col. 1641.

(*o*) Chronic. W. Thorn. *apud* Twyſden. col. 2119.

England before Chriſtianity had extended itſelf beyond the bounds of Kent, or there were any ſuffragan Biſhops to acknowledge his juriſdiction. But the reader will know better what to think of both theſe events, if he will conſult the remarks [*M*] and [*W*].

[*BB*] ——*And is of opinion, that the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome, for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended.*] Let the Biſhop once more ſpeak for himſelf. 'Cui tamen Apoſtoli Anglorum non invidebi-'mus appellationem, modo commodè intellectam. 'Miſſum ſiquidem non inficiamur; ſed per quem? 'Per Gregorium Epiſcopum Romanum, cui nequic-'quam plus juris erat in noſtram Angliam quam 'ipſi Auguſtino——Dabimus porro, ut Anglis præ-'dicaret miſſum. Angliæ tamen pars magna (cur non 'dixerim maxima) infidelitatis tenebris immerſa jacuit 'plurimis poſt mortem ejus annis, donec tandem 'Paulinus in Septentrione anno 625, Wilfridus apud 'Auſtrales Saxones 681, Fœlix apud orientales An-'glos in Norfolcia 630, aliique alibi poſtea Chriſtum 'primi annuntiarunt (74). —— *I ſhall not deny* '*him the title of* Apoſtle of the Engliſh, *underſtood* '*in a proper ſenſe. For I acknowledge, he was ſent*; '*but by whom? By Gregory Biſhop of Rome, who had* '*no more authority over our England, than Auguſtin* '*himſelf. I will grant likewiſe, that he was ſent* '*to preach to the Engliſh. Yet a great part (I* '*might ſay much the greateſt part) of England lay* '*buried in the darkneſs of infidelity many years after* '*his death, till at length Paulinus converted the* '*Northern parts in the year* 625, *Wilfrid the South-*'*Saxons in* 681, *Fœlix the Eaſt-Angles in Norfolk* '*in* 630, *and others other parts of the iſland.*' But, with ſubmiſſion to this author, if it be no objection (and I think it never was urged as ſuch) againſt the merit and character of the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity, that they did not live to ſee the Goſpel fully eſtabliſhed in the countries where they preached; why ſhould it be thought to derogate from the good intentions of Pope Gregory, or the ſervices of Auguſtin, that the latter died long before the entire converſion of this iſland? The Britons, it is true, had received the Chriſtian faith a conſiderable time before Auguſtin's arrival; but the Saxons, who were idolators, having driven the natives into Wales, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of the iſland, Heatheniſm had reſumed it's antient ſeat in Britain, and the great work of converſion was to be undertaken afreſh. And if the labours of St Auguſtin ſucceeded ſo far, as to lay a ſufficient foundation for the gradual propagation of Chriſtianity, till the whole country ſhould at length embrace it; the praiſe and the thanks due to ſo bleſſed a work ought not to be the leſs, becauſe it pleaſed God to take the labourer to himſelf long before it was finiſhed. I might add, that Paulinus, who preached to the Northumbrians, was conſecrated by Juſtus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was contemporary and fellow-labourer with Auguſtin himſelf; ſo that our miſſionary may be conſidered as an inſtrument in the Converſion of that kingdom, though he did not live to be witneſs of it.

(74) Id. ibid. p. 45, 46.

T

AUNGERVYLE (RICHARD) commonly known by the name of *Richard de Bury*, was born at St Edmundſbury in Suffolk, in 1281 (*), the ninth of King Edward I (*a*). His father, Sir Richard Aungervyle, Kt. dying while he was young, his uncle —— Willowby, a Prieſt, took a particular care of his education; and when he was fit, ſent him to Oxford, where he ſtudied Philoſophy and Divinity (*b*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and regular and exemplary life [*A*]. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies there, he became a Benedictine Monk at Durham (*c*). Soon after he was made tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward III (*d*). And being Treaſurer of Guienne in 1325, he ſupplied Queen Iſabel, when ſhe was plotting againſt her huſband King Edward II, with a large ſum of money out of that Exchequer. For which being queſtioned by the King's party, he narrowly eſcaped to Paris, where he was forced to hide himſelf ſeven days in the tower of a church (*e*). When King Edward III came to the Crown, he loaded his tutor Aungervyle with honours and preferments. For he at firſt made him his Cofferer, then Treaſurer of the Wardrobe, Archdeacon of Northampton, Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Litchfield (†), and afterwards Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This laſt place he enjoyed five years, and was in that time ſent twice embaſſador to the Pope. In 1333 he was promoted to the Deanery of Wells, and before the end of the ſame year, being choſen Biſhop of Durham, he was conſecrated about the end of December [*B*] at Chertſey in Surrey; the Kings of England and Scotland, the Queen, the two Archbiſhops, five Biſhops, ſeven Earls, and many other perſons being preſent. The next year he was appointed High-Chancellor, and in 1336 Treaſurer of England (*f*). In 1338 he was twice ſent with

(*a*) Godwin de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 129. Baleus de Script. Cent. V, n. 69. Pits de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. an. 1349.

(*) This is evident from the memorandum mentioned below, note [*C*].

(*b*) Roſſus Warvic. *apud* Baleum, ibid. Godwin, ibid.

(*c*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Godwin, ibid.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(†) Br. Willis Survey of the Cathedrals, *&c.* p. 241.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning*] Boſton and Roſſe of Warwick teſtify, that *In utraque (philoſophia tam divina quam humana) magnus evaſit*; *i. e.* He became very eminent for his knowledge both in philoſophy and divinity (1).

(1) Apud Godwinum de Præſul. p. 129.

[*B*] *He was conſecrated about the end of December.*] Biſhop Godwin ſays, he was conſecrated the 19th of December; but it appears from Walſingham that it was a miſtake. For the perſon conſecrated about that time, was a Monk of Durham, whom the reſt of the Monks had choſen Biſhop, againſt the King's inclination. Wherefore, upon the King's recommendation, the Pope nominated Richard de Bury, who was conſecrated accordingly, *cito poſt feſtum natalis domini*, ſoon after Chriſtmas. The Monk being a Biſhop without a Biſhoprick, *ſine Epiſcopatu Epiſcopus*, returned to his cloyſter, where he died ſoon after (2). I cannot, by the way, but take notice of a very viſible miſtake that hath crept into Walſingham, at line 24 of the ſame page; the words—— *nomine Richardum de Bury*——ought certainly to be blotted out.

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Edw. II, edit. Francof. 1603, p. 133.

with other Commiſſioners to treat of a peace with the King of France, tho' to no purpoſe (*g*). As to his character, he was not only one of the learnedeſt men of his time, but alſo a very great patron and encourager of learning. Petrarch he frequently correſponded with: And had for his chaplains, Thomas Bradwardin and Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbiſhops, the firſt of Canterbury, and the ſecond of Armagh; Richard Bintworth ſoon after Biſhop of London, and Walter Segrave of Chicheſter; and Walter Burley, J. Mandut, Rob. Holcot, R. Killington, Doctors of Divinity, the moſt eminent men in that age. His cuſtom was, to have ſome of his attendants read to him while he was at meals, and when they were over, to diſcourſe with his chaplains upon the ſame ſubject. He was likewiſe of a very bountiful and charitable temper; every week he made eight quarters of wheat into bread, and gave it to the poor. Whenever he travelled between Durham and Newcaſtle, he diſtributed eight pounds ſterling in alms; between Durham and Stockton five pounds; between Durham and Auckland five marks; and between Durham and Middleham five pounds (*h*). But the nobleſt inſtance of his generoſity and munificence, was the publick library he founded at Oxford, for the uſe of the ſtudents (*i*). This library he furniſhed with the beſt collection of books that was then in England; fixed it in the place where Durham, now Trinity-college, was built afterwards; and writ a treatiſe containing rules for the management of the library, how the books were to be preſerved, and upon what conditions lent out to ſcholars [*C*]. He appointed five keepers, to whom he granted yearly ſalaries [*D*]. This worthy perſon having thus employed himſelf in works of charity and munificence, died at his manor of Auckland, April 24, 1345; and was buried in the ſouth part of the croſs iſle of the cathedral church of Durham, to which he had been a benefactor (*k*).

(*g*) H. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, col. 2572.

(*h*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 131.

(*i*) Godwin, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 48.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He writ a treatiſe*, &c.] This book he entitled *Philobiblos*, from whence he came to be called himſelf *Philobiblos*, a lover of books; and very juſtly if, as he ſays himſelf in the preface to it, his love of them was ſo violent, that it put him in a kind of rapture, and made him neglect all his other affairs. He finiſhed it at Aukland, January 24, 1344-5, being juſt ſixty-three years of age (3). It was printed at Spires in 1483, at Paris by Badius Aſcenſius in 1500, by the learned Thomas James at Oxford in 1599, 4*to*. and at Leipſic in 1674, at the end of *Philologicarum Epiſtolarum Centuria una, ex bibliotheca Melch. Haiminsfeldii*. It is alſo in manuſcript, not only in the Cottonian library, as appears by the margin, but alſo in the Royal (4), and other libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, &*c* (5). The book is written in very indifferent Latin, and a declamatory ſtile: It is divided into 20 chapters. In the I. he praiſes wiſdom, and books in which it is contained. II. That books are to be preferred to riches and pleaſures. III. That they ought to be always bought. IV. How much good ariſes from books, and that they are miſuſed only by ignorant people. V. That good monks write books, but the bad ones are otherwiſe employed. VI. The praiſe of the ancient begging friers, with a reproof of the modern ones. VII. In the 7th he bewails the loſs of books, by fire and wars. VIII. He ſhows what fine opportunities he had of collecting books, whilſt he was Chancellor and Treaſurer, as well as during his embaſſies. IX. That the ancients out-did the moderns in hard ſtudying. X. That learning is by degrees arrived to perfection, and that he had procured a Greek and Hebrew Grammar. XI. That the Law and Law-books, are not properly learning. XII. The uſefulneſs and neceſſity of Grammar. XIII. An apology for Poetry, and the uſefulneſs of it. XIV. Who ought to love books. XV. The manifold advantages of learning. XVI. Of writing new books, and mending the old. XVII. Of uſing books well, and how to place them. XVIII. An anſwer to his calumniators. XIX. Upon what conditions books are to be lent to ſtrangers. XX. Concluſion. Beſides this Philobiblos, our author writ ——— *Epiſtolarum Familiarium Librum unum*. Some of theſe letters are to Petrarch, with whom he kept a correſpondence, and who had deſired his opinion about the *Thule* of the ancients. ——— He alſo compoſed —— *Orationes ad Principes*, in one book (6). —— Some think it was not *Aungervyle*, but his chaplain R. Holcot, who writ the Philobiblos (7).

(3) This appears from a memorandum at the end of the copy in the Cottonian Library, inter Codices MSS, nondum in loculis repoſitos, IV. 3.

(4) 15 C. XVI. n. 2. 4*to*.

(5) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(6) Ba'eus & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(7) See Leland Itin. Vol. III. p. 64. and Hearne's Notes on Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 299.

[*D*] *He appointed five keepers*, &c.] At the diſſolution of religious houſes in Henry VIIIth's reign, Durham college being diſſolved among the reſt, ſome of the books of this valuable collection were removed to the publick library, ſome to Baliol-college, and ſome came into the hands of Dr George Owen, a phyſician of Godſtow, who bought the ſaid college of King Edward VI (8).

(8) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Addit. to Oxfordſhire col. 310.

C

AXTEL (DANIEL) a Colonel in the ſervice of the Long Parliament, and executed for the ſhare he had in the murder of King Charles I. The particulars of this gentleman's life, before he engaged in the ſervice of the Parliament, are ſo deeply buried in oblivion, that notwithſtanding all the induſtry we have uſed, a very few only, and thoſe of leſs conſequence than we could wiſh, can be brought to light. He was of a good family, and had a tolerable education, that is to ſay, ſuch a one as might fit him for that courſe of life it was intended he ſhould lead, being placed by his relations as an apprentice to a Grocer in Watling-ſtreet (*a*). As he was of a very ſerious diſpoſition, and had been very early tinctured with thoſe principles, which were in that age ſtiled Puritanical, he became an eager follower of ſuch miniſters, as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zealous preaching (*b*). His great attachment to theſe ſort of people, and the natural warmth of his own temper, were the occaſions of his quitting his own calling, and going into the army, to which he was principally determined, by keeping a day of faſting and prayer with Mr Simeon Aſh, Mr Love, Mr Woodcocke, and other miniſters, in Lawrence-lane, wherein, according to his judgment, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the Parliament, that he was fully convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, and reſolved to venture his life for it (*c*). Such were the conſequences of the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion, converting their pulpits into ſchools of politicks, to which it may truly be ſaid, the Civil War owed it's beginning, as moſt of the diſmal conſequences with

(*a*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, Folio, 1720, p. 780.

(*b*) South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.

(*c*) See Colonel Axtel's Dying Speech, in which this fact is delivered.

with which it was attended, flowed, but too apparently, from the ſame ſource [*A*]. After having thus choſen his party, he behaved in the army with ſo much zeal, courage, and conduct, that he roſe by degrees to the ſeveral commands, of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel, in a regiment of foot (*d*). It was in this laſt capacity, that he acted with great vehemence againſt all endeavours for a reconciliation with the King, and particularly concurred in exhibiting a charge of high-treaſon, againſt eleven members of the Houſe of Commons, for betraying the cauſe of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, with other particulars, which obliged thoſe gentlemen to withdraw, which was the firſt force put upon that Houſe of Commons, and the remembrance of the concern Colonel Axtel had therein, contributed not a little to his deſtruction (*e*). Upon ſeveral changes that afterwards happened, theſe members were again admitted, ſat, and voted in the Houſe, and new ſchemes were entered upon, for reſtoring the Conſtitution by reſettling the government, in order to which the Houſe of Commons, on the fifth of December, 1648, reſolved, 'That his Majeſty's conceſſions 'to the propoſitions upon the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, were ſufficient grounds for 'the Houſes to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the kingdom.' But a great party in the army who thought otherwiſe, determined to prevent the effects of this, and accordingly placed one Colonel Pride with a guard at the door of the Parliament-houſe, having in his hands a liſt of thoſe members who were to be excluded, and accordingly he prevented all of them from entering the Houſe, and ſecured ſome of them who were moſt ſuſpected, under a guard provided for that purpoſe (*f*), which act of his, was ſuppoſed by ſome of the wiſeſt men in England, to diſſolve and deſtroy the repreſentative of the Commons of England, and to leave thoſe who remained and acted, without any legal authority [*B*]. Yet this remnant of the Houſe of Commons, on the thirteenth of December,

(*d*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 89.

(*e*) See Mr Anneſley's Speech in the State Trials, Vol. II. p. 375.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil War, Folio, 1732, p. 563.

[*A*] *Flowed but too apparently from the ſame ſource*] It is certainly a thing worthy of obſervation, that a ſpirit of religion ill conducted, was the cauſe of all the evils with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are crouded. The firſt ill blood between King Charles and his ſubjects, was occaſioned by the ſevere proceedings in the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the cruel cenſures in the *Star-Chamber*; in both of which, the Court Clergy were allowed too much power. But while they ſtudied the art of raiſing themſelves by becoming learned in Fathers, Councils, and Polemic Divinity, the other ſort of Clergy applied themſelves to a quite different method, which however, was as well ſuited as theirs, to the purpoſes they intended it ſhould anſwer. Inſtead of the Fathers they quoted Scripture, inſtead of other people's interpretations they gave them their own; and inſtead of keeping up the dignity of the ſubject, they took all the pains they could to make it level to the meaneſt underſtandings. By this means, the breach was widenened to a monſtrous degree, and while one ſide ſtood high on their Learning, the other was run away with by their enthuſiaſm. But what was moſt wonderful, each ſide ſaw the other's error, and remained blind to it's own; though at the ſame time, what convinced them of the one, would, if it had been impartially applied, have demonſtrated to them the other. For the common error of both was, that they contended for things as eſſential, which at the ſame time, and in the ſame breath, they confeſſed to be indifferent. By this means it was, that ſuch as meant *beſt*, were drawn to do the *worſt* of things for want of clearly apprehending their own meaning. This will fully appear to be the caſe, if we attentively conſider the principal facts mentioned in this life. Since nothing can be plainer, than that King Charles the Firſt was murdered, for maintaining the power of the Clergy, to which he ſteadily adhered, even after he had given up his own prerogatives. On the other hand, this gentleman, Mr Axtel, thought his cauſe, the cauſe of God, and believed to the laſt moment of his life, that he ſhed his blood to very good purpoſe, if it hindered his friends from being ever reconciled to the *Surplice* and *Common-Prayer*. Theſe are reflections that naturally ariſe from the ſubject, and which therefore we have a right to make, for certainly the great uſe of this ſort of reading is, *to prevent miſtakes in our own conduct, by obſerving the fatal conſequences of them in the conduct of other men*.

[*B*] *To leave them who remained and acted without any legal authority*] The beginning of theſe diſputes in regard to civil affairs, was zeal for the conſtitution. It was thought by many able men, that the King's prerogative had entrenched too much upon the liberty of the ſubject, which certainly implied, that there was a Conſtitution, by which both ought to be regulated; and to remedy this, it was thought requiſite to have the aſſiſtance of a Parliament, the continuance of which ſhould not depend on the will of the King; to which he aſſented, and thereby altered the Conſtitution in a very material point. When this power was taken from the King, the two Houſes aſſumed to themſelves a power of making laws, which was as great an encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, as the King's expecting as much obedience to be paid to his Proclamations, as to acts of Parliament. By degrees things went much farther, and at laſt ſo far, that even the warmeſt friends to Liberty, and thoſe too who were believed to underſtand our Conſtitution beſt, thought it entirely loſt. Serjeant Maynard, who certainly was no courtier, and who was never ſuſpected of inclining too much to the power of the Crown, made no ſcruple of declaring, when the vote of *Non-Addreſſes* was under conſideration, that if it paſſed the Parliament was diſſolved. He founded his judgment upon this, that the Parliament of England was the great council of the King of England; that therefore the relation was reciprocal, and that one could not ſubſiſt without the other. A vote therefore, that they would have no farther correſpondence with the King, was a plain declaration that they would be no longer his council, and then it was very natural for a Lawyer, to think *they would be nothing*. It is alſo very remarkable, that ſuch of the wiſeſt and ableſt men, as in the beginning of this Parliament oppoſed the Crown with the greateſt vehemence, made no difficulty afterwards of declaring, that they looked upon the Houſe of Commons as diſſolved, after the firſt force was put upon it. It was from their conceiving things in this light, that Mr Denzil Hollis, afterwards Lord Hollis; Mr Anneſley, afterwards Earl of Angleſey; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, ſat as judges upon this Mr Axtel, and the reſt of the Regicides, without departing in their opinion from their former principles, as appears clearly from their behaviour on theſe trials, in which they all of them affirmed, the force put upon the Houſe made it *no Houſe*, and that ſuch as endeavoured to ſcreen themſelves under the authority of the Parliament, by pleading the warrants they received from the remnant that were left ſitting, had no legal juſtification, becauſe that remainder ceaſed to be a Parliament. In their judgment therefore, the murder of the King was not only Treaſon againſt his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, but Treaſon alſo againſt the Conſtitution, becauſe it was an act done in conſequence of the Conſtitution's being broken and diſſolved, by virtue of an uſurped power. In all which, they ſeemed to have acted very ſenſibly and with great juſtice. For if a man may be guilty of Treaſon, and be puniſhed for it by law, tho' he pleads the King's command for what he did, which is what no Lawyer ever denied; then, by a parity of reaſon, no man can juſtify the doing an act which is Treaſon by Law, from the authority

December, revived the vote of non-addreſſes, and though they were but twenty-ſix in number, took upon them to iſſue a commiſſion for trying the King, paſſing a vote on New-year's-day, *That it was treaſon in the King to levy war againſt the Parliament* (g). On the ninth of January, the tryal of the King was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet and beat of drum, in Weſtminſter-Hall, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapſide, and all people were ſummoned who had any thing to ſay againſt the King, to appear and be heard (b). On the twentieth of January, when the King was brought before the High Court of Juſtice; Colonel Stubberd, and Colonel Axtel, had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs. The King demanded of Serjeant Bradſhaw, who was the Preſident, by what authority they brought him there, and the Preſident appealing to the charge, which was in the name of the Commons and People of England, Lady Fairfax, the General's wife, cried out, *It is a lye, it is falſe, not a half, not a quarter of the people*, Oliver Cromwell *is a rogue and a traytor*, which words were repeated by Mrs Nelſon. Upon this Colonel Axtel cried out, *Down with the whores, ſhoot them*, which vehemence of his made him taken notice of (i). The people at the time of his Majeſty's paſſing to his tryal, moved by the ſadneſs of the ſight, cried out *God ſave the KING*, which obliged ſuch as drove on his death, to procure another cry to countenance their deſign, and therefore Colonel Axtel beat the ſoldiers till they cried *Juſtice! Juſtice* (k)! And on the laſt day of the tryal, when the common people cried *God preſerve your Majeſty*, the ſoldiers were again taught, by the prevailing argument of the cane, to cry out, *Execution! Execution* (l)! After the ſentence was paſſed, the King was carried through the middle of King's ſtreet, in a common ſedan, by two porters, who out of reverence to his perſon, went bare-headed, till the ſoldiers, under Colonel Axtel's command, beat them, and forced them to put on their hats (m). After the murder of the King, when Cromwell was ſent into Ireland, the regiment in which Colonel Axtel ſerved, was drawn out by lot for that expedition, which occaſioned his going over into that kingdom, where he made a conſiderable figure, was much eſteemed and truſted by Cromwell, and raiſed for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, as General Ludlow tells us, to the command of a regiment, and the government of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important truſt, Ludlow farther tells us, he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs, and in his ſtation, ſhewed a more than ordinary zeal in puniſhing thoſe Iriſh, who had been guilty of murdering the Proteſtants (n). Other writers repreſent this in quite a different light, and charge him with ſeverities, not at all inferior in cruelty to thoſe committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves (o) [C]. After Cromwell, on the twentieth of April, 1653, had turned the Long Parliament out of the Houſe, things took another turn, and he having aſſumed the ſupreme power to himſelf, ſent over his ſon Henry to Ireland, where he commanded at firſt as Major-General, and by his endeavours to eſtabliſh the new government, ſo diſguſted all the godly, but more particularly the Anabaptiſts, that on the twenty-eighth of November, 1656, they ſent Major Jones, and one Mr Doyley, to acquaint him, that Quarter-maſter-General Vernon, Adjutant Allen, Colonel Barrowe, and Colonel Axtel, deſired to ſpeak with him, upon which he offered to confer with them immediately (p). As ſoon as they came into his preſence, Colonel Barrowe, premiſing his and their many perſonal obligations received from the Major-General, told him, that

(g) Diurnal, No. 286, from Jan. 1 to Jan. 8, 1648.

(b) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 68.

(i) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(k) Ibid. p. 371, 372.

(l) Ibid. p. 371, 372, 373.

(m) Ibid. p. 371.

(n) Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 89.

(o) See Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in Ireland, p. 289. Heath's Chronicle, p. 465.

(p) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 671.

thority of any other part of the Conſtitution. Of this Cromwell was ſo ſenſible, that when the act for trying the King was moved to be brought into the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid (1), *That if any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traytor in the world. But ſince Providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their counſels, tho' he were not provided on the ſudden to give them counſel.*

(1) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

[C] *Committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves.*] At the end of the Earl of Clarendon's hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion there is an Appendix, in which two pieces are contained, the firſt entitled, A Collection of the ſeveral Maſſacres and Murders committed by the Iriſh ſince the 23d of October, 1641; and the ſecond is called, a Collection of ſome of the Maſſacres and Murders committed on the Iriſh in Ireland, ſince October 23, 1641. It is from this laſt, theſe facts which follow in relation to the conduct of Mr Axtel, while inveſted with martial power in that kingdom, are taken (2).

(2) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 353.

'1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel, cut off the head of 'Mr Fitz-Gerret of Browniford's ſon, and hanged 'the ſons of Mr Butler of Ballickify, and Mr Butler 'of Bonidſtown, becauſe their fathers inliſted themſelves in his Majeſty's army.

'One Francis Friſby, an Engliſhman and a Proteſtant, Butler to the Duke of Ormond, having had 'quarter upon the rendition of Kilkenny to Cromwell, 'was apprehended by the ſaid Colonel Axtel, and for 'not confeſſing his Lord's plate, was tortured to death by 'burning matches between his fingers, in the caſtle of 'Kilkenny.

'1651. Major Shertel, an officer of his Majeſty's 'army, having delivered the caſtle of Ballimay, upon 'quarter of life and liberty to Colonel Axtel, was 'run thro' the body by the ſaid Colonel, and all his 'ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, 'were killed.

'Captain Thomas Shertel, a Captain of horſe in 'his Majeſty's army, coming to Kilkenny upon ſafe 'conduct, was hanged by the ſaid Axtel, becauſe 'he had a good eſtate within two miles of Kilkenny.

'1650. Colonel Axtel hanged fifty of the inhabitants near Thomaſtown living under his protection, for 'no other reaſon, but that a party of Cromwell's army 'was defeated the day before in that place, by ſome 'of the Royaliſts.

'Colonel Axtel meeting one day forty men, women, and children, near the wood of Kildonan, who 'were coming for greater ſecurity to live within his 'quarters, cauſed them all to be killed.

'Some ſoldiers of the king's army, being taken in 'a village in Grace's pariſh, Colonel Axtel cauſed all 'the inhabitants of the ſaid village to be apprehended, 'hanged three of them, and ſold the reſt of them 'to the iſland of Barbadoes.

'The ſaid Axtel (as matter of recreation) commanded his troops to gather together a great number of the protected people near Kilkenny, and 'being all in a cluſter, bid the troops ruſh thro' them, 'and to kill as many as happened on the left hand 'of the troop, and to ſpare the reſt. Thirty perſons 'were murdered then on that account.'

[D] *And*

that finding themſelves of late not made uſe of they could not with ſatiſfaction to their conſciences receive pay from the publick, without doing ſervice for it, and therefore came to acquaint him, that they had upon ſolemn ſeeking of God, and ſerious deliberation with themſelves, repreſented to his Highneſs and the Lord Deputy, their reſolutions to quit their commands, and had ſent their reaſons for doing it, ſignifying that they had reſerved the delivering up of their commiſſions to the Major-General, as a particular mark of their reſpect for him; wherefore he did in his own, and in the name of the reſt of the officers, declare, that they were from thenceforward diſcharged from any publick employment in the army, and at the ſame time they all of them tendered their commiſſions, which the Major-General however did not think fit to accept, but they having publickly declared, that they looked upon their offer as a ſufficient diſcharge, he thought fit to appoint them another meeting, the next day, in the afternoon. He told them at this meeting, that he was very ſorry to find they were ſo reſolute in what they had propoſed the day before, as to giving up their commiſſions, and that it was no pleaſant thing to him to receive them, from perſons who had ſo long ſerved the publick as they had done. If they quitted indeed upon a conſcientious diſſatisfaction, he knew not well what to reply, but that he hoped, when he parted with them the day before, that they would have given him time to have reaſoned the matter with them, and not have put him upon giving ſo ſudden an anſwer. But ſince conſidering how poſitive they had been, and that they had, contrary to his expectation, and that not in ſo decent a manner as he could have wiſhed, made it the talk of the town, he thought himſelf concerned forthwith to declare his acceptance of their propoſal; and that he ſhould take care, ſince they inſiſted ſo earneſtly upon it, without any provocation of his, and contrary to his deſires, they ſhould be fairly diſcharged the army, and ſatisfied what was due to each of them; and that ſince they were reſolved to retire, he ſhould wiſh them well in their private capacities, and ſhew them all reſpect befitting the place he ſtood in there; and hoped that they would mind the promiſe they made the day before, of ſerving God, and being always ready to ſerve the publick, in order thereto. Upon this they ſeemed to expreſs great thankfulneſs, and very high ſatisfaction in the choice they had made, only Colonel Axtel having firſt premiſed, that he thought himſelf now on a level with the Major-General, complained in very rough and bitter language of the ill uſage he had met with, and the ſlights that had been put upon him ſince the great Revolution in England, and the power of the Parliament had been devolved upon a ſingle perſon, which Mr Cromwell bore as patiently as he could; but it appears clearly enough from the letters he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that he was extreamly ſenſible of the uſage he had met with, and looked upon theſe people, as abſolutely diſaffected both to the government in general, and to his family in particular (*q*) [*D*]. The condition of Colonel Axtel from

(*q*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 671, 710, 729.

[*D*] *And to his family in particular.*] The facts contained in this remarkable letter of Major-General Henry Cromwell, the reader has above in the text, and what we are to give here, regards only Mr Cromwell's ſentiments, and the apprehenſions he was under, from the open railing and private intrigues of the Anabaptiſts and other ſectaries, with which the army in Ireland abounded, even in a greater proportion, than the army in England, where however they were numerous enough. His words are theſe. 'Now although they pretended, ſays he, that what 'they had thus generally charged me with, was the 'ground of their diſſatisfaction; yet amongſt all the 'venom they ſpit againſt me, and in all the plain-'neſs and freedom they were pleaſed to uſe towards 'me, as looking on themſelves to be on even 'ground with me, they would neither now, nor here-'after, inſtance any one particular, whereon to bot-'tom their general calumnies, although myſelf, and 'others, have been urging them thereunto. I can-'not deny, but my actions, and the way I have 'taken for the management of things here, having 'thwarted and checked that exorbitant power, which 'they formerly exerciſed, may probably, have added 'to their other diſcontents. Yet 'tis notoriouſly 'known, how theſe gentlemen did with more than 'ordinary inſolence, manifeſt their diſcontents, and 'that in as publick manner as they could, againſt 'his Highneſs and the government, when his High-'neſs firſt aſſumed it, and how they have perſiſted 'and grown therein, is as well known, and that 'they have not acquieſced in their own diſſatisfactions, 'but have likewiſe endeavoured to corrupt and ſe-'duce all others, whom they thought capable of re-'ceiving the impreſſions of their factious and trou-'bleſome principle. It has been ſince obſerved by 'others, and ſince ſaid by ſome of their own party, 'that whatever they might pretend to me, as the 'grounds and cauſe of this their withdrawing; yet 'that the apprehenſions which two of them, namely 'Allen and Vernon, had of being under his High-'neſs's diſpleaſure, and the mean eſteem the other 'two had of their commands, with their general diſſa-'tisfaction to the government, was the true prin-'cipal cauſe which induced them to it; and tho' 'they have ſaid, that the godly are diſcouraged, I 'do yet find a general rejoicing in thoſe that are 'godly, ſober, and well affected; that theſe gen-'tlemen have thus quitted their employments, and 'none troubled but a few of their own party, who 'are more afflicted, that theſe gentlemen have thus 'befooled themſelves, in this their action, rather 'than for any danger imminent to themſelves (3).'

(3) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 730.

After this, Mr Cromwell grew ſo uneaſy at the aſperſions thrown upon him by theſe people, that in another letter to the Secretary, he intimated a deſire to lay down his own command, in order to retire and live in peace; on which the Secretary wrote him a long letter, dated from Whitehall, December 16, 1656, in which there are ſome things, that may contribute to the reader's more clearly apprehending theſe matters, and therefore it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two.——

'Your Lordſhip's of the third inſtant, came to my 'hands upon Friday laſt; ſince which, *viz.* yeſter-'day, I received another, whereby I was ſorry to 'find your Lordſhip is under ſome indiſpoſition of 'body, but hope that your next will bring us the 'good news, that the Lord hath again reſtored you, 'as alſo the young Lady, which we heartily pray 'for. I humbly thank your Lordſhip, for the great 'pains you have taken in your's of the third in-'ſtant, to make ſo particular relation of what paſſed 'between your Lordſhip, and thoſe officers, who 'have quitted their commands, which I communi-'cated to his Highneſs, that as he had an account 'of the former part of this buſineſs, from your own 'hand, ſo he might alſo underſtand the iſſue it was 'brought to.

'I am very ſorry to ſee, that diſcontent hath ſo 'far prevailed upon the ſpirits of thoſe, who do 'profeſs to live by higher principles; and truly, I 'ſhould

from this time was very unpleaſant, he lived in a private condition upon the eſtate he had acquired in the ſervice, but inſtead of that power and authority which he had exerciſed for ſix years together over the town and diſtrict of Kilkenny, he was now in the ſtate of a diſaffected man, and not only without truſt and without authority, but alſo ſo much ſuſpected by his ſuperiors, that he could not take the ſlighteſt journey about his private affairs, without having ſpies ſet over him, and being very frequently called to account (*z*). All this was occaſioned by the wild principles and reſtleſs ſpirits of the Anabaptiſts, which as they had brought about the ſubverſion, firſt of one government, and then of another, were now grown as turbulent under a third Yet Henry Cromwell, when veſted with the character of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was contented to watch over them without perſecuting, and except the great jealouſy that he expreſſed of their motions, he kept his word with them very exactly, and treated them as well as they could expect (*s*). After the death of the Protector, Oliver, which happened on the third of September, 1658, things took a new turn, and his ſon Richard, who had aſſumed the title of Protector, immediately after his father's death, ſaw himſelf, in the beginning of the next year, reduced to the fatal neceſſity of diſſolving, what he called a Parliament, with which ended his authority, and on the ſeventh of May, 1659 (*t*), the remnant of the Long Parliament, reſumed the power of which they had been deprived by Cromwell; and his ſon Henry, who commanded as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, having ſubmitted, as well as his brother Richard, Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow was ſent over to take the ſupreme authority there, and one of the firſt things he did, being to new model the army, Colonel Axtel came again into play, had a regiment given him, and was one of the few perſons, in whom Ludlow chiefly confided (*u*). It may not be amiſs to remark, that though this gentleman changed his opinion with reſpect to Church matters, and of a Preſbyterian became an Anabaptiſt, yet as to his notions of civil government he remained ſomewhat more ſteady, and was always looked upon as a zealous friend to a commonwealth. It was this diſpoſition of his, and his clear reputation for courage and conduct, as an officer, that induced General Ludlow to make choice of him, to command one diviſion of the Iriſh Brigade, that was ſent over to maintain the Parliament in poſſeſſion of their authority, and to keep out the King, which however they were ſo far from doing, that they contributed very much to his return (*w*). The riſing of Sir George Booth, which happened in Auguſt the ſame year, was the occaſion of their being tranſported to England, but they had no ſhare in reducing him, which was performed before their arrival, by Major-General Lambert (*x*). Their coming however was eſteemed of great ſervice to the Parliament, though it proved otherwiſe, for Colonel Zanchey, who commanded them, concurred with the army in putting a new force upon that aſſembly, which laſted till Chriſtmas, and then the Rump as it was called, was again reſtored by the terror of Monk's army, which was marching out of Scotland (*y*). As he at the beginning declared poſitively for the Parliament, Colonel Axtel, and the reſt of the officers of the Iriſh Brigade, kept that body of troops which were eſteemed the beſt in the kingdom, from acting againſt him, which if they had done in conjuction with Lambert, his deſign in all probability had miſcarried. But as Monk very well knew, that thoſe forces would never concur in reſtoring the King, while under the officers who then commanded them, he reſolved to try whether it might not be poſſible, to engage them firſt to change their officers, and then to fall into his meaſures, which was the moſt critical point he had to manage. They were at that time quartered in Yorkſhire, and thither he ſent Colonel Redman, who had commanded a part of thoſe troops in Ireland, under Henry Cromwell, and who was turned out by Ludlow. He carried with him ſome of his friends who had ſerved under him, and on his firſt appearance, the beſt part of the Iriſh brigade very fairly told Colonel Zanchey, and Colonel Axtel, that they might take what meaſures they thought fit, but that for themſelves, they were determined to ſerve under Colonel Redman, and their old officers (*z*). This revolt gave the death's wound to the Republick, for Colonel Redman, purſuant to the orders he had received from General Monk, immediately marched that body of old troops into Cheſhire, which ſo weakened Lambert's army, that was before ſuperior to Monk's, that it left him in no condition to oppoſe the march of that General to London, which Colonel Axtel perceiving, reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, and being thenceforward deprived of all command, endeavoured to ſettle his private affairs, and ſecure himſelf the beſt way he could (*a*). But when a freſh opportunity offered of aſſerting the Good Old Cauſe, Colonel Axtel ſhewed his affection to it, by venturing his life in a very deſperate undertaking, and that too as a private man. The occaſion was this, the Council of State had committed General Lambert to the Tower, in the beginning of the month of March, but on the ninth of April, 1660 (*b*), he made his eſcape from thence,

(*z*) Memoirs of the War in Ireland, p. 315.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 325.

(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 418.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 689.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 692.

(*x*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 215.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426, 427.

(*z*) Barwick's Life, p. 224.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 877.

(*b*) Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 720, 721.

' ſhould look upon it, as a judgment from God, ' upon me, if I ſhould deſert my place, and leave ' my ſtation, incapacitating myſelf for any publick ' ſervice, becauſe all things did not ſquare juſt with ' my apprehenſions (which is the beſt of their caſe), ' or rather, as ſome ſay, becauſe I could not govern ' abſolutely excluſive of all others, this being (as is ' ſaid) the true ground of their diſcontent. Be it ' what it will, it is from themſelves, having no pro- ' vocation thereunto from your Lordſhip, which I ' do much rejoice in; and I am very confident, ' that when they do ſeriouſly conſider this action, ' and with an impartial eye view what was in the ' bottom of their ſpirits, that moved them to take ' and act theſe reſolutions, they will be aſhamed ' of themſelves before the Lord, and ſearch their ' hearts, what might be the cauſe why the Lord ' ſhould leave them to this deluſion (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. 708.

thence, and got down as far as Daventry in Northamptonſhire, where, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of horſe, he was joined by Colonel Okey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Cobbet, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, beſides diverſe ſoldiers that were Anabaptiſts (*c*). Colonel Richard Ingolſby, and Colonel Streater, who were ſent to reduce Lambert, followed him with ſuch diligence, that on Eaſter-day, which was that year on the twenty-ſecond of April, they came up with him in a plain near Daventry, having only a brook between them. When the two bodies came near, juſt as Colonel Ingolſby was going to charge, Streater commanded ſix files of muſqueteers to advance. One file gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lambert's horſe. His drums beat, and in good order he advanced, having given ſtrict command, that his muſqueteers ſhould not fire, till they came as near as puſh of pike. But Lambert's men held the noſes of their piſtols towards the ground, and Nelthorp's troop came off to Ingolſby, Haſlerigg's troop having deſerted him before. For Colonel Ingolſby ſending Captain Elſemore before him with a party, as he marched to find Lambert, met Captain Haſlerigg, and took him priſoner, but releaſed him upon his parole to ſend his whole troop over to join Ingolſby, which he faithfully performed, ſending it to them by his Quarter-Maſter, but he retired himſelf. Colonel Ingolſby told Lambert he was his priſoner, whereupon Creed and the reſt, earneſtly intreated him to do what he pleaſed with them, but to let Lambert eſcape, acquainting him that his life could be of no advantage to him, which Ingolſby abſolutely refuſed, telling them, that he would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him, by ſuch an ungenerous act. Lambert then turned about his horſe, and attempted to make his eſcape, but Ingolſby purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vowed to piſtol him if he did not immediately yield. Lambert in great depreſſion of ſpirits, twice prayed him to let him eſcape, but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted as all as the reſt did, except Okey, Axtel, and Cleer, who eſcaped (*d*). There is ſtill in being a very extraordinary letter, written by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, giving an account of this defeat, which deſerves the reader's notice, and is therefore preſerved in the notes [*E*]. This was the laſt ſtruggle that was made in favour of the Commonwealth, and Colonel Axtel uſed his utmoſt induſtry afterwards to conceal himſelf, as foreſeeing that it would not be long, before he might be called to an account, for the large ſhare he had taken in the tryal of the King; but his care in this reſpect was to very little purpoſe, for before the cloſe of the month, he was diſcovered and committed to priſon (*e*). We are told by one of his friends, that he was betrayed by a Royaliſt, who having engaged him at a meeting, on pretence of treating with him for the purchaſe of ſome lands, gave notice of the time and place, by which he was apprehended and committed to the Tower (*f*). After the King's Reſtoration, the bill of indemnity being then depending in the Houſe of Commons, they, on the fourteenth of June, 1660, reſolved, *That* Daniel Axtel *ſhould be one of the* Twenty *excepted out of that bill* (*g*). On the twelfth of July following, a warrant was ſent for his detenſion in the Tower, for high-treaſon (*h*). On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, the King paſſed the ſo long expected act, of free and general pardon, out of which only two and fifty perſons were excepted, of which Colonel Daniel Axtel was the fiftieth, as alſo the two perſons diſguiſed in frocks and vizors, who appeared upon the ſcaffold at the murder of King Charles I, which perſons were left to be proceeded againſt as traytors, according to the laws of England (*i*). On the tenth of October following, the grand-jury for the county of Middleſex, having found bills againſt twenty-eight perſons, for their concern in the King's murder, of which Mr Axtel was the laſt, they were brought to the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, where Colonel Axtel was the ſame day arraigned, upon an indictment for compaſſing and imagining the death of the late King, when for ſome time he refuſed to plead, alledging that what he had done was in purſuance of an Act of Parliament, and therefore he conceived no inferior court ought to judge of it, to which point he deſired he might have counſel aſſigned (*k*). But the Court having reaſoned with him, and told him, that in caſe of treaſon, it was the ſame thing

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 120.

(*e*) Continuation of the Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 733.

(*f*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 42.

(*g*) Publick Intelligence, 4*to*, by authority of that date, No. 25.

(*h*) Publick Intelligence, No. 29.

(*i*) See this act, or Kennet's Regiſter, p. 239.

(*k*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 312.

[*E*] *Is therefore preſerved in the notes.*] This ſingular piece was after the Earl of Sandwich's deceaſe found among his papers, and ſhews plainly the importance of this defeat, in the opinion of that ſtateſman, who was held to have the beſt head for publick affairs of any man in his time. It is very ſhort indeed, but ſhort as it is, we find it very extenſive in point of ſenſe, and we may likewiſe obſerve that cant ſo univerſally prevailed at that time, that even thoſe men who moſt deſpiſed it were obliged to uſe it, and that too not only in publick pieces, but in private letters to their friends.

A letter from Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, directed for General Montague, dated Monday morning, indorſed April the 23d, 1660 (5).

(5) Tranſcript from the Earl of Sandwich's MSS, in the third Vol. of Mr Smith's MS. Collections, p. 325.

'MY Lord, your Lordſhip's letter brings that account of the fleet, and ſo ſatisfactory as might be expected from it, ſince put under the conduct of ſuch a general ——— This morning the certain news of Colonel Lambert his being taken, came to the council. There appeared with him ſix troops of horſe in Daventry-Fields in Northamptonſhire. Colonel Okey, Axtel, Creed, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg's ſon and others; but when Colonel Ingolſby came up, the kind men, without much courage, rendered themſelves. Thus God has blaſted the wicked in their reputations and bloody deſigns, and I hope, will bleſs us with a happy ſettlement, which is the prayers of,

'My Lord,

'Your moſt faithful, and

'Humble Servant,

'ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.

[*F*] *A very*

thing to ſtand mute or to confeſs the indictment, he was prevailed upon to plead Not Guilty. When he was aſked How he would be tried? and told that the proper anſwer was, By God and his country, he ſaid that was not lawful, *God not being locally preſent*; however, he ſoon after made the uſual anſwer, and put himſelf upon his trial. This did not come on till the fifteenth of October, 1660, when after challenging ten of the jury, the indictment was opened, in which the Counſel for the Crown obſerved, that the High Court erected for the tryal of the late King, had all the formalities of a court, ſuch as their Preſident, their Counſel, their Chaplain, and their Guards, and as ſome of their Judges, one of their Counſel, and their Chaplain, had been already tried, they had now brought this gentleman to the bar as the Commander of the Guard, and then proceeded to call their evidence (*l*). Mr Holland Simpſon proved, that Colonel Axtel had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs, and threatned to ſhoot Lady Fairfax for diſturbing the Court. Colonel Hercules Huncks depoſed, that on the day the King died, himſelf, Colonel Phayre, Colonel Hacker, and Cromwell, being in a room together, Cromwell deſired him to ſign a warrant for the King's execution, which he having refuſed to do, and Cromwell having given him ſome harſh language on that account, Mr Axtel ſaid, 'Colonel Hunks, I am aſhamed of you, the ſhip is now coming into the harbour; and 'will you ſtrike ſail before we come to anchor'. Mr Axtel poſitively denied this, and told Colonel Hunks that himſelf was named in the warrant for execution, and that he wiſhed he did not make others a peace-offering to ſave himſelf. Sir Purbeck Temple ſwore, that Mr Axtel beat the ſoldiers to make them cry Juſtice and Execution, that he laughed and ſcoffed with them during the trial, and that he ſuffered, and, as the witneſs believed, procured the ſoldiers to fire powder in the palms of their hands, which threw ſuch clouds of ſmoak into the King's face, that he was obliged to riſe out of his chair, and beat it off with his hand. Mr John Jeonar, who was one of the King's domeſtick ſervants, and attended him at the tryal, gave poſitive evidence, that when the Court broke up the firſt day, Colonel Axtel ordered the guards to cry Juſtice, Juſtice; and the laſt day, Execution, Execution; and he farther depoſed, that being very near the Colonel, he heard him lead that cry, by making uſe of the ſame words himſelf (*m*). One Samuel Burden, who had been a ſoldier in the King's army, but at the time of the tryal in Colonel Axtel's regiment, ſwore, that himſelf and others were commanded by the Colonel to give evidence againſt the King, and for that purpoſe were ſent to Mr Cook, who managed the charge againſt the King, to have their examinations taken, which was accordingly done. This man likewiſe ſwore, that the Colonel ſent one Eliſha Axtel with a file of ſoldiers, to take boat and go down to the common hangman, who lived beyond the Tower, in order to fetch him to execute the King (*n*). Lieutenant-Colonel Nelſon depoſed, that in private converſation at Dublin, Colonel Axtel acknowledged to him, that he was concerned in the ſecret of managing the King's execution, and being deſired by the witneſs to tell him who the perſons were that appeared upon the ſcaffold in vizors, he told him they were two Serjeants, well known both to him and to the witneſs, and that their names were Hewlet and Walker (*o*). Such was the evidence given to ſupport the charge in the indictment, for compaſſing and imagining the death of the King. In his defence, Colonel Axtel alledged, that he was a commiſſion officer under the Lord Fairfax, as he had been before under the Earl of Eſſex, and by his commiſſion was to obey his ſuperior officer, (who commanded him that day to Weſtminſter-Hall,) according to the cuſtoms of war; ſo that if he had diſobeyed his ſuperior officer, then he had died, and now muſt die for obeying him. But the Court told him he might have refuſed without any danger, as well as Colonel Hunks; and that *paſſive* as well as *active* obedience was required from every man, and that neither his nor his ſuperior's commiſſion bid him kill his father, much leſs the father of his country. As for the muſquets mounted towards the Lady, he ſaid that if a Lady grew uncivil to diſturb the Court, he could do no leſs than check her. That his ſtriking the ſoldiers for not crying *Juſtice* was a miſtake, for he ſaid he ſtruck them becauſe they did it, ſaying, *I'll give you Juſtice.* That his inciting them at the ſentence to cry *Execution, was the execution of Juſtice*, and that could do no hurt. The Court took a great deal of pains to ſhew him the inſufficiency of theſe pretences, and how incompatible they were with the conſtitution of this kingdom, and the laws of the land (*p*), upon which ſubject we meet with a very curious and inſtructive paſſage, in the Reports of a very learned Judge [*F*]. The tryal laſted, on account

(*l*) Heath's Chronicles, p. 465. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 82. State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 371.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 372.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 373.

(*o*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 374.

[*F*] *A very curious and inſtructive paſſage in the Reports of a very learned Judge.*] The perſon here meant is Sir John Kelyng, ſome time Chief Juſtice of the court of King's Bench. But in order to judge of this point, it is neceſſary to conſider Mr Axtel's defence more at large, eſpecially as ſome writers magnify it, as the ſtrongeſt, cleareſt, and moſt heroick piece any where extant (6). The beſt and moſt ſenſible ſpeech he made was this, wherein he puts the objection reſolved by Kelyng, and therefore let it ſerve as a ſpecimen of his eloquence.

(6) Ludlow's Memoirs. Vol. III. p. 82—86. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 482, 483.

'My Lords, I muſt acknowledge my ignorance 'of the laws, being a thing I never ſtudied, nor have 'the knowledge of. But I have heard it is the duty 'of your Lordſhips and the Judges to be of counſel 'for the priſoner in things wherein he is ignorant in 'matter of Law, to make his juſt defence; and there-'fore, my Lord, the indictment itſelf being matter 'of Law, if your Lordſhip pleaſes not to grant me 'counſel to ſpeak to matters of Law, I humbly pray 'that your Lordſhips will be pleaſed that for want 'of knowledge in formalities, punctilioes, and niceties 'of the Law, I may not undo myſelf. I have 'heard by a learned Judge, that tho' the Judge be of 'counſel to the King, yet by his oath he is alſo to 'be counſellor to the priſoner, and ſtands as mediator 'between the King and priſoner; and therefore, my 'Lord I ſhall beg that humble favour, that wherein

account of the priſoner's long and large defence, for upwards of three hours, but the jury without going from the bar found him guilty. On the ſixteenth of October, he was brought up again to the ſeſſions-houſe, in order to receive ſentence, at which time Mr Axtel inſiſted, that there was no overt-act proved againſt him ſufficient to ſupport the indictment, and ſuggeſted, that he died only for words; upon which the Lord Chief Baron obſerved, that it was otherwiſe, that he was preſent in the Court, beating the ſoldiers, and ſending for an executioner, which were all of them facts and not words. Upon this Colonel Axtel appealed to God, that he did not find himſelf guilty of conſulting, contriving, or having any hand in the death of the King, and concluded that he was innocent, and prayed God that his blood might not cry againſt them (*q*). Then ſilence being commanded, the Lord Chief Baron made a long ſpeech, in which he told Colonel Francis Hacker and Mr Axtel, that they had no cauſe to hope for mercy, nor was there any room for mercy, and then pronounced that ſentence which is uſually given in caſes of high-treaſon (*r*). After he was carried back to Newgate, he ſhewed himſelf very full of ſpirit and courage, ſpoke to every body that was about him with great vehemence and zeal for the cauſe in which he died, as appears very fully from the account of

(*q*) Ibid. p. 402.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 403, 404.

'I ſhall fall ſhort to make the beſt improvement 'of my plea in matter of Law, that your Lordſhips 'will help me, and not take advantages againſt me, 'as to the niceties, formalities, and punctilioes of the 'Law; and my Lord, this is a reſemblance of that 'great day where Chriſt will be Judge, and will 'judge the ſecrets of all hearts, and of all words, and 'of all perſons, and by him all actions are weighed, 'he knows all our hearts, and whether there be malice, 'or how it ſtands in the frame of each heart before 'him in this place; and therefore I hope, there will 'be nothing by prejudging, or any thing by pre-'cluding to be ſo black a perſon, as is ſeemed to be 'ſaid againſt me: my Lords I muſt ſhorten the time, 'and come to ſpeak as to the authority?

'Lord *Chief Baron*. As to what, Sir?

'Col. *Ax*. I ſpeak as to the authority by which, or under 'which, I acted; I humbly conceive, my Lord, under 'favour, that I am not within the compaſs of that ſtatute 'of 25 Ed. III. for that queſtionleſs muſt intend pri-'vate perſons, *counſelling, compaſſing, or imagining 'the death of the King*. But you know, my Lords, 'the war was firſt ſtated by the Lords and Commons, 'the Parliament of England, and by virtue of their 'authority was forced to be raiſed; and they pre-'tended by Law, that the right of the militia was in 'them, and your Lordſhips well remember, in ſeveral 'declarations and acts that were mutually exchanged 'between his Majeſty and Parliament; and, my Lord, 'that was the authority, the Lords and Commons 'aſſembled in Parliament, raiſed a force, and made the 'Earl of Eſſex General, and after him the Earl of 'Mancheſter of the Eaſtern aſſociation, and after 'that, Sir Thomas Fairfax Lord General of the 'forces; by this authority I acted, and this authority 'I humbly conceive to be legal, becauſe this Par-'liament was called by the King's writ, choſe by the 'people, and paſſed a bill they ſhould not be diſ-'ſolved without their own conſents, that the Parlia-'ment was in being when the tryal was, and a que-'ſtion whether yet legally diſſolved.

'In the fourth place they were not only owned (and 'obeyed) at home, but abroad, to be the chief au-'thority of the nation, and alſo owned by foreign 'ſtates and kingdoms, who ſent ambaſſadors for that 'purpoſe, under them did all Judges of the land 'act, who ought to be the eye of the land, and the 'very light of the people to guide them in their 'right actions, and I remember the Judges upon trial, '(I have read it of high-treaſon) Judge Thorp, Ni-'chols, and Jermin, have declared it publickly, that 'it was a lawful, juſtifiable thing, by the law of 'the land to obey the Parliament of England. My 'Lord, it further appears as to their authority over 'the people of this nation, petitioning them as the 'ſupreme and lawful authority; and, my Lords, as 'I have heard it hath been objected that the Houſes 'of Lords and Commons could make no act; truly 'my Lord, if you will not admit them to be acts, 'tho' they entitle them ſo, call them ſo, and are 'obeyed as ſo, by the Judges, miniſters, and officers 'of ſtate, and by all other perſons of the nation, yet 'I hope, they cannot be denied to be orders of Par-'liament, and were they no more ſo but orders, yet 'were they ſufficient, as I humbly conceive, to bear 'out ſuch as acted thereby; and, my Lord, the Par-'liament thus conſtituted, and having made their 'Generals, he, by their authority, did conſtitute and 'appoint me to be an inferior officer in the army, 'ſerving them in the quarters of the Parliament, and 'within their power, and what I have done, my 'Lord, it hath been done only as a ſoldier, deriving 'my power from the General. He had his power 'from the fountain, to wit, the Lords and Commons: 'and, my Lord, this being done, as hath been ſaid 'by ſeveral that I was there, and had command in 'Weſtminſter-hall, truly, my Lord, if the Parliament 'command the General, and the General the inferior 'officers, I am bound by my commiſſion, accord-'ing to the laws and cuſtoms of war, to be where the 'regiment is, I came not thither voluntarily, but 'by command of the General, who had a commiſſion '(as I ſaid before) from the Parliament. I was no 'counſellor, no contriver, I was no Parliament-man, 'none of the Judges, none that ſentenced, ſigned, 'none that had any hand in the execution, only that 'which is charged, is, that I was an officer in the 'army; if that be ſo great a crime, I conceive I am 'no more guilty than the Earl of Eſſex, Fairfax, 'or the Lord of Mancheſter.' [Who was then ſitting on the bench] Judge *Mallet* told him he was not charged as an officer in the army. 'My Lords, ſaid 'he, that is the main thing they do inſiſt upon. My 'Lord, I am no more guilty, than his excellency the 'Lord General Monk, who acted by the ſame au-'thority, and all the people in the three nations; 'and, my Lord, I humbly ſuppoſe, if the authority 'had only been an authority in fact and not right, 'yet thoſe that acted under them ought not to be 'queſtioned; but if the authority commanded, what-'ſoever offence they committed, eſpecially that that 'guided me was no leſs, than the declared judgment 'of the Lords and Commons ſitting in Parliament; 'they declared that was their right as to the militia, 'and having explained ſeveral ſtatutes of Henry VII, 'wherein the King having interchanged ſeveral de-'clarations with the Parliament, the Parliament comes 'to make an explanation on that ſtatute, and, my Lord, 'it is in folio 280, wherein they do poſitively ex-'pound it, and declare it as their allowed judg-'ment. To clear up all ſcruples to all that ſhould 'take up arms for them, ſays the Parliament, there, 'as to the ſtatute of the 11 of Henry VII, chap. 1. 'which is printed at large, comes there to explain 'it in general, and comes here, folio 281, and 'gives this judgment: It is not, ſay they, agree-'able to reaſon or conſcience that any one's duty 'ſhould be known, if the judgment of the High 'Court of Parliament be not a rule to them. In 'the next place, this is the next guidance, rule, and 'judgment of Parliament upon the expoſition of this 'ſtatute, and as they have ſaid in ſeveral places (was it 'not too much to take up your Lordſhip's time) 'that they are the proper judges and expounders of 'of the Law. The High Court of Parliament have 'taken upon them to expound the Law, and ſaid 'that we Lawyers will give the meaning of the 'text, contrary to what they have expounded the 'meaning under their hands. In the ſame decla-'ration, his Majeſty is pleaſed to quit that ſtatute 'upon which I ſtand indicted, the 25 Edward III, 'where they do, my Lord, expound this very ſtatute, 'in

of his behaviour, printed after his death, by the care of thoſe of his party [G]. In this diſpoſition he continued, without the leaſt alteration or ſinking of his ſpirits, which muſt be attributed to his notions of religion, that had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as entirely prevented his feeling any thing of that weakneſs and terror, which is incident to human nature, at the near approach of death, and of a violent and ſhameful death eſpecially (s). But the account beforementioned ſhews us, that he remained firm to the laſt, and ſpoke with the ſame freedom that day he died, as on any other in his whole life [H].

(s) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 482, 483.

On

' in the declaration made in 1643, folio 722. I come ' to the declared judgment, wherein they did po- ' ſitively ſay, that the perſons that do act under their ' authority, ought not to be queſtioned as perſons ' guilty, folio 727; that is the expoſition that the ' Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament do ' make upon the ſtatute (7).'

(7) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 373, 374.

This ſpeech, ſhews how capable Mr Axtel was of defending himſelf, and pleading for his life, and at the ſame time demonſtrates how calmly, equally, and juſtly, the court dealt with him, allowing him all the liberty requiſite for a man in his condition. But notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible arguments, the Lord Chief Juſtice before mentioned, has told us what the Law is, and what a man has to truſt to, when he comes before a court of juſtice, in theſe words. " (8) Memorandum, that upon the trial of ' one Axtel, a ſoldier, who commanded the guards ' at the King's trial and at his murder; he juſtified ' that all he did, was as a ſoldier by the command ' of his ſuperior officer, whom he muſt obey or die. ' It was reſolved that was no excuſe, for his ſuperior ' was a traitor, and all that joined with him in that ' act were traitors, and did by that approve the ' treaſon, and where the command is traiterous, there ' the obedience to that command is alſo traiterous.'

He added, that if the repreſentatives of the people were guilty, the people were guilty, and then it would be impoſſible to find a jury.

(8) Kelyng's Reports, p. 13.

[G] *After his death by the care of his party.*] He aſſerted conſtantly, that he was a martyr for the good old cauſe; ſaid he wiſhed the King as well as his own ſoul; but conceived that they had murdered him, and might as well have done it in the Tower, as have made all that buſtle, for they had nothing in their own Law, or in God's Law, that would condemn him, but it was enough, his name was Axtel. Such was his diſpoſition, and ſuch his notion of the juſtice that was done him. But to proceed with that relation which his friends have given of him.

Having given an account to ſome perſons for their ſatisfaction, about his proceedings againſt the rebels in Ireland, he ſaid, I can ſay in humility, that God did uſe me as an inſtrument in my place, for ſuppreſſing of the bloody enemy, and when I conſidered their bloody cruelty in murdering ſo many thouſands of Proteſtants and innocent ſouls, that word was much upon my heart; *give her blood to drink for ſhe is worthy*; and ſometimes we neither gave nor took quarter, though ſelf-preſervation would have ſaid, give that which you may expect to have.

One coming in told him, that his fellow-priſoner died nobly and chearfully; (well ſaid he; how do they ſtand) *anſwer was made, upon a ladder. Bleſſed be God*, ſaid he, *it is a Jacob's ladder.*

The ſun ſhining in the room, he ſaid, if it be ſo glorious to behold the ſun, what will it be to behold the Son of Glory? Laying his hand upon (his fellow-priſoner) Colonel Hacker, he ſaid, *Come, brother, be not ſo ſad, by this time to-morrow we ſhall be with our Father in glory; and what hurt will they do us, to bring us through the croſs to the crown? Well, our God is the God of Newgate.*

Then the officer coming to carry them down into the dungeon, he took his leave of many of his friends then preſent, ſaying, Love the Lord Jeſus, love the Lord, and weep not for me, for God hath wiped away all tears; and coming to the door of the dungeon ſaid, I am now going to my bed of roſes, my laſt bed.

Many friends being with him, there was an eminent godly miniſter of the Peſbyterian way, and Colonel Axtel taking him by the hand ſaid, I have one word to ſpeak to you, it is much upon my heart, that one great cauſe, why the Lord contends thus with his people, is for want of their love towards them that were not of their minds; to which the miniſter replied, truly, Sir, I think ſo too; the Lord help us, that wherein we ſee we have done amiſs we may do ſo no more.

Then ſaid Colonel Axtel, I bleſs God I have not much to charge myſelf with in this matter, Colonel *Hacker* then ſaid, *but I have much to complain of in that matter.* Colonel Axtel afterwards ſitting on his bedſide, clapping his hands ſaid, if I had a thouſand lives I would lay them all down for the Cauſe: *whereupon another godly miniſter then preſent, aſked him what he meant by the Cauſe.* Colonel Axtel replied, Sir, I tell you I mean the cauſe which we were encouraged to and engaged in under the Parliament, which was for common right and freedom, and againſt the Surplice and Common-prayer book, and I tell you, that Surplices and Common-prayer books ſhall not ſtand long in England, for it is not of God.

And afterwards thinking he ſhould not die that day, deſired ſome retirement, but news coming that he muſt die within an hour; (though it was not ſo) he quickly made himſelf ready to go, and looking upon his gloves, ſaid, Theſe are my wedding gloves, my mortal muſt marry immortality.

Some friends going to ſee him the night before he was executed, found him at ſupper very chearful, and many being preſent, he ſaid, take heed of temporizing, &c. for that hath been the occaſion of great evil. Then ſpeaking to an officer there preſent that had continued till of late in the army, ſaid, Brother, thou haſt been greatly guilty herein, the Lord forgive thee, thou haſt a great hand in this. To which the perſon replied, *I confeſs I have been ſo too much.* Colonel Axtel anſwered, there is yet mercy for thee if the Lord give repentance.

Moreover he ſaid, *the Lord forgive that poor wretch*, Lieutenant-Colonel Nelſon, *for he hath ſworn falſly in his evidence, and now is that word made good*, that brother ſhall betray brother unto death, and ſpeaking of Colonel Tomlinſon *ſaid, ah! he hath appeared five pound lighter in twenty, than I thought him to be; and for* Colonel Huncks, *he was the uncivileſt of all about the late King, and yet he comes in a witneſs againſt Hacker and me.*

That evening many friends being with him, he prayed with them, and in that duty the Lord by his Spirit, filled him with excellent expreſſions to the great refreſhing of thoſe about him, and bewailing the great diviſions amongſt God's people, he ſaid, Lord, if they will not live together in love, thou wilt make them lie together in ſufferings. Then minding their preſent condition ſaid, Lord, death is the King of terrors to nature, but it is a believer's choice friend, it is thy high-way to lead us into glory. After prayer, taking notice of his daughter, he ſaid to her, *get an intereſt in Chriſt*, and keep cloſe to him, he will be a better father to thee than I; and ſo took his leave of her (9).

(9) Speeches and prayers of ſome of the late King's Judges, 4to, 1660, p. 85, 86.

[H] *On that day as on any other in his whole life.*] It is very clear from the account that has been already given, that no man could behave with greater firmneſs than Mr Axtel did; yet was he very far from boaſting of it, or from attributing it to his natural courage; on the contrary, he checked ſome of his friends for praiſing his conſtancy, and very wiſely adviſed them, to ſay nothing of him till they ſaw him upon the uppermoſt round of the ladder: he told his daughter at the ſame time, *that he had left* Jeſus Chriſt *an executor in truſt for her* (10). This was in the evening of the day before he died, in which day, he is ſaid to have prayed ſolemnly five times, by which, very probably, he heated himſelf to ſuch a degree, as ſerved to keep up that extraordinary fervour he ſhewed to the laſt.

(10) Ibid. p. 84.

The day of their execution being come, ſeveral godly miniſters ſpent ſome time in prayer with Colonel Axtel and Colonel Hacker, and many friends coming in to pay their laſt reſpects, Colonel Axtel ſeeing one of his familiar friends and companions, ſaid, my dear brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I muſt go to heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully ſaid to diverſe then with him, dear friends, rejoice, ' I am going where ye ſhall be ' alſo; yea, where we ſhall be for ever with the Lord, ' and never part, and be without any more change.

' I beſeech

On Friday the nineteenth of October, about nine in the morning, Colonel Francis Hacker, and Colonel Daniel Axtel, were drawn on one hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn, where they behaved with great boldneſs and reſolution, more eſpecially the latter, who was the better ſpeaker of the two, and who did not fail to juſtify his conduct to the people, with the ſame ſort of arguments he had uſed before his Judges, as may be ſeen in a note (*t*) [*I*]. After the execution was performed, the head of Colonel Axtel was

(*t*) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 414,

'I beſeech you follow the Lamb wherever he 'goeth, tho' he may lead you in a harſh, diſmal, 'and difficult way; yet at laſt he will bring you into 'a pleaſant path, and cauſe you to lie down in 'pleaſant paſtures in the land of reſt.

'Oh! be faithful unto the death and he will give 'you a crown of life, as he hath given to your 'ſuffering brethren. Oh! all that we have or do 'ſuffer, is but to make Chriſt and heaven more 'ſweet, dear, and glorious unto us; all the ſad ſteps 'we ſhall tread on this ladder, is but to mount us 'to heaven, for at the top are angels ready to receive 'us, as was on Jacob's ladder; ALL the things I 'meet with move me not, I bleſs my God, for I am 'ſure to fight a good fight, and finiſh my courſe with joy.'

Afterwards taking his leave of his ſon, embracing him in his arms, he ſaid, My dear ſon, fare thee well, I muſt leave thee, get an intereſt in Chriſt and love him, nothing elſe will ſtand thee in ſtead, but an intereſt in him. Then calling for his Bible he hugged it, ſaying, this hath the whole cauſe in it, and I may carry this without offence; and calling to a friend, he deſired him to remember his love to the congregation where he was a member; and after took his leave of all his friends, exhorting them, with much chearfulneſs, to love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and keep cloſe to him, and ſo with great joy addreſſed himſelf to go to his next work (11).

(11) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 414.

[*I*] *As may be ſeen in a Note.*] When they came to the place of execution, Mr Axtel deſired leave of the Sheriff to ſpeak freely to the people, becauſe, as he ſaid, it was the laſt time he was to ſpeak. The Sheriff told him, that he knew very well what the court forbid him to enter upon when at his trial, which therefore he ſhould avoid there and confine himſelf to his preſent concern, and then he ſhould have free leave to deliver what he thought fit, the rather becauſe he had intimated that he would ſpeak ſomewhat for the benefit of the people. This leave thus obtained, Mr Axtel turned towards the people with a rope about his neck; and, becauſe Colonel Hacker was no great Orator, delivered the ſenſe of them both to a prodigious concourſe of people, in a ſpeech to the effect following.

I ſay the very cauſe for which I have engaged is contained in this book of God (having the Bible in his hand) both in the civil and religious rights of it, which I leave to you (giving the book to Mr Knowles). You ſee a dead man living, and yet I hope I ſhall live to all eternity, thro' the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt the mediator of the covenant of Free Grace. I muſt truly tell you, that before the late wars it pleaſed the Lord to call me by his Grace thro' the work of the miniſtry, and afterwards keeping a day of humiliation in faſting and prayer, with Mr Simeon Aſh, Mr Love, Mr Woodcock, and other miniſters in Laurence-Lane, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own conſcience of the juſtneſs of the war, and thereupon engaged in the parliament ſervice (which as I did and do believe) was the cauſe of the Lord; I ventured my life freely for it, and now I die for it.

Then Mr Sheriff ſaid to this purpoſe, Sir, remember yourſelf.

Colonel Axtel proceeded: And after the work of the Lord was done in England, my lot caſt me in the ſervice of Ireland, and I thank the Lord I was ſerviceable to the Engliſh nation in that country, and have diſcharged my duty fully, according to the truſt committed to me there. As for the fact for which I now ſuffer, it is for words, only for words, and but for words, and the ſentence is already reverſed in my own conſcience; and it will be reverſed by Jeſus Chriſt, by and by; I pray God, from the very bottom of my ſoul, to forgive all that have had any hand in my death, both witneſſes and jury, and the court that paſſed ſentence; for conſidering the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as he hath laid it down. Matt. v. 44. 'It hath been 'ſaid of old time, love your neighbours, and hate your 'enemies; but I ſay unto you, love your enemies, and 'pray for them that hate and deſpitefully uſe you, 'that you may be the children of your father which is 'in heaven.'

I deſire, according to this doctrine, from the bottom of my heart, that God would give them true repentance, and not lay their ſin to their charge, nor my blood, which by God's and man's law, (I think) could not juſtly have been brought here to ſuffer: But I bleſs God I have ſome comfortable aſſurance, that I ſhall be embraced in the arms of Chriſt, and have cauſe to hope that his ſpirit ſhall carry my ſoul into the Father's hands. And if the glory of this ſun-ſhine be ſo great (the ſun then ſhining bright) how much more is the glory of the Son of God, who is the Sun of righteouſneſs? I think it convenient to give you ſome account of my faith. I believe all things written in the Old and New Teſtament, as the principles and doctrine of a believer's faith: I believe the bleſſed ordinances of Chriſt, that it is our duty to hear the word preached, to ſeek unto God in prayer, and to perform family duties, and to walk in the communion of Saints; and for my own part, I am a member of a congregation, which I judge to be the way of Chriſt, (and were it for that only I were to die I would witneſs to it) which is a company of men born again by his grace, that walk in the ways of Chriſt blameleſs and harmleſs. I believe Jeſus Chriſt dyed for poor ſinners, of whom I am chief as the Apoſtle Paul ſaith. This is a faithful ſaying and worthy of all acceptation. That Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners of whom I am chief. And if the Apoſtle might ſay ſo, much more may I.

My friends and countrymen, I have reaſon to bewail my own unprofitable life, having been very unfruitful unto the people of the Lord. The Lord knows I have much fault upon my part, were it not for the blood of Chriſt that cleanſeth and waſheth me, according to his promiſe ſaying, I loved you and waſhed away your ſins in my own blood. For there is no remiſſion of ſins without the blood of Chriſt. I deſire you all to loath and caſt off ſin, it were better to ſuffer than to ſin. It is better to die than to ſin, nothing could grieve our Saviour but ſin, and therefore have a care of that. You and I muſt meet one day at the bar of Chriſt, and the Son of God ſhall be our judge, for God hath committed all judgment to the Son, that all men ſhould honour the Son as they honour the Father. This day is a reſemblance of that day, therefore be ſerious; I beg as much good to your immortal ſouls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beſeech you beg of God, that he would ſave your ſouls, and omit no opportunity through the ſtrength of the Lord, to believe and put your truſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Be ſure to labour after aſſurance of your intereſt in him, or elſe you will be of all men moſt miſerable; for I of all men were moſt miſerable, if I had not believed to ſee the goodneſs of the Lord in the land of the living.

Bleſſed be the Lord that brings me into this ſtate; let the way or means be what they will, it is God's ſovereignty who made theſe creatures ſo, to diſpoſe of them how he pleaſeth, and God hath ordained this death for me from all eternity. The Lord Chriſt often prayed, Thy will be done; this is the Lord's will. He hath numbered my days, and my times are in his hand. Many ſeek the ruler's favour, but every one's judgment is from the Lord. When Pilate ſaid unto Chriſt, Knoweſt thou not, that I have a power to crucify thee? Chriſt anſwered him, Thou couldeſt have no power againſt me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore I acknowledge the righteous hand of God; he is righteous, but I am ſinful. Therefore will I bear God's indignation, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him.

It is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, that for the joy ſet before him, he endured the croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of God, where I hope to ſee him by and by in glory and majeſty, and to ſee his angels and believers worſhipping of him, and therefore I deſpiſe the ſhame; our Saviour died upon the croſs without ſin; I am a ſinful creature, a wretched ſinner, and ſhall I expect better than he that was my maſter? He who

was

was ſet up at the further end of Weſtminſter-Hall, and his quarters were in like manner diſpoſed of, ſo as to become ſpectacles in other publick places. But the body of Mr Hacker, was by his Majeſty's great favour given entire to his friends, and by their care was decently interred. At the time of his death, the Colonel left behind him a widow and ſeveral chilldren, for whoſe ſubſiſtance he had made a competent proviſion in the time of his proſperity.

was holy, and never had a ſinful thought, in all his life, and died not for himſelf, but for us, that we might live through his death, that through his poverty, we might be made rich; and Chriſt having done this for his people, it ſhould not be in their eyes thought a deſpicable thing, that we ſhould ſuffer for him, having been engaged in the work of God. But Chriſt muſt prevail in righteouſneſs, and he will prevail. Now, Mr Sheriff, I thank you for your civility and for this leave (12).

(12) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 89, 90, 91.

Then Colonel Hacker roſe up, and ſpoke to him in private, after which Colonel Axtel aſked the Sheriff, whether they were both to die together, and being anſwered in the affirmative, Colonel Hacker read a paper, containing what he had particularly to ſay, and which was very ſhort; he then intreated Colonel Axtel, that he would be (to uſe his own words) both their mouths to God. Mr Axtel complying with this requeſt, having firſt entreated the ſilence and attention of the people, and that they would join with him in his application to God, with a compoſed frame of ſpirit, and an audible voice, he prayed for better than half an hour, in which he prayed for the government, the magiſtrates, and for the executioner; he likewiſe prayed very heartily for the King, under the name of the Chief Magiſtrate of this nation, and throughout the whole, did not receive the leaſt interruption (13).

(13) Ibid. p. 91—96.

After he had ended his prayer, he gave the Sheriff thanks again for his civility, and then turning to Colonel Hacker, they ſaluted and embraced each other in their arms, and ſaid, the Lord ſweeten our paſſage, and give us a happy meeting with himſelf in glory. Then pulling his cap over his eyes, expecting as is ſuppoſed, that the cart ſhould be drawn away, with his hands lifted up, he uttered theſe words with a loud and audible voice, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit; but the cart ſtaying a little longer; he lift up his hands a ſecond time, and with the like audible and loud voice, ſaid, Into thy hands, O Father! I recommend my ſpirit; and yet in regard there was no man found to put forward the horſe to draw away the cart, until the common hang-man came down out of the cart himſelf to do it. The carman, as many witneſſes affirm, ſaying he would loſe his cart and horſe, before he would have a hand in hanging ſuch a man; by this means he had opportunity to lift up his hands and utter the like words a third time alſo (14).

One thing more his friends thought very remarkable, that when Colonel Axtel, and Colonel Hacker, were taken out of the ſledge into the cart, the ſpectators being in great numbers there, behaved themſelves very civilly, only two perſons among them, as ſoon as the ropes were put about their necks, cried out very earneſtly, hang them, hang them, rogues, traitors, murderers; hang them, draw away the cart. Whereupon a man that ſtood by them, deſired them to be civil, and ſaid, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he has to do; and thereupon they were ſilent, and gave attention to Colonel Axtel's ſpeech and prayer; but before he had done, thoſe very perſons were ſo affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many tears upon the place, and went aſide to a place a little more retired to weep; and that man that before deſired them to be civil, went after them, and beheld them to his great admiration, as himſelf hath narrated (15).

(14) State Tryals, Vol. II. p. 416, concluding the account there.

This behaviour fully juſtifies, what was ſaid in a former note, of the force of Enthuſiaſm.

(15) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 96.

E

AYLESBURY (THOMAS) the ſecond ſon of William Ayleſbury, by his wife Anne, daughter of John Poole, Eſq; was born in the city of London, ſome time in the year 1576 (*a*). He received his education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, from whence he went to Oxford, and in 1598, became a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and eſpecially affected the Mathematicks. This made him known to perſons of the greateſt parts in the univerſity, and was the reaſon of his being careſſed by ſome of the greateſt quality in the kingdom (*b*). On the nineteenth of June, 1605, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts. After he quitted the univerſity, he became Secretary to Charles Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral of England; in which poſt he had an opportunity of improving his mathematical knowledge, as alſo of giving many and ſhining proofs of it. On this account, when George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, ſucceeded the Earl of Nottingham as High-Admiral, Mr Ayleſbury not only kept his employment, but was alſo, by the favour of that powerful Duke, created a Baronet, the nineteenth of April, 1627, having been before made Maſter of Requeſts, and Maſter of the Mint (*c*). Theſe great employments, as they furniſhed him with the means of expreſſing his regard for learned men, ſo in him they met with a perſon, who put them to their right uſe. He not only made all men of ſcience welcome at his table, and afforded them all the countenance he could, but likewiſe gave to ſuch of them as were in narrow circumſtances, regular penſions out of his pocket, and carried them with him to his houſe in Windſor-Park, where he uſually ſpent the ſummer. In this manner he treated Walter Warner, a moſt ſkilful Mathematician, and who, at his requeſt, wrote a treatiſe of coins and coinage (*d*). The famous Mr Thomas Harriot, was another of his dependants, as appears by a poem addreſſed to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, by Biſhop Corbet [*A*], as alſo from the grateful acknowledgment

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 168. See alſo the inſcription on his grave-ſtone.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Catalogue of Baronets, Temp. Car. 12*mo*, MS. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 459.

[*A*] *By Dr Corbet.*] This Poem was written on the appearance of the Comet on the 9th of December 1618, and is, conſidering the ſtile of that age, a good performance. From the following lines the point mentioned in the text is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

Now for the peace of God and men adviſe
(Thou that haſt wherewithal to make us wiſe)
Thine own rich ſtudies and deep HARIOT's mine,
In which there is no droſs, but all refine, &c (1).

(1) See his Poems printed at London, 1672, p. 56.

The ſtudy of the Mathematicks was at this time much encouraged, and had been ſo for many years. The Earl of Leiceſter, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, had ſome ſkill in this ſcience, and a great eſteem for ſuch as were learned therein. His ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, was alſo a patron of Mathematicians, and ſo was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being confined many years in the Tower of London, diverted himſelf with the converſation of eminent ſcholars in this kind of knowledge, among whom our Sir Thomas Ayleſbury often obtained a ſeat. His collections of ſcarce and valuable

acknowledgment made by that learned perſon in his will, whereby he bequeathed to Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, and Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, all his writings, and all the manuſcripts he had collected (*e*). Nor was the aſſiſtance which Sir Thomas afforded to men of merit, confined within the bounds of his own capacity, but extended to the recommendation of them to ſuch noble and generous patrons, as he had an intereſt in. Thus he recommended Mr Thomas Allen of Oxford, to his maſter the Duke of Bucks, and to other noble perſons, who honoured him with their friendſhip and protection. This very learned perſon confided his manuſcripts, for he would never publiſh any thing to Sir Thomas, who was in theſe matters the moſt knowing and moſt candid critick of his time (*f*). In 1642, adhering ſteadily to the King, he was of conſequence ſtripped of his places, and plundered of his eſtate. However he bore up chearfully under his misfortunes till 1649, when having ſeen the bloody murder of his Sovereign, he grew ſick of his country, and retiring with his family into Flanders, lived for ſome time at Bruſſels. In 1652, he removed to Breda, where he led a very private life, his loyalty having left him very little to live on; and in 1657, being then eighty-one years of age, he ended his days with honour, and was interred in the great church, through the care of his illuſtrious ſon-in-law. He left a ſon, William, of whom in the next article, and a daughter, Frances, who married Edward Hyde of Perton in the county of Wilts afterwards the juſtly famous Earl of Clarendon (*g*).

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 461.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

valuable books, learned and curious MSS, which he acquired, not only by his own induſtry, and at great expence, but alſo as in the text mentioned, by the gifts of his obliged friends, were either loſt in our troubles at home, or were diſpoſed of in the time of his diſtreſs abroad. Among theſe were ſeveral of Mr Hariot's pieces, and amongſt thoſe bequeathed to him by Mr Warner, ſome of which well deſerved to have been made publick. As to thoſe which were given him by Mr Allen, they related moſtly to Aſtrology, and among them, were the ſecond and third books of the famous Ptolemy the Geographer, *de Aſtrorum judiciis cum expoſitione Thomæ Allen* (2). Theſe were in thoſe days, when Aſtrology paſſed for a ſcience, held to be invaluable treatiſes, and therefore ſome copies were procured, one of which was in the hands of William Lilly, the Almanack-maker, who preſented his tranſcript to Elias Aſhmole Eſq; (3). It does not appear Sir Thomas Ayleſbury ever wrote any thing himſelf, but inaſmuch as he bountifully aſſiſted ſuch men of parts as ſtood in need of his favour, we cannot think the compliment we have paid more than he deſerved. E

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 575.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

AYLESBURY (William) ſon of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, became very early a gentleman-commoner of Chriſt-Church, and took a degree in Arts at ſixteen years of age (*a*). Though he had at that time the proſpect of a very plentiful fortune, yet he purſued his ſtudies with ſuch diligence, and behaved with ſo much modeſty and prudence, that King Charles I, made choice of him to be governor to George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, and his brother Lord Francis, with whom he went to travel (*b*). He met in Italy with a very extraordinary misfortune. Walking one evening in the garden of the houſe where they lodged, he was ſhot, through a hole in the wall, and a couple of bullets lodged in his thigh: thoſe who did it leaped over the wall, came up, and looked upon him, begged his pardon, told him they were miſtaken, and that they intended to have ſhot another perſon, which was all the ſatisfaction he ever received (*c*). He returned into England with his pupils a little after the Civil War commenced, and carried them with him to Oxford, where he preſented them to the King. His Majeſty expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in regard to Mr Ayleſbury's conduct (*d*), and promiſed on the firſt vacancy, to make him Groom of his Bed-chamber; which promiſe however he lived not to perform. His Majeſty likewiſe recommended it to Mr Ayleſbury, to tranſlate into Engliſh the Hiſtory of the Wars in Flanders, by Davila. How far he complied, the reader will ſee in the note [*A*]. After the King's murder, he retired with his father to Antwerp, and dwelt there as long as his circumſtances would afford it; but at length, through very want, returned into England in the year 1650; ſpending his time here, as moſt of the Royaliſts did, in ſeeking ſhelter and a meal of meat where it was to be had. Living ſome times in one place, ſometimes in another, chiefly at Oxford, which was always loyal, till the year 1657, when the Protector fitting out a fleet to go on ſome expedition to the Weſt Indies, as alſo to carry a ſupply to the iſland of Jamaica, our author, from pure neceſſity,

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

[*A*] *The reader will ſee in a note.*] The reaſon why his Majeſty made choice of Mr Ayleſbury to tranſlate this book was, becauſe he was perfect maſter of the Italian language. It ſhould ſeem however, that our author was a little indolent, ſince even with the aſſiſtance of his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, it was not fitted for the preſs till ſome years afterwards, when it appeared under the following title, *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of* France. *Written in Italian by* Henry Canterino d'Avila, *London* 1647 *folio*. There was a *ſecond edition* of this work in 1678, and in the Epiſtle prefixed thereto, it is ſaid, that the whole was tranſlated by Sir Charles Cotterel, except here and there a paſſage in the four firſt books (1). This ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to write in partnerſhip, for Mr Ayleſbury had been then many years dead, and could not therefore poſſibly anſwer for himſelf. Before I cloſe this note, I muſt crave leave to obſerve, that there is ſomething very remarkable in King Charles I, commanding this book to be tranſlated, ſince it is certain, that thoſe dreadful ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, of private calamities and publick confuſion, which were ſo admirably depicted in that work, came afterwards to be acted on the Theatre of Britain, and therefore a better caveat could not have been thought of for preventing thoſe miſchiefs, than the timely publication of this book. As to our author Ayleſbury, and his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, they for ſome time lived together in the houſe of Mr Ayleſbury, at Breda, where Dr Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, officiated as their chaplain, till

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 216.

neceſſity, engaged himſelf as Secretary to the Governor; which poſt he enjoyed not long, death removing him when he had been but a ſhort time in the iſland (e).

(e) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

'till Mr Aſhmole's misfortunes came upon him (2). By the immature death of our author in Jamaica, the male line of this family extinguiſhed, and his ſurviving ſiſter Frances, Counteſs of Clarendon, became heireſs of what could be recovered of her father's, Sir Thomas Ayleſbury's, eſtate (3). E

(2) Wood, ubi upra, col. 770.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. III. p. 479.

AYLMER, or rather as himſelf wrote it, ÆLMER (JOHN) was deſcended of a very antient [A] and honourable family, ſeated at Aylmer-Hall in the county of Norfolk (a). He was born ſome time in the year 1521 (b), and being a younger brother, was either recommended by his relations, or recommended himſelf by his pregnant parts even in his nonage, to the then Marquis of Dorſet (Henry Gray) afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was pleaſed to honour him with the title of his ſcholar, and exhibited to him at the univerſity of Cambridge (c). When he had there attained a competent proviſion of univerſity learning, the Marquis recalled him from thence, and took him into his own houſe, where he became tutor to his children, amongſt whom was the Lady Jane, who for ſome days was ſtiled Queen (d). This excellent Lady, under Mr Aylmer's Tuition [B], became wonderfully learned in the Latin and Greek tongues, reading in the latter with great eaſe and pleaſure, the moſt ſublime and difficult authors, and even writing in that language with great elegancy, as well as ſtrength of ſentiment (e). By the care of Mr Aylmer, ſhe received right principles of religion. For he went early into the opinions of the primitive Reformers, and having for his patrons the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Edward VI, he was for ſome time the only preacher in Leiceſterſhire, where he ſo effectually fixed the Proteſtant religion in the minds of the people, that neither force nor fraud could blot it out (f). The firſt preferment beſtowed upon him, was the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the dioceſe of Lincoln (g), which giving him a ſeat in the Convocation [C] held in the

(a) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk. Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova Lond. 1738, 4to, Vol. III. p. 297.

(b) See the inſcription in note [Q].

(c) Hiſtorical Collections, relating to the Life and Acts of Biſhop Aylmer, by J. Strype, M. A. Lond. 1701, 8vo, p. 3.

(d) Fuller, ubi ſupra. Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, Lond. 1571, 4to, p. 11.

(e) Aſcham's Epiſtol. edit. Oxon. A. D. 1703, p. 237.

(f) Strype, p. 8.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

[A] *Deſended from a very ancient family.*] There is no doubt of our author's being of a very antient and genteel family, ſince his elder brother was Sir Robert Aylmer, of Aylmer-hall, in the county of Norfolk, and their anceſtor Sheriff of his county in the reign of Edward II (1). But it muſt be allowed, Mr Strype, in his Life of this Prelate, confounds himſelf and his reader on this head, and by endeavouring to make the thing exceſſively plain, hath rendered it ſcarce intelligible (2). That the Biſhop really wrote his name Ælmer, at leaſt ſometimes is certain, and that this might proceed from ſome affectation of deſcending from a Saxon family, is not improbable, ſince it is as certain, that the Aylmers of Norfolk, did not uſe this manner of writing, nor is the name of a Sheriff of London, A. D. 1501, ſo written, but plainly Aylmer, as in the text (3). The foregoing articles will ſhew, that there really was ſuch a name as this in uſe in thoſe times; but then it was a chriſtian name, and Mr Strype does not pretend to account for it's becoming a ſurname, which however we ſhall endeavour to do. Fuller had informed him, that Aylmer-hall ſtood in the pariſh of Tilſley (4), which pariſh not being to be found, Mr Strype ſuppoſes that it muſt be in Tilney pariſh, which lies in Merſhland, or Marſhland, where a later writer confidently places it (5), though I find no direct teſtimony that in this pariſh it really ſtands. But this part of the country appears ſo evidently gained from the ſea, and was formerly with ſuch difficulty kept from it's old maſter, that it is not very likely any Saxon family ſhould remain here. But in North Erpingham Hundred, in the ſame county, there is a conſiderable village, called Ailmerton or Elmerton (6), which is truly a Saxon name, and ſignifies a place ſeated on the Old Marſh, and there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt that after ſurnames became faſhionable, the poſſeſſion of this manour took that of Aylmer or Elmer, a thing uſual in other places (7).

(1) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk.

(2) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 2. 192, and 324.

(3) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 802. Deſaune's Preſent State of London, p. 243.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(5) See Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova, p. 297.

(6) See Speed's Maps, p. 35.

(7) Camden's Remains, edit. 1606, p. 107.

[B] *Under Mr Aylmer's tuition.*] It is not a little ſtrange, that Mr Strype, with all his induſtry, ſhould not be able to diſcover at what college in Cambridge our author had his education (8). As to his conjectures that it might be here, or it might be there, they may ſerve to miſlead, but not to inſtruct us; and therefore it is ſufficient to note, that Fuller affirms he was bred there, and that Anthony Wood ſuggeſts he took his degrees in Arts at that univerſity (9). In Strype's Life, there is not one date between his birth and firſt preferment, though there are ſeveral circumſtances mentioned, the time of which might have been eaſily fixed. Mr Aſcham viſited the Lady Jane Gray, in the month of Auguſt 1550 (10), and found her under the tuition of Mr Elmer, who was then in the 30th year of his age. The place at which ſhe then reſided, was her father's ſeat at Broadgate, in Leiceſterſhire, the family were hunting, and Mr Aſcham going to wait on the young Lady, ſurprized her reading the Phædon of Plato. This naturally led him to enquire, how a lady of her age, for ſhe could not be then above fourteen, arrived at ſuch a perfection both in Philoſophy and the Greek tongue. To which ſhe anſwered thus, as Mr Aſcham himſelf informs us; 'I will tell you, 'quoth ſhe, and tell you a truth, which perchance 'you will marvel at. One of the greateſt benefits 'which ever God gave me, is that he ſent ſo ſharp 'and ſevere parents, and ſo gentle a ſchoolmaſter. 'For when I am in preſence either of father or 'mother, whether I ſpeak, keep ſilence, ſit, ſtand, 'or go; eat, drink, be merry or ſad; be ſowing, 'playing, dancing, or doing any thing elſe, I muſt 'do it, as it were, in ſuch weight, meaſure, and 'number, and even ſo perfectly, as God made the 'world, or elſe, I am ſo ſharply taunted, ſo cruelly 'threatened, yea, preſently ſometimes with pinches, 'nips, and bobs (and other ways which I will not 'name, for the honour I bear them) ſo without 'meaſure miſordered, that I think myſelf in Hell, 'till time come that I muſt go to Mr *Elmer*, who 'teacheth me ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, with fair 'allurements to learning, that I think all the time 'nothing while I am with him; and when I am 'called from him, I fall a weeping, becauſe what'ſoever I do elſe but learning, is full of grief, 'trouble, fear, and wholly miſliking unto me; and 'this my book hath been ſo much my pleaſure, 'and bringeth daily to me more pleaſure, and more 'yet, in reſpect to it, all other pleaſures in very deed, 'be but trifles and troubles unto me (11).' So much was Mr Aſcham affected with this interview, that in a letter to Lady Jane, dated the 18th of January 1551, he ſpeaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apoſtrophe, addreſſing himſelf to Mr Aylmer, felicitates him on his having ſo ingenious a ſcholar, in a ſtrain of compliment, which he ſays the great Sturmius made uſe of to him, ſpeaking of his happineſs, in having the Lady Elizabeth for his pupil. In this letter it is, that he deſires Mr Aylmer, to whom he foreſaw it would be ſhewn, to engage the Lady Jane, to write a letter in Greek to himſelf, and another to Sturmius, and alſo deſires they might continue to live in the ſame learned friendſhip and intercourſe, which they had hitherto done (12).

(8) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 3.

(9) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(10) E. Grant, de Vita & Obitu R. Aſchami, p. 17.

(11) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, p. 11. b.

(12) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 237.

[C] *A ſeat in the Convocation.*] In the beginning of the year 1553, Mr Aylmer ſucceeded Chriſtopher Maſſingberd, who deceaſed the 8th of March, in

the firſt year of Queen Mary, he boldly oppoſed that return to Popery, to which the body of the Clergy ſeemed generally inclined. He was one of Six, who in the midſt of all the violences committed in that aſſembly, offered to diſpute all the controverted points in religion, againſt the moſt learned and famous champions of the Papiſts. But when the ſupreme power began to argue, not by words but by force, Archdeacon Aylmer withdrew, and if we may credit one of our eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, eſcaped in almoſt a miraculous manner [D], beyond the ſeas (b); where he reſided firſt at Straſbourg, afterwards at Zurick in Switzerland, and there in peace followed his ſtudies, employing all his time [E] in acquiring knowledge, or in providing that others ſhould acquire it (i). During the time of his exile, he improved himſelf likewiſe by travel, and towards the end of it, gave a ſignal proof of his learning, moderation, and love to his native country, by penning a ſober anſwer to an outrageous book, written by John Knox, againſt the government of women [F]. After the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to

(b) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(i) Strype, p. 10—17.

in the ſame year, in the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, if Wood may be believed (13); but Mr Strype ſays, that he ſucceeded Dr Dedicot (14). However it was, he ſat in the Convocation, which met the 16th of October, in the ſame year at London: The firſt day he ſaid little, but the next he diſputed boldly againſt the Real Preſence, and with great learning, reading ſeveral quotations from the Fathers, which he had collected, from his note book. But the hiſtory of this diſpute is much too long for a note, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to a book, where it may ſtill be read at large (15). This conduct though it gained him great reputation, loſt him his Archdeaconry; into which came John Harriſon, in the year 1554, being no doubt a zealous Papiſt (16).

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(14) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 9.

(15) Fox's Martyrs.

(16) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[D] *Almoſt a miraculous manner.*] Mr Fuller takes notice, that the ſhip on board which Mr Aylmer embarked, was ſo unlucky as to be ſearched and yet he eſcaped, partly through the friendſhip of the captain, and partly through his own lowneſs of ſtature. For there being in the hold a very large wine veſſel, with a partition in the middle, Mr Aylmer ſat in the one end of it, while the ſearchers drank wine drawn out of the other (17). No queſtion, but many ſuch contrivances there were in the days of Queen Mary, when the confuſions in Church and State, made numbers of all ranks prefer ſafety in foreign climates, to that affection which nature taught them for their own.

(17) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk.

[E] *Employing all his time.*] His thoughts, tho' in a diſtant country, were continually employed in the ſervice of England, and of Engliſhmen. He publiſhed (as Mr Strype ſuppoſes) Lady Jane Gray's letter to Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, and who apoſtatized. He aſſiſted the famous Fox, in tranſlating the Hiſtory of Engliſh Martyrs into Latin, as alſo in the verſion of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Vindication of the Book on the Sacrament, againſt Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, which verſion however was never printed or publiſhed. When his ſtudies and the care he took of his fellow-exiles allowed him leiſure, he viſited moſt of the univerſities of Italy and Germany, and had an offer from the Duke of Saxony, of the Hebrew Profeſſorſhip of *Jena*, which he refuſed, on a proſpect of ſpeedily returning home (18).

(18) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 26.

[F] *Againſt the government of women.*] As this was the only work of conſequence, which our author Aylmer ever publiſhed, as it was the groundwork of his future fortunes, and at the ſame time, the ſource of thoſe calumnies, which were thrown upon him, it is requiſite that we ſhould give here a full and diſtinct account of the occaſion, and the manner in which it was written, and this we ſhall endeavour to do as briefly as may be. In 1556, John Knox, printed at Geneva a treatiſe under this title: *The firſt Blaſt againſt the monſtrous Regiment and Empire of Women.* The drift of the author was to ſhew, that by the laws of God women could not exerciſe Sovereign authority (19). The reaſon of his writing of it, was his ſpight againſt two Queens; Mary of Lorrain, then Regent of Scotland, and Mary Queen of England; it was like the reſt of that Divine's pieces, a vehement performance full of ſtrange opinions, ſupported by a warm flow of enthuſiaſtick Rhetorick, which ſufficiently recommended it to all perſons of the ſame complection. He intended a ſecond, and a third part; but the times altering, he did not rend the ears of the publick with any more Blaſts. However, this firſt did a great deal of miſchief, and prejudiced the Proteſtant religion exceedingly in the minds of Princes, and thoſe in authority under them. Mr Aylmer perceiving this, and apprehending alſo the conſequences which might attend the leaving this book unanſwered, reſolved to employ his pen in the performance of a duty incumbent upon him, as a Chriſtian Divine, and a good ſubject. His piece was entitled, *An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects, againſt the late blowne Blaſte, concerning the Gouernement of Wemen. Wherein bee confuted al ſuch Reaſons as a ſtraanger of late made in that Behalfe. With a briefe Exhortation to Obedience.* It was printed at Straſbourg, anno 1559, and was dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Robert Duddely (afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, then) Maſter of the Queen's Horſes. This book is written with great vivacity, and at the ſame time diſcovers it's author's deep and general learning. At the opening of this work, there are ſome curious remarks on Mr Knox's want of ſkill in Politicks, and the Law of Nations; the author then proceeds to a logical refutation of his arguments, and in doing this, he enters into a compariſon of the Civil or Roman Law, with that of this land. In his exhortation to obedience, he pays great compliments to the new Queen Elizabeth, giving however this reaſon for his not ſetting his name to his book, that he might write with greater liberty; and be the leſs ſuſpected of flattery. A ſeaſonable and well-judged antidote this was to Knox's furious poiſon, and well calculated to ſoften Queen Elizabeth's reſentment, which had begun to diſcover itſelf againſt the exiles (20). Yet with all this moderation, it ſo happened, that our author retaining in his mind, too quick a ſenſation of the ſeverities exerciſed by Queen Mary's Popiſh Biſhops, let fall ſome odd expreſſions, and amongſt them theſe; 'Come off, ye Biſhops, away 'with your ſuperfluities, yield up your thouſands, 'be content with hundreds; as they be in other 'reformed churches, where be as great learned men 'as you are. Let your portion be Prieſt-like, not 'Prince-like. Let the Queen have the reſt of your 'temporalities, and other lands, to maintain theſe 'wars, which you procured, and your miſtreſs left 'her embroiled in; and with the reſt to build and 'found ſchools throughout the Realm. That every 'pariſh-church may have his preacher, every city 'to have his ſuperintendant to live honeſtly, and 'not pompouſly, which will never be, unleſs your 'lands are diſperſed, and beſtowed upon many, which 'now feed and fat but one.' Other paſſages there are to the ſame purport, which Mr Strype tells us very confidently, were intended of the Popiſh Biſhops, which, with his leave, is a viſible abſurdity, as appears from the words above cited; *other reformed churches.* Not but that the Popiſh Biſhops are alſo ſtruck at by what follows, but the ſcope of the words take in the whole order, and in this ſenſe they were underſtood. Aylmer himſelf, when this paſſage was afterwards objected to him, diſdained ſuch trifling, and anſwered like a man of ſenſe; *When I was a child, I ſpoke like a child, and thought like a child,* &c (21). His inclining to what was afterwards called Puritaniſm in thoſe days, appears further by his choice of his Patrons, the *Earl* of *Bedford*, and *Lord Dudley*. This was a topick his enemies would never part with, when he came afterwards to change his opinions, and to act with the ſame quickneſs and vehemency in defence of Prelacy, which he had before diſcovered in this work, in writing

(19) See the article of FOX.

(20) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 119. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(21) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 269. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 108.

I

to the Engliſh throne, Aylmer returned home, and was one of the eight Divines, appointed to diſpute with as many Popiſh Biſhops at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of a great aſſembly (*k*). A. D. 1562, he obtained the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, by the favour of Mr Secretary Cecil (*l*). In right of this dignity, he ſat in the famous Synod held the ſame year, wherein the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, and it's Reformation, from the abuſes of Popery, were carefully examined and wiſely ſettled (*m*). In this ſituation he continued for many years [G], and diſcharged the duty of a good ſubject to the government under which he lived, in Church and State; being one of the Queen's Juſtices of the Peace, as alſo an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, which gave him a great inſight into affairs, and rendered him fitly qualified for the epiſcopal function (*n*). October the tenth, 1573, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, in the univerſity of Oxford (*o*). The next year the Archbiſhop of Canterbury made choice of him, to anſwer a book written in Latin againſt the government of the Church of England; but after thoroughly conſidering it, Dr Aylmer declined the taſk (*p*), which ſome in thoſe days (perhaps unjuſtly) attributed to diſcontent, becauſe he was not made a Biſhop. To this dignity he had been often named by that excellent man, Matthew Parker, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but always ſet aſide, either through the intereſt of the Archbiſhop's enemies, or his own (*q*). For there were enough of both, and the latter failed not to ſuggeſt, that in the ſame book where Aylmer had made his court to the Queen, he had alſo ſhewn his ſpleen againſt Epiſcopacy (*r*). At laſt, in the year 1576, on Dr Edwin Sandys being promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Dr Aylmer was made Biſhop of London (*s*), not without the furtherance of his predeceſſor, who was his intimate friend, and had been his fellow-exile. Yet immediately after his promotion, Biſhop Aylmer found, or thought he found, cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop [H]; however his Grace aſſiſted at his conſecration, on the twenty-

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI, Book ix. p. 56.

(*l*) Strype, p. 18.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 328.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 318 Life of Aylmer, p. 22.

(*q*) Strype, p. 20.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

(*s*) Godwin de Præſul. Part i. p. 252. Wood, ubi ſupra. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 97.

writing againſt it. While we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to note, that the reflection this piece drew upon him, did probably deter Mr Aylmer from meddling with the Preſs again; to which he retained an irreconcileable averſion, except in caſes of neceſſity, to the very end of his life.

[G] *Continued for many years.*] In this note we ſhall lay before the reader, ſome particulars worthy his notice, which happened to Mr Aylmer, between his return to England and his promotion to the Biſhoprick of London. He was about forty years old when he firſt became known at court, having for his faſt friend, Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and for his Patron, Secretary Cecil. Before the eccleſiaſtical preferments were ſettled, Cecil made liſts of Divines, proper to be recommended to Biſhopricks. In one of theſe, conſiſting of nineteen names, ſtood Aylmer, but though twelve of that number were honoured with mitres, he was paſſed by (22). However he had no great reaſon to complain, his Archdeaconry being a very profitable preferment. In the roll of the ſubſcriptions to the thirty-nine articles in the Synod, mentioned in the text, which ſubſcriptions were made on the 15th of February 1562, he ſubſcribed thus; *Johannes Ælmerus*, Archid. *Lincoln.* (23). He did not ſtir much in this aſſembly, and when the great debate was on the ſix points, relating to feaſt-days, ceremonies, organs, &c. he was abſent, and ſo were many more to the number of twenty-ſeven (24). It was doubtleſs by the Archbiſhop's intereſt, Mr Aylmer was made a Juſtice of Peace, and put into the high commiſſion; and Mr Wood aſſures us, that his being in theſe poſts, is taken notice of in the Oxford regiſter in the entry of his degrees (25). He was very active in all his ſeveral employments; however his book was ſtill harped upon, by ſuch as had no kindneſs for his perſon. Amongſt the reſt, one Mr Norton, a Miniſter, writing to Dr Whitgift, to diſſuade him from anſwering Mr Cartwright, the Puritan's book, remarked, that Mr Aylmer's unreaſonable paradox to truth, had hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment ſo much as he hoped. But Dr Whitgift in his anſwer, ſupported Mr Aylmer's doctrine, and vindicated him from the charge of writing for preferment (26). Many of theſe reports no doubt, had reached our Archdeacon's ears, and therefore we need not wonder that he declined the Archbiſhop's motion of writing an anſwer to the treatiſe, *de Diſciplina*, which would certainly have created him new enemies, and have contributed nothing towards pacifying the old. It was not only Parker, our author's friend and countryman, that thought him the propereſt perſon to be employed in ſuch a work, Grindal then lately preferred from London to York, thought

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 154.

(23) Ibid. p. 328.

(24) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 19.

(25) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 109.

(26) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

ſo too; but was apprehenſive that Aylmer would not take the pains (27). Indeed it was not reaſonable to expect he ſhould. He had already a great deal upon him, and it is admitted on all hands, that he left nothing unexecuted which depended upon him; inſomuch that many years after it was acknowledged, the dioceſe of Lincoln felt the good effects of his adminiſtration. The Archdeacon's diligence was ſomewhat impeded by a diſpute he had with the Biſhop, which induced a law-ſuit; but at length the parties, to avoid ſcandal, ſubmitted the matter in debate to Matthew, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Robert, Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom it was finally determined in 1572 (28). When Grindal was made Archbiſhop of York, Aylmer was talked of for his ſucceſſor in the See of London, and Parker recommended him warmly to Secretary Cecil. The Earl of Leiceſter, our author's firſt Patron, ſtarted an objection, though he ſeemed to eſpouſe his intereſt; which objection was, that it would ſeem ſtrange to raiſe an Archdeacon at once, to ſo conſiderable a See; after all, Sandys was preferred for that time (29). It is pretty evident, that neither of the parties which were then in the Church, had any liking to our Archdeacon. Thoſe who were warm for Uniformity, remembered his declamation againſt Biſhops, and the other party again, hated him alſo on account of his book; for though none durſt openly own it, yet Knox's doctrine had many followers. Beſides, Aylmer's conduct as an Archdeacon, and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſioner, ſeemed to ſpeak an alteration in his ſentiments; and thus, though no objection could be made to his parts, learning, or application to buſineſs; yet doubts and Jealouſies, retarded his preferment for near fifteen years, notwithſtanding his own merit, and the warm ſollicitation of powerful friends.

[H] *Cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop.*] The diſpute between our Biſhop Aylmer, and his predeceſſor, Archbiſhop Sandys, is a point not to be ſlipt over haſtily, or treated with any partiality. We ſhall endeavour to ſtate it fairly, truly, and from proper authorities. Sandys was Aylmer's particular friend, had been his fellow-exile, and recommended him warmly for his ſucceſſor in the See of London (30). In his farewel ſermon preached at Paul's Croſs, he was pleaſed to give this character of him, then, appointed to ſupply his place. 'My hope is that the Lord 'hath provided one of choice, to be placed over 'you, a man to undertake this great charge, for 'ſtrength, courage, great wiſdom, ſkill in govern'ment, knowledge, as in many other things; ſo 'eſpecially in the Heavenly myſteries of God, that 'I doubt not, but my departure ſhall turn very much 'to your advantage (31).' When Dr Aylmer came to

(27) Ibid. p. 22

(28) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(29) Godwin. de Præſul. edit. Lond. 1616, p. 252.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 428. Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 27.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 424.

twenty-fourth of March, 1576. But this did not hinder Biſhop Aylmer from ſuing Sandys for dilapidations, which after ſome years proſecution he recovered (*t*). December the fifteenth, 1577, our Biſhop began his firſt viſitation, wherein he urged ſubſcriptions, which ſome miniſters refuſed, and not contented therewith, reviled ſuch as ſaw no reaſon to hinder them from ſubſcribing, calling them diſſemblers, and comparing them to Arians and Anabaptiſts, ſuch was the temper of the Puritans at their very beginning (*u*). He was alſo extreamly aſſiduous in publick preaching, took much pains in examining ſuch as came to him for ordination, and kept a ſtrict eye over all the Diſſenters in thoſe times, as well Papiſts as Puritans. In which he acted ſo far as his epiſcopal authority would permit, and where he found that not ſufficient, he wrote freely to the Treaſurer Burleigh [*I*], as to what he thought further neceſſary (*w*). When the plague raged in London, in the year 1578, our Biſhop ſhewed a paternal care of his clergy and people. For as on the one hand he would not expoſe the former to needleſs perils, ſo on the other he provided, that theſe laſt ſhould not be without ſpiritual comforts (*x*). In 1581 came out Campion's book, ſhewing the reaſons why he had deſerted the Reformed, and returned to the Popiſh communion. It was written in very elegant Latin, and dedicated to the ſcholars of both the univerſities, for which reaſon the Treaſurer, Burleigh, thought it very proper that it ſhould be anſwered, and referred the care thereof to our Biſhop, who though he gave his opinion freely upon the ſubject, and promiſed his aſſiſtance, if the anſwering it was put into a method which he propoſed, yet he declined the undertaking ſingly [*K*], on account of the great buſineſs he had upon his hands (*y*). He was indeed no

(*t*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 112.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 29.

(*w*) Strype's Annals. Fuller's Church Hiſtory. Peirce's Vindication.

(*x*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 44.

(*y*) Ibid. ubi ſupra, & p. 53.

to town on this occaſion, the Archbiſhop courteouſly entertained him at his houſe; when he departed for York, he left ſeveral things in the houſes belonging to his Biſhoprick, for his uſe and benefit, all which ſo obliged the new Biſhop of London, that a little before his conſecration, he ſaid, he would demand nothing for dilapidations; and a little after, promiſed to be contented with an hundred pounds, as the Archbiſhop offered to juſtify on his oath, in a paper under his hand (32). When Sandys was gone to York, our Biſhop, or, as Strype ſays, ſome buſy lawyer for him, ſet up many demands; requiring firſt the rent to Lady-day, and ſome time after ſtept back to Michaelmas (33). To this Sandys objected, that till Candlemas, he was Biſhop of London, and had ſpent in hoſpitality there five hundred and fifty pounds, more than he had received ſince Michaelmas. That neither Biſhop Young, nor the late Archbiſhop Grindal, had been ſo dealt withal, but enjoyed all they received. This anſwer which was addreſſed to the Treaſurer, ended with theſe words; 'He is able, 'and I am a beggar, I have in that ſpace been at 'all the coſts, and taken all the pains, he none; ſo 'that if the reſtitution-day be found on the Purifi-'cation of our Lady, it will look farther back 'than I thought (34).' Biſhop Aylmer, it ſeems, in order to demonſtrate the abilility of his Grace to anſwer his demands, ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, a note of what accrued to the Archbiſhop in his new dioceſe. His Lady-day's rents 500*l.* demeſnes 400*l.* benevolence of his Clergy 800*l.* in wood 3000*l* (35). The Treaſurer fairly ſent a copy of this note to the Archbiſhop, who in his anſwer to his Lordſhip's letter ſays, 'I have ſet a brief and true comment on 'this falſe text, as by the billet encloſed to your Lord-'ſhip, you may perceive.' That billet ran thus; *The Lady-day rents are untrue by a great ſum, and perhaps part of the tenths will be required of me; the demeſnes not 5ths, the Clergy's benevolence in two years to come; as to the wood he might as well have rated the houſes to pull down and ſell, he hath as much wood at London.* At the end of the Archbiſhop's letter are theſe remarkable words; 'Coloured covetouſneſs, an 'envious heart, covered with the coat of diſſimu-'lation, will, when opportunity ſerve, ſhew itſelf; 'my Lord, I am ſore dealt withal, and moſt ſhame-'fully wronged on every ſide; my only comfort is, 'that a clear conſcience will anſwer for me before 'God, and that when I ſhall be tried, *veritas li-'berabit mihi?*' In another letter to the Treaſurer, the Archbiſhop inſinuates, that this note was ſent to the Treaſurer, rather to bring difficulties upon him, than from any hopes the Biſhop had of getting by it himſelf. 'For how, continues his Grace, came 'he to look for this, that the Biſhop of York would 'give his revenues to ſo unthankful a man, that ſo 'ſoon as he had holpen him on with his rochet, was 'transformed, and ſhewed himſelf in his own na-'ture (36).' It does not appear how this matter was ended, but Mr Strype tell us, that Biſhop Aylmer commenced another ſuit againſt his predeceſſor for dilapidations, computing them at upwards of twelve hundred pounds (37), which demand was afterwards carried much higher, as the reader will ſee in the text.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. P. 570, 571.

(33) Ibid. p. 426. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 26.

(34) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(35) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 26. Annals, Vol. II. p. 426.

(36) Ibid. p. 427, 428.

(37) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 29.

[*I*] *To the Treaſurer Burleigh.*] By a letter of the Biſhop's, dated the 30th of December 1579, it appears, that he kept a very ſtrict eye over the Papiſts. That letter is directed to the Treaſurer, and it relates to one Carter, a Printer, whom together with his Preſs, the Biſhop ſeized, and ſent the man to the Gatehouſe. In his cuſtody the Biſhop found a French treatiſe, intituled, *The Innocency of the Scottiſh Queen*, which his Lordſhip calls a very dangerous book, becauſe the ſaid Queen, is there ſtiled heir apparent of this crown; he alſo intimates, that the man was an old offender, out of whom there was nothing to be ſifted (38). What influence the Biſhop's letter had on the Treaſurer at this time appears not, but ſomething may be gueſſed, from the following paſſage out of Stowe. 'On the 10th of January 1584, at 'a Seſſion holden in the Juſtice-Hall of the Old Baily 'London, William Carter, of the City of London, 'was there indicted, arraigned, and condemned of 'High-Treaſon, for printing a ſeditious and traite-'rous book in Engliſh; intituled, *A Treatiſe of 'Schiſm*; and was for the ſame according to the 'ſentence pronounced againſt him, on the next mor-'row, drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered (39).' On all other occaſions, the Biſhop bore hard upon the Papiſts, and upon all the favourers of the title of the Queen of Scots. Another particular inſtance of this, we have in the caſe of one Mr Thomas Pond, formerly a perſon of ſome diſtinction, now a priſoner in the Marſhalſea. Two Miniſters it ſeems, went to confer with him upon religious ſubjects, but they found him ſo knotty a diſputant, that they could by no means manage him; which when they had reported to the Biſhop, he inſtantly gave directions for his being removed to his caſtle of Biſhops-Stortford. where, as the Papiſts ſay, he was confined in a very dark melancholy dungeon (40). The truth ſeems to be, that the Biſhop thought that men of this diſpoſition, in the neighbourhood of London, might do a great deal of miſchief, by perverting weak people to their religion, as we may gather by ſeveral letters of his to the Treaſurer on this ſubject. In all of them, he writes very pathetically, and expoſtulates with his Lordſhip, for not being ſo warm in this matter as himſelf was; intimating that rebellion was a thing neceſſarily connected with their religion, wherefore Stateſmen, as well as Churchmen, were bound to look ſtrictly after all favourers of Popery (41).

(38) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 45. Annals, Vol. II. p. 587.

(39) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 698.

(40) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 47.

(41) Ibid. p. 3

[*K*] *Declined the undertaking ſingly.*] This book of Campion's which was publiſhed in 1581, gave the Adminiſtration no ſmall uneaſineſs; it was written in very elegant Latin, in a quick and taking ſtile, dedicated to the ſcholars in both univerſities, among whom it was ſecretly diſperſed. One of the principal points inſiſted on therein, was the ſtrange and contradictory doctrines taught by ſome of the firſt Reformers, on which ſubject he

no great friend to controverſy, which he thought turned the minds of the people too much from the eſſence of religion, made them quarrelſome and captious, indifferent ſubjects, and not very good Chriſtians. On this account, he held a ſtreighter rein over the Puritans than over the Papiſts, impriſoning one Woodcock, a Stationer or Bookſeller, for vending a treatiſe, intituled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, which tended to ſubvert the Church as it was then conſtituted (*z*). He had likewiſe ſome diſputes with one Mr Welden, a perſon of a good eſtate and intereſt, in Berkſhire, whom he procured to be committed by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners (*a*). Theſe proceedings rouſed the Puritans, who treated him as a perſecutor, and an enemy to true religion [*L*]. However this did not diſcourage the Biſhop, he was a warm and ſteady man, thought the peace of the Church was to be ſecured by the authority of it's Fathers, and therefore he executed his epiſcopal power, as far and as often as it was neceſſary (*b*). Thus he ſuddenly ſummoned the clergy of London to his palace, on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1579, at one of the clock. On this ſummons forty appeared, and the Dean being likewiſe preſent, the Biſhop cautioned them of two things, one was, not to meddle with the Ubiquitarian controverſy; the other, to avoid meddling with the points treated in Stubb's book, intituled, *The Diſcovery of a gaping gulph, &c.* written againſt the Queen's marriage, with Monſieur, the French King's brother, and wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the Queen wavered in her religion (*c*). This method being found very effectual, he ſummoned his clergy often, and made ſuch ſtrict enquiries into their conduct, as gained him great reputation with ſome, though it expoſed him to the cenſures and ill-will of others (*d*). This diſpoſition perhaps might occaſion, in ſome meaſure, that violence with which he was proſecuted before the Council, in May 1579, for cutting down his woods, in reſpect to which he was ſeverely checked by the Lord Treaſurer, a circumſtance which much raiſed the Biſhop's choler. However, notwithſtanding his angry letters to that great nobleman, and his long and laboured defence of himſelf, he was at length, by the Queen's command, forbid to fell any more [*M*]. He had notwithſtanding better

(*z*) Ibid. p. 56.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 59.

(*b*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 61.

(*d*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 110. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

he had a whole chapter intitled *Paradoxa* (42). The Treaſurer was very deſirous that this book ſhould be anſwered, and anſwered effectually, for which reaſon, he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London; but it ſo happened, that his Lordſhip was then but juſt recovered of an ague, which at going off left him a ſore leg. Beſides, he could not with all his induſtry, procure the book; however he wrote his opinion to the Treaſurer freely, and that opinion was this. He thought ſome of the Deans, Archdeacons, and Clergy who had preferments without cures of ſouls, ſhould be employed in collecting matarials for ſuch an anſwer, and that others ſhould be appointed to put them in order: He even drew up a liſt of theſe, and no doubt his Lordſhip's deſign was to have gone to the bottom of things; and to have juſtified the Reformation thoroughly. He ſuggeſted however to his Lordſhip, that tho' himſelf had been well acquainted with many of theſe great men (the chief reaſon of the Treaſurer's applying to him) and had a profound veneration for their virtues; yet that he well knew, even theſe great men were not free from blame, or their writings from faults; wherefore he was for ſupporting the Reformation, rather than the Reformers (43). He continued in this ſentiment after Lord Burleigh ſent him the book, which he was far from thinking ſo extraordinary a performance as many held it to be (44). The Treaſurer thought ſuch an anſwer as the Biſhop deſired, too great an honour done him, and ſo Dr Whitaker was employed to confute it, which he did in a learned piece written alſo in the Latin tongue (45).

(42) Ibid. p. 52.

(43) Ibid. p. 48—52.

(44) Ibid. p. 53.

(45) Ibid. p. 54.

[*L*] *An enemy to true religion.*] The opinion the Puritans entertained of our Biſhop, will beſt appear from what is ſaid of him by Mr Peirce in his Vindication of the Diſſenters; for as he is a very accurate author, and never ſpeaks but from authority, whatever he delivers may be conſidered as the judgment of his party in the times of which he ſpeaks, 'Dr John Aylmer, 'ſays he, Biſhop of London, was a man of a moſt 'intemperate heat, who perſecuted the Puritans with 'the utmoſt rage, and treated Miniſters with ſuch 'virulent and abuſive language, as a man of ſenſe, and 'indifferent temper, would ſcorn to uſe towards porters 'and cobblers (46).' As an inſtance of this he gives us the examination of one Merbury, a Miniſter, which is too long to be tranſcribed here; there are in it abundance of hard names, which are ſaid to have fallen from the Biſhop; but then it muſt be owned, that there is a great deal of impertinency in the Miniſter's diſcourſe (47). As to the particular inſtances of his ſeverity mentioned in the text. Thomas Woodcock was a young Stationer, who ſuppoſing that the book called an *Admonition to the Parliament*, might be ſold to good profit, becauſe it was prohibited, got a conſiderable number of them into his hands, which he vended freely, tho' with as much ſecrecy as he could (48). For this, Biſhop Aylmer committed him to Newgate, and tho' he was ſtrongly ſollicited by eminent perſons for his releaſe, yet he abſolutely refuſed it, whereupon the Maſter, Wardens, and principal perſons of the Stationer's company, addreſſed themſelves to the Lord Treaſurer for the man's releaſe, but with what ſucceſs does not appear (49). The affair of Mr Welden gave his Lordſhip more trouble. In the year 1597, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſuſpended the Miniſter of Cookham, in Berkſhire; Biſhop Aylmer ſent down one Keltridge, to ſupply the Miniſter's place; but Mr Welden, who was a conſiderable man in the pariſh, oppoſed him, and ſpoke very diſreſpectfully of the Biſhop. Upon this, his Lordſhip granted an attachment againſt him, which the Defendant held to be illegal, and did not ſubmit to; which occaſioned the Biſhop's ſending a Purſuivant with a letter, Mr Welden ſubmitted to this, ſaying, 'That now the Biſhop of London had learnt 'good manners; adding afterwards, what is he but a 'private man, yet it muſt be, An't pleaſe your Lord-'ſhip at every word, there never was a Biſhop ſo 'vilely eſteemed as he, I believe he is as ill thought 'of as ever was Bonner.' Theſe words being proved by depoſition, Mr Welden for ſpeaking them and for refuſing to anſwer, was committed by the Eccleſiaſtical court in the abſence of the Biſhop, becauſe it was his own cauſe (50). However, his Lordſhip wrote a warm letter to the Treaſurer upon this ſubject, beſeeching him to ſupport the Commiſſioners in their proceedings againſt this man, for that otherwiſe the Queen's ſervice muſt ſuffer (51).

(46) Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 97. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 342.

(47) Peirce, ubi ſupra. Neal, p. 441.

(48) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 57.

(49) Ibid. p. 59.

(50) Ibid. p. 60.

(51) Ibid. p. 80.

[*M*] *Forbid to fell any more.*] One of the greateſt troubles this prelate ever met with, was an information exhibited againſt him to the Council, for cutting down his woods, and thereby prejudicing his ſucceſſors in the See of London. The Biſhop juſtified himſelf, and gave in a long anſwer to all the objections, which anſwer is ſtill extant. The whole amount of the ſales, as thoſe who accuſed him ſet it forth, was a thouſand pounds; the Biſhop in the cloſe of his anſwer, ſays very cautiouſly, that in three years, he thinks they may amount to ſix hundred pounds (52). The Treaſurer ſpoke to him warmly at the Council-table, and went even ſo far as to tell him, that a Biſhop had been deprived for ſuch doings (53). This matter hung a long while before the Council, but in the end, her Majeſty thought fit to direct, that he ſhould cut down no more of his wood. After ſome time this matter broke out again. One Litchfield, a Court Muſician, informed againſt him, that he cut down the elms at Fulham,

(52) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 150, in the appendix.

(53) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 51.

better ſucceſs againſt the Archbiſhop of York, his predeceſſor. For inſtead of his firſt demand of twelve hundred pounds for dilapidations, upon a view in 1580 (*e*), they were eſtimated to be one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two pounds; and though the cauſe then had not a final hearing, yet the Archbiſhop of York, only endeavoured to obtain a mitigation of damages, and that a part of the burthen ſhould fall on the executors of Archbiſhop Grindal, who had been his predeceſſor in the dioceſe of London (*f*). On the ſixth of April in the ſame year, there was a dreadful earthquake, and in the dead of the night on the firſt of May, it was felt again, which as it exceedingly terrified the people, ſo the Biſhop, that he might turn their concern to a proper object, and at the ſame time exhibit to them reaſonable grounds of comfort, compoſed certain prayers to be made uſe of in the publick ſervice (*g*). In 1581, the Biſhop had a pretty rough ſtruggle with the Lord Rich, who kept one Wright a Puritan miniſter in his houſe, and would have compelled the Biſhop to licenſe him to preach in his dioceſe. In the end however the Biſhop had the better; for on a hearing before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, Wright was committed to the Fleet, and ſome others who had been buſy in this affair, to other priſons (*h*). This increaſed the number of his enemies, of whom he had not a few before, who daily ſuggeſted that he was a violent man, and ſought to veſt too great a power in Churchmen. Theſe repreſentations had ſuch effect, that ſometimes meſſages were ſent to him, to abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his proceedings (*i*). His Lordſhip however ſtill ſupported the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, by his preſence and authority, and though a milder courſe might have made him more eaſy, yet he thought it better to ſuffer himſelf, than that the Church ſhould (*k*). As he had formerly, ſo now he had many doubts concerning the Treaſurer, from whoſe hands uſually came his reproofs; but upon the winding up of his cauſe, before the Council about felling of woods, he ſaw clearly, that he had no friend equal to the Treaſurer, who, though he endeavoured by his admonitions to prevent his falling into ſuch difficulties, yet generouſly exerted his utmoſt power to help him out of them, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, and the good of the common-weal (*l*). From this time forward, therefore, the Biſhop applied chiefly to the Treaſurer, for any favours he expected from Court, particularly with regard to the buſineſs of his tranſlation; for what with one thing or other, he was exceedingly ſollicitous to be removed from London, either to Wincheſter or Ely; but with reſpect to this, though he had many fair promiſes, all his intereſt could not procure a performance (*m*). New informations, ſome with little, many with no cauſe at all, were exhibited againſt him, and the trouble theſe gave him was not a little, notwithſtanding that on a thorough examination, his conduct conſtantly eſcaped cenſure (*n*). In 1583, he performed his triennial viſitation, and having therein diſcovered many ſcandalous corruptions in the eccleſiaſtical courts, eſpecially in the buſineſs of commuting penances, he wiſely and honeſtly repreſented what came to his knowledge to the Privy-Council, which was all he could do. About this time alſo he ſuſpended certain Miniſters, who were accuſed of Nonconformity; and it appears, that upon a thorough examination of the matter, his Lordſhip did impartial juſtice, in reſtoring one Mr Giffard, whom he had twice ſuſpended, when thoſe who had charged him were able to make nothing out (*o*). In 1584, he obtained judgment againſt Archbiſhop Sandys for a thouſand pounds. In this year alſo he committed Mr Thomas Cartwright, a famous Puritan Miniſter, who had written warmly againſt the Hierarchy, and was a very ſtirring man in that cauſe, which the Biſhop underſtood to be the diſturbance of the publick peace (*p*). Yet for this his Lordſhip incurred the Queen's diſpleaſure, and a little after his Lordſhip was given to underſtand, that he ſtood accuſed to her Majeſty, for impairing the revenues of his biſhoprick, of which he purged himſelf, by exhibiting a ſtate of the biſhoprick as it then ſtood, compared with the condition it was in when he became Biſhop (*q*). Other difficulties he met with, on account of the ſhare he had in executing her Majeſty's eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, from which there were continual appeals to the Privy-Council, where the Lords who favoured the Puritans, did not fail to object to the Biſhop's conduct, which, conſidering his warm temper, afflicted him not a little (*r*). In 1585, he compoſed a prayer to be uſed on account of the rainy unſeaſonable weather, which he recommended to private families, as well as directed to be read with the publick prayers. He alſo uſed his intereſt to quiet the murmurs of the common people in London, againſt the crowds of ſtrangers who fled hither, to avoid the perſecutions raiſed againſt them, for embracing the Proteſtant religion (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1586, the Biſhop went his next triennial viſitation, and at Malden in Eſſex, his Lordſhip narrowly eſcaped an outrageous inſult,

(*e*) Ibid. p. 113.

(*f*) Stype's Annals.

(*g*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 689. Stype's Life of Aylmer, p. 78.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 83.

(*i*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Stype's Annals.

(*k*) Stype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 89, 94.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 220.

(*m*) Stype's Annals.

(*n*) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 105.

(*o*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 103. Stype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 109.

(*p*) Peirce's Vindication, p. 102. Stype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 116. Stype's Annals. See the article of CARTWRIGHT.

(*q*) Stype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 118.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 123.

Fulham, an accuſation, which, very luckily for the Biſhop, the Queen knew to be falſe; for ſhe had lodged at Fulham, after the time the elms were ſaid to be cut down, and had complained that the proſpect from her lodgings had been ſpoiled by the over thickneſs of the trees (54). The Biſhop's enemies and eſpecially the Puritans, did not fail to magnify theſe little imputations, inſomuch as to alledge that the Biſhop's name ought to be tranſpoſed; and that inſtead of *Elmar*, he ſhould be called *Mar-Elm* (55). Stype vindicates the Biſhop very warmly in his Life, but certain it is, that Biſhop Bancroft, amongſt other things which he charged upon our Prelate, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on this, that he had ſpoiled the woods of his See, and left them in ſuch a condition, that they would ſcarce ſerve his ſucceſſor with firewood (56); and indeed, if the reader reflects on the note he gave in to the Archbiſhop of York, he cannot but diſcern what right the Biſhop had in his own opinion, to the cutting down of timber (57).

(54) Admonition to the People of England, printed A. D. 1589, p. 56.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church, by Sir John Harrington.

(56) Stype's Life of Aylmer, p. 195.

(57) His note to the Treaſurer about Biſhop Sandys, in note [*H*].

[*N*] *By*

inſult, intended againſt him by ſome diſaffected perſons [*N*]. His ſon Dr Theophilus Aylmer, whom he had made Archdeacon of London, did this year alſo call the clergy before him, and gave them many excellent inſtructions, being himſelf a very pious and primitive divine (*t*). In 1587, the Biſhop entered into a new ſcene of trouble, on account of one Mr Robert Cawdry, ſchoolmaſter, whom the Lord Burleigh had preſented to the living of South Luffenham in Rutlandſhire, where after preaching ſixteen years, he was convened before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and at length, the Biſhop ſitting as Judge, deprived (*u*). Cawdry would not ſubmit to the ſentence, whereupon the matter was re-examined by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion at Lambeth, where to deprivation, degradation was added. However the thing did not end ſo, for Cawdry ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, made new and warm repreſentations to the Lord Burleigh, who favoured him as much as with juſtice he could, but after near five years conteſt, nothing could be obtained, the Biſhop's and Archbiſhop's ſentences being ſtrongly ſupported, both by the Civil and Common lawyers (*w*). In 1588, his Lordſhip reſtored one Mr Henry Smith, a very eloquent and much admired preacher, whom he had ſuſpended for contemptuous expreſſions againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, which however Smith denied (*x*). In 1589, his Lordſhip expreſſed, in pretty ſtrong terms, his diſlike of certain libels againſt the King of Spain, giving it as his reaſon, that on ſo glorious a victory, it was better to thank God, than inſult men, eſpecially Princes (*y*). That year alſo he viſited his dioceſe, though he was grown old and very infirm, and ſuſpended one Dyke at St Alban's, though he had been recommended by the Lord Treaſurer (*z*). In 1591, he cauſed the famous Mr Cartwright to be brought before him out of the Fleet, and expoſtulated with him roundly, on the diſturbance he had given the Church (*a*). In 1592, he ſtrongly ſollicited in favour of Dr Bullingham, and Dr Cole, that they might be preferred to biſhopricks, but without ſucceſs, which his Lordſhip foreſaw. For he obſerved when he applied for them, that he was not ſo happy as to do much good for his friends; yet he added, he would never be wanting in ſhewing his good will, both to them and to the Church (*b*). About this time, caſting his eye on Dr Bancroft, a riſing and very active man, he warmly endeavoured to obtain leave to reſign his biſhoprick to him, as a man every way fit for ſuch a charge, but in this alſo he was diſappointed, which it ſeems lay heavy at his heart; for even on his death-bed, he expreſſed his earneſt deſire that Bancroft might ſucceed him (*c*). So indeed he did, but not immediately, and dealt as ſharply with our Biſhop's children, as he had done with his predeceſſor Sandys; and on the ſame head, that is, of dilapidations (*d*). In 1592, the Biſhop aſſiſted at his ſon's viſitation, as Archdeacon of London, and it is remarkable, that at this viſitation, the Biſhop exerted himſelf with as much zeal and ſpirit as he had ever ſhewn in his life (*e*). His great age, and great labours, however, weighed him down by degrees, ſo that on the third of June, 1594, he yielded to fate, being ſeventy-three, and his body being brought from his palace at Fulham, was interred in his own cathedral church of St Paul, before St George's chapel, under a fair ſtone of grey marble, with an inſcription which is ſtill preſerved, as the reader will find in a note, though the ſtone on which it was engraven, together with many others, were demoliſhed by the ſaints, when St Paul's church was converted to another uſe than it's founders deſigned (*f*). Biſhop Aylmer married Judith Bures, or Buers, of a very good family in Suffolk, by whom he had a very numerous offspring, *viz.* ſeven ſons, and two or three daughters, of whom in their proper place. As to the perſonal qualities of the Biſhop, they were as thoſe of moſt men are, good and bad, the former perhaps too much magnified by his friends, as the latter certainly were by his enemies. We will ſpeak briefly and candidly, firſt of the one and then of the other. He was ſolidly and extenſively learned in all things, that became either a great churchman, or a polite man to know. He was very well verſed in the three learned languages, had read much hiſtory, was a good logician, and very well ſkilled in the Civil Law. As a Divine, he wanted no accompliſhments; for he had ſtudied, and underſtood the Scripture thoroughly; could preach, not only rhetorically but pathetically; and in the courſe of his

(*t*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 127.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 181.

(*w*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 147.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 152.

(*y*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 157.

(*z*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 436. Strype, p. 158.

(*a*) Neal's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 433. Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 101. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 160.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 168.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 169.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 194.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 170.

(*f*) Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 171.

[*N*] *By ſome diſaffected perſons.*] The common people in Eſſex were extremely averſe to our Biſhop, and at Malden eſpecially his enemies were not a few. In order to expreſs their reſentments, when he came thither in the courſe of his viſitation, certain tradeſmen in the town, hired a fellow to come into the church in the guiſe of an idiot, to whip off the Biſhop's cap, and to toſs it amongſt them, who under pretence of reſtoring it, were to throw it about the church; this goodly contrivance the Biſhop diſcovered, before it was carried into execution, and prevented it. This he looked upon as a very fortunate thing, becauſe probably, it might otherwiſe have been attended with great tumult, and might perhaps have produced bloodſhed. He inquired narrowly after the authors of this ſcandalous machination, and having diſcovered, committed them, which not a little terrified the magiſtrates of this place, and abated the ſpirits of the Biſhop's enemies. He wrote alſo to the Council with great earneſtneſs upon this ſubject, but after all, it ſeems he did not think fit to proceed farther that way in his viſitation (58.) He purchaſed the Manor of *Much-Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*, and reſided frequently at the houſe belonging thereto, whereby he brought this part of his dioceſe into better order than it had been before. His ſon Theophilus he made Rector of this place, and uſed his aſſiſtance in the diſcharge of a burthen, which was now grown too heavy for him. This, as it was a great eaſe to the Biſhop, ſo it was of great benefit to the dioceſe, for Dr Theophilus Aylmer was a moſt excellent man, and indefatigable in his duty, as appears by the articles drawn up by him, and delivered to his Clergy, which are mentioned in the text. All however could not ſtill the clamours of thoſe, who were offended at our prelate's activity; and who took pains ſo to miſinterpret all his actions, that perhaps, never any Biſhop ſince the Reformation, was pictured in a worſe light, than he hath been (59).

(58) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 125.

(59) In the famous pieces *Martin Mar-Prelate. Practices of the Prelates. Work for the Cooper.* As well as by later authors, ſuch as Peirce and Neal.

[*O*] *Never*

his life-time, never buried his talent [O]. He was in his heart from the conviction of his head a Proteſtant, and oppoſed Popery warmly, not from a fanatical peeviſhneſs, but from a juſt ſenſe of it's errors, which he had the courage to combat openly in the days of Queen Mary, and the honeſty to ſuppreſs, as it was his duty, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With all this, and indeed with a temper not a little haſty, he was a good-natured, facetious man, one extremely diligent and painful in the ſeveral employments he went through; of too generous a temper to be corrupted, and of much too ſtout a one to be brow-beat. He was a magnificent man in his houſe, as appears by his houſhold, which conſiſted of fourſcore perſons, to whom he was a good maſter; that is, both a father and a friend. After his fatigues he was wont to refreſh himſelf, either with converſation or at bowls. As to his failings, his temper was without doubt a little too warm, his expreſſions ſometimes a little too blunt, and his zeal, it may be, ſomewhat above the true ſtandard. His enemies charged him with an exorbitant love of power, which diſplayed itſelf in various extraordinary acts of ſeverity, of which the reader will find an account in the notes; with covetouſneſs, which prompted him to ſpoil his See, and injure a private man; with intemperate heat againſt Puritans, with a ſlight regard of the Lord's-day, and with indecencies in ordinary ſpeech; all which are likewiſe in the notes examined [P]. On the

[O] *Never buried his talent.*] We have already in the courſe of theſe notes, as well as of the text, entered ſo often into the Biſhop's character, as a ſcholar and a divine, that we have not much to ſay here. Some particulars however, which others have thought remarkable we muſt not omit, and others that have occurred in the peruſal of the hiſtory of theſe times deſerve a place; of both we ſhall treat as ſuccinctly as poſſible. The Biſhop was not only well verſed in Hebrew literature himſelf, but alſo a great friend of all ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of that tongue. Amongſt others, he was remarkably kind to the celebrated Mr Broughton, and warmly eſpouſed his interpretation of that article in the Creed, which reſpects Chriſt's deſcent into Hell, a point in thoſe days very warmly diſputed. Broughton's interpretation to which the Biſhop adhered, was this: That the deſcent ſpoken of, was not a local deſcent into the priſon of the damned; but Chriſt's paſſing into Paradiſe, agreeable to the Greek word *Hades*, and the Hebrew *Scheol*; which are often rendered into Engliſh by the *Grave*, and do not ſtrictly, or properly ſignify Hell (60). When he obſerved the thoughts of the congregation to wander while he was preaching, he would take a Hebrew Bible out of his breaſt, and read a chapter out of it, at which, when the people naturally gaped and looked aſtoniſhed, he putting it up again, ſhewed them the folly of liſtening greedily to new and ſtrange things, and giving ſmall attention to matters regarding themſelves, and of the utmoſt importance (61). The ſpirit and eloquence of his diſcourſes recommended him as a popular preacher; and it was obſerved, that in all times of difficulty or danger, Biſhop Aylmer was called to preach at court, which he did willingly, and with ſuch chearfulneſs as raiſed the minds of his audience, and had very happy effects (62). His zeal for the Church was unfeigned, as appeared eſpecially in the latter part of his life, when it bred him nothing but diſcontent and diſquiet; yet he never abated it, never departed from what he thought right on account of any ſollicitations, or omitted giving advice, and ſuch advice too as he judged moſt proper, tho' he knew it would neither be well liked or at all followed. In the courſe of his life he had ſeen adverſity as well as proſperity; and as in the former he had never betrayed any timidity, ſo he would never forſake or diſſemble his principles for the fear of loſing the latter.

(60) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 246.

(61) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223.

(62) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

[P] *Examined in the notes.*] The pains taken by the Biſhop's adverſaries to draw together whatever might hurt his character cannot be well magnified; nor can it be denied, that in many inſtances his temper and actions are much miſrepreſented. In a celebrated work, publiſhed on purpoſe to ſet certain Prelates in an indifferent light, our Biſhop is very roughly handled. Among leſſer matters, he is charged with detaining ſtolen goods. It ſeems certain thieves, after ſtealing a parcel of cloth belonging to ſome Dyers at the Old Swan in Thames-ſtreet, left it in his manor of Fulham. The Dyers claimed it, but the Biſhop ſaid it was his own, becauſe taken in his Lordſhip. On which the remarker paſſes this ſentence, *That it being part blue, part green; the former might well ſerve for the Biſhop's liveries, and the latter for covering his cuſhions and tables.* One George Allen, a Grocer, dying, and by his will appointing Thomas Allen, and Richard Alworth of London, Merchants, his executors, they finding an entry of fourteen pounds in the deceaſed's books, as due from the Biſhop of London, went on an Eaſter-Wedneſday to demand it: the Biſhop anſwered he owed them nothing; or if he did, they might go ſue him. Upon this they expoſtulated with him, to which if they were to be believed, he returned, *Away citizens! you are raſcals! you are worſe than wicked Mammon!* then lifting up his hands, and letting them fall again, *You are thieves, you are coſeners, take that for a Biſhop's bleſſing, and ſo get you hence!* And ſo he cauſed them to be thruſt out of doors. It is ſaid, that he kept one Beniſon, a poor man, a long time in the Clink priſon, without any great cauſe (63). The ordaining of his porter, and making him Miniſter at Paddington, and continuing him there long time after he was blind, hath afforded much matter of complaint. That matter however, which we find oftenеſt objected to the Biſhop, is his playing at bowls on the Sabbath-day; and to place this in the ſtrongeſt light, it is alledged, that he would ſometimes loſe his temper thereat; or, to expreſs it in the words of our author, following his bowl, he would cry *rub, rub*, adding when it went too far, *the Devil go with it*, and then ſays the relator, he would follow it himſelf (64). To moſt of theſe charges anſwers have been given, which it is our duty to report. As to the cloth it was thrown in a dry ditch, where the Biſhop cauſed it to be watched for two nights, in hopes of detecting the thieves, afterwards he directed it to be brought into his own houſe, where it was kept till the Dyers claimed it, who yet did not make proof that it was their cloth, or that the thieves were executed for ſtealing it; and, on the other hand, the Biſhop was informed by his lawyers, that this cloth being waived in his manor, the property was altered, and transferred to the liberties. The debt due to the Grocer was it ſeems contracted, without the Biſhop's knowledge, it being his conſtant direction to all with whom he dealt, to ſuffer none of his family to have any thing without ready money; yet it was paid. As to Beniſon, he was a very refractory ſtubborn man. However the Biſhop overſhot himſelf in committing him, ſince he was cenſured for it by the Council; and had it recommended to him to make him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction. As to the ordaining of his Porter, Mr Strype endeavours to defend it, by urging that there was but a ſmall congregation at Paddington, where commonly for the meanneſs of the ſtipend, no Preacher could be had. An odd excuſe, if Mr Strype knew, as he might have eaſily done, that this depended altogether on the Biſhop of London; for which reaſon, when Dr Sheldon leaſed the manor to his family, he took away this reproach, by obliging them to make a handſome allowance to the miniſter. In reſpect to bowling, it is alledged, that the Biſhop learned this cuſtom at Geneva, where though the people were very ſtrict, it was never held unlawful, even on the Sabbath after divine ſervice was over. The Biſhop himſelf uſed to ſay on this head, that he never withdrew himſelf from ſervice or ſermon. That Chriſt was the beſt judge of the Sabbath, and he had ſaid, that it was made for man, and not man for it, and that as to any haſty

(63) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 196—203.

(64) Strype, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 712.

the whole, we may juſtly affirm, that the times he lived in conſidered, he might be ſtiled a perſon of extraordinary wiſdom [Q], a worthy Prelate, and a bleſſing to the Church. At the time of his deceaſe he left ſeven ſons, and either two or three daughters (*g*). His ſons were, firſt, Samuel, who was bred to the Law, in which he became very knowing. He was ſtiled, of Claydon-Hall in the county of Suffolk, and was High-Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Charles I, and by two wives left a numerous poſterity (*h*). His ſecond, Theophilus, a moſt worthy Divine, Archdeacon of London, Rector of Much-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, and Doctor of Divinity. He was Chaplain to King James, an able and zealous preacher, apt to be a little too warm againſt the Puritans; charitable to ſo extenſive a degree, that he left his own family in but indifferent circumſtances. He lived a true pattern of Chriſtian piety, and died heroically, cloſing his own eye-lids, and with theſe words in his mouth, *Let my people know that their Paſtor died undaunted, and not afraid of death; I bleſs my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctancy, but a ſure confidence in the ſin-overcoming merits of Jeſus Chriſt.* This happened January 1625. He was buried in his own pariſh-church, and the excellent Primate Uſher preached his funeral ſermon (*i*). His third, John, who for ſome eminent ſervice was knighted, and ſtiled Sir John Aylmer, of Rigby, in the county of Lincoln, Knt (*k*). Fourth, fifth, and ſixth, Zachary, Nathaniel, and Edmund, of whom we know nothing particularly, except that Zachary and Edmund, were the warmeſt friends that age produced. When Edmund lay ſick, Zachary continued with him night and day till his death, and when a perſon came to meaſure the body, in order to make a coffin, Zachary would be meaſured alſo, and in a very ſhort ſpace, took poſſeſſion of the coffin made for him, at the ſame time with that of his deceaſed brother (*l*). Theſe gentlemen ſeem to have been Divines. His ſeventh, Tobel, i. e. *God is good.* Archbiſhop Whitgift was his godfather, and the reaſon he was thus named, was his mother's being overturned in a coach, without receiving any hurt, when ſhe was big with child. He wrote himſelf, Tobel Aylmer, of Writtle, in the county of Eſſex, Gentleman. He married a gentleman's daughter in that county, and had by her ſeveral children (*m*). As to the Biſhop's daughters, Judith, the eldeſt, married William Lynch, of the county of Kent, Eſq; The ſecond, Elizabeth, married Sir John Foliot, of Perton, in the county of Worceſter, Knt. Either a third daughter, or elſe Lady Foliot, took for her ſecond huſband, Mr Squire, a clergyman, a man of wit but very debauched, and a great ſpendthrift, though he had large preferments. He made a very unkind huſband to his wife, which her father, the Biſhop, ſo much reſented, that as Martin Mar-Prelate phraſes it, *He went to buffets with his ſon-in-law, for a bloody noſe.* This Squire died poor, leaving a ſon named John, who was well educated, and provided for as a clergyman, at the expence, and by the procurement of his uncle, Dr Theophilus Aylmer, which he repaid with the utmoſt gratitude (*n*). To all his children, our Biſhop, by his will, bearing date the twenty-ſecond of April, 1594, bequeathed large legacies, as alſo ſome to his grand-children, appointing his two ſons Samuel and Theophilus his executors, with Dr Richard Vaughan, who was alſo his relation.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 174, 175.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 176.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 184.

(*k*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 185.

(*m*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 192.

expreſſions that eſcaped him, he intended no evil, and that they ought to be looked on in the light of human frailties (66).

(66) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 206, 207.

[Q] *A perſon of extraordinary wiſdom.*] Our Prelate in his perſon had nothing extraordinary, being of a mean ſtature, and remarkable for wearing of a very long beard; in his private life he was a man of œconomy, but withal, loved magnificence, which induced him to keep ſo large a family as he did. In his youth, he gave pregnant marks of his courage, which did not deſert him in his old age; for it is reported, that when he conceived himſelf very ill treated, by his ſon-in-law, Squire, who by a baſe contrivance would have tarniſhed the reputation of his wife, the Biſhop's daughter; the old man took him into a private room, and having reproached him for his wickedneſs and ingratitude, afterwards diſciplined him ſtoutly with a cudgel (14). Another inſtance of his courage, Mr Strype gives us a long account of; which, in few words, amounts to this. Queen Elizabeth was once grievouſly tormented with the tooth-ach, and though it was abſolutely neceſſary, was yet afraid to have her tooth drawn; Biſhop Aylmer being by, to encourage her Majeſty ſat down in a chair, and calling the tooth-drawer. *Come*, ſaid he, *tho' I am an old man, and have but few teeth to ſpare, draw me this*; which was accordingly done, and the Queen ſeeing him make ſo ſlight a matter of it, ſat down, and had her's drawn alſo (68). He was very regular in his private devotions, hearing prayers conſtantly twice a day with his family, and breeding up his children very ſtrictly; he was a wiſe and careful man, with reſpect to his temporal affairs; and as he came to his Biſhoprick in good circumſtances, ſo he died very rich, having laid out a little before, ſixteen thouſand pounds in one purchaſe (69). But as he had proſecuted his predeceſſor, Sandys, very ſeverely for dilapidations; ſo his ſucceſſor Bancroft, was no leſs troubleſome to his eldeſt ſon, on the ſame account. Mr Aylmer, who had ſtudied the Law, alledged that his father's perſonal eſtate, only was liable on this account, and as the greateſt part of that was expended on his funeral, he thought himſelf ſafe. But Biſhop Bancroft, alledging, that lands being purchaſed with the money, which ſhould have repaired the houſes belonging to the Biſhoprick, thoſe lands ought in reaſon to be liable; he prevailed, and ſo at laſt a part of the eſtate was ſold, in order to make him ſatisfaction (70). The inſcription mentioned in the text is ſtill preſerved in Stowe's Survey of London, and ran thus.

(67) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 22.

(68) Life of Aylmer, p. 292.

(69) Ibid. p. 175.

(70) Ibid. p. 195.

Hic jacet certiſſimam Expectus
Reſurrectionem ſuæ Carnis. D.
Johannes Aylmer, D. Epiſcopus
Londini. Qui obiit diem ſuum
An. Dom. 1594. Ætat. ſuæ 73.

Ter Senos Annos Præſul; ſemel Exul, & idem
Bis Pugil in Cauſa Religionis erat (71).

(71) Stowe, p. 252.

Here lieth in a certain expectation of the Reſurrection of the body, John Aylmer, Lord Biſhop of London, who died A.D. 1594, aged 73.

For eighteen years the Prelate's robe he wore,
Once, baniſh'd for his faith he fled;
Twice, the high poſt of Champion for it bore,
So juſt, ſo active, was the life he led. E

AYRMIN or AYERMIN (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Norwich in the reigns of Edward II, and III, was deſcended of an antient and wealthy family, ſeated at Oſgodby in Lincolnſhire (*a*). He was a Canon in the cathedral church of York, and afterwards in that of Wells; and was for ſome time Keeper of the Seal, and Vice-Chancellor to King Edward II, under the Chancellor John Biſhop of Norwich, who could not diſcharge his office by reaſon of ſickneſs (*b*). About this time, *an.* 1319, a war being broke out between England and Scotland, Ayrmin had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, in a battle between the Scotch and the Yorkiſts [*A*]. Afterwards recovering his liberty, he was made Chancellor of England under King Edward III, and afterwards Treaſurer (*c*). Being ſent Embaſſador to the court of Rome, he is ſaid to have neglected the buſineſs of his embaſſy, and to have employed his time and intereſt in obtaining the biſhoprick of Norwich, which was then vacant. In which application meeting with ſucceſs, he returned to take poſſeſſion of that See: which the King hearing, and being diſguſted at his proceedings, ſent ſoldiers to Norwich to apprehend him; but Ayrmin lay hid in the cathedral church, till, by the interpoſition of friends, the King was reconciled to him, and conſented to his conſecration (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate gave two hundred pounds to buy lands for the maintenance of two Prieſts to ſay maſs for his ſoul for ever (*e*). Fuller (*f*) tells us, he was credibly informed, that Biſhop Ayrmin purchaſed the manour of Silk-Willoughby, in Lincolnſhire, which, with other fair eſtates, continued ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. He died March the 28th, 1337, after having ſat eleven years (*g*).

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lincolnſhire*, p. 155.

(*b*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(*c*) Wharton, ibid.

(*d*) Monachus Norwicenſ. Anon. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin *ſays he died at* Charing-Croſs *near* London. Sharingæ juxta Londinum. *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He was taken priſoner in a battle between the Scotch and Yorkiſts.*] Fuller tells us this from an old anonymous Chronicle in manuſcript (1), which take as follows, with that author's tranſlation. 'Epiſcopus Eborum, Epiſcopus Eliæ, Theſaurarius, Abbas Beatæ Mariæ Eborum, Abbas de Selbie, Decanus Eborum, Dominus Willielmus Arymanee, Vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac Dominus Johannes Dabeham, cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum, & Civibus properanter civitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen Swale nuncupatum ſparcis cuneis tranſeuntes, et indiſpoſitis ſeu potius confuſis ordinibus, cum adverſariis congreſſi ſunt. Scoti ſiquidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes, in noſtris agminibus ſtrictis audacter irruerunt; noſtrorum denique in brevi laceratis cuneis atque diſſipatis, corruerunt ex noſtris, tam in ore gladii, quam aquarum ſcopulis ſuffocati, plus quam 4000, et capti ſunt Domini Johannes de Papeham, et Dominus Willielmus de Arymanee, ut præfertur, de Cancellaria, &c.——*The Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Treaſurer; the Abbot of St Mary's in York, the Abbot of Selby, the Dean of York, Mr William Arymane Vice-chancellor, and Mr John Dabehame, with almoſt* 8000 *men, as well horſe as foot, and citizens haſtily going out of the city, paſſing over a certain river, called Swale, with ſcattered parties* (*), *and with diſordered, or rather confuſed ranks, encountered the enemy. The Scotch, cunning in war, warily ruling the greatneſs of their army, boldly ruſhed on our men with well-ordered troops, and afterwards in ſhort time having broken and ſcattered our parties, there fell of our men, with the mouth of the ſword, and choked with the water, more than* 4000, *and Mr John de Pabehame, and Mr William Armayne of the Chancery, as aforeſaid, were taken priſoners.*'

(1) Worthies of England, *Lincolnſhire*, p. 156.

(*) Faſhioned in form of a wedge.

[*B*] *The King——conſented to his conſecration.*] The Monks of Norwich had elected into the See, Robert Baldoc, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Chancellor of England; and ſome pretend he had received the temporalities from the King, but, being informed that the Pope had reſerved the diſpoſition of that See to himſelf, he voluntarily renounced his election (2). But others, with more probality, tell us, the King refuſed his aſſent to Baldoc's election (3). However it be, it is certain it was ſet aſide in favour of Ayrmin, who had obtained the Pope's collation to the See of Norwich.

(2) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(3) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

T

AYSCUE, AYSCOUGH, or ASKEW (Sir GEORGE), an eminent Engliſh Admiral in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very good family in Lincolnſhire, and entered early into the ſea-ſervice, where he obtained the character of an able and experienced officer, and the honour of knighthood from King Charles I (*a*). This however did not hinder him from adhering to the Parliament, when by a very ſingular intrigue they got poſſeſſion of the fleet, and ſo zealous he was in the ſervice of his maſters, that when in 1648, the greateſt part of the navy went over to the Prince of Wales, he, who then commanded *the Lion*, ſecured that ſhip for the Parliament, which was by them eſteemed both an acceptable ſervice, and an action of great importance (*b*) [*A*]. As this was

(*a*) Some Notices of Eminent Perſons in England, MS. once W. Lilly's.

(*b*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

[*A*] *An acceptable ſervice, and an action of great importance.*] This revolt of the fleet was among thoſe extraordinary things, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or to prevent. It was owing entirely to the diſpoſition of the common ſeamen, for ſcarce any officer was at all concerned in it, and at a time too, when the Parliament was every where victorious, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive the cauſes of ſo great a change. In order to underſtand this matter, it muſt be remembered, that the Parliament had in the begining of the war, drawn off the fleet from the King's ſervice, partly by working upon the minds of the ſeamen, and partly by the turning upon him his own commiſſion of Admiral, which he had granted to the Earl of Northumberland, but with a proviſo in that commiſſion, to hold this office no longer than till the Duke of York was of age to execute it, as the King his father intended he ſhould (1). It was of this very clauſe, which had ſerved them in the beginning, that the Parliament began now to be afraid, and it was their fear that produced the very thing which it apprehended. The Earl of Warwick, and his Preſbyterian officers, who had brought off the navy from the King, were not likely to go all the lengths that were then expected from them. The Parliament therefore thought fit to bring in new officers, and accordingly appointed one Colonel Rainſborough, Vice-Admiral, and ſent him into the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet with that title (2). But when he came thither, the ſailors had been for ſome time politicians, and having probably catched up ſome words that fell from their officers, had, after mature deliberation, ſettled theſe three points among themſelves. The firſt was, that the Parliament muſt be either doing or contriving ſomething very bad, becauſe in Scotland, Eſſex, Lancaſhire, Kent, and eſpecially at London, people were generally diſcontented, and alſo becauſe they could not truſt thoſe good old officers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved them at ſea, but were putting others into the fleet, in whom, though they might, the ſeamen could not at all confide. They were likewiſe very clear, that as the King's cauſe declined from the moment the fleet left him, ſo without doubt it would recover, when the fleet returned to his ſervice,

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 158.

(2) Heath's Chronicles, p. 176.

was a ſufficient proof of his fidelity, he had the command given him in a ſquadron, that was employed to watch the motions of the Prince of Wales, and accordingly ſailed therewith to the coaſt of Ireland, where, by his vigilance, he prevented his Highneſs from doing what he would otherwiſe have done, and by his great intereſt with the ſeamen, he drew many of them back to that ſervice from which they had deſerted (*c*). This recommended him ſtrongly to the Parliament, who, the next year, ſent him with a conſiderable number of ſhips, and the honourable title of Admiral in thoſe ſeas, to the coaſt of Ireland, which commiſſion he diſcharged with equal vigour and vigilance, ſupplying Dublin with proviſions, attending the army upon all emergencies, and contributing in every reſpect ſo effectually to the reduction of Ireland, that the Parliament not only thought fit to continue him in his command for another year, but likewiſe ordered an immediate proviſion to be made for the payment of his arrears, and preſented him with one hundred pounds, as a ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices (*d*) [*B*]. After the war was finiſhed in Ireland, and the Parliament had thereby time and opportunity, to think of the proper means of ſubduing the reſt of the dominions of the crown of England to their obedience, Sir George Ayſcue had orders to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron, to reduce the iſland of Barbadoes, but before he was in any readineſs to ſail, his orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, that the Parliament had received information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the iſles of Scilly put into their hands, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce theſe iſlands firſt. Blake and Ayſcue were employed in this expedition (*e*), in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St Mary, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late King's army, ſo that if thoſe diſputes had been decided by the ſword, the engagement muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the remains of the King's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake, and Admiral Ayſcue, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions, after which Blake returned to England, and Ayſcue proceeded on his voyage to Barbadoes (*f*). The Parliament, when they firſt heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had reaſon, ſince privateers from thence did ſo much miſchief, that ſcarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable ſecurity. But when the conditions were known, ſome great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to underſtand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, ſo that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake ſaid, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had done it with good reaſon; that in the firſt place, it ſaved the effuſion of Engliſh blood; and next, that there was a ſtrong ſquadron of Dutch ſhips at no great diſtance, the commander of which had offered Sir John no leſs than 100,000 pounds, to put theſe iſlands into his hands; that

(c) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 395.

(d) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411—414.

(e) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 636.

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.

ſervice, which was a point ſo clear in marine politicks, that it was never once controverted. Thirdly, the Duke of York was now become a fine young Prince, had juſt made his eſcape to Holland, and was very capable of making them a good Admiral (3). When Rainſborough therefore came on board in the Downs, they aſked him in very plain terms, Whether he would go with them, and ſeek their Admiral the Duke of York? which he reſenting, and beginning to talk in high terms, they very fairly ſent him and a boat-full of his new Captains on ſhore, and hoiſted ſail, and bore away for the Dutch coaſt (4). This was in the month of July 1648, and the ſhips that thus quitted the Parliament's ſervice, were twenty men of war, moſt of them of the firſt and ſecond rates, well manned and furniſhed, and theſe ſoon after appeared at the mouth of the river Thames, by which the commerce of the city of London ſuffered ſeverely (5). We need not wonder therefore, that Sir George Ayſcue's preſerving, in ſuch a juncture, his ſhip for the Parliament, gained him a great degree of credit, and confidence, with his maſters.

(3) The Civil Wars of England, p. 231.

(4) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.

(5) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 317.

[*B*] *A ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices.*] In the very beginning of this affair, the Parliament treated Sir George very reſpectfully, for they deſired that he would go over in the expedition to Holland, to look after the ſhips that had deſerted (6). But when their authority was a little better eſtabliſhed, they took more upon them, for they did not grant him a commiſſion, and thereby give him the rank of Admiral, but they paſſed a vote that he ſhould command in thoſe ſeas as Admiral (7). Yet Sir George was far from regarding theſe points of ceremony, but did his duty ſo effectually, that he entirely changed the face of affairs in Ireland, and this with a very ſmall force; for, whereas the garriſon of Dublin was in danger of ſtarving, he took care to ſupply them from time to time with proviſions, and thereby preſerved that city. He ſo carefully watched the revolted fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, that he put it entirely out of his power to execute any thing of importance, and at laſt blocked him up in the harbour of Kinſale. It was he alſo, who eſcorted and ſecured the landing of Cromwell's army, ſo that to this gentleman might be juſtly attributed, the Parliament's recovering themſelves, and ſecuring that kingdom after the King's murder, when they had very little hopes of it (8). They might very well thank their Generals at ſea, paſs congratulatory votes in their favour, order the miniſters who preached before them, to take particular notice in their ſermons, of their diligence and ſucceſs, and endeavour to ſecure ſuch neceſſary inſtruments to their ſervice, by providing for the due payment of their arrears (9). All theſe ſteps were equally juſt and natural on both ſides, and it was this conduct, that on one hand, raiſed the reputation of the Parliament ſo high, for wiſdom, policy, and juſtice, and, on the other, ſecured them ſuch an uninterupted ſeries of good fortune in all their deſigns. This we find very juſtly remarked by Ludlow, Hollis, and Whitlock, nay, and in ſome meaſure, by the great Lord Clarendon himſelf, who, as he had it not in his power to deny the fact, ſo he was by no means unwilling to own it; and indeed all the writers of thoſe times agree, that however the Parliament came by their power, they managed it with dignity, decency, and diſcretion. The obſervation I would make upon all this, and I hope the reader will agree with me, that it is an obſervation worth making, is, *That* Sir George Ayſcue, *and the reſt of the officers at ſea, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their maſters, who kept ſo ſtrict an eye over all the ſervants of the publick, that it was impoſſible for men of no merit to riſe, or for ſuch as really poſſeſſed it to paſs unregarded.*

(6) Votes and Ordinances of Parliament, Jan. 11, 1648.

(7) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 385.

(8) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 119. Sir Richard Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 2, 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 67.

(9) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 406, 411, 412, 413, 414.

[*C*] *The*

that if the Parliament did not approve of his conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a miſtake of that ſort for the future, by laying down his commiſſion, as he was confident Sir George Ayſcue would likewiſe do (*g*). Upon this there was no more ſaid of the articles, which were honourably complyed with, and Sir George received orders to ſail immediately to the Weſt-Indies, which he obeyed, never expecting to hear any more of theſe articles, which as they were made with good reaſon, ſo he thought they would have met with a good reception, but he had afterwards cauſe given him to apprehend, that whatever benefit the Parliament might receive from the ſervice itſelf, they were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done [*C*]. Sir George continued his voyage, without meeting with any croſs accident, till his arrival at Barbadoes; which was on the twenty-ſixth of October, 1651. He then found his enterprize would be attended with great difficulties, and ſuch as had not been foreſeen at home. The Lord Willoughby, of Parham, commanded there for the King, and had aſſembled a body of five thouſand men for the defence of the iſland. He was a nobleman of great parts and greater probity, one who had been extremely reverenced by the Parliament, before he quitted their party to follow his duty, and whoſe worth had ſo ſtrongly recommended him, both to the eſteem and affection of the inhabitants, that he had as abſolute a diſpoſal of their perſons and properties, as it was neceſſary for a Governor to have, who was in ſuch a ſituation; and the uſe he made of his power and influence, was as perfectly right in itſelf, as the critical circumſtances of thoſe times required (*h*). Sir George, though he fully apprehended how many and how great obſtacles lay in his way, yet ſhewed no ſigns of concern, but boldly forced his paſſage into the harbour, and made himſelf maſter of twelve ſail of *Dutch* merchantmen that lay there, hoping that this might raiſe an inſurrection in the iſland, in which however he was miſtaken. The next morning he ſent a ſummons to the Lord Willoughby, requiring him to ſubmit to the authority of the Parliament of England, to which his Lordſhip anſwered, that he knew no ſuch authority, that he had a commiſſion from King Charles II to be Governor of that iſland, and that he would keep it for his Majeſty's ſervice at the hazard of his life. That he might be able to make good his word, he put the iſland and it's inhabitants into the beſt poſture of defence poſſible, and being much ſuperior in ſtrength, Sir George thought it not prudent to land the few troops he had, and thereby diſcover his weakneſs to ſo cautious an enemy (*i*). In the mean time, he received a letter by an advice-boat from England, with the news of the King's being defeated at Worceſter, with one intercepted from Lady Willoughby, containing a very particular account of that unhappy affair. Upon this he ſummoned Lord Willoughby a ſecond time, and accompanied his ſummons with Lady Willoughby's letter, which however made no impreſſion upon his Lordſhip, who continued firm in his reſolution, of holding out the iſland as long as he could (*k*). All this time, Sir George anchored in *Speights* bay, and ſtayed there till December, when the Virginia Merchant fleet arriving, he reſolved to take that opportunity to land with the greater advantage, for he made as if they were a reinforcement that had been ſent him, and he had only waited for them till then; whereas, the truth was, he had not above two thouſand men, and the ſight of the little army on ſhore, made him cautious of venturing his men, till he thought the inhabitants had conceived a greater idea of his ſtrength, than they had done before (*l*). The Virginia ſhips were welcomed at their coming in, as a ſupply of men of war,

(*g*) The Proſe Works of the Lord Viſcount Landſdown, p. 256, 257.

(*h*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 18.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 17.

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 385.

(*l*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 17.

[*C*] *They were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done*] It is the misfortune of all governments, that have a diſtruſt of their own titles, to be jealous and ſuſpicious to a very unreaſonable degree, and this was one of the very few foibles, to which our Long Parliament was ſubject, and which proved in the end the ruin of their power. For Oliver Cromwell, and the people he truſted, knowing that there was no means of ſubverting that Senate, but by dividing them, and thereby rendering their bottom narrower; they took great pains to infuſe into honeſter mens heads than their own, that ſuch as were meer acts of generoſity and virtue, flowed from a ſecret regard to the Royal Cauſe. And thus they brought both Blake and Ayſcue to be conſidered, after all their ſervices, as men not fit to be truſted. There was ſome pains likewiſe taken, to infuſe into the minds of Blake and Ayſcue, a deep reſentment of this undeſerved uſage; and that this was not altogether without effect, appears clearly, from the warmth expreſſed by Blake about it (10). Yet after all, there are ſome paſſages relating to the reduction of theſe iſlands, which deſerve the reader's attention, and which will clear up many difficulties, even in the beſt hiſtories we have of thoſe times. In the firſt place it is certain, that the leſſer iſlands were actually taken by the Parliament's forces; that Sir John Greenville was blocked up by land and ſea in the iſland of St Mary, which he had fortified indeed, and had a competent number of men to defend; but then, there were two things againſt him: The *firſt*, that the King his maſter could afford him no ſuccours; the *ſecond*, that tho' the Dutch would have bought the iſland of him, yet he had no reaſon to hope, they would take him or his troops on board, in caſe they were diſtreſſed by the Parliament forces. Theſe were certainly very good reaſons, for that brave man's endeavouring to make the beſt terms for himſelf he could (11). Yet the Parliament had no juſt cauſe to blame their generals for what they did in this buſineſs, ſince theſe iſlands were ſo ſituated, that, in the hands of an enemy, neither England nor Ireland could have been ſafe; and if reaſonable terms had not been granted to Sir John Greenville, he muſt have been obliged to have accepted the terms offered him by the Dutch, who both could and would have yielded him that protection, which it was not in the power of his maſter to afford (12). Yet after all, Sir George Ayſcue had no ſhare in actually granting him theſe conditions; ſince it manifeſtly appears, that he not only wrote for, and had the Parliaments orders to continue his voyage to Barbadoes, but was actually ſailed before the articles were ſigned, which was on the 23d of May 1651 (13). The account given by the Earl of Clarendon of this matter, is very ſhort, and is wrong placed; for he brings it in after the Dutch war was begun, and at the cloſe of his account of the reduction of Barbadoes and Virginia (14); which ſhews, how neceſſary a thing it is for the true underſtanding of Engliſh hiſtory, to have the lives of particular perſons drawn up in this manner, with a cautious regard to facts and dates, and a clear diſtinction of what was and what was not done by them (15), which the authors of our general hiſtories have not attended to, ſo much as they ought.

(10) Lord Landſdown's Proſe Works, Vol. II. p. 256, 257.

(11) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 492, 493.

(12) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(13) See theſe articles in MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel.

(14) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(15) See a further account of this whole tranſaction in our article of BLAKE.

war, and he presently ordered his men on shore, 150 Scots servants aboard that fleet, were added to a regiment of 700 men, and some seamen, to make their number look more formidable. Sir George had on board his fleet one Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who came from thence into England, to sollicit from the Parliament a force sufficient for the reduction of the island, and therefore he was thought the properest man to command the forces on shore (*m*). He accordingly landed with them on the seventeenth of December, and found Lord Willoughby's forces well entrenched, near a fort they had upon the sea-coast. They attacked him, however, and, in a sharp dispute, wherein about sixty men were killed on both sides, had so much the advantage, that they drove them to the fort, notwithstanding that Colonel Allen, their Commander, was killed by a musket shot, as he attempted to land. The soldiers and seamen however pushed on, and made themselves masters of the fort, and four pieces of cannon that were in it. After this, the sailors returned to their ships, which cruized up and down, to prevent any succours coming to the islanders, or any merchants trading with them. The soldiers posted themselves in the fort, and from thence made incursions into the country, upon which the chief of the inhabitants grew weary of the war, which Sir George understanding, by the correspondence he had in the island, he by the same means procured Colonel Moddiford, who was one of the most leading men on the place, to enter into a treaty with him, and this negotiation succeeded so well, that Moddiford declared publickly for a peace, and joined with Sir George to bring Lord Willoughby, the Governor, to *reason* as they phrased it (*n*). Sir George's men were now all on shore, and made up a body of two thousand foot, and an hundred horse, for many deserters had come over to him. If Colonel Moddiford had joined him with his party in attacking them, there was no hope of the Governor's escaping, who having before deserted the Parliament, could expect no mercy from them, if he was taken without a treaty (*o*). But perhaps all these considerations would scarce have prevailed with that generous nobleman to have given up the island, if an accident had not happened, which put most of the gentlemen about him into such confusion, that he could no longer depend upon their advice or assistance. The thing happened thus; his Lordship perceiving his superiority lay chiefly in horse, resolved to make a brisk push with the body under his immediate command, and having, previous to the execution of his design, called together his officers, while they were sitting in council, a cannon-ball beat open the door of the room, and took off the head of the centinel posted before it, which so frighted all the gentlemen of the island, that they not only compelled their Governor to lay aside his former design, but to retire to a place two miles farther from the harbour (*p*). Sir George Ayscue, taking advantage of this unexpected good fortune, immediatly ordered all his forces on shore, which consisted as was said of two thousand foot, and one hundred horse, to advance under the command of Captain Morrice, as if he intended to have attacked them in their entrenchments, which struck such a terror into some of the principal persons about the Governor, that, after mature deliberation on his own circumstances, and their disposition, he began to alter his mind, and thereupon to avoid the effusion of Christian and English blood, both parties appointed commissaries to treat (*q*). Sir George named Captain Peck, Mr Searl, Colonel Thomas Moddiford, and James Colliton, Esq; The Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Peers, Charles Pim, Esq; Colonel Ellice, and Major Byham, who on the seventeenth of January agreed on articles of rendition, which were alike comprehensive and honourable. The Lord Willoughby had what he most desired, indemnity, and freedom of estate and person, upon which, soon after, he returned to England (*r*). The islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St Christopher, were, by the same capitulation, surrendered to the Parliament, with a proviso, that Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and some other persons mentioned in that treaty, were restored to their estates, and the inhabitants were promised, not only indemnity but protection, in the quiet enjoyment of their plantations, upon condition that they did nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth (*s*). This treaty being signed, Mr Searl was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and Mr Rynell, of Antigua and the Leeward Islands (*t*), in virtue of a commission, granted to Sir George Ayscue for this purpose. The news of the reduction of these islands, made such a noise in that part of the world, that Captain Dennis who was detached with a few ships to Virginia, reduced it without much trouble (*u*), after which, Sir George considering that he had fully executed his commission, and that his presence was no farther necessary in America, resolved to return with the squadron under his command to England, which he accordingly did, and arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth of May, 1652 (*w*), was received with all imaginable testimonies of joy and satisfaction by the people there, to whom he was well known before, as his late success also served not a little to raise and heighten his reputation [*D*]. It was not long after his arrival, before he

(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Letters and other papers relating to publick affairs, from 1640 to 1666, MS. In this collection is a Letter from one N. Byham, containing a detail of this affair.

(*o*) British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 18.

(*p*) Mr Byham's Letter before cited.

(*q*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 387.

(*r*) History of Barbadoes, p. 195.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 388.

(*t*) See his Letter to Cromwell, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 351.

(*u*) British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 376, 377.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. p. 534.

[*D*] *Served not a little to raise and heighten his reputation.*] The reduction of Barbadoes was first attempted, because it was thought of greater consequence than any of our plantations, and the people least affected to the new government. We have an excellent, tho' concise, account of this, from the pen of Lord Clarendon (16). 'Barbadoes, says he, which was 'much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited 'by men that had retired thither only to be quiet, and 'to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, 'and without any ill thoughts towards the King, many 'of them having served him with fidelity and courage 'during the war, and that being ended, made that 'island their refuge from farther prosecutions; but having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible 'to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years in 'that plantation) they were more willing to live in 'subjection under that government at that distance, 'than

(16) History of the Rebellion, p. 637.

e found himſelf again obliged to enter upon action, for the Dutch war which broke out n his abſence, was then become extreamly warm, and he was forced to take a ſhare in t, though his ſhips were ſo extreamly foul, that they were much fitter to be laid up, than to be employed in any farther ſervice. On the twenty-firſt of June, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, in obedience to the orders he had received from London, came to Dover, with his ſquadron of eleven ſail, and there joined his old friend Admiral Blake, on board whoſe ſhip he dined, and was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect and kindneſs, by that famous commander (x). In the beginning of the next month, Blake having received orders to ſail northward, and deſtroy the Dutch herring fiſhery, Sir George Ayſcue was left to command the fleet in the Downs. Within a few days after Blake's departure, he took five ſail of Dutch merchantmen (y), and had ſcarce brought them in, before he received advice, that a fleet of forty ſail had been ſeen not far from the coaſt, upon which he gave chace, fell in amongſt them, took ſeven, ſunk four, and run twenty-four upon the French ſhore, all the reſt being ſeparated from their convoy, which, conſidering that Sir George had with him only the ſquadron he brought from Barbadoes, was very gallantly performed, as Whitlock judiciouſly informs us (z). In the account that Sir George gave of this action to the Parliament, he obſerved, that running Dutch ſhips upon the French ſhore, was the ſame thing as ſinking or burning them, for though the French defended them vigorouſly from the Engliſh ſhips that purſued them, yet they afterwards went aboard the Dutch, and plundered them without mercy (a). The Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, who was at ſea with a great fleet, having information of the ſituation that Sir George Ayſcue was in, reſolved to take advantage of him, and with no leſs than one hundred ſail, clapped in between him and the river, and reſolved to ſurprize ſuch ſhips as ſhould attempt to go out; or, if that deſign failed, to go in and ſink Sir George and his ſquadron (b). The Engliſh Admiral ſoon diſcovered their intention, and cauſing a ſignal to be made from Dover caſtle, for all ſhips to keep to ſea, he thereby defeated the firſt part of their project. However Van Trump attempted the ſecond part of his ſcheme, in hopes of better ſucceſs, and on the eighth of July when it was ebb, he began to ſail towards the Engliſh Fleet, but the wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an anchor about a league off, in order to expect the next ebb; Sir George in the mean time, cauſed a ſtrong platform to be raiſed between Deal and Sandown caſtles, well furniſhed with artillery, ſo pointed, as to bear directly upon the Dutch as they came in. The militia of the county of Kent were alſo ordered down to the ſea-ſhore, to entertain the enemy with their ſmall ſhot, notwithſtanding which preparation, the

(x) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 536.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(z) Memorial, p. 538. Lilly's Almanack, as in note [E]. Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(a) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 538.

(b) Heath's Chronicle, p. p. 522.

' than to return into England, and be liable to the pe-
' nalties of their former tranſgreſſions, which upon the
' articles of ſurrender they were indemnified from. Nor
' was there any other alteration there, than the remov-
' ing the Lord Willoughby of Parham (who was upon
' many accounts odious to the Parliament, as well as
' by being Governor there by the King's commiſſion)
' and putting an inferior mean man in his place.' It is not an eaſy matter to give a very clear and diſtinct detail of tranſactions within this period of time, becauſe there are viſible contradictions in moſt of the accounts hitherto publiſhed, ariſing from cauſes which it would take up too much time to mention here. We are informed by Whitlock, that the Parliament received an account of the reduction of Barbadoes on the twenty-third of April 1652, and that after the articles were read, the houſe ordered the meſſenger one hundred pounds: He farther ſays, that Lord Willoughby was forced to this ſurrender, by his mens deſerting him, and going over to Colonel Moddiford, and that he had good terms granted him, becauſe his force was ſtill the greater, and to avoid the deſtruction of that goodly iſland which was already much waſted (17). It ſeems that our Sir George Ayſcue was much in the good graces of William Lilly, the famous almanack-maker, who particularly honoured him, by preſerving in his obſervations the dates of his greateſt exploits, which is what I do not find he ever did for any other perſon of what rank ſoever, and which makes it ſtill more extraordinary, he did this after Sir George was laid aſide. Thus in his aſtrological predictions for the year 1653, in the month of January, he ſets down this memorandum. ' Bar-
' badoes ſurrendered unto Sir George Ayſcue for the
' uſe of the parliament the 11th of January 1651, who
' alſo by his prudence and ſweet diſpoſition, reduced all
' our weſtern plantations, to his great honour, and ex-
' treme benefit of this commonwealth.' Again in the month of May the ſame year, he ſets down the following obſervation: ' May the 25th 1652, Sir George
' Ayſcue, Knt. returned ſafe from the weſtern iſlands
' to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, he hav-
' ing reduced all the weſtern iſlands, and taken from
' the Dutch about forty ſail of ſhips.' It is viſible enough from hence, that Sir George was in great credit with the people, and one may reaſonably ſuſpect, that beſides the regard this man might have for our admiral, he might intend the rendering the Parliament odious to the populace, by expoſing their ingratitude to ſo worthy a commander; and there is the greater cauſe to believe this, if we reflect upon theſe two points: *Firſt*, That Lilly's predictions and obſervations governed at that time all the common people, and therefore he was uſed as a ſtate-engine upon every great revolution. *Secondly*, That he was a ſhrewd enemy to the Parliament at this time, appears plainly, by his poſtſcript to his predictions for the next year 1654, the beginning of which, becauſe his pieces are very ſcarce, I will tranſcribe for the benefit of the reader. ' Wearied to behold the giddi-
' neſs of the Engliſh nation, who neither love the Lord
' General Cromwell, or army, our preſervers; and as ſor-
' rowful to hear the woeful complaints of many ſad di-
' ſtreſſed people, whoſe lamentable petitions ſeveral
' years had made fruitleſs addreſſes to the late diſſolved
' parliament; I was reſolved ever hereafter to have been
' a ſilent ſpectator, and not a forward actor as ſometimes
' I had been, having ſmarted for preſuming to tell theſe
' late Demi-Gods, of that change they are now ſenſible
' of: Seriouſly, it grieved my ſoul to hear the com-
' plaints of the country people, when they told me how
' tyrannous, how imperious, how like prerogative-men,
' many of the late Parliament carried themſelves in their
' ſeveral counties. There could not be a beneficial of-
' fice either by ſea or land, but a ſon, kinſman, ne-
' phew, or friend of theirs, muſt have it; whilſt the
' maimed ſoldiers, or well-affected Chriſtians, who had
' loſt all his or their eſtates for their ſervices, were ready
' to ſtarve; nay, many ſuch did ſtarve and die for
' pure hunger, ſlighted, ſcorned, and unpitied, by ſome
' of thoſe unmerciful Preſbyterians.' He goes on at large to juſtify the turning out the Parliament, and all that was afterwards done, in order to get the government entirely into his own hands by Cromwell, chiefly from theſe topicks, that the Parliament were reſolved to ſit for ever, that they were exceſſively ungrateful to ſuch as had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity, and that they gave every thing to their own creatures or to their relations.

(17) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, P. 531.

[E] For

the Dutch Admiral did not recede from his point, but at the next ebb weighed anchor, and would have ſtood into the port, but the wind coming about ſouth-weſt, and blowing directly in his teeth, conſtrained him to keep out, and being ſtreightened for time he was obliged to ſail away, and leave Sir George ſafe in the harbour, with the ſmall ſquadron he commanded (*c*). He was ſoon after ordered to Plymouth, to bring in under his convoy five Eaſt-India ſhips, which he did in the latter end of July, and in the firſt week in Auguſt, brought in four French and Dutch prizes, for which activity and vigilance in his command, he was univerſally commended (*d*) [*E*]. In a few days after this, intelligence was received, that Van Tromp's fleet was ſeen on the back of the Iſle of Wight, and it was thereupon reſolved, that Sir George with his fleet of forty men of war, moſt of them hired merchantmen, except flag-ſhips, ſhould ſtretch over to the coaſt of France to meet them. Accordingly on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, between one and two of the clock at noon they got ſight of the enemy, who quitted their merchantmen, being fifty in number. About four the fight began; the Engliſh Admiral with nine others charging through their fleet, his ſhips received moſt damage in the ſhrouds, maſts, ſails, and rigging, which was repaid the Dutch in their Hulls; Sir George having thus paſſ'd through them, got the weather-gage, and charged them again, but all his fleet not coming up, and the night already entered, they parted with a drawn battle (*e*). Captain Peck, the Rear-Admiral, loſt his leg, whereof, ſoon after, he died. Several Captains were wounded, but no Ship loſt, only ſome ſhattered and torn. Of the Dutch, not one was ſaid to be loſt, though many ſhot through and through, but ſo that they were able to proceed in their voyage, and anchored the next day after, being followed by the Engliſh to the Iſle of Baſſa, but no further attempt was made by our fleet, by reaſon, as it was pretended, of the danger of the French coaſts, from whence they returned to Plymouth Sound, to mend and repair their rigging (*f*). The truth of the matter was, ſome of Sir George's Captains were a little baſhful in this affair, and the fleet was in ſo indifferent a condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to refit, before they proceeded again to action (*g*) [*F*]. He

(*c*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 539, 540, 541. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 364.

(*d*) See the authorities for this in note [*E*].

(*e*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 541. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 637. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.

(*f*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*g*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 542.

[*E*] *For which activity and vigilance in his command he was univerſally commended.*] Theſe were ſearching times for men to live in, who were charged with publick employments; for every man thought himſelf at liberty to enquire into their conduct, and to publiſh all he knew. We muſt not imagine however, that this extenſive liberty of the preſs, was owing to the ſuperior virtue of thoſe times, ſince in reality, it was not, but rather to the weakneſs of new eſtabliſhed governments, which having raiſed and wrought themſelves into power by the help of the preſs, were aſhamed to uſe their authority immediately againſt what had procured it. The news of the Dutch war met Sir George Ayſcue at Plymouth, who inſtantly attacked and took all the veſſels of that nation he could meet with, for which we find him particularly taken notice of in all the hiſtorical collections of thoſe times, tho' from their haſtineſs in ſetting down his exploits from ſuch accounts as came firſt to hand, they do not agree extreamly well with each other in their relations. William Lilly, in his almanack for 1653 beforementioned, ſets down the following particulars: 'In July 1652 near Calais, Sir 'George Ayſcue took, ſunk, and diſperſed thirty-ſix 'ſhips of the Dutch; for you muſt underſtand, this 'gallant man doth all his actions in good and hearty 'earneſt for this common-wealth. I hope he will 'prove worſe terror to the Dutch than Drake to the 'Spaniard.' To the ſame purpoſe other writers expreſs themſelves, more eſpecially Whitlock, who ſeems to have had a very ſtrict intercourſe with, and a great friendſhip for, our Admiral, as appears by his ſetting down every tranſaction in which he was concerned, during the time he continued at the head of the fleet, and ſometimes with very ſingular marks of commendation and applauſe (18).

[*F*] *It was abſolutely neceſſary to refit before they proceeded again to action.*] In the text, the account is taken *verbatim* from Heath, who ſeems to have conſtantly copied the advices publiſhed by the State, ſo that I look upon him as one of the beſt writers we have in matters of this nature. It is however certain, that there were various reports concerning this engagement, ſome of which reflected on the commander, and ſome on thoſe who ſerved under him. Whitlock, who wrote preciſely as things came to hand, and neither more nor leſs than his advices contained, tell us, (19) 'On the '18th of Auguſt, that Sir George Ayſcue and the Dutch 'fleet was engaged about Plymouth, and that there had 'paſſed two or three thouſand ſhot between them.' On the 24th he had received clearer accounts, from whence he writes thus: 'Letters, that Sir George 'Ayſcue, by advice of his council of war, went after 'the Dutch fleet to the coaſt of France, and there engaged them, who were ninety ſail of ſhips, thirty of 'them merchantmen, who left their fleet upon the beginning of the engagement

'That Sir George had but thirty-eight ſail and four 'fireſhips, and four ſcouts; that he and four others 'charged through the whole body of the enemies fleet, 'and received many ſhots in their hulls, maſts, and 'rigging, the enemies deſign being to ſpoil them. But 'Sir George tacked about and weathered them, and 'charged them all again, and ſo continued engaged 'till dark night

'That he loſt but one fire-ſhip, which ſet herſelf on 'fire, being ready to ſink, and ſaved her men, and 'turned her among the enemy. That the Dutch Admiral was ſunk. That the next day the Engliſh 'fleet kept ſight of the Dutch fleet, but would not 'engage upon the French coaſt, but went to the 'northward to repair their ſhips.' The account given by Lord Clarendon, differs ſomething from this: 'Sir 'George Ayſcue ſtanding weſtward, *ſays he*, engaged 'with thirty ſail of men of war, the whole Dutch 'fleet conſiſting of ſixty ſhips of war and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, ſo that the 'night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the 'Holland ſhips of war were ſunk, and moſt of the men 'loſt. The Dutch in that action, applying themſelves 'moſt to ſpoil the tackling and ſails of the Engliſh, in 'which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that on the next 'morning they were not able to give them farther 'chace, till their ſails and rigging could be repaired (20).' The Dutch writers give a very different account of this affair; they aſſert, that their own fleet was ſo far from being ſuperior, that it was ſcarce equal to that of the Engliſh (21); which however is no better than a fallacy, ſince tho' Admiral de Ruyter had no more than thirty-eight men of war under his command, yet he had ſixty merchantmen under his convoy; and out of theſe he took twenty of the ſtouteſt and beſt manned into the line, and as they acted in every reſpect as well as men of war could have done, there is no great wonder that they were taken for men of war by the Engliſh ſailors who engaged them, and that from their report this miſtake is crept into hiſtory. We have ſeen that Lord Clarendon, in his account of this battle, ſays, that the Dutch fired chiefly at the Engliſh rigging, which at firſt ſight looks, as if they had had a mind to retire from them. Yet when one conſiders that the author of de Ruyter's life gives us a long ſpeech made by that Admiral, reflecting on the baſe behaviour of the Engliſh, and encouraging his officers to purſue and attack them even in their own harbour of Plymouth (22); I ſay, when one conſiders this, and that

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 368, 385, 406, 411, 412, 413, 414, 420, &c.

(19) Memorials, p. 541.

(20) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(21) La Vie et les Actions memorables du Sieur M. de Ruyter, p. 10.

(22) Ibid. p. 14.

He proceeded next to join Blake in the northern ſeas, where he continued during the beſt part of the month of September, and took ſeveral prizes, and towards the latter end of that month, Sir George returned with General Blake into the Downs, with one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war (*h*). On the twenty-ſeventh of that month a great Dutch fleet appeared, after which, Blake with his fleet ſailed, and Sir George Ayſcue, purſuant to the orders he had received, returned to Chatham with his own ſhip, and ſent the reſt of his ſquadron into ſeveral ports to be careened (*i*). It does not appear that the Parliament openly expreſſed any diſlike, or diſtaſte, at Sir George's behaviour upon his coming home, but, on the contrary, ſhewed him all the regard and reſpect imaginable, though he had ſome friends who informed him, that this was in appearance only, ſince they could not help expreſſing a diſlike to the terms he had granted to the Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, which they conſidered as the ſecond part of Sir John Greenville's buſineſs, for which they had been ſo angry both with him and Blake; all which, however, Sir George bore without any viſible ſigns of diſcontent, profeſſing that he had done what he took to be his duty, and would continue ſo to do, as long as he commanded in the Engliſh fleet, without troubling himſelf about the humours of particular men, whom, after all his endeavours, he might find it impoſſible to pleaſe. But while theſe jealouſies and heart-burnings ſubſiſted on both ſides, an occaſion offered which enabled all parties to ſatisfy themſelves. It ſo fell out, that towards the end of November, 1652, the famous General Blake lying at the mouth of our river, began to think that the ſeaſon of the year left no room to expect farther action, for which reaſon he detached twenty of his ſhips, to bring up a fleet of colliers from Newcaſtle, twelve more he had ſent to Plymouth, and our Admiral, as is before obſerved, with fifteen ſail, had proceeded up the river in order to their being careened. Such was the ſituation of things, when Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of eighty-five ſail (*k*). Upon this Blake ſent for the moſt experienced officers on board his own ſhip, where, after a long conſultation, it was agreed, that he ſhould wait for, and fight the enemy, though he had but thirty-ſeven ſail of men of war, and a few ſmall ſhips (*l*). Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of November a general engagement enſued, which laſted with great fury from one in the afternoon till it was dark. Blake in the Triumph, with his ſeconds the Victory and the Vanguard, engaged for a conſiderable time near twenty-ſail of Dutch men of war, and they were in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed and deſtroyed by ſo unequal a force (*m*). This however did not hinder Blake from forcing his way into a throng of enemies, to relieve the Garland and Bonadventure, in doing which he was attacked by many of their ſtouteſt ſhips, which likewiſe boarded him, but after ſeveral times beating them off, he at laſt found an opportunity to rejoin his fleet (*n*). The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh conſiſted in five ſhips, either taken or ſunk, and ſeveral others diſabled. The Dutch confeſs, that one of their men of war was burnt towards the end of the fight, and the Captain and moſt of his men drowned, and alſo that the ſhips of Tromp and Evertſon were much diſabled (*o*). At laſt, night having parted the two fleets, Blake ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the nation's honour and his own, by waiting the attack of an enemy, ſo much ſuperior, and ſeing no proſpect of advantage by renewing the fight, retired up the river; but Sir George Ayſcue, who inclined to the bolder but leſs prudent counſel, was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion (*p*) [G]. The ſervices this great

(*h*) H. ibid.

(*i*) Heath Chronicle, p. 323.

(*k*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 260.

(*l*) Whitlock's Memoirial, p. 527. Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*m*) Adm. Blake's Letter.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*o*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 111.

(*p*) Id. ibid.

that the moſt impartial and Engliſh hiſtorians own, that de Ruyter offered Sir George Ayſcue battle afterwards, who refuſed it (23); this muſt appear in a very different light. It was ſome time before I could penetrate this myſtery; for tho' Mr Colliber, a very induſtrious writer, and one whoſe perfect knowledge in the Dutch hiſtory, enabled him to ſet many things in a better light, than any of our writers of naval hiſtory, denies the fact, and treats de Ruyter's ſpeech as a meer fiction (24); yet I could not ſubſcribe in that to his opinion, becauſe, as I have obſerved, the Engliſh writers of thoſe times confirmed what the Dutch ſay, and acknowledge, that Sir George Ayſcue declined fighting (25); but though there muſt be ſomething more in it, and upon ſifting the matter thoroughly, I found the truth to be this: Sir George Ayſcue had a fleet of thirty-eight ſail, but the greateſt part of them neither did nor would fight; ſo that the whole fire of the Dutch fleet fell upon nine or ten ſail that did their duty; and the reaſon that the Dutch fired at their rigging, was in hopes of diſabling them from making a retreat, that the next day they might be able either to ſink or take them. This accounts clearly for all the dark and contradictory paſſages that we have met with. It ſhews us, why Sir George Ayſcue retired to his own ports to refit, it explains and juſtifies de Ruyter's ſpeech, and it manifeſts the true reaſon why Sir George afterwards refuſed to fight when de Ruyter challenged and provoked him. This, I ſay, is the myſtery hitherto never explained by any of our writers, and which therefore I take to be a very curious and valuable diſcovery. But the reader may perhaps imagine that this is all conjecture; and if it were ſo, I ſhould have no reaſon to be aſhamed of it. But William Lilly has ſet down the very fact, and it is from his account, that I have made this diſcovery. His words are theſe: 'Auguſt 16, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, near Plymouth, 'with fourteen or fifteen ſhips only, fought threeſcore 'ſail of Dutch men of war, had thirty ſhot in the 'hull of his own ſhip, twenty merchant ſhips (I ſuppoſe 'merchantmen converted into men of war) never came 'in to aſſiſt him, yet he made the Dutch give way. 'Why our State ſhall pay thoſe ſhips that fought not, 'we of the people know not. This is he that is a 'gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part 'of a generous commander in all his actions.' There cannot, I think, be any clearer account or better authority than this, either expected or demanded, ſince thereby all the different relations of this engagement, which have appeared hitherto ſo unintelligible, and in many reſpects ſo contradictory, are fully explained and perfectly reconciled.

(23) Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(24) Column. Roſtrat. p. 102.

(25) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

[G] *Was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion.*] We have this circumſtance in the author cited in the text, who took it from the Dutch accounts; for the Engliſh ſay not one word of Sir George Ayſcue's being in the engagement; but they acknowledge that Blake retreated, as being ſenſible both of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, and of the too great ſuperiority of the enemy. The next day which was the thirtieth, Tromp ſent into Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if the Engliſh fleet was there; but they had retired firſt to Dover, and then up the river, where they were ſafe. In the mean time, the Dutch

great man had rendered his country, were none of them more acceptable to the Parliament, than this act of laying down his command. They had long wiſhed and waited for an opportunity of diſmiſſing him from their ſervice, and were therefore extreamly pleaſed that he had ſaved them this trouble; however, to ſhew their gratitude for paſt ſervices, and to prevent his falling into abſolute diſcontent, they voted him a preſent of three hundred pounds in money, and likewiſe beſtowed upon him three hundred pounds per annum in Ireland (*q*). There is good reaſon to believe, that Cromwell and his faction were as well pleaſed with this gentleman's quitting the ſea-ſervice; for as they were then meditating, what they ſoon afterwards put in execution, the turning the Parliament out of doors, it could not but be agreeable to them, to ſee an officer who had ſo great credit in the navy, and who was ſo generally eſteemed by the nation, laid aſide in ſuch a manner, both as it gave them an opportunity of inſinuating the ingratitude of that aſſembly to ſo worthy a perſon, and as it freed them from the apprehenſion of his diſturbing their meaſures, in caſe he had continued in the fleet; which it is highly probable might have come to paſs, conſidering that Blake was far enongh from being of their party, and only ſubmitted to ſerve the Protector, becauſe he ſaw no other way left to ſerve his country, and did not think he had intereſt enough to preſerve the fleet, after the defection of the army, which perhaps might not have been the caſe, if Sir George Ayſcue had continued in his command (*r*). This is ſo much the more probable, as it is very certain that he never entered into the Protector's ſervice, or ſhewed himſelf at all willing to concur in his meaſures, though there is no doubt that Cromwell would have been extreamly glad of ſo experienced an officer in his Spaniſh war. He retired after this to his country-ſeat in the county of Surrey, and lived there in great honour aad ſplendor, viſiting and being viſited by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction both natives and foreigners, and paſſing in the general opinion of both, for one of the ableſt ſea-captains of that age (*s*). Yet there is ſome reaſon to believe that he had a particular correſpondence with the Protector's ſecond ſon, Henry, ſince there is ſtill a letter in being from him to Secretary Thurloe, which ſhews that he had very juſt notions of the worth of this gentleman, and of the expediency of conſulting him in all ſuch matters as had a relation to maritime power, which letter, as it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find in the notes (*t*) [*H*]. The Protector, towards the latter end of his life, began to grow diſſatisfied

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*r*) See this more fully treated in our article of BLAKE.

(*s*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. P. 545.

(*t*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

Admiral kept plying between Calais and Dungenneſs, ſo much elated with his laſt ſucceſs, that he ſailed with a birch broom in his main top, to ſignify that he had ſwept the ſeas of the Engliſh (26). This was what Ayſcue foreſaw; and the very apprehenſion of which, made him reſolve to quit the ſervice; for as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was a man of ſuch undaunted courage, that he knew not how to ſubmit to fortune; and was much more inclined to embrace a voluntary death, than to expoſe his country to the loſs of any credit by his miſcarriage; which notwithſtanding came to be his fate, in ſpite of all the care he took to avoid it. There was one reaſon which at this juncture inclined the Parliament to part the more readily with this excellent officer, which deſerves to be conſidered. It is this; they began to diſcern Cromwell's intention to overturn them, and to ſet up a new form of government by the power of the army, which they ſaw he had gained, by putting in creatures of his own. In order therefore to get the better of this deſign, they formed a very extraordinary project; which was to new model the army, by ſending ſuch of the regiments as they ſuſpected moſt, to ſerve on board the fleet; and to make this ſcheme anſwer their purpoſe the better, they thruſt in abundance of land-officers to command their fleet, and it was to make way for theſe that they ſuffered Sir George Ayſcue and ſome other officers to quit that ſervice (27). But in this they ſtrangely over-reached themſelves; for Cromwell ſeeing there was no time to be loſt, and that by this ſtep they had for the preſent equally diſobliged the ſeamen and alarmed the army, puſhed on his deſign with greater vehemence, and by craftily managing two parties, who tho' they wiſhed equally ill to the Parliament, leaſt of all intended the ſetting him up, deceived and got the better of them all; while the officers of the fleet having their hands full of the Dutch war, thought themſelves obliged to ſerve their country the beſt they could, notwithſtanding this change of government, which tho' they did not reliſh they could not remedy. Before this great change was brought about which was in the month of April 1653, Sir George Ayſcue was retired to his country-ſeat in Surrey, with a ſettled reſolution to live in an honourable privacy, and never concern himſelf farther with publick affairs; which is the reaſon that we never meet with him in the councils of ſtate, or any other of the new ſchemes of goverment that were ſet up in ſucceeding times. How far this conduct of his may on the ſtrict principles of patriotiſm be juſtified, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but this is certain, that ſome of the wiſeſt and ableſt men in the kingdom thought in the ſame way, and acted in the ſame manner, till they had an opportunity afterwards of entering again into the publick ſervice, when the government was better eſtabliſhed, and ſtood once more upon a legal baſis. There might alſo be a particular reaſon that might determine Sir George Ayſcue to act as he did, which was this, that he had never interfered in any of thoſe dark deſigns by which the government was overturned, or been made uſe of as an inſtrument in any of the violent meaſures practiſed for overturning it; ſo that in his ſtate of rural retirement, he had very little to apprehend from new changes, but might be truly ſaid to have all things to hope and little or nothing to fear.

(26) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

(27) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 450, 451, 452.

[*H*] *As it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find it in the notes.*] It does not appear from the letters that go before, or that follow after this, what the buſineſs was that Sir George Ayſcue was to be conſulted upon; but in all probability it might be with regard to the ſettlement at Jamaica, which was then a point under conſideration, about which Mr Cromwell took a great deal of pains; and therefore it is not at all improbable that he might wiſh Mr Secretary Thurloe would enquire the ſentiments of ſo able an officer as Sir George Ayſcue, and one whoſe experience, in regard to that ſubject, muſt render him as fit a man to be conſulted thereupon, as any in the kingdom. But this is a conjecture only, and as ſuch is left to the reader's judgment. The letter follows:

H. CROMWELL to Secretary THURLOE.

'SIR,

'THIS incloſed paper, was preſented to me by a 'perſon of worth here, who deſired it might 'be communicated to you, and deſired that you would 'hear Sir George Ayſcue (if you think there is any 'thing worthy of your notice) more particularly a'bout it; and alſo I make it my requeſt, that you 'would hear him as to other things, and make what 'uſe thereof you think fit. I am

Dublin, Nov. 14, 1655. Your loving friend (28),

H. CROMWELL.

(28) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 198.

[*I*] *The*

diſſatisfied with the Dutch, the rather, becauſe of the ſhare they had taken in the affairs of the North, where they had eſpouſed the cauſe of the King of Denmark to a degree of partiality, and were projecting the total ſuppreſſion of the Swediſh power. This did not by any means agree with the Protector's plan in regard to foreign affairs, and as it was not in his nature to bear with any diſappointment in his views, ſo he reſolved to deſtroy this ſyſtem of the Dutch, and yet without entering immediately into a war with them. It was with this view, that he encouraged the Swedes to cultivate with the utmoſt diligence a maritime force, promiſing in due time to aſſiſt them with a ſufficient number of able and experienced officers, and with an Admiral to command them, who in point of reputation was not inferior to any then living (*u*). It was upon this occaſion, and for this ſervice, that he caſt his eyes upon Sir George Ayſcue, but not caring to deal directly with a man who had declined acting under his government, and had never frequented his court, he reſolved that the propoſition ſhould be made him by the Swediſh Ambaſſador, and ſent the Lord Keeper Whitlock to introduce him to the Admiral at his country ſeat (*w*). We have a large and very curious account of this conference, and of that part of the converſation which was fit for the publick view, preſerved by Whitlock himſelf, and which the reader no doubt will be very well pleaſed to ſee in his own words [*I*]. This interview had it's effects; Sir George Ayſcue from that time began to entertain favourable thoughts of the deſign, and brought himſelf by degrees to approve of the propoſition that was made him, ſo far as to think at leaſt, not only of quitting the retreat he had choſen, but even of accepting the offer made him, and of going over for that purpoſe to Sweden (*x*). But as great undertakings move ſlowly, and there is much time neceſſary for ripening ſuch vaſt projects into execution; ſo we find that Sir George Ayſcue had not brought himſelf to an abſolute compliance in reference to this deſign, before the death of the Protector (*y*). Yet that did not hinder his cloſing at laſt with the propoſals made him from Sweden, and putting every thing in order for his journey, towards the latter

(*u*) Notices of eminent Perſons, &c. MS.

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649.

(*x*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 260.

(*y*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 677.

[*I*] *The reader will no doubt be very well pleaſed to ſee it in his own words.*] It appears clearly from Mr Whitlock's own authority, that a treaty was concluded with the Swediſh Miniſter Mr Coyett, whom the Protector had knighted, and who was therefore called Sir Peter Coyett, on the ſeventeenth of the preceding month; for the concluding of which treaty, Whitlock himſelf was a Commiſſioner, the rather becauſe he had been Ambaſſador from the Parliament of England in Sweden, where he had been very well received; and this probably created in him an extraordinary reſpect for that nation, as a ſignal proof of which, he undertook, before the Ambaſſador's departure, to carry him to dine with Sir George Ayſcue, of which interview he wrote thus (29):

(29) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 649, 650.

'Auguſt the 13th, 1656, the Ambaſſador of 'Sweden dined at Sir George Ayſcough's houſe in 'Surrey, where they had a very noble entertainment. 'The houſe ſtands environed with ponds, motes, and 'water, like a ſhip at ſea, a fancy fitter for the ma'ſter's humour who is himſelf ſo great a ſeamen. 'There he ſaid *he had caſt anchor*, and intended to 'ſpend the reſt of his life in a private retirement.

'The Ambaſſador underſtanding the abilities of Sir 'George in ſea affairs, did (according to his cuſtom) 'endeavour to improve his own knowledge by his diſ'courſes and queſtions to the company, according to 'their ſeveral capacities and abilities. He therefore 'found many queſtions to demand of Sir George, and 'had much diſcourſe with him about ſea matters, and 'particularly concerning our Engliſh frigates; he was 'very inquiſitive to know of Sir George, *Whether he 'eſteemed them the beſt of any ſort of ſhips for fight.*' Sir George anſwered freely, '*that he did not eſteem 'them the beſt ſhips for fight, but held, that the old 'faſhioned Engliſh ſhips of the biggeſt rate beſt for 'fight*;' and being aſked his reaſon, ſaid, '*becauſe 'they were ſtronger than the frigates, would endure 'the ſhaking of their own guns and the blows of the 'enemy, better than the frigates could, and were firm 'and like caſtles in the ſea, and not ſo eaſy to be 'boarded as the frigates, being higher built.*'

The Ambaſſador replied, '*That they themſelves could not ſo eaſily board another ſhip being ſo high built.*' Sir George anſwered, '*that when they came to boarding, they that aſſailed, had not ſo great a trouble of going down their own ſhip as the going up their enemies; and the high building was no hindrance to their boarding of another, but was the better defence for themſelves.*' The Ambaſſador alſo objected, '*That they could not ſo eaſily come about and fetch up another ſhip as the frigates could.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That they could eaſily enough tack about upon 'any occaſion in fight, but confeſſed that they could not 'ſo ſoon fetch up another ſhip, nor take, or leave, as 'the frigates could, which he ſaid was rather an in'ducement to cowardice than courage; and ſome Cap'tains, when they knew they could leave an enemy 'as they pleaſed, would engage in the fewer blows; 'whereas the old built ſhips muſt ſtand to it, and the 'men knowing that there was no running away, would 'have the better mettle to fight it out.*' The Ambaſſador aſked, '*which would laſt longeſt, the ſhips built 'after the old faſhion or the frigates.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That the old buildings were more ſtrong and 'ſubſtantial than the building of the frigates, which 'was made long and light for ſailing, and therefore 'could not laſt ſo long as the other; and they carrying 'many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did 'much ſhake and wear them more than the guns of the 'other did.*' They had much diſcourſe of this nature which added much to the entertainment.

It appears clearly from hence, that Sir George Ayſcue was exactly of the ſame opinion with the ableſt ſeamen of our times, in reſpect to the building of ſhips of war. He judged, that the capacity, firmneſs, and ſtrength of our men of war, gave us great advantages, that the end and deſign of ſhips ſhould be chiefly conſidered in building them, and therefore that ſhips of war ſhould rather be diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength and conveniency for fighting, than by the neatneſs of their form or their being extraordinary good ſailers. Sir William Monſon, the ableſt of our writers upon maritime affairs, thought the ſame way, and it is very remarkable, that long before the Dutch wars began, he foretold, that if ever that State differed with us, they would make their utmoſt efforts to gain the firſt battle at ſea, for which he gives ſeveral reaſons (30); and it it no leſs remarkable that they really attempted this, and that their famous Admiral Tromp attacked Blake in the firſt battle in the Downs, with a force vaſtly ſuperior, and that Blake eſcaped by nothing but the ſize and ſtrength of his ſhips, which enabled him with four or five to bear the fire of almoſt the whole Dutch fleet, till ſuch time as the reſt of his own ſhips were able to come in to his relief, and then the matter was ſpeedily determined, and contrary to the hopes and expectation of the Dutch, who thought they ſhould have gained an eaſy and compleat victory by ſurprize, which would have forced the Engliſh Common-wealth to make peace upon their terms (31). In like manner through the whole courſe of that war, it was the large ſize and firmneſs of our ſhips, which gave us ſuch great advantages, not only in the opinion of our own commanders, but of the Dutch themſelves, as might be ſhown at large if this were a proper place; but I have already exceeded the juſt bounds of a note, and can only plead in excuſe the great weight and importance of the ſubject.

(30) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 462.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.

latter end of the year 1658. But as ſuch a deſign as this was could not be put in execution without making ſome ſtir, and thereby raiſing publick diſcourſe about it; ſo this had ſuch an effect upon the Daniſh miniſter then reſiding here, that he could not forbear writing to Mr Secretary Thurloe, in pretty ſtrong terms upon the occaſion, inſinuating at the ſame time, ſome general reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue (z) [K]. This however had no effect, either in procuring an interpoſition from the State, to prevent Sir George from proſecuting his deſign, or in obliging him to alter his reſolution. On the contrary, as ſoon as he had ſeen the officers embarked, and had diſpatched ſome private buſineſs of his own, he proſecuted his voyage, though in the very depth of winter. This expoſed him to great hardſhips, which however he endured with much conſtancy, and on his arrival in Sweden, was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of civility and reſpect by the King, who was extremely well pleaſed with his coming, and might very probably have made good his promiſe, of promoting him to the rank of High-Admiral of Sweden, if he had not been taken off by an unexpected death (a) [L]. This put an

(z) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 412.

(a) Puffendorff Hiſtoire de Suede, Vol. II. p. 30.

[K] *General reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue.*] It is remarkable, that the Daniſh Miniſter, though he appears to have been ſenſible of the deſign, did not think proper to complain during the life-time of Oliver, but when he ſaw Richard inveſted with his title only, and not his power, he addreſſed himſelf to the Secretary in the following epiſtle, which is very ſingular in it's kind, ſince it ſhews at once, how little kindneſs it's author had for Sir George Ayſcue, and how much he ſtood in fear of him (32).

(32) Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 412.

'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

'TALK has been this many months, that Sir 'George Ayſcue, and ten or twelve ſea Cap'tains were to take ſervice under the King of Swe'den, which I would not be induced to believe, 'thinking the ſaid Ayſcue, could not turn a mer'cenary ſoldier of another Prince, whilſt the war in 'his own country laſted; if he could not be ſatis'fied with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and 'live a retired and quiet life; but I have been de'ceived, in my opinion, and find, that certainly he, 'and the ſaid Captains, are to depart in a few days; 'they to command each a man of war, and Sir 'George the whole Swediſh fleet; wherewith I have 'thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordſhip, 'in hope, his Highneſs will think it convenient to 'ſtay his and their journey, as judging it more con'venient, that his ſubjects ſhould rather aſſiſt the King 'my maſter, than, in the ſervice of the King of 'Sweden, help to oppreſs him; and this, I think, would 'be alſo conform to the ſenſe of the article of that 'treaty, concluded between his late Highneſs, of im'mortal memory, and the King, my maſter, viz. *Ita 'ut neutra pars populuſve, aut ſubditi alterutrius, ne'que per ſe, neque per alios, directè, vel indirectè, 'quidquam agat, vel quantum in ſe eſt, agi, permittat, 'in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verum altera 'alteram omnibus bonis officiis adjuvavit, atque alterius 'rem & commodum pro virili promovebit. i. e.* ſo that 'no part of the people or ſubjects of the one or of the 'other, either by themſelves or by others, directly 'or indirectly, ſhall either do, or, as far as in their 'power lies, permit to be done, any damage or pre'judice to the other, but ſhall to each other render all 'ſorts of good offices, and promote one the other's 'advantage as much as in them lies.

I reſt, your Lordſhip's,

(whoſe perfect recovery I heartily wiſh)

moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

Covent-Garden,
27 Sept. 1658. SIMON PETKUM."

[L] *If he had not been taken off by an unexpected death.*] This Swediſh monarch who invited Sir George into his dominions, and who was always firmly attached to England, was Charles Guſtavus, who came to the throne by the voluntary reſignation of Queen Chriſtina, daughter to the famous Guſtavus Adolphus, in the year 1654, and ſoon after engaged in a war with Poland, becauſe the monarch who then governed had oppoſed his acceſſion, on the ſcore of his hereditary right to the crown of Sweden, and in a very ſhort ſpace of time, King Charles over-run the greateſt part of Poland, forcing the King to take ſhelter in Sileſia. This war, which laſted as long as the Swediſh monarch lived, and was the ſole buſineſs of his reign, ended in a manner very far different from that in which it began; for the Poles, foreſeeing that the conqueſt of their country would raiſe his Swediſh Majeſty abundance of enemies, abſolutely refuſed to make peace with him upon any terms, though he was maſter of both their capitals, Cracow and Warſaw, and of the greateſt part of the kingdom, and themſelves conſtantly beaten in every engagement. In this they judged right, for though at the beginning King Charles was at peace with all his neighbours, yet his rapid conqueſt of Poland, ſtirred him up many enemies: For firſt, the Emperor dreading this acceſſion of power to a Swediſh Prince, granted ſuccours to King Caſimir of Poland, then the Muſcovites invaded Livonia, the Danes broke with him next, in hopes of recovering what they loſt to his predeceſſors; and though, in the beginning, he had the Elector of Brandenburgh for his ally, he afterwards deſerted him and joined his enemies; and Prince Ragotſki of Tranſilvania, who invaded Poland likewiſe at his Inſtance, was called home by the Turks entering his own dominions; and in the firſt battle he fought againſt them, was killed upon the ſpot (33). The King of Sweden, notwithſtanding this change of affairs, continued the war, and, which is more ſurprizing, continued it with ſucceſs, more eſpecially againſt the Danes, which drew the Dutch into the quarrel, under pretence of their alliance with Denmark. But in reality, out of regard to their own intereſt, for they were perſuaded, that if this monarch ſucceeded in his deſigns, he would exclude them from the trade of the Baltick: And it was to prevent this, that they ſent a ſtrong fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Danes. This meaſure of theirs greatly offended the Protector Oliver, who had always kept up a ſtrict friendſhip with Sweden, which he would willingly have aſſiſted with a powerful fleet, if it could have been done without breaking with the Dutch, for which his affairs were not then ripe (34). This put him upon ſending twenty experienced officers, to command the Swediſh ſhips, and to encourage Sir George Ayſcue to enter into the ſame ſervice, upon a propoſal the King had made of declaring him Admiral; and if this ſcheme had anſwered in his life-time, there is no doubt, he would have ſent a ſtout Engliſh fleet to have ſupported them. His ſon Richard might, probably, intend to have purſued his father's meaſures, and it is very likely, that with this view he ordered Admiral Montague, with a numerous ſquadron of men of war to ſail for the Sound, but the long Parliament reſuming the ſupreme authority, ſent inſtructions to that Admiral to join the Dutch (35). But while theſe things were tranſacting, King Charles had puſhed on the war with ſuch vigour, that he was actually become maſter of moſt part of the Daniſh territories, and had even laid ſiege to Copenhagen, which he would infallibly have taken, if the Dutch had not relieved it by beating his fleet; which conſtrained him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, which he continued in ſpite of the Dutch. It was at this juncture that Sir George Ayſcue arrived, who at firſt put him in hopes of ſome aſſiſtance from England, but this quickly vaniſhed in conſequence of the Revolution before mentioned, notwithſtanding which, Sir George Ayſcue continued in great credit with his Majeſty, and attended him to Gottenburg, where he had ſummoned an aſſembly of the

(33) Hiſtoire de Suede par Puffendorff, Liv. III.

(34) See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER).

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

an end to his hopes in that country, and diſpoſed Sir George Ayſcue to return home, where a great change had been working in his abſence, which was that of reſtoring King Charles II. It does not at all appear, that Sir George had any concern in this great affair, but the contrary may be rather preſumed, from his former attachment to the Parliament, and his making it his choice to have remained in Sweden, if the death of the monarch who invited him thither had not prevented him. On his return however, he not only ſubmitted to the government then eſtabliſhed, but gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the adminiſtration, that he ſhould be at all times ready to ſerve the publick if ever there ſhould be occaſion, which was very kindly taken, and Sir George Ayſcue had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, and to kiſs his hand (*b*). It was not long before he was called to the performance of his promiſe, for the Dutch war breaking out in 1664, he was immediately put into commiſſion by the direction of the Duke of York, who then commanded the Engliſh fleet. In the ſpring of the year 1665, Sir George Ayſcue hoiſted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, under the right honourable the Earl of Sandwich, and in the great battle that was fought on the third of June in the ſame year, that ſquadron had the honour to break through the centre of the Dutch fleet, and thereby made way for one of the moſt glorious victories ever obtained by this nation at ſea (*c*). For in this battle, the Dutch had ten of their largeſt ſhips ſunk or burned, beſides their Admiral Opdam's, that blew up in the midſt of the engagement, by which the Admiral himſelf, and upwards of five hundred men periſhed. Eighteen men of war were taken, four fire-ſhips deſtroyed, thirteen Captains, and two thouſand and fifty private men made priſoners; and this with ſo inconſiderable loſs, as that of one ſhip only, and three hundred private men (*d*). As there was ſome time requiſite, for refitting and repairing the Engliſh navy after ſo warm an action, the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet in that engagement, returned to London, but not till the King had viſited the navy, where, going on board the Royal Charles at the Buoy of the Nore, he knighted ſeveral of the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late battle, and made a grand naval promotion. The fleet being again in a condition to put to ſea, was ordered to rendezvouz in Southwold-Bay, from whence, to the number of ſixty ſail, they weighed on the fifth of July, and ſtood over for the coaſt of Holland. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant Earl of Sandwich, to whom was Vice-Admial Sir George Ayſcue, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman Rear-Admiral, Sir William Penn was Admiral of the White, Sir William Berkley Vice-Admiral, and Sir Joſeph Jordon Rear-Admiral. The Blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whoſe Vice and Rear, were Sir Chriſtopher Mimms, and Sir John Harman (*e*). The deſign they went on was, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or, at leaſt, to take and burn the Turkey and Eaſt-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence. They ſucceeded in neither of theſe ſchemes; de Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived ſafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleets, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, choſe to take the ſame northern rout, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh navy, but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of Berghen in Norway (*f*). The Earl of Sandwich having detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman to attack them there, returned home, and in his paſſage had the good luck to take eight Dutch men of war, which ſerved as convoys to their Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, and ſeveral merchant-men richly laden, which finiſhed the triumphs of that year (*g*). The plain ſuperiority of the Engliſh over the Dutch at ſea, engaged the French, in order to keep up the war between the maritime powers, and make them do their buſineſs by deſtroying each other, to declare on the ſide of the weakeſt, as did the King of Denmark alſo, which nevertheleſs had no effect upon the Engliſh, who determined to carry on the war againſt the allies, with the ſame ſpirit they had done againſt the Dutch alone (*h*). In the ſpring therefore, of the year 1666, the fleet was very early ſea, under the command of the joint Admirals, for a reſolution having been taken at Court, not to expoſe the perſon of the Duke of York any more, and the Earl of Sandwich being then in Spain with the character of Ambaſſador-Extraordinary, Prince Rupert, and old General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, were appointed to command the fleet, having under them as gallant and prudent officers as ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Engliſh navy, and amongſt theſe, Sir William Berkley commanded the Blue, and Sir George Ayſcue the White ſquadron (*i*). Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet, the twenty-third of April, 1666, and ſailed in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the Court was informed, that the French fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. This rumour of their joining the Dutch was ſpread by France, in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the Dutch, themſelves in reality having no ſuch intention.

(*b*) Notices of eminent Men, &c.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 20.

(*d*) Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Opening of the next Seſſions of Parliament.

(*e*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronic. p. 539.

(*f*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. I. p. 744, 745.

(*g*) See the Earl of Sandwich's Letter on this occaſion.

(*h*) Kennet's complete Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 258.

(*i*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

the States, becauſe of it's lying upon the coaſt, which gave him an opportunity of minding the affairs of his kingdom, and of the war at the ſame time. But it falling out unluckily, that a malignant fever reigned there at that time, the King was ſeized thereby, and after an illneſs of a few days, died on the 13th of February 1660, in the ſixth year of his reign (36), which, as we have obſerved in the text, determined Sir George Ayſcue to return home. Thus the reader has ſeen, in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, the grounds of this expedition, which I judged would be more ſatisfactory, than referring him to various other books, in order to clear up the meaning of what the ſubject led me to deliver in this.

(36) Puffendorff, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

intention (*k*). Upon the receiving this news, the Court ſent orders to Prince Rupert to ſail with the White ſquadron, the Admirals excepted, to look out and fight the French, which command that brave Prince obeyed, but found it what many wiſe people thought, a mere groundleſs bravado, intended to raiſe the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger. At the ſame time Prince Rupert ſailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and a freſh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coaſt of Dunkirk, and carried his Highneſs towards the Iſle of Wight, but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the Duke to an anchor (*l*). Captain Bacon, in the Briſtol, firſt diſcovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the Engliſh fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority. After the departure of Prince Rupert, the Duke had with him only the Red and Blue ſquadrons, making about ſixty ſail, whereas the Dutch fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying 4716 guns, and 22,460 men. It was the firſt of June when they were diſcerned, and the Duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor, and as de Ruyter himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he owns, that to the laſt the Engliſh were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages (*m*). This day's fight was very fierce and bloody, for the Dutch, confiding in their numbers, preſſed furiouſly upon the Engliſh fleet, while the Engliſh officers, being men of determined reſolution, fought with ſuch courage and conſtancy, that they not only repulſed the Dutch, but renewed the attack, and forced the enemy to maintain the fight longer than they were inclined to do, ſo that it was ten in the evening before their cannon were ſilent (*n*). The following night was ſpent in repairing the damages ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the Engliſh with freſh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged among the Engliſh, and were in the utmoſt danger either of being taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition, but Admiral de Ruyter at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled, and Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt killed (*o*). This only changed the ſcene, for de Ruyter was now as hard puſhed as Tromp had been before; however, a reinforcement arriving, preſerved him alſo, and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt. The Duke finding that the Dutch had received a reinforcement, and that his ſmall fleet, on the contrary, was much weakened, through the damages ſuſtained by ſome, and the loſs and abſence of others of his ſhips, took, towards the evening, the reſolution to retire and endeavour to join Prince Rupert, who was coming to his aſſiſtance (*p*). The retreat was performed in good order, twenty-ſix or twenty-eight men of war that had ſuffered leaſt, brought up the rear, interpoſing between the enemy and the diſabled ſhips, three of which, being very much ſhattered, were burnt by the Engliſh themſelves, and the men taken on board the other ſhips. The Dutch fleet followed, but at a diſtance. As they thus ſailed on, it happened on the third day that Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral of the White, who commanded the Royal Prince (being the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip of the whole fleet) unfortunately ſtruck upon the ſand called the Galloper, where being threatened by the enemy's fire-ſhips, and hopeleſs of aſſiſtance from his friends, (whoſe timely return, the near approach of the enemy, and the contrary tide, had abſolutely rendered impoſſible) he was forced to ſurrender (*q*). This was that famous engagement, which did equal honour to both the maritime powers, and in which both their officers and ſeamen are allowed to have performed as great things as were ever attempted on the watery element. Yet our hiſtorians have given but very imperfect accounts of it, even thoſe who ought to have made it their buſineſs to be more particularly acquainted with this tranſaction, ſo that if we would learn any particulars relating to it, we muſt look for them in the works of ſtrangers, and even of enemies, who in this reſpect have been both juſter and kinder, than the authors either of our General or Naval hiſtories (*r*) [*M*]. The Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, in

(*k*) Baſnage, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Sir John Harman's Account of this action in the Complete Hiſtory of England.

(*m*) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 291.

(*n*) See Sir John Harman's Account before cited.

(*o*) Levin Van Tromp, p. 212.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 281.

(*q*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172.

(*r*) See this Point examined in the Notes.

[*M*] *The authors of our General and Naval hiſtories.*] It is certainly a very great fault in men, who undertake to record the tranſactions of paſt ages, that they do not take care to provide themſelves with ſuch authentick papers, in regard to the times of which they write, as are neceſſary to ſet things forth clearly, and to afford ſufficient authority, to ſupport whatever is thus ſet forth. It is by this kind of negligence, that our hiſtories labour under the reproach of being leſs uniform and correct, than thoſe of other nations. In the preſent inſtance it is obſervable, that in the continuation of Heath's Chronicle by Philips, it is only ſaid, that there was none burnt of the Engliſh fleet but the *Prince*, which had the misfortune to run a-ground upon the Galloper, by means of which, Sir George Ayſcue the commander became a priſoner (38). This is very lame and incorrect, for without a competent knowledge of our naval hiſtory, a man might be eaſily led to believe, that Sir George Ayſcue was only captain of the *Prince*, whereas, he was Admiral of the *white* ſquadron in this engagement. In the Complete Hiſtory of England, as it is called, there is only an extract of Sir John Harman's account of this battle, in which this circumſtance is mentioned, in as few words as it is poſſible (39). The reverend Mr Echard tells us, the Engliſh had nine men of war taken or burnt, of which the chief was the Prince, a firſt rate ſhip, commanded by Sir George Ayſcough, which being unfortunately ſtranded, Sir George Ayſcough was taken priſoner, and the ſhip burnt (40). The continuation of Baker's Chronicle omits this circumſtance entirely, though in other reſpects, there is a pretty good account of this memorable engagement (41). In Mr Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, the whole account of this battle takes up but ſixteen lines, in which therefore we cannot expect many circumſtances; but there is one very aſtoniſhing, which is, that he makes this fight to have laſted only *three* days, affirming that Prince Rupert coming in on the *third*, obtained for the

(38) Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551.

(39) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 281.

(40) Echard's Hiſtory, p. 830.

(41) Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 831.

in his letter to the States-General, ſays in few words, that Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral of the White, having run upon a ſand-bank, fell into their hands, and that after taking out the commanders and the men that were left, they ſet the ſhip on fire (5). But the large relation, collected by order of the States out of all the letters written to them upon that occaſion, informs us, that Sir George Ayſcue in the Royal Prince, ran upon the Galloper, an unhappy accident, ſays that relation, for an officer who had behaved very gallantly during the whole engagement, who only retired in obedience to his Admiral's orders. The unfortunate Admiral made ſignals for aſſiſtance, but the Engliſh fleet continued their rout, ſo that he was left quite alone, and without hope of ſuccour, in which ſituation he was attacked by two Dutch fire-ſhips, by which, without doubt, he had been burnt, if Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, who was on board the ſhip of Rear-Admiral Sweers, had not made a ſignal to call off the fire-ſhips, perceiving that his flag was already ſtruck, and a ſignal made for quarter, upon which Rear-Admiral Sweers, by order of Tromp, went on board the Engliſh ſhip, and brought off Sir George Ayſcue, his officers, and ſome of his men, on board his own veſſel, and the next morning Sir George was ſent to the Dutch coaſt, in order to go to the Hague in a galliot, by order of General de Ruyter. The Engliſh ſhip was afterwards got off the ſands, notwithſtanding which, General de Ruyter ordered the reſt of the crew to be taken out, and the

(5) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 294.

(42) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 399.

the Engliſh a compleat victory (42). The truth, however, certainly is, that the Duke of Albemarle fought the Dutch fleet on the firſt, ſecond, and third of June, that in the evening of the laſt day, he was joined by Prince Rupert with the ſquadron under his command, and that on the fourth of June he engaged the Dutch again, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, and after an obſtinate diſpute, forced the enemy to retire towards their own coaſts. Mr Colliber had reaſon, therefore, to ſay, that Mr Burchett's accounts of the Dutch wars were ſo ſhort, that they were more apt to raiſe the reader's curioſity, than to ſatisfy it (43). But after all, Mr Burchett is a very good writer in other reſpects, and his hiſtory of the French wars in King William and Queen Anne's reigns, are very copious, circumſtantial, and well digeſted. As for Mr Colliber himſelf, he took a great deal of pains in peruſing the Dutch hiſtorians, and in taking out of them, whatever might do honour to the Britiſh nation (44). Mr Lediard has copied him in this reſpect, and very little more (45). As to the writers of private memoirs, we are not much obliged to them for any light they have given us, one only excepted, of whom we ſhall preſently ſpeak. Biſhop Burnet's deſcription of this battle is penned with great bitterneſs, much in favour of the Dutch, and extreamly to the diſcredit of the Engliſh, but he mentions no particulars, and ſeems more deſirous of giving his reader his own ſenſe of things, than to inform him of any circumſtances, that might enable him to form a true judgment of them himſelf (46). Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, is rather a picture than a hiſtory, ſo that no aſſiſtance could be received, or indeed expected from thence (47). There is in Sir William Temple's Memoirs, a paſſage relating to this engagement, which deſerves to be remembred, becauſe it ſhews what the ſenſe of the Dutch was upon this ſubject. Sir William tells us, that the famous John de Wit ſpeaking of this action, ſaid (48), 'That the Engliſh 'got more glory to their nation, and the invincible 'courage of their ſeamen by thoſe engagements, than 'by the two victories of this war, and that he was 'ſure, their own people could never have been brought 'on the following days after the advantages of the 'firſt, and he believed, that no other nation was 'capable of it but the Engliſh.' But the cleareſt and beſt account, that with the utmoſt induſtry I have been able to meet with, both of the whole engagement, and of Sir George Ayſcue's misfortune, is in Dr Skinner's life of General Monk, and therefore, I ſhall give the reader that part of it which regards my ſubject in his own words (49). 'On the third 'of June in the morning, his Grace ordered all the 'men out of two or three ſlug ſhips which were 'unſerviceable, and commanded them to be fired, 'rather than put them to the hazard of falling into 'the enemies hands in his retreat, and now he had 'not full forty good ſhips with him, to make good 'his retreat againſt about ninety of the enemies. 'But commanding all his weak and diſabled frigates to go off before him, and placing about ſixteen 'or twenty of the ſoundeſt and moſt in heart to 'the enemies front, he began a regular and leiſurely 'retreat, which was managed with ſo much bravery 'and courage, that the Dutch, though poſſeſſed with 'ſo many great advantages upon him, had no great 'ſtomach to the purſuit, contenting themſelves to 'follow aloof-off, and to fire their guns at ſuch diſtance as gave no prejudice to the Engliſh fleet; 'till about four in the afternoon, the wind increaſing, they came cloſe upon the Duke in two 'bodies, and ſpent ſome broadſides upon his ſhip, 'but were ſo warmly plied from the Engliſh fleet 'with their ſtern pieces, as made them contented 'to lie further off. The ſame freſh gale which at 'this time had brought up the Dutch fleet, brought 'alſo the Prince with his ſquadron in view of the 'Duke's ſhips, which now appeared in the moſt 'ſeaſonable minute, having made all the ſail they 'could to come to his relief. Nor was the Duke 'leſs willing to join the Prince and his ſquadron; 'but in making their way towards him, ſeveral of 'the principal ſhips, and among them the Duke 'in the Royal Charles, came aground on the Gapper 'or the Galloper ſands, but had all of them the good 'fortune to get off again, only the Royal Prince, 'a great and brave frigate was ſo deeply ſtranded, 'that it was not poſſible to bring her off, but became a prey to the enemy, where Sir George Ayſcough, that commanded in her, and his company, 'were taken priſoners; and when the Dutch alſo 'had in vain attempted to get her off the ſands, 'at night they burnt her down. This unfortunate 'ſtriking of ſo many of our ſhips upon the ſands, 'gave the Dutch ſo great an opportunity of deſtroying the Duke's fleet, as they have cauſe never to 'forgive the commanders, that made no greater advantage of it, where all might have been loſt, if 'the enemy had been brave enough to have adventured for it.' The great Mr Dryden, in a poem on the memorable events of the year 1666, has given us at once, the moſt beautiful and the moſt copious deſcription of theſe four days fights. But though this ſubject might have afforded as fine a picture in poetry, as any thing that has appeared in that finiſhed piece, yet there is not the leaſt notice taken therein of Sir George or his misfortune, of which however at firſt ſight, though applied by the poet to the Duke of Albemarle, the following ſtanzas might be thought intended (50).

(43) In his Preface to Columna Roſtrata.

(44) Columna Roſtrata, p. 166—177.

(45) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, p. 582, 583.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 229.

(47) S. Parker de Rebus ſuis Comment. p. 108.

(48) Obſervations on the Provinces of the United Netherlands, p. 281.

(49) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 344, 345.

(50) Annus Mirabilis Stanza lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

Now at each tack our little fleet grows leſs;
And like maim'd fowl, ſwim lagging on the main:
Their greater loſs their numbers ſcarce confeſs,
While they loſe cheaper than the Engliſh gain.

Have you not ſeen when whiſtled from the fiſt,
Some falcon ſtoops at what her eye deſign'd,
And, with her eagerneſs, the quarry miſs'd,
Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind.

The daſtard crow that to the wood made wing,
And ſees the groves no ſhelter can afford;
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring;
Who ſafe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

the veſſel ſet on fire, that his fleet might be the leſs embarraſſed, which was accordingly done (*t*). But in the French relation, publiſhed by order of that court, we have another circumſtance which the Dutch have thought fit to omit, and it is this, that the crew gave up the ſhip againſt the Admiral's will, who had given orders for ſetting her on fire (*u*). There were ſome circumſtances which made the loſs of this ſhip, in this manner, very diſagreeable to the Engliſh court, and perhaps this may be the reaſon that ſo little is ſaid of it in our own relations [*N*]. In all probability, General de Ruyter took the opportunity of ſending Sir George Ayſcue to the Dutch coaſt the next morning, from an apprehenſion that he might be retaken in the next day's fight (*w*). On his arrival at the Hague, he was very civilly treated; but to raiſe the ſpirits of their people, and to make the moſt of this dubious kind of victory, the States ordered Sir George to be carried as it were in triumph, through the ſeveral towns of Holland, and then confined him in the caſtle of Louveſtein, ſo famous in the Dutch hiſtories for having been the priſon of ſome of their moſt eminent patriots, and from whence the party which oppoſed the Prince of Orange, were ſtiled the Louveſtein Faction (*x*). As ſoon as Sir George Ayſcue came to this caſtle, he wrote a letter to King Charles II, to acquaint him with the condition he was in, which letter is ſtill preſerved in the Life of the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter (*y*), and the reader will find a tranſlation of it in the notes [*O*]. How long he remained there, or whether he continued a priſoner to the end of the war, is what we cannot determine from any lights that we have been able to procure; but it is ſaid that he afterwards returned to England, and ſpent the remainder of his days in peace (*z*). It is a thing greatly to be regretted, that ſo little care has been taken, to do juſtice to the memories of ſo many great men as have ſerved this nation, ſome at the expence of their lives, and others of their liberties; their virtues ſurely deſerve a better reward, and it is to be hoped that the pains we have taken in this collection, will render the doing juſtice to ſuch great and good men, ſo viſibly neceſſary, that ſucceeding generations will have no reaſon to make this complaint. It is with a view to this, that even where we cannot render our memoirs of ſuch illuſtrious perſons ſo compleat as we could wiſh, we labour with the utmoſt diligence to render them

(*t*) Ibid. p. 314.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 326.

(*w*) Leven Van Tromp, p. 213.

(*x*) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 348.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 446.

[*N*] *So little ſaid of it in our relations.*] There are very often circumſtances attending loſſes which ſo aggravate and heigthen them, as to conduce more to our miſery and grief, than the very loſſes themſelves. Theſe, while we feel this paſſion ſtrongly upon us, we are apt to relate; but by degrees, as that paſſion ſubſides, we come to conſider things in a very different light, and often ſtrive to hide and to conceal what we before affected to publiſh. The *Royal Prince*, as all our writers agree, was the largeſt and beſt built ſhip in the royal navy, ſhe carried ninety two guns, and ſix hundred and twenty men, her guns were all of them braſs, and the veſſel in the beſt condition poſſible, theſe were reaſons ſufficient to make the loſs of her regretted; but the particular circumſtance hinted at in the text is this, the *Royal Prince* was the ſhip in which the King came over from Holland at his Reſtoration; a fact, ſet down in none of our private memoirs, though ſufficiently known and talked of at the time. But the Dutch who knew this circumſtance full as well as the Engliſh, have taken ſpecial care to preſerve it (51). It was not a little hard upon Sir George Ayſcue to be laid aſide for this misfortune, which for any thing appears, did not at all ariſe from any miſtake or overſight of his, but it ſeems that our ſeamen conceived from hence, that he was an unlucky commander, and that was enough in thoſe days to lay any man aſide, it being a conſtant rule with the court to employ none but popular Admirals, and ſuch as were beloved by the ſeamen. It was on Sunday the third of June, about five in the afternoon, that this ſhip was given up to the Dutch, and about nine ſhe was ſet on fire, becauſe about that time it appeared, that Prince Rupert having joined the Duke of Albemarle, was bearing down again upon the Dutch fleet; ſo that though the *Royal Prince* was got off the ſands, they would not ſpare the time neceſſary to bring her away, but burnt her according to the expreſs inſtructions given by the States-General to de Ruyter.

(51) Vie de l'Admiral de Ruyter, p. 346.

[*O*] *The reader will find a tranſlation of it in the notes.*] The reader has ſeen all the account I am able to give him of this letter in the text, and when he has read the piece itſelf, he will be ſenſible of the reaſons which induced me to leave out ſome particulars in the relation, to ſpare him the trouble of peruſing them twice. The letter exactly rendered into Engliſh runs thus (52):

(52) Ibid. p. 348, 349.

'SIRE,

'YOUR Majeſty without doubt has been informed that we engaged the Dutch fleet on the 1—10th of this month, between Dunkirk and the North-point of England, the enemy lying at anchor, but cutting their cables immediately upon our approach. We attacked them however with ſucceſs two or three times, but as our fleet was much inferior to theirs in number, we were not able to ſuſtain the fight. There happened on this occaſion a great concern among our people, on the ſcore of your Majeſty's couſin being ſailed to the Weſtward with a large ſquadron of ſhips, by which we were very much weakened and diſtreſſed. Several of our ſhips were that day very ill treated; the Duke of Albemarle's particularly ſuffered much; the Dutch too had ſeveral ſhips ſet on fire, either by accidents happening to their own powder-rooms or by our fire-ſhips. We fought the next day with freſh courage, but on the third we were ſo unlucky as to run aground, and juſt as we began to float again, we found ourſelves with ſome other ſhips of our ſquadren ſurrounded by the enemy; ſo that to our great regret we were obliged to ſtrike, after having upwards of one hundred and fifty men killed on board our veſſel, and have ſince been carried priſoners hither. After I went on board the ſhip of the Dutch Rear-Admiral, we were informed, that the ſhip conſided to my care by your Majeſty had been burned, my Vice-Admiral is alſo taken, and my Lord Berkley is killed. I cannot ſay what happened afterwards in the action, becauſe it has been kept a ſecret from me. In general however they ſay, they have taken, ſunk, and burned, thirty-ſix of our ſhips, and that the Dutch have not made fewer than four thouſand priſoners, which God forbid. I beſeech your Majeſty not to take our misfortunes too much to heart, and that you would have compaſſion on my family.'

From my priſon at Louveſteyn,
10th / 20th June, 1666. GEORGE AYSCUE.

'P. S. The officers of the Dutch fleet as alſo the States-General, have treated me with all imaginable civility. On my arrival at Rotterdam, I was amazed to ſee ſo many thouſand men there, conſidering how many they have on board the Dutch fleet.

There are ſome circumſtances in this letter, from whence I ſuſpect, that either it is entirely forged, or at leaſt altered to ſerve the purpoſes of the Dutch; as for inſtance, his ſaying that his Vice-Admiral was taken, and Lord Berkley killed, the former muſt be meant of the ſhip if it be true, and as to the perſon he names in the latter

them as perfect as we can, which obſervation will be ſufficient to excuſe us to our readers, for concluding this article ſomewhat abruptly, ſince it is done merely through want of materials and not of inclination.

latter place, he was not Lord Berkley but Sir William Berkley (53), and therefore this is an error that we can ſcarce ſuſpect Sir George Ayſcue to be guilty of. But what is written after the letter is much more groſs than any thing contained in it; for, in the firſt place, Sir George was not extreamly well treated, ſince the Dutch themſelves owned that they took his plate and every thing elſe that was valuable from him; and in the next to magnify the ſtrength of the enemy to his Prince, was a meanneſs of which an Engliſh Admiral muſt have been certainly incapable. Theſe remarks I thought due to Sir George Ayſcue's reputation, though as the letter ſo nearly concerns his perſonal hiſtory, I conceived myſelf obliged to inſert it. E

(53) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172, 173.

AYSSERIUS, or ASSERIUS (MENEVENSIS), by ſome called ASSER (*a*), by others ASKER (*b*), a learned Monk of St Davids, concerning whom, though much has been ſaid, yet we find very little written with certainty, rather, as we apprehend, for want of conſidering the matter thoroughly, than from any want of materials, or from any real obſcurity in which his ſtory is involved. We ſhall therefore give as clear and diſtinct an account of him as may be, remove moſt of the difficulties which have been hitherto thought to obſcure his hiſtory, and leave thoſe controverſial points to be diſcuſſed in the notes, which otherwiſe would ſerve only to puzzle and perplex the text. He was of Britiſh extraction (*c*), probably of that part of South Wales called Pembrokeſhire, and was bred up in the learning of thoſe times, in the monaſtery of St Davids (*d*) (in Latin Menevia) whence he derived his ſirname of Menevenſis. There he is ſaid to have had for his tutor Johannes Patricius, one of the moſt celebrated ſcholars of his age (*e*). Here he had alſo the countenance of Nobis or Novis Archbiſhop of that See, who was his relation (*f*); but it does not appear, that he was either his Secretary or his Chancellor, as ſome writers would have us believe [*A*]. From St Davids he was invited to the court of Ælfred the Great, merely from the reputation of his learning. This ſeems to have been about the year 880, or ſomewhat earlier (*g*). Thoſe who had the charge of bringing him to Court, conducted him from St Davids to the town of Dene (Dean) in Wiltſhire, where the King then was (*h*). He received him with great civility, and ſhowed him in a little time the ſtrongeſt marks of favour and affection, inſomuch that he condeſcended to perſuade him not to think any more of returning to St Davids, but rather to continue with him as his domeſtick chaplain and aſſiſtant in his ſtudies. Aſſerius, however, modeſtly declined this propoſal, alledging, that it did not become him to deſert that holy place where he had been educated, and received the order of prieſthood, for the ſake of any preferment that he could meet with elſewhere. King Ælfred then deſired, that he would divide his time between the court and the monaſtery, that is to ſay, that he would ſpend ſix months at Court and ſix at St Davids. Aſſerius would not lightly comply even with this requeſt, but deſired the King's leave to return to St Davids, to aſk the advice of his brethren, which he obtained, but in his journey falling ill at Wincheſter of a fever, he lay there ſick twelve months and a week, till the King, wondering at his long ſtay, wrote him letters requiring his return to Court. But it ſeems he was too weak to ride, of which when King Ælfred was informed by his letter, he deſiſted from his requeſt (*i*). As

(*a*) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. p. 44.

(*b*) Ingulph. Hiſt. edit. Oxon. 1684, p. 28.

(*c*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Vol. I. p. 155.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menev. Oxon. A. D. 1722, 8*vo*, p. 47.

(*e*) Baleus, edit. Waſil. 1548, 4*to*, fol. 65.

(*f*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 47.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Id. p. 47, & ſeq.

[*A*] *Some writers would have us believe.*] The firſt author who ſtarted this notion was Bale (1). He had read probably in our author's own work, that he was related to an Archbiſhop of St Davids (2), and thence he took occaſion to make him his Chancellor: He does this very abruptly, inſerting his conjecture by way of parentheſis. However, he does not tell us what Biſhop; that was an error left for his tranſcriber Pits (3), who affirms without heſitation, that he was Secretary or Chancellor to Aſſer the Elder then Archbiſhop of St Davids. Biſhop Godwin outſtrips both Bale and Pits, and makes Aſſer himſelf the author of this ſtory (4). The great Dr Cave, following his predeceſſors, aſſerts, that Aſſerius, Biſhop of Sherburn, was a relation and Chancellor to Aſſerius Archbiſhop of St Davids (5). The induſtrious Thomas Hearne tells us very magiſterially, that the Annals of Ælfred were not written by Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, but by his uncle Aſſer Archbiſhop of St Davids (6). In anſwer to all theſe numerous authorities, we ſhall only ſay, that Aſſer, whoever he was, became Archbiſhop of St Davids A D. 909 (7), that is twenty-ſix years after the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, according to the computation of theſe authors, and about a year before the true time of his death (8); ſo that he was Secretary or Chancellor to this Archbiſhop ſome thirty or forty years before he became ſo, and this Aſſer is ridiculouſly ſtiled the Elder, tho' he was made an Archbiſhop thirty years after our Aſſerius became a Biſhop, and if he had been a different perſon, muſt have been conſequently much younger than he. All this long train of miſtakes grew out of the following eaſy paſſage of our author's own writing, viz. 'Spe-'rabant enim noſtri, minores tribulationes et injurias 'ex parte Hemeid Regis ſuſtinere, (qui ſæpe depræ-'dabatur illud Monaſterium et parochiam Sancti 'Degui, aliquando expulſione illorum antiſtitum, qui 'in eo præeſſent, ſicut & Novis Archiepiſcopum pro-'pinquum meum & me expulit aliquando ſub ipſis) 'ſi ego ad notitiam & amicitiam illius Regis qualecunque 'pacto pervenirem.' That is, *Our Monks were in hopes that they ſhould ſuſtain fewer troubles and inſults from King* Hemeid, *(who had often plundered that Monaſtery and the Pariſh of* St Degui, *ſometimes expelling thoſe who preſided in both places, as it happened to* my relation Archbiſhop Novis and myſelf) *in caſe by any ſuch agreement I came to be conſidered and gain the friendſhip of that Prince* (9). He means Ælfred the Great, for this paſſage contains the reaſons which induced the Monks of St Davids to conſent that Aſſer ſhould comply with the King's requeſt and live half the year at court. From hence it appears, that the Archbiſhop to whom he was related was Novis, who, according to the antient Annals of St Davids, became Archbiſhop in 841, and died in 873 (10); and inſtead of being his Chancellor, it ſeems that Aſſerius was parſon of the pariſh of St Degui or Dewi, as it was called in the Britiſh language, which is alſo aſſerted by ſome writers (11). This ſhews the great uſe of a Critical Dictionary, ſince here is an error detected, which has paſſed current from hand to hand for ſo long a tract of time, and has been tranſcribed without ſcruple by perſons well verſed in our antient hiſtory.

(1) Script. Britan. Cent. ii. fol. 65.

(2) Annal. de Reb. geſt. Ælfred. p. 49.

(3) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 172.

(4) De Præſulib. Angl. P. i. p. 384.

(5) Hiſt. Litt. ad an. 890, edit. col. Allobrog. 1720, p. 476.

(6) In the notes on Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 136.

(7) Annal. Eccl. Menev. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

(8) Chron. Saxon. p. 102.

(9) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

(11) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pont. lib. ii. p. 247.

As ſoon as he recovered, Aſſerius made a journey to St Davids, where conſulting with his brethren on the King's propoſal, they unanimouſly agreed that he ſhould accept it, promiſing themſelves great advantages from his favour with the King, of which, at that time it ſeems, they had great need; one Hemeid, a petty Prince of South Wales, making them exceedingly uneaſy, and ſometimes compelling their Archbiſhop to quit the place of his reſidence. But at the ſame time they requeſted of Aſſerius, that he would prevail on the King, to allow him to reſide quarterly at Court and at St Davids, rather than that he ſhould remain abſent ſix months at a time (*k*). When he came back he found the King at Leoneforde, who received him with great marks of diſtinction. He remained with him then eight months at once, reading and explaining to him whatever books were in his library, whereby he grew into ſo great credit with that generous Prince, that on Chriſtmas-eve following, he gave him the monaſteries of Amgreſbyri, and Banuwille, that is, Ambroſbury in Wiltſhire, and Banwell in Somerſetſhire, with a ſilk pall of great value, and as much incenſe as ſtrong man could carry, ſending together with them this compliment *That theſe were but ſmall things, and by way of earneſt of better which ſhould follow them* (*l*). And indeed, ſoon after, Aſſerius tells us, he had Exeter beſtowed upon him, and not long after that, the biſhoprick of Sherburn, which however he ſeems to have quitted in 883 (*m*) [*B*], though he always retained the title, as Wilfred Archbiſhop of York was conſtantly ſo ſtiled, though he accepted of another biſhoprick (*n*). Thenceforward he conſtantly attended the Court, in the manner before ſtipulated, and is named as a perſon, in whom he had particular confidence by King Ælfred in his Teſtament, which muſt have been written ſome time before the year 885 (*o*); ſince mention is made therein of Eſna Biſhop of Hereford, who died that year. He is alſo mentioned by the King, in his prefaratory Epiſtle placed before his tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, addreſſed to Wulfſig Biſhop of London, and therein the King does not call him Biſhop of Sherburn, but my Biſhop, acknowledging the help received from him and others in that tranſlation (*p*). For as we learn, both from the King and from Aſſerius himſelf, the method uſed by that Prince in tranſlating was this, he had the ſenſe of his author given him by one or other of the many learned men he had about him, and then he digeſted it into an eaſy flowing ſtile (in which he had a peculiar excellency) that men might thereby be invited to reading (*q*); for Ælfred did not tranſlate as an author to gain reputation, but as a Prince, to promote the publick good; neither did he deſign that the books he publiſhed ſhould paſs for exact tranſlations, but for good and uſeful treatiſes, from which ſuch as underſtood none but their mother tongue, might reap profit and inſtruction. It ſeems to have been the near reſemblance, which the genius of Aſſerius bore to that of the King, which gained him ſo great a ſhare in his confidence; and very probably, it was on this account, that Aſſerius drew up thoſe Memoirs of the life of Ælfred which we ſtill have, and which he dedicated and preſented to the King in 893 (*r*). In which work we have a very remarkable account of the manner, wherein that Prince and our author ſpent their time together. Aſſerius tells us, that having one day, being the feaſt of St Martin, cited in converſation a paſſage of ſome famous author, the King was mightily pleaſed therewith, and would have him write it down in the margin of a book he carried in his breaſt; but Aſſerius finding no room to write any ſuch thing there, and yet being deſirous to gratify his maſter, he aſked King Ælfred, whether he ſhould not provide a few leaves, in which to ſet down ſuch remarkable things, as occurred either in reading or converſation; the King was extreamly delighted with this hint, and directed Aſſerius to put it immediately in execution, which he accordingly did: purſuing this method conſtantly, their collection began to ſwell, till at length it became of the ſize of an ordinary *Pſalter*; and this was what the King called his *Hand-book* or *Manual*, Aſſerius however, calls it Enchiridion (*s*). In all probability, Aſſerius continued at Court during the whole reign of Ælfred, and, for ought we know, ſeveral years after; but

(*k*) Id. p. 49.

(*l*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 50, 51.

(*m*) Id. p. 51.

(*n*) See the articles of WILFRED, and ÆLFRED King of Northumberland.

(*o*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 73.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 85, 90.

(*q*) Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra. Speiman's Life of Alfred, by Hearne, p. 142.

(*r*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.

(*s*) Id. p. 57.

[*B*] *He ſeems to have quitted in* 883.] The reaſon why many writers (12) have placed the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn in this year, is their finding that he was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by Sighelmus, who was ſent by King Ælfred to carry his alms to the Chriſtians of St Thomas in the Indies. William of Malmſbury (13) is ſometimes cited to prove the death of our author in the life-time at leaſt of King Ælfred; but whoever reads him will find that he ſays no ſuch thing: He ſays indeed, that Aſſerius and Sighelmus were both Biſhops of Sherburn in the reign of Ælfred (14), which is true, but the conjecture founded hereupon, that Aſſerius died before Sighelmus ſucceeded is falſe, as appears from what this author himſelf ſays immediately afterwards. For he tells us that this Biſhop Aſſer came from St Dewi, and conſequently was the author of the Annals of Ælfred written in 893, preciſely ten years after Sighelmus ſucceeded him (15). Tho' this is ſufficient, yet I think it may not be amiſs to add another proof of this fact, that tho' Aſſerius lived long after the year 883, yet he was not actually in poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of Sherburn. In the old hiſtory of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, publiſhed by the learned Wharton, there is an account, that in 905 Pope Formoſus did by his letters to King Edward the Elder, ſon and ſucceſſor to Ælfred the Great, and to Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, exhort them on account of the few Biſhops who were then living, to fill up the vacant Sees; whereupon the Archbiſhop conſecrated ſeven Prelates in one day at Canterbury, amongſt whom one was Biſhop of Sherburn (16). But the Saxon Annals plainly prove, that our Aſſer did not die till 910 (17), which is ſix years afterwards. His quitting this Biſhoprick ſo ſoon, is perhaps the reaſon that he does not expreſsly mention it's being beſtowed on him as he does his other preferments, but contents himſelf with an oblique account of it (18), and referring frequently to his church at Sherburn, as a place to which he had particular relation (19). This is one of the difficulties we promiſed to remove, and indeed it is one of the greateſt with which the ſtory of this Prelate is affected.

(12) Matth. Weſtmonaſt. A. D. 883. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 883.

(13) Fr. Wiſe in Vit. Aſſer. Menev. p. 23.

(14) De geſt. Pont. p. 247.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Hiſt. de Epiſcop. Bathon. et Wellen. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 554.

(17) Page 102.

(18) Annal. p. 51.

(19) Id. ib. p. 14, 18, 19.

[*C*] *The*

but where, or when he died was matter of diſpute, tho' the Saxon Chronicle poſitively fixes it to the year 910, to which we think no juſt objection can be made (*t*). The reader will obſerve, that we take Aſſer the Monk, and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, for one and the ſame perſon, which ſome however have denied; yet we go farther ſtill, and aſſert him to have been alſo Archbiſhop of St Davids, for all which, we hope the the reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes [*C*]. We do indeed admit, that if there was ſuch a reader in the publick ſchools at Oxford as Aſſer the Monk, he muſt have been ſome other perſon of the ſame name, and not our author; but we do not think this point ſo clearly made out, as to deſerve much diſpute about it, ſince it reſts almoſt wholly on the authority of Harpsfield (*u*); for tho' he cites the Annals of Wincheſter; yet we find no ſuch things in the Annals that we have, nor is the account conſiſtent with itſelf in ſeveral other reſpects, beſides this of Aſſer, as Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved [*D*]. There is no leſs controverſy about the works of Aſſerius, than about his preferments; for ſome alledge that he never wrote any thing but the Annals of King Ælfred; whereas, Pits gives us the titles of no leſs than five other books (*w*) of his writing, and adds, that he wrote many more: The firſt of theſe is a *Commentary on Boëtius*, which is mentioned by Leland, on the authority of the Chronicle of St Neots (*x*); the truth is, he explained this author to King Ælfred when he made his Saxon tranſlation, whence the cenſure paſſed upon it, that though it was a work of great uſe in thoſe times, yet it was in a manner ridiculous in ours (*y*); the ſame thing might be ſaid of any literal verſion: The ſecond piece mentioned by Pits, is the Annals of Ælfred's

(*t*) Chron. Sax. p. 102.

(*u*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 161.

(*w*) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 172.

(*x*) Comment. de Script. p. 156.

(*y*) Malmſb. de G-ſt. Pont. edit. Savil. p. 248.

[*C*] *The reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes*] It would take up too much time, and give the reader too much trouble, to mention all the miſtakes that have been made in relation to our author. It will be a much eaſier and ſhorter method to demonſtrate the truth of the facts above aſſerted, and ſpeak only as occaſion requires of what others have advanced. We will firſt prove, that Aſſer the Monk and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn was the ſame perſon, and this without relying upon authority at all; for if authority could abſolutely decide, we have that of Matthew of Weſtminſter (20) and Florence of Worceſter (21) on our ſide which ought to be deciſive. But we will wave theſe and take another method of proving the fact. If Aſſer Menevenſis and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn were two perſons, then certainly the former treated the latter very ill; for when he is ſpeaking of the learned men the King had about him, he mentions John the Monk of St Davids, Werfreth Biſhop of Worceſter, Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ethelſtan and Werwalf the King's Chaplains, as perſons aſſiſting that Prince in his ſtudies (22), but he ſays not a word of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, tho' he ſpeaks of the very work wherein that Biſhop aſſiſted the King as the King himſelf tells us (23). This would be the higheſt injuſtice in the world, eſpecially conſidering he addreſſed his book to the King, and utterly inconſiſtent with his own character. But if himſelf was that Aſſer, then it is an inſtance only of his modeſty, and as ſuch is agreeable to the whole tenor of his writings. Yet in another place, he acknowledges the King made uſe of him for thoſe very purpoſes, for which the King himſelf ſays he made uſe of the Biſhop of Sherburn. That Aſſer was alſo Archbiſhop of St Davids is no new opinion, for both Mr Tyrrel and Mr Wiſe have aſſerted it, tho' we differ in ſome reſpects from each of theſe authors. Mr Tyrrel's notion was, that his being Archbiſhop of St Davids was a fiction of the Monks, in order to do honour to their brother Aſſer (24). Mr Wiſe again believed he was Archbiſhop of St Davids and afterwards Biſhop of Sherburn (25); and in order to ſupport this, he alledges that there is an omiſſion in the Annals of St Davids of the year wherein he was made Archbiſhop; and that whereas he is ſaid to have become ſo in 909, the author ought to have placed his death there. But perhaps this is taking too great a liberty with MSS. That Aſſer was really Archbiſhop appears not only from the antient Annals ſo often mentioned, and from another very antient manuſcript in the Cotton Library (26), but alſo from the indubitable authority of Gerald Barry, commonly called Cambrenſis, one of his ſucceſſors, who in his liſt of the Archbiſhops, ſets down Novis, Etwal, Aſſer (27). Our ſuppoſition therefore is, that he ſucceeded Etwal in 883, in which we contradict no manuſcript. As to what the Annals of St Davids ſay that he was made Archbiſhop in 909, we muſt ſet down the phraſes made uſe of by the author of thoſe Annals (28).

(20) Ad An. 883.

(21) Ad An. 883.

(22) Aſſer. Menev. p. 46.

(23) Ibid. p. 85, 90.

(24) Hiſt. of England, p. 13.

(25) In Vit. Aſſerii, p. 23.

(26) Claudius, B. vii.

(27) Iten. Cambr. l. ii. c. 1.

(28) Vid. Whart. Angl. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 648.

Anno 841, Novis eſt Epiſcopus Menevenſis.
Anno 873, Novis Epiſcopus moritur.
Anno 909, Aſſer Epiſcopus Britanniæ fit.

It ſhould ſeem therefore, that upon the new regulations made in the Church, mentioned in the former note, Aſſer had an additional juriſdiction given him; otherwiſe, why is he called Epiſcopus Britanniæ, Biſhop of Britain? whereas Novis, and all the other Biſhops, are ſtiled Biſhops of St Davids. Aſſer therefore might become Biſhop of St Davids in 883, and now receive from King Edward the Primacy of Britain, or Wales, ſo far as he could beſtow it, which being a very remakable fact, was taken notice of by the author of theſe Annals. To prove that Aſſer Archbiſhop of St Davids, if he was a different perſon from Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, could not be author of the Annals of Ælfred, we need only take notice, that he never mentions his nameſake Aſſer of Sherburn, who aſſiſted that King in his literary labours, particularly in his tranſlation of *Gregory's Paſtoral*, of which mention is expreſsly made in thoſe Annals (29). Add to this, that the Saxon Chronicle, the Hiſtory of Æthelward the Monk, and other antient records of thoſe times, never mention two Aſſers, though they ſpeak copiouſly of one. On the whole therefore we think, that it is at leaſt extreamly probable, that Aſſer the Monk of St Davids became firſt Pariſh-Prieſt of St Dewi, afterwards Abbot of Ambroſbury and Banwell, then Biſhop of Sherburn, and laſtly Archbiſhop of St Davids by the favour of King Ælfred, and Primate of Britain through the kindneſs of Edward his ſon.

(29) Page 46.

[*D*] *As Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved.* If Aſſer had really read at Oxford, it is not eaſy to gueſs why he never mentioned it. It is generally conceived that Grimbald went to Oxford in 886, at leaſt it is in that year, Aſſerius places the great tumult that happened there on his account (30), which being ſo fair an opportunity, one would think the author could not have paſſed it by without mentioning his own employment, if he really had any in the ſame place. The truth ſeems to be, that whoever framed the ſtory of the Oxford profeſſors, took all the learned men, that are ſpoken of in the hiſtory of Ælfred's reign, and beſtowed them as the accounts he had met with of their works led him; one to Divinity, another to Grammar, which fell to Aſſer's ſhare, becauſe he had grammatically conſtrued Boëtius for the uſe of Ælfred, as William of Malmſbury tells us. Indeed if it were true, what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Aſſer was employed in bringing over St Grimbald from France (31), then by placing the date a little higher, we might bring this ſtory to ſquare well enough with the chronology of Aſſer's hiſtory; but even then it would not agree with the matter of it, for if he read in the ſchools at Oxford, how could he divide his time between the court and his monaſtery? There is no compariſon between what Aſſer himſelf tells us, and what we have from an anonymous writer, of whom we have but a very indifferent account.

(30) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52.

(31) Leland, ex Vita Grimbaldi Collectan. Vol. I. p. 18.

[*E*] *As*

Ælfred's life and reign: The third he ſtiles *Annales Britanniæ*, or the *Annals of Britain* in one book, mentioned alſo by Leland and Bale (*z*), and which hath been ſince publiſhed by the learned Dr Gale (*a*), who inclined to think it genuine, which is certainly more than it deſerved, as will be ſhewn in a note [*E*]. The fourth piece, he calls *Aurearum Sententiarum Enchiridion, lib.* 1. id eſt, *An Enchiridion of golden Sayings, in one Book*, which is without queſtion, the *Manual* or *Common-Place-Book* made for King Ælfred, and reckoned among his works by this very Pits (*b*): It muſt be owned that Leland had alſo ſpoken of this Enchiridion, but more accurately, and in a manner becoming ſo great a writer; for he ſpeaks of it as an inſtance of the learning and diligence of Aſſer, which it certainly was; and though the collections he made concerning this author, are much better and larger than thoſe of Bale and Pits, yet he modeſtly upon this ſubject, apologizes for ſpeaking ſo little and ſo obſcurely of ſo great a man (*c*). The next in Pits's catalogue, is a *Book* of *Homilies*, and the laſt, a *Book* of *Epiſtles*; he took it for granted, that Aſſer being a Biſhop, preached ſometimes, and that having ſo many friends, he muſt needs write letters, which is all the foundation that can be in nature for theſe two volumes, no antient author ſaying a word of them. Of the like ſtamp is Biſhop Godwin's account, of his being buried in his cathedral church of Sherburn (*d*), which is meer gueſs-work, founded on his being Biſhop there; and with equal probability we might ſay, he was buried at St Davids, though there is not any authority for either. Thus we conclude the article of this moſt excellent perſon, who was, without queſtion, one of the moſt pious, moſt learned, and with all, one of the modeſteſt prelates of the age in which he lived.

(*z*) Leland, ubi ſupra. Bale, 65.

(*a*) Int. Script. ex Oxon. 1691, p. 141.

(*b*) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 170.

(*c*) Leland in Vit. Aſſer.

(*d*) De Præſulib. Angl. P. i. p. 385.

[*E*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] The firſt notice we had of theſe Annals was from Leland (32), for as to what Brompton ſays, concerning Aſſer's mentioning King Offa, it does not appear to relate of theſe Annals (33). As to the account given by Leland, it is certain that he ſpeaks very doubtfully, and in a long paſſage which he afterwards blotted out (34), and which is therefore omitted in the printed edition, he aſcribes this very book, commonly called the Chronicle of St Neots, to a domeſtick of King Ælfred's. Though in another place he ſays, this Domeſtick abridged the Annals of Aſſerius (35). Dr Gale who publiſhed it, inclines to think it really the work of Aſſerius (36), and Biſhop Nicholſon concurs with him, becauſe, ſays he, his book inſiſts chiefly on the fortunes of King Ælfred (37). Yet never ſure was a greater injury done to any author, than is done to Aſſerius, by aſcribing to him a work altogether unworthy of him. The very beginning of the Chronicle is little better than nonſenſe, and as to what the author ſays of King Ælfred, he tranſcribes the genuine Annals of Aſſerius, interpolating however many fabulous ſtories, which, without doubt, were invented long after our author's deceaſe. It is true that he ſpeaks often in the perſon of Aſſer (38), but this is no proof of any thing, but the author's ignorance, ſince in the former part of his work he ſpeaks in the perſon of Beda (39), which is a plain proof, that the whole is a tranſcript from various authors, by one who had not judgment enough to leave out theſe perſonal phraſes which diſturb and confound the work. As to what Leland hath written about this Chronicle it is eaſily accounted for, he had many large and arduous works upon his hands, and therefore had not leiſure to read every manuſcript which came into his power. Peruſing a part of this manuſcript, and perceiving that the author called King Ælfred his Lord, his patron, and him to whom he was many ways obliged, he took it for granted, that he muſt have lived in his time; whereas, if he had read the beginning of the book, he muſt, according to the ſame way of reaſoning, have ſuppoſed he lived two hundred years higher; beſides, at the end of this Chronicle, and there appears no marks of any continuation, we have an account of the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, which is placed in the year 909 (40). Hence forward therefore, it is to be hoped, this Chronicle will be cited in the ſame way good judges have always cited it, that is, by the name of Pſeudo-Aſſerius, or the pretended Aſſer (41), as it's author is fitly ſtiled; if this ſhould be thought too hard a cenſure, we will offer a conjecture of another nature, which is at leaſt new, and not altogether improbable: This Chronicle of St Neots was ſaid to be the work of Joannes Aſſerius, whence Pits ſtupidly enough, calls our author by the ſame name (42), tho' it is certain, that ſirnames were not in uſe here, till after our acquaintance with the Normans; it is therefore not impoſſible, that this Chronicle might be tranſcribed by ſome perſon whoſe name was John Aſſer or Aſker, for that there has been ſuch a ſirname, is evident from the author cited in the margin (43); in proceſs of time, the likeneſs of the name, and the likeneſs of the matter, might well enough occaſion ſuch a miſtake, but it is now certainly high time to correct it.

(32) Comment. de Script. p. 152. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 210.

(33) Chron. ap. X Script. col. 753.

(34) MS. Vol. IV. p. 115.

(35) Comment. de Script. p. 152.

(36) Præf. ad XV Script.

(37) Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, p. 48.

(38) Aſſer. Menev. p. 10. Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 157.

(39) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 145. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 19.

(40) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 174.

(41) F. Wiſe, in Vit. Aſſer.

(42) De illuſtr. Script. p. 172.

(43) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 803, 804.

BABINGTON

B.

BABINGTON (GERVASE) a learned Biſhop in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born in Nottinghamſhire [*A*], being deſcended from the antient family of the Babingtons, in that county (a). After having received there the firſt rudiments of learning, he was ſent to Trinity-college in Cambridge (*b*), of which he became Fellow (*c*). On the fifteenth of July, 1578, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood in his own univerſity (*d*). Having laid a good foundation in other parts of learning, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and became a famous preacher in Cambridge, the place of his reſidence. When he was Doctor in Divinity, he was made domeſtic Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, Preſident of the Council in the marches of Wales [*B*], by whoſe intereſt he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the church of Landaff (*e*). In 1588, he was inſtalled into the Prebend of Wellington in the cathedral of Hereford (*f*) And, through his patron's further intereſt, was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaff [*C*], vacant by the death of William Blethin: He was conſecrated the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1591 (*g*). In February 1594, he was tranſlated to the See of Exeter (*h*), and confirmed the ninth of March (*i*) [*D*]. From whence, in 1597, he was tranſlated again to Worceſter (*k*), to which he was nominated Auguſt 30, elected September 15, and confirmed October 4, following (*l*). He was likewiſe made one of the Queen's Counſel for the marches of Wales (*m*). To the library of his cathedral at Worceſter he was a very great benefactor; for he not only fitted and repaired the edifice, but alſo bequeathed thereto all his books, which was a gift of good value (*n*). After having continued Biſhop of Worceſter near thirteen years (*o*), he died of the jaundice (*p*), May 17, 1610, and was buried in his cathedral of Worceſter, without any monument (*q*). As to his character; he was, in the midſt of all his preferments, neither tainted with idleneſs, pride, or covetouſneſs: not only diligent in preaching, but in writing books, for the underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures. So that he was a true pattern of piety to the people, of learning (*r*) to the miniſtry, and of wiſdom to all governors (*s*). He was an excellent preacher, and happy in raiſing the affections and attention of his audience, which he would keep up till the end of his ſermon (*t*). We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*E*]. He publiſhed

(a) *Abel Redivivus*, by T. Fuller, Lond, 1651, 4*to*, p. 455, and his Church Hiſt. of Britain, edit. 1655, fol. B. x. p. 56.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Babington's Works, edit. 1637, fol. in Preface to his *Queſtions and Anſwers on the X Commandments.*

(*d*) Wood, Faſti edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 118.

(*e*) *Abel Redivivus*, ubi ſupra. The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701, fol. p. 87, 88.

(*f*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Hereford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1727, 4*to*, p. 604.

(*g*) Godwin. de Præſulib. &c. edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 641.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 478 Izacke ſays it was in 1593, *ubi ſupra*, and Hooker, in his Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, that it was in May 1595.

(*i*) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift. by J. Strype, M. A. edit. 1718, fol. p. 430. Mr Strype is miſtaken there, in ſaying that it was in the See of Landaff our Biſhop was then confirmed.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

(*l*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 649, and Strype, as above, p. 518.

(*m*) *Abel Redivivus*, ut ſupra, p. 456.

(*n*) Prince, and Willis, ubi ſupra. See alſo Miles Smith's Preface to the Reader, at the beginning of Biſhop Babington's Works, near the end.

(*o*) Prince, by miſtake, ſays but Three, *ut ſupra*, p. 88. (*p*) *Iſtericus*, Godwin, p. 524. Fuller ſays, He died of an hectick fever. *Abel Redivivus*, p. 456. (*q*) Fuller, ibid. and Willis, as above, p. 649. (*r*) Sir John Harrington ſays, that he was 'for learning inferior to few of his rank.' Brief View, &c. p. 128. (*s*) Fuller, Abel, &c. p. 456. (*t*) Idem. Church Hiſtory, as above. He preached Archbiſhop Whitgift's Funeral Sermon. Strype's Life of that Archbiſhop, fol. 1718, p. 579.

[*A*] *Was born in Nottinghamſhire.*] In his effigies, prefixed to his works, he is ſaid to have been 59 years of age (undoubtedly at the time of his death). If ſo, he muſt have been born in the year 1551. In ſaying that he was born in Nottinghamſhire, I follow Mr Fuller, afterwards D. D (1). But Mr Izacke (2), and after him Mr Prince (3), affirm, that he was a native of Devonſhire. The latter, particularly, informs us, that a family of that name long flouriſhed in and about Ottery St Mary in that county; which he ſuppoſes to have been a younger branch, of that of Nottinghamſhire. But, after giving the pedigree of that family, he owns, That he did not find, which of the gentlemen (there mentioned) Biſhop Babington challenged as his father: though probably one of them might be ſo.

(1) Ubi ſupra.

(2) Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, in his Antiquities of the City of Exeter.

(3) *Danmonii Orientales illuſtres: or*, The Worthies of Devon, as above, p. 87.

[*B*] *He was made domeſtick Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c.*] And whilſt he was in that ſtation, is ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted his miſtreſs, the Lady Mary Sidney, Counteſs of Pembroke, in her exact verſion of the Pſalms of David into Engliſh metre. For it was more than a woman's ſkill, to expreſs the ſenſe ſo right, as ſhe hath done in her verſe: and more than ſhe could learn from the Engliſh and Latin tranſlations (4).

(4) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, Lond. 12*mo*, 1653, p. 128, 129. And Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 704.

[*C*] *Was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaffe.*] Which in merriment he uſed to call *Affe*; the *Land* thereof having been long before alienated by his predeceſſor Kitchin, in the days of King Henry VIII, and Queen Elizabeth (5).

(5) Fuller, in Church Hiſtory; and Prince, as above. See alſo Harrington, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He was tranſlated to the See of Exeter, &c.*] To which Biſhoprick he did an irreparable injury, by alienating from it the rich and noble manour of Crediton, in the county of Devon, reputed worth a thouſand marks *per ann.* rent of aſſize (6).

(6) Prince, as above, p. 88.

[*E*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] It is comprized in the following verſes, ſet under his picture at the begining of his works.

Non melior, non integrior, non cultior alter,
Vir, Præſul, Præco, more, fide, arte fuit:
Oſque probum, vultuſque gravis, pectuſq; ſerenum;
Alme Deus, tales præfice ubique gregi. M.S. (7).

(7) The Letters M. S. denote Miles Smith, mentioned already.

The ſubſtance of which is, that there never was a better man, a Biſhop of more integrity, nor a more polite Preacher, &c.

[*F*] *He*

publiſhed ſeveral things [*F*]. One particular relating to him is obſervable; namely, that his paternal coat of arms, was exactly the ſame as that of his Biſhoprick of Worceſter: *viz.* Argent, ten Tourteaux, four, three, two, and one, Gules (*u*).

(*u*) Ibid.

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral things.*] They were printed at firſt in 4*to*. then, with additions, in folio in 1615, and again in 1637, under this title, 'The 'works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Ger-'vaſe Babington, late Biſhop of Worceſter. Con-'taining comfortable notes upon the five books of 'Moſes, viz. Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, 'Deuteronomie. As alſo an Expoſition upon the 'Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer. With 'a conference betwixt man's Frailtie and Faith. And 'three Sermons. With alphabeticall tables of the prin-'cipall matters of each ſeverall Worke.' The *Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer* is dedicated, by the author, to his very ſingular good Lord Henry Earl of Pembroke, *&c.* which dedication is dated from Wilton, the 11th of May 1588. Of the three ſermons; one was preached at Paul's Croſs, the ſecond Sunday in Michaelmas Term 1590, being upon Election; the ſecond was preached at the Court at Greenwich, the 24th day of May, 1590; and the third, is a funeral ſermon upon T. L. Eſq; preached by the author, whilſt he was Biſhop of Landaff. His ſtile is good, conſidering the time he lived in; though it is too full of quibbles, of jingles, and quaint expreſſions. But ſuch was the falſe taſte, which then almoſt univerſally prevailed. C

BACON (ROBERT) an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. The place, or time of his birth, cannot be certainly known, but from various circumſtances hereafter mentioned, it ſeems probable that it was about the year 1168 (*a*). Pits indeed informs us, that he was brother to the famous Roger Bacon, for which he produces no authority, and indeed the fact itſelf is highly improbable, if not impoſſible [*A*]. This Robert Bacon ſtudied in his youth at Oxford, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the quickneſs of his parts, and his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies. Thence, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, he removed to Paris, where he perfected himſelf in all the branches of learning, which were in repute in thoſe times (*b*). We are not told at what time he returned into England, but it appears clearly, that, after his return, he ſettled at Oxford, and read Divinity lectures there (*c*). His colleague in this office was Dr Edmund Rich, in our hiſtories commonly ſtiled Edmund of Abingdon, a man famous for literature, and yet in the opinion of Leland inferior to our Bacon (*d*). This Dr Rich had been choſen by the Canons of Saliſbury, Treaſurer of their church, and in 1233, becoming Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his friend Robert Bacon ſucceeded him as Treaſurer of the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*e*). The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſermon before his royal maſter King Henry III, at Oxford, whither his Majeſty came, in order to have held a great council of his Lords. In this diſcourſe, Bacon plainly told the King, the miſchiefs to which himſelf and his ſubjects were expoſed, by his repoſing too great a confidence in Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other foreigners, which honeſt ſermon had a great effect on the mind of his maſter, and inclined him to give ſatisfaction to his nobility, who were then, generally ſpeaking, diſaffected (*f*). This ſeaſonable ſervice rendered to the nation, did more to ſecure his memory from oblivion, than his many years laborious reading, or even his learned writings. Yet, by a ſtrange proneneſs to attribute all great things to his nameſake Roger Bacon, a ſtory has been framed of his preaching at the ſame time, and on the ſame occaſion, which doubtleſs was the occaſion that Pits ſuppoſed them to be brothers, though in truth there is no good ground to believe, that Roger Bacon preached at all at that time, or on that ſubject [*B*]. The

(*a*) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(*b*) Bale de Script. edit. Baſil. 1559, fol. p. 294.

(*c*) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, fol. Vol. I. p. 747. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

(*d*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(*e*) Idem. ibid.

(*f*) Matth. Paris, p. 385.

[*A*] *Highly improbable if not impoſſible.*] This circumſtance is in the General Dictionary, tranſcribed without ſcruple in the Life of (1) Roger Bacon, for as to Robert, they are ſilent. Pits indeed relates it twice, affirming in both places, that Roger, as well as Robert Bacon, preached againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter at Oxford (2). In a ſubſequent note, we ſhall deſtroy the credit of this text, at preſent our buſineſs ſhall be to ſhew, that it is very unlikely they were brothers. Firſt then the ſilence of Roger Bacon on this head, ſeems to be a good argument againſt the truth of it. He often mentions in his writings the learned men of his own time, ſpeaks frequently of his patrons and benefactors, and not ſeldom of his diſciples, but not once of his brother (3). Can we therefore believe, that he had one, eſpecially ſo learned and ſo conſiderable a man? Secondly, Leland knew nothing of this relation, who wrote expreſsly of Roger Bacon, and mentions Robert occaſionally more than once (4). In like manner, Bale, who wrote the lives of both the Bacons over and over, was either ignorant of their being brothers, or had a mind we ſhould continue ſo, for he ſays nothing of him in any of his editions (5). It is true, theſe are but negative arguments, and yet, whoever conſiders the diſpoſition of Roger Bacon, the integrity of Leland, and the induſtry of Bale, will ſcarce imagine ſo ſingular a thing as this could eſcape them. Thirdly, the ages of theſe celebrated men will by no means allow it. Pits himſelf tell us, that Robert Bacon died in 1248, and that he was *ſenex et plenus dierum*, old and full of days, which muſt imply fourſcore or thereabouts (6), and indeed this agrees very well with all the circumſtances of his life, for Bale tells us, he was very old, when he became a Frier, which was in 1240 (7), when, according to this computation, he muſt have been ſeventy-two, whereas Roger Bacon was born in 1214 (8), ſo that there muſt have been forty-ſix years between them, which is hardly credible there could have been, if they were brethren. We might add to this, the weakneſs, credulity, and haſtineſs of Pits, who concludes frequently from the ſlighteſt appearances, and made no difficulty of giving his readers his own conjectures for true hiſtory. But there is no need of inſiſting longer upon this, our former arguments being ſufficiently concluſive.

(1) Vol. II. p. 539, in the text.

(2) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318, 366.

(3) Opus majus.

(4) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 259, 275.

(5) Edit. 1548, 4*to*, folio 104, 114. Edit. Baſil. 1559. fol. p. 294, 342.

(6) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. p. 318.

(7) De Script. edit. 1548, 4*to*, folio 104.

(8) Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 285.

[*B*] *At that time, or on that ſubject.*] All that we know of this matter, is from Matth. Paris, who was contemporary with Robert, and with Roger Bacon, he gives us a large account of King Henry's coming to Oxford in 1233, the occaſion of it, and what fell out there. Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, at that time governed the King and Kingdom, drawing over ſuch numbers of his countrymen, the Poictovins, that the King was ſurrounded, and the nation ſwarmed with them. The King, ſenſible of the diſaffection of his ſubjects, called a great council of the Lords, to meet at Oxford, on the Feaſt of St John; but when he came thither, he found his ſummons ſlighted by the Barons. On this he in great wrath, iſſued a ſecond and a third ſummons, reſolving to proceed againſt ſuch of the Lords as did not then attend, as traitors. At this time it was, that Friar Robert Bacon, preaching before the King and ſome Biſhops, told him plainly, that peace

The learned Dr Cave thought otherwiſe (*g*), but even the authority of ſo great a man ought not to eſtabliſh as a truth, a fact altogether abſurd, as in the notes we have ſhewn it to be, though with all due reſpect to that great man's memory [*C*]. After the promotion of Dr Rich to the See of Canterbury, the famous Richard Fiſhakel, whom Leland calls Fizacrius, read, in conjunction with our Bacon, in St Edward's ſchools, for many years together, to their own great honour, and to the benefit of all their hearers, nor were they leſs aſſiduous in preaching, ſo that their labours were equally divided, between the learned and the vulgar (*b*). In 1240, Bacon loſt his great patron and intimate friend, Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and very poſſibly this accident, joined to his fervent piety, and great love to a retired life, might induce Bacon, though he was very old, to enter into the order of Friars Preachers (*i*), of which order alſo was his aſſociate Fiſhakel (*k*). In gratitude to the memory of the Archbiſhop, Bacon wrote his Life, notwithſtanding that Prelate had for ſome years lived, and was even ſo unfortunate as to die under the King's diſpleaſure, which work of his was highly (*l*) eſteemed [*D*]. He wrote alſo many other learned pieces, ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed his reputation, and of which we have nothing now ſave their titles (*m*) [*E*]. At length, worn out with ſo long a courſe of ſtudious application, he yielded to fate in the year 1248, and was interred at Oxford (*n*). His faithful friend Richard Fiſhakel, ſurvived him but a very ſhort time, his affection for him being ſo great, that he wanted a reliſh for life, when Bacon was no longer among the living (*o*). Leland has written very copiouſly

(*g*) Hiſt. Lit. p. 646.

(*b*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 747. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

(*i*) Bale, de Script. edit. 1548, 4*to*, folio 104.

(*k*) Leland, Comment. de Script. p. 275.

(*l*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 864.

(*m*) Bale, de Script. p. 294, 295. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(*n*) Matth. Paris, Vol. I. p. 747.

(*o*) Bale, de Script. p. 295.

peace was not to be hoped for, till Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Peter de Rivallis, his ſon, were removed from his councils. Others alſo about the King affirmed the ſame thing. We read farther in this author, that the King hereupon recollecting himſelf, began to incline his heart unto reaſon, which being perceived, a certain court chaplain, one Roger Bacon, of a facetious diſpoſition, pleaſantly, and yet cynically, reprehended him on this head. My Lord the King, ſaid he, what is it that moſt hurts, and moſt terrifies ſuch as croſs the ſeas? The King anſwered, they know beſt, who do their buſineſs in great waters. But, replied the chaplain, my Lord, I will tell you, ſhelves and rocks (Petræ et Rupes), and it is ſaid, Peter de Rupibus. It is however neceſſary to give the author's own words. 'In hoc autem colloquio frater quidam Robertus 'Bacum, de Ordine Prædicatorum, qui coram Rege 'et quibuſdam Epiſcopis præſentibus Verbum Dei 'prædicaret; libera voce Regi patentur dixit: quod 'nunquam diuturna pace frueretur, niſi Petrum Win-'tonienſem Epiſcopum, et Petrum de Rivallis filium 'ejus (aut conſanguineum) à conſiliis ſuis amoveret. 'Cúmque alii, qui aderant, idipſum proteſtarentur: 'Rex aliquantulùm in ſeipſo ſe recolligens, cor ſuum 'nationi inclinavit: et cum ſic videret cum mitiga-'tum, quidam clericus de curia, ſcilicet Rogerus 'Bacum, jocundus in ſermone, jocundè ac lepidè, cy-'nicè tamen reprehendens, ait: Domine, mi Rex, 'quid plùs nocet transfretum navigantibus, aut quid 'plus terret? At Rex: Noverunt facientes operationes 'in aquis multis. At clericus: Domine, dicam: 'Petræ et Rupes. Ac diceretur: Petrus de Rupibus. 'Hoc enim erat nomen Epiſcopi Wintonienſis cum 'tali cognomento (9).' It is evident, enough that the Robert and Roger, mentioned here, induced Pits to make the celebrated Roger Bacon, the Franciſcan brother to our Robert Bacon, and to aſſert, that they both preached upon this occaſion, which if there were no objection to the latter part of this paſſage, could not poſſibly be true; ſince at that time Roger Bacon was not above twenty years of age, and conſequently could never anſwer the character of the Roger Bacon, mentioned in the text. Beſides, whoever reads this paſſage carefully, cannot but obſerve the latter part comes in very abruptly, and looks like a vulgar ſtory, built upon the paſſage before related, which is ſerious, ſolid, and has a ſtrong air of truth. This ſeems indeed to be the bottom of the buſineſs, for in the beſt MS. (10) of Matth. Paris, the ſentence ends with the word, *proteſtarentur*, and all the reſt ſeems to be added by ſome later writers from common fame.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 386.

(10) Vid. var. Lection. in edit. Watſ. ad p. 386.

[*C*] *To that great man's memory.*] Dr Cave ſaw plainly the abſurdity of this ſtory, as the date ſtood, and therefore in his life of Roger Bacon, he has altered it, but without any authority. Roger Bacon, ſays he, flouriſhed chiefly about the year 1278, but he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf many years before, for in 1259, he preached before Henry III, at Oxford, at which time he freely reproved him on account of the Poictovins and other ſtrangers, whoſe councils he in a manner wholly followed, admitting them not only to his court, but advancing them likewiſe to the principal offices of State. *Claruit præcipuè circa annum* 1278, *quin et jam ante plus annos inclareſcere cæperat, etiam anno* 1259, *coram Henrico III, Oxonii tunc agente, concionem habuit, quâ regem ob Pictavienſes, alioſque exteros, quorum conſiliis penè unicè acquiebatur, non modo in aulam admiſſos, ſed et ſummis reipublicæ muneribus adhibitos, liberè coarguebat* (11). If this date could be ſupported, it would ſuit the ſtory of Roger Bacon very well, becauſe at that time he would have been forty-ſix years old; but the miſchief of it is, that it is in the very teeth of truth, as well as againſt all authority; for firſt Robert Bacon, whoſe ſermon is ſaid to have given occaſion to Roger's, had been then eleven years in his grave, and what is ſtill worſe, Peter de Rupibus, againſt whom the ſermon is ſuppoſed to be preached, had been dead and buried one and twenty years (12). The only circumſtance founded in fact is this, that King Henry was that year at Oxford, where was held that called the *mad Parliament*, of which though we have a long account in Matth. Paris, yet is there nothing ſaid of this preaching, ſo that this emendation of Dr Cave's, cannot poſſibly be admitted. For if you take away the punning invective againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, there is no colour of authority for the ſtory, and if that remains, the date cannot be altered.

(11) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. I. p. 646.

(12) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. p. 274.

[*D*] *Which work of his was highly eſteemed.*] The long and intimate acquaintance, which had ſubſiſted between theſe two great men, St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and our Bacon, excellently qualified the latter for writing the life of the former, which though it was a taſk that could not but expoſe him to the ill will of a court, yet he performed it ſo well, that when Matth. Paris afterwards wrote more largely upon the ſame ſubject, he tells us expreſsly, that he had recourſe to the writings of Richard de Witz, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who had been chaplain to the Archbiſhop, and to this work of Robert Bacon's (13), as to the moſt authentick memoirs of that Prelate (14). Leland and many others have attributed this life to Roger Bacon, who did indeed receive ſome favours from the Archbiſhop while at Oxford, but as we have ſeen from unqueſtionable authority, could have no ſort of title to this work.

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 864.

(14) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

[*E*] *And of which we have nothing now, ſave their titles.*] Bale and Pits, agree exactly in the account they give us of the books written by our author, which were the four following, *viz.* Gloſſarum in ſacras Scripturas, lib. i. i. e. *Of Gloſſes on the Holy Scriptures, one Book.* Super Pſalterium Lib. i. i. e. *On the Pſalter, one Book.* Sermonum Variorum, Liber unus, i. e. *Of Various Diſcourſes, one Book.* Lection. Ordin. Liber unus, i. e. *One Book of Lectures.* Theſe, with the *Life of St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, mentioned in the text, and in the preceding note, are all his works, ſo far as we have any account of them, and only two of theſe were known to Bale, when he publiſhed the firſt edition of his book (16).

(15) Bale, de Script. Brit. p. 294, 295, edit. 1559. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(16) Bale, de Script. fol. 104, edit. 1548, 4*to*.

[*F*] *Upon*

copiouſly upon this extraordinary event (*p*) [*F*]. It is ſcarce to be conceived, how many miſtakes, both antient and modern writers have committed in relation to this man. The editor of Leland's Commentaries, has in many places corrupted his author, and inſtead of Robert has Roger Bacon, probably becauſe in the MS. he found it contracted. However it be, certain it is, that theſe miſtakes of his have brought great errors into Leland's book, as in the notes will be fully demonſtrated [*G*]. The famous Dr Fuller hath, with his uſual good humour, taken notice of the common cuſtom of confounding ſeveral learned men of the name of Bacon with each other (*q*), the paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read [*H*]. But what ſeems moſt extraordinary is this, that the induſtrious Thomas Hearne was ſo little acquainted with our author, that he was for ſubſtituting

(*p*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

(*q*) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XIV, p. 96.

[*F*] *Upon this extraordinary event*] It is in the life of Richard Fiſhakel, that this occurs. He tells us, that he was a moſt excellent Philoſopher and Divine, and on that account ſo dear to Robert Bacon, a man exquiſite in all the branches of literature, that he became his inſeparable companion. He afterwards adds, neither ought we to conceal what our writers of thoſe times mention, that Fizacrius, and Bacon were as cloſely united as Bithus and Bacchius, a noble Engliſh pair, whether we conſider their friendſhip, or their learning. As living they were the deareſt companions, ſo in death they were not divided; for as the turtle when it has loſt it's mate, pines itſelf to death; ſo Bacon being dead, Fizacrius neither could nor would ſurvive. O ſingular amity, and worthy of perpetual remembrance! In our printed copy of Leland, the ſentence firſt cited, runs thus. 'Nam et inſignis Philoſophus et 'Theologus fuit, quibus nominibus tam charus erat 'Rogero Bacono, viro undecunque doctiſſimo, ut co- 'mes illi individuus adhæreret (17).' This determines all the ſubſequent paſſages to Roger Bacon, than which there could not be a more monſtrous abſurdity, ſince Roger Bacon, outlived Fiſhakel forty four years, the latter dying in 1248, and the former ſurviving to 1292. Now that this is no miſtake in Leland, appears from what Bale has written of the ſaid Fiſhakel. 'He was, *ſays he*, the conſtant com- 'panion of Robert Bacon, with whom he ſtudied 'at Paris. Leland tells us of them, that they were 'as ſtrictly united as Bithus and Bacchius, whom death 'itſelf could not divide, for Bacon being dead, 'Fiſhakel could not ſurvive him (18).' The MS. Bale uſed therefore was right, or at leaſt it muſt have been R. Baconus, which he had ſkill enough to read Robert as it ought to be, and not Roger. To put the matter out of diſpute, Matth. Paris, under the year 1248, gives us this account of their deaths. 'This year, ſays he, died Walter Mau- 'clerc, Biſhop of Carliſle, of the order of Friars 'preachers; as alſo two other Friars of the ſame 'order, who left not greater men, perhaps not their 'equals in Divinity, and other ſciences, among the 'living. Theſe were Friar Robert Bacon, and Friar 'Richard Fiſhaker (or de Fiſhakele) who for many 'years had read excellently in the ſame faculty, and 'had gloriouſly preached the word of God to the 'people (19).'

(17) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

(18) Script. Britan, p. 295.

(19) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 747.

[*G*] *In the notes will be fully demonſtrated.*] Not to tire the reader with a multitude of dry citations, we ſhall here mention, but two inſtances of that careleſſneſs, which is complained of in the text. In the life of Matth. Paris, Leland is made to ſay, that this author compoſed the life of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the Memoirs of Ricardus Vicanius, and Roger Bacon. *Scripſit etiam Vitam* Eadmundi Richii, *Cantiorum Archiepiſcopi, omnia tamen à Ricardo Vicanio, et* Rogeri Bacone, *prius edoctus* (20). This miſtake Leland himſelf could never have made, for he had this out of Matth. Paris's hiſtory, wherein it is ſaid. *Hujus igitur aſſertionibus, necnon et Fratris Magiſtri* Roberti Bacun, *de Ordine Prædicatorum, certificatus Dominus* Matheus Pariſienſis, *Monachus Eccleſiæ ſancti* Albani, *Vitam memorati ſancti* Edmundi *ſcripſit, et quæ indubitanter didicit à fide dignis, diligenter digeſcit. Quam qui videre deſiderat, in Eccleſia ſancti* Albani *ipſam poterit reperire* (21). The other paſſage is ſtill more flagrant, it is in the article of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, where Leland is made to ſay, There was in his time one Roger Bacon at Oxford, a man diſtinguiſhed among the lovers of learning, with whom Edmund was very familiar, and often made uſe of his aſſiſtance; for though in many things, he was much ſuperior to Bacon, yet was he inferior to him in learning, or I am much miſtaken. Afterwards he tells us, that this Bacon, ſucceeded Rich in his office of treaſurer to the church of Saliſbury (22). But how could any part of this be true of Roger Bacon? How could Dr Rich uſe the aſſiſtance of a child, or how could Leland prefer the learning of Bacon, who was not twenty years old, when Rich was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury? Is it poſſible, that at thoſe years he could ſucceed in the treaſurerſhip of Saliſbury? Leland's own account of Roger Bacon contradicts it. But if inſtead of Roger, we read Robert Bacon, then all is clear and plain, for he was at that time ſixty-five years of age. But if authority be deſired to ſupport this, even that may be had, in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs terms, for Nicholas Trivet, ſpeaking of Dr Edmund Rich, and his reading at Oxford, ſays, that he had for his colleague, as reader in Divinity, Maſter Robert Bacon of the order of Friars Preachers, who alſo read with Richard Fiſhakel (23). Thus we ſee what confuſion may be introduced by the miſtake of a ſingle letter, and how neceſſary it is to tranſcribe and print antient authors, *literatim*, ſince if inſtead of Roger, it had ſtood in the printed copy R. Bacon, every reader muſt have judged for himſelf, and the editor had eſcaped all blame.

(20) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(21) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 864.

(22) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(23) Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

[*H*] *The paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read.*] It is in his Church Hiſtory, wherein having given a conciſe account of Roger Bacon, and the ill treatment he met with from the Monks, he proceeds thus. "For my own part, I behold the name of 'Bacon' in Oxford, not as of an individual man, 'but a corporation of men; no ſingle cord, but a 'twiſted cable of many together. And as all the 'acts of ſtrong men of that nature, are attributed 'to an Hercules; all the predictions of propheſying 'women to a Sibyl; ſo I conceive all the atchiev- 'ments of the Oxonian Bacons, in their liberal ſtudies 'are aſcribed to one, as chief of the name. And 'this in effect, is confeſſed by the moſt learned and 'ingenious orator of that univerſity (24). Indeed 'we find one Robert Bacon, who died anno 1248, 'a learned Doctor, and Trithemius ſtileth John Ba- 'conthorpe, plain Bacon, which addeth to the pro- 'bability of the former aſſertion. However, this 'confounding ſo many Bacons in one, hath cauſed 'Anticroniſms in many relations. For how could 'this Bacon ever be a reader of Philoſophy in Bra- 'zen-Noſe-College, founded more than one hundred 'years after his death; ſo that his Brazen Head (ſo 'much ſpoken of to ſpeak) muſt make time paſt to be 'again, or elſe theſe inconſiſtencies will not be re- 'conciled; except any will ſalve it with the Pro- 'lepſis of Brazen-Noſe-Hall, formerly in the place 'where the college is now erected. I have done 'with the Oxford Bacons, only let me add, that 'thoſe of Cambridge, father and ſon, Nicholas and 'Francis; the one of Bennet, and the other of 'Trinity college, do hold (*abſit invidia*) the ſcales 'of deſert even, againſt all of their name in all 'the world beſides (25).' After this, it will perhaps ſurprize the reader to tell him, that in the late edition of Moreri's Dictionary, the articles of Robert and Roger Bacon, are very properly diſtinguiſhed, and a very remarkable circumſtance relating to our author, is preſerved therein, *viz.* that during his whole life, he kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with the learned men of the univerſity at Paris, and was ſo careful of the reputation of the univerſity of Oxford, and of the proficiency of the ſtudents therein, that he procured the conſtitution relating to profeſſors, which is found in their volume of ordinances, directed by Pope Clement V, to the General Council at Vienna, which are from thence ſtiled the Clementine Conſtitutions (26).

(24) Sir Iſaac Wake in his Rex Platonicus, p. 209, 210.

(25) Church Hiſt. of Britain, cent. XIV. p. 96.

(26) See this article in the ſecond Tome of Moreri's Dictionary, printed at Baſil. 1731.

[*I*] *Too*

ſubſtituting the name of Roger inſtead of Robert, in a MS. he publiſhed out of pure regard to the reputation of the former (*r*), which is however too juſt, and too extenſive, to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps [*I*].

(*r*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 520. See alſo the word BACON in the Index.

[*I*] *Too extenſive to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps.*] The circumſtance mentioned in the text, is to be met with in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, at Oxford, 1724. There is a large gap in the poem, where the ſtory of King Henry III, ſhould be related; and to ſupply this, ſome proſe writer hath inſerted a kind of annals, in which we find this note. *A°.* xxiii. *Hen.* III. *Maſter* Robert Bacon, *with Maſter* Edmunde *of* Abyngdone, *floreſhed in* Oxendorſe, *of the Crafte of whiche* Bakon *many Mervailes buth I tolde a monkes Clerkes* (27). In the index (28), to the book where this paſſage is referred to, Mr Hearne corrects his author, and ſays, that inſtead of Robert, we ſhould read Roger, in which he is certainly miſtaken, for Edmund of Abington, never read with Roger, but with Robert Bacon, and according to the beſt accounts we have, Roger Bacon did not return from his ſtudies in France till a year or two after. But to put the matter out of diſpute, this proſe writer owns, that he took moſt of his facts from Trivet, who, in the year following, ſpeaking of the death of St Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, adds, *Fuerat huic Socius in Schola Magiſter* Robertus Bacon, *qui Oxoniis regens in Theologia, Prædicatorum Ordinem eſt ingreſſus* (29). Hence it is clear, that Hearne was wrong in his correction; for this is the very paſſage from which his old writer took the fact, which could not poſſibly be reconciled with the time and courſe of Roger Bacon's life, and yet what the author adds of the wonders performed by this Bacon, might very poſſibly be meant of Roger Bacon. Indeed the Merton college MS. of Trivet's Annals, reads Roger in this place, inſtead of Robert; but erroneouſly, as appears by compariſon with other MSS, and from the concurring teſtimony of Matthew Paris, ſo often cited. Such dry remarks as theſe, are ſometimes neceſſary; and never more ſo, than in the preſent caſe, where ſo many writers, ancient and modern, have confounded two great men, and by attributing the acts of the one to the other, embaraſs both their ſtories, which being now read, ſeparately, will appear perfectly clear and ſatisfactory. E

(27) Page 510.

(28) Page 749.

(29) Annal. Vol. I. p. 193.

BACON, BAKON, BACUN, (ROGER), a learned Engliſh Monk of the Franciſcan order, who flouriſhed in the XIIIth century. He was born near Ilcheſter in Somerſetſhire, which is held to be the Iſcalis of Ptolemy (*a*), ſome time in the year 1214, and was deſcended of a very antient and honourable family (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters at Oxford, where having gone through Grammar and Logic, the firſt dawnings of his genius were ſo conſpicuous, that they gained him the favour and patronage of the greateſt lovers of learning, and ſuch as were equally diſtinguiſhed by their high rank, and the excellence of their knowledge (*c*), of which, even in that age, there were not a few [*A*]. It is not very clear whether he was of Merton college (*d*) or Brazen-noſe Hall (*e*), and perhaps he ſtudied at neither, but ſpent his time at the publick ſchools, and when he arrived at years ſufficient to qualify himſelf for academical

(*a*) Hiſt. Joh. Roſſi. MS. p. 91.

(*b*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257.

(*d*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 219. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 88.

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory. cent. XIV, p. 96.

[*A*] *Of which even in that age there were not a few.*] As there is ſcarce any mention made in our antient hiſtory, of a man more famous, or indeed more juſtly famous, than Roger Bacon; ſo we may ſafely affirm, that notwithſtanding his high reputation, there never was any man's perſonal hiſtory more embarraſſed or perplexed than his; and that chiefly through the want of care and diligence, in ſuch as have undertaken to pen his ſtory. The great Leland has given us little more than a character of him, and confeſſes himſelf, that nothing was more difficult, than to obtain a reaſonable account of his life and writings (1). Biſhop Bale, in the firſt work he publiſhed concerning our Engliſh writers (2), has treated our author very indifferently; but when he was afterwards better informed, he changed his opinion, and did him that juſtice, which his learning and great abilities deſerved (3). From theſe writers we are informed, that he ſtudied at Oxford in the early part of his life, and diſcovering an extraordinary genius for the ſciences, was encouraged and protected by the moſt learned men of that time. What we propoſe in this note, is to diſcover, in ſome meaſure, who thoſe learned men were, ſince we have ſhewn in the former article, that there have been very great miſtakes made in this matter, chiefly by confounding him with his namefake, Robert Bacon, who flouriſhed much earlier, and who died, when our Roger Bacon was about thirty-four years of age. We will begin with Dr Edmund Riche, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, though he was not, as ſome have aſſerted, the companion of our Roger in his ſtudies (4), ſince he was promoted to the Archiepiſcopal dignity, when our author was but twenty years old; yet, as he reſided much at Oxford, and was a great encourager of learning, he might be, and indeed was, among the great men, who afforded Roger Bacon frequent marks of kindneſs and favour, when he firſt applied himſelf to learning (5). He was probably under the like obligation to Richard Fiſhacre, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned lectures in the ſciences at Oxford and Paris, in both which places our Bacon ſtudied (6). We learn alſo from the writings of Bacon himſelf, that he was much indebted to William Shirwood, Chancellor of Lincoln, whoſe excellence in all kinds of knowledge, but chiefly in mathematical learning, he very highly celebrated (7). But the moſt remarkable of all his patrons, and him to whom he owed the greateſt gratitude, was Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of prodigious learning, and of moſt unblemiſhed integrity; from whom, in all probability, our author received thoſe lights, that were of greateſt uſe to him in his ſtudies, ſince, as he freely profeſſes in his writings, there was hardly any man in that age, except this Biſhop of Lincoln and his diſciples, who diſtinguiſhed between real and uſeful learning, and that kind of empty and uſeleſs reading, which, through want of good ſenſe, and a true taſte, bore the name and carried the reputation of learning (8), and that, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, to ſuch a degree, as to intitle thoſe who turned their thoughts that way, to reputation and dignity; while ſuch as cultivated that ſort of ſcience which was of real benefit to mankind, fell under grievous ſuſpicions, and were treated as perſons prone to novelties, and dangerous, from their having this diſpoſition, both to Church and State. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, and indeed there is ſufficient authority to ſupport us in affirming, that it was the ſigns not only of pregnant parts, and a happy diſpoſition to literature, that recommended, even in the earlieſt part of his life, our Roger Bacon to the notice and patronage of the great men before mentioned, but likewiſe his docility, and readineſs to purſue, though with the greateſt labour and pains, that method in his ſtudies, which wiſer heads thought might be moſt for his benefit and advantage. It was with this view, that having laid the firſt foundation of learning in the languages and Logick, he went, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, to Paris, where he improved himſelf, by a regular and natural method in all the ſciences, and returned, to the ſatisfaction of all his patrons, with a fair character and high reputation to Oxford, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age (9), which is the firſt date we meet with in his hiſtory.

(1) Comment. de Britan. Scriptor. p. 257.

(2) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Scriptor. fol. 114. b.

(3) Script. Illuſtr. Majoris Britan. fol. Baſil. 1559, p. 342.

(4) See the notes [*D*] and [*G*] in the article of BACON (ROBERT).

(5) Bale, Script. Illuſt. Majoris Britan. p. 342.

(6) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

(7) In Tract. de laudibus Mathematicæ Artis, ap. Leland. de Script. Britan. p. 261.

(8) Op. Maj. p. 64.

(9) Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. p. 191.

academical learning, he went over to Paris, where he made ſtill greater progreſs in all parts of learning, inſomuch that he was looked upon as the glory of that univerſity, and an honour to his country (*f*). It was the faſhion then, for ſuch as deſired to diſtinguiſh themſelves by an early and effectual application to their ſtudies, to reſort to that city, where, at this time, not only many of the greateſt men in Europe reſided and taught, but many of the Engliſh nation, by whom Bacon was highly encouraged and careſſed. Among others, he became known to Robert Grouthead, or, as the French write it, Groſſeteſte, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln (*g*), who was his great Patron, and ſingular good friend. While he remained here, he did not confine his ſtudies to any particular branch of literature, but endeavoured to embrace and comprehend the ſciences in general, not however in a ſlight or ſuperficial manner, but fully, perfectly, and to the bottom, by the help of a right method, and a conſtant and eager application. When he had attained the degree of Doctor, he returned again to his own country, and, as ſome ſay, took the habit of the Franciſcan order in 1240 (*h*), when he was about twenty-ſix years of age; but others aſſert, that he became a Monk before he left France (*i*); however that matter be, certain it is, that after his return to Oxford, he was conſidered by the greateſt men of that univerſity, as one of the ableſt and moſt indefatigable enquirers after knowledge, that the world had ever produced, and therefore they not only ſhewed him all the reſpect, and had for him all the eſteem that his great abilities deſerved, but likewiſe, perceiving that the courſe he took of improving and advancing all the ſciences by experiments, required another ſort of Aſſiſtance than that either of books or favour, they generouſly contributed, out of their purſes, to his expences, ſo that, as he tells us himſelf, he laid out, within the compaſs of twenty years, no leſs than two thouſand pounds, in collecting curious authors, making trials of various kinds, and in the conſtruction of different inſtruments, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge (*k*) [*B*]. But if this aſſiduous

(*f*) Cave, Hiſt. Litter. Vol. II. p. 325.

(*g*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 366.

(*h*) Oudin. Comment. de Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. p. 1[illegible]

(*i*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*k*) In Opere Minori, cap. xvii.

[*B*] *For the improvement of uſeful knowledge*] While our author ſtudied at Paris, he had an opportunity of diſcovering the true ſtate of learning at that time, and he has given us a very juſt picture thereof in his writings. There had been in the preceding century, a kind of perſecution commenced againſt Philoſophy, founded chiefly upon ſome paſſages collected from the antient Fathers, by Gratian in his Decretals, which had proceeded ſo far, that the divines of that city condemned Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, and excommunicated ſuch as ſhould ſtudy or peruſe his writings (10), which was principally owing to the bad behaviour of one Amauri of Chartres, who advanced abundance of heretical opinions, and amongſt the reſt, that God ſerved for the form to the matter of all natural beings, and that this matter being uncreated was divine; which notion he pretended to ſupport from the writings of Ariſtotle (11). This prejudice was however in ſome meaſure worn off, by our countryman Michael Scotus publiſhing a Latin tranſlation of ſome of Ariſtotle's works, keeping cloſely to the original, whereas moſt of thoſe tranſlations, which had been before in uſe, were made from the Arabic, and attended with commentaries of the philoſophers of that nation, which contributed not a little to obſcure the ſentiments of Ariſtotle, and to diſcredit his writings; but when this new verſion appeared, Ariſtotle's writings began to recover their credit; and the new orders of Dominicans and Franciſcans, which were inſtituted about the ſame time, favouring the doctrine of that philoſopher, and defending it in their publick lectures, Ariſtotle's character was raiſed ſo high, that the title of philoſopher was ſolely appropriated to him (12). By this means, ſeveral others, beſides Michael Scotus, laboured in explaining his works, and ſoon after divers verſions of them, which were ſaid to have been made by Gerard of Cremona, Alured Anglicus, Herman Alemanus, and Willielmus Flemingus, were made publick (13). However, Philoſophy was ſtill in a very rude ſtate, and Bacon himſelf tell us, that though there never was ſo great an appearance of knowledge, nor ſo great an application to ſo many ſciences in ſo many countries, as there had been for forty years paſt, yet there never was ſo great ignorance, and ſuch a variety of errors as then. Thoſe who had undertaken to publiſh new tranſlations of Ariſtotle's works, were not ſufficiently converſant in the languages, or in the ſciences of which they treated; Herman confeſſed to Bacon, that he was rather an aſſiſtant in the tranſlations than a tranſlator himſelf, ſince he employed Saracens in Spain, who had the chief hand in his verſions; Michael Scotus borrowed all that he publiſhed in his own name, from one Andrew, a Jew; and Willielmus Flemingus ſays, Bacon, 'as every body knows at Paris, has no ſkill in 'the Greek language, though he pretends to it; and 'therefore he tranſlates every thing falſely, and corrupts 'the learning of the Latins:' And therefore though Bacon eſteemed Ariſtotle's works, as the foundation of all knowledge, yet he thought it would have been an advantage to learning, if all the copies of them, which were then in uſe among the Latins, were deſtroyed; and he declares, that if it had been in his power, he would have burnt them all; for the ſtudy of them was mere loſs of time and the occaſion of error, and the multiplying of ignorance beyond what could be expreſſed; he adds farther, that the herd of ſtudents with their teachers, had no valuable knowledge for the object of their purſuits, and therefore they languiſhed in a ſtupid application to bad tranſlations, and loſt both their time and expence (14); in ſhort, that they were amuſed with a mere appearance, or ſhadow of knowledge, and did not value what they really knew, but what they were thought to know by the ignorant multitude. Such was the ſituation of learning, when our enterprizing author began to ſet about that reformation which he thought neceſſary, and which he likewiſe thought it was impoſſible to make, by any other method than that of experiments, which he therefore ſet about with the utmoſt diligence: It was chiefly in theſe experiments, that he laid out ſo large a ſum as is mentioned in the text; about which two queſtions have ariſen, which however, at the bottom, the reader will find to be but one. Taking them however as commonly ſtated, they are theſe: *Firſt*, whether the two thouſand pounds that were thus ſpent, ought to be accounted French or ſterling money? And *ſecondly*, where theſe experiments were made? I muſt confeſs, I apprehend they were made at Oxford, and as this is an affair, that muſt be ſolely determined by authorities, I ſhall mention thoſe upon which my opinion is grounded. In the firſt place, Bale tells us, that Friar Bacon incurred the vulgar imputation of magick and ſorcery, by the extraordinary things he performed while he reſided at Brazen-Noſe Hall at Oxon (15), which ſeems plainly to prove, that his experiments were made there. We are likewiſe told by ſeveral authors, that Friar Bacon was made ſo uneaſy by his enemies in the univerſity, that he was obliged to quit it, and live in a little retirement by himſelf, in a place which to this day is called Friar Bacon's ſtudy (16), and we are farther told by the induſtrious Mr Hearne, that he ſometimes retired in the ſummer to Sunning-Well (17), the knowledge of which, and of the place where he reſided when there, are likewiſe preſerved by tradition. I deſire it may be remarked; that how little weight ſoever may be due to this tradition, with reſpect to the places, yet the

(10) Baconi Opus Majus, lib. i. c. 15.

(11) Joan. Launii, de varia Ariſtotelis in Academia Pariſienſi Fortuna. Pariſ. 1662, 8*vo*, p. 78.

(12) Baconi Opus Majus, l. ii. c. 8.

(13) MS. Cott. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 138.

(14) Ibid p. 138.

(15) In his firſt edition printed in 4*to* at Ipſwich, A. D. 1538, fol. 114, his words are theſe, 'Operatione malorum Spirituum 'Oxonii ad Naſum æneum, 'Scholaſticorum 'Domicilium, 'mirabilia magna feciſſe traditus.'

(16) The moſt learned Olaus Borrichius, in his excellent book called *Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum*, tells us, that he was ſhewn this retirement of Bacon's at Oxford, by Dr Edmund Dickenſon. Leonard Hutten's Antiquities of Oxford, MS. p. 108.

(17) Langton's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 572.

assiduous application to his studies, and the stupendous progress he made in them, raised his credit with the better part of mankind, it excited envy in some, and afforded plausible pretences for covering the malicious designs of others (*l*). It is very easy to conceive, that the experiments he made in all parts of Natural Philosophy and the Mathematicks, must have made a great noise in an ignorant age, when scarce two or three men in a whole nation, were tolerably acquainted with those studies, and when all the pretenders to knowledge, affected to cover their own ignorance, by throwing the most scandalous aspersions on those branches of science, which, they either wanted genius to understand, or which, demanded greater application to acquire, than they were willing to bestow. They gave out therefore, that mathematical studies, were in some measure allied to those magical arts which the Church had condemned, and thereby brought suspicions upon those, whose learning ought to have defended them from such imputations, more than any other men. It was under colour of such kind of suspicion, that Bacon's first troubles began, which issued in restraining him from reading lectures to the young students in the university, and at length in a close confinement, in which he was almost starved, and a prohibition to send his writings beyond the limits of his convent, except to the Pope (*m*). But there is great reason to believe, that though his application to the occult sciences was pretended, yet the true cause of his ill usage was, the freedom with which he had treated the clergy in his writings, in which he spared neither their ignorance nor their want of morals (*n*); besides, his great intimacy with Bishop Grouthead, might add not a little, to the power as well as spirit of persecution; for that Prelate had gone so far, as to reprove Pope Innocent IV by letter, and was said to have made no scruple of declaring to those with whom he was intimate, that in his judgment the Pope was Anti-Christ (*o*). Our author's being the bosom-friend of such a man, must naturally bring upon him the hatred of a great part of the clergy, more especially, since his zeal led him to follow the practice as well as the opinion of his patron, by writing freely to the Pope about the necessity of a Reformation (*p*) [*C*]. But notwithstanding this base and barbarous

(*l*) Delrio, Disquisit. Magic. lib. xxxi. cap. iij. quæst. 1.

(*m*) Prælati enim et fratres, me jejuniis macerantes turo cofradiebant, nec aliquem ad me venire voluerant, veriti ne scripta mea, aliis, quam summo Pontifici et sibi ipsis pervenirent. Epist. ad Clem. IV.

(*n*) Vide Bacon. Epist. ad Clement IV. See also Dr Brown's Life of Bacon, prefixed to his translation of Bacon's Treatise of the Cure of Old Age.

(*o*) Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 875.

(*p*) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 3.

the tradition itself is a good argument, to prove that those extraordinary experiments, which exposed our author when living, to the inveterate malice of his ignorant enemies, and which will preserve his reputation with the learned world to latest posterity, were made at Oxford; for had it been otherwise, it is not easy to conceive how there should have been any tradition there about his study or observatory. There is another thing I would remark upon this head, which, for any thing I know, has not been taken notice of before, and it is this: That the earliest of his works, and in which, as will be shewn hereafter, he gave the largest account of experiments, was addressed to William of Paris, and consequently was not written there, but probably at Oxon (18). It may indeed be objected, that in other parts of his works, our author certainly reckons by French pounds; and if from thence it should be thought requisite to know what the difference at that time was, between French pounds and pounds sterling; the question may be easily answered from our author's own writings, who speaking of the cost of a burning-glass, says, that the first he made, stood him in sixty pounds Paris money, or twenty pounds sterling, which shews that the French livre was once worth six shillings and eight pence, though it is now dwindled down to less than one shilling (19).

(18) The title of this treatise is, 'De secretis 'operibus Artis et 'Naturæ, et de 'nullitate Magiæ.'

(16) Compend. Stud. Theolog. c. i. p. 5.

[*C*] *Writing freely to the Pope about the necessity of a Reformation.*] It appears clearly, that the great motive which induced Roger Bacon to embrace a monastick life, was that he might have greater leisure to attend his studies, and that he was desirous that all his discoveries should tend to the advancement of useful knowledge, which he thought of the highest consequence to the honour and peace of the Church. He therefore takes great pains in all his writings to prove this; and to shew that the perfecting Natural Philosophy, was the surest method of extirpating all heresies, abolishing superstition, and destroying the kingdom of Antichrist, as the perfecting Moral Philosophy, was the most effectual means of establishing true religion in the hearts of man, and manifesting the correspondence between the laws of nature and the doctrine of the gospel (20); in which he plainly followed the example of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, his great patron, and who had written many treatises in the same way. It was after the death of that great prelate, that he began to be disturbed by the clergy, and especially by the monks of his own order, under pretence of his endeavouring to innovate and establish new doctrines, which they insinuated might tend to disturb the peace of the Church. This usage made a great impression upon his spirits, but did not in the least alter his sentiments, as appears by what he says in his address to Pope Clement IV, *that out of a reverence due to his high dignity, which ought to engage him in seeking to procure the benefit of the whole world, he was willing, as far as the impediments he laboured under would permit, and his memory would allow, to deduce a regular system of true philosophy to the utmost of his power*; adding, at the same time, *that if it were not for this reverence, which he had for the* Vicar of Jesus Christ, *and the benefits that by him alone might be procured to the whole Christian world, he would not have undertaken what he did, under the circumstances in which he then was, however pressed or sollicited by the whole Christian Church* (21). This shews the spirit and temper of the man, who had no secret or worldly views, but was sincerely inclined to employ the mighty abilities which God had bestowed upon him, and all that learning, which by his own indefatigable pains and industry, he had acquired for the service of mankind, with which view he would have laboured, if his society would have permitted him, in the education of youth, that a new turn might have been given to their studies; and that instead of employing themselves as they had hitherto done, in what was of little or no use, they might apply in a regular method to such sciences, as might prove beneficial both to Church and State. If in this attempt he had succeeded, we may easily conceive how advantageous it would have been to the whole Christian world, and what a new face it must have given to the affairs of learning, since, as we shall hereafter see, our author, by dint of his own penetration, and a right use of Experimental Philosophy, arrived at, and even perfected, many of those discoveries, which have done so much honour to the moderns, and which by the enquiring into, and publishing his writings, it is unquestionably manifest, might have been long ago known and rendered useful to the world, if our author had not been treated as he was, or if there had not been such a tyrannical power exercised in the Christian Church, as put it out of the capacity of private men to spread their discoveries, and to render the progress they made in knowledge, as useful to mankind as they now do. But it must be acknowledged, in justice to the memory of this great man, that he does not appear to have had the least tincture of a private spirit, but was as communicative as he could; and that all his obscurities, are owing to the malice of his enemies, and not to any inclination he had to conceal his talents, or to raise his own reputation, by leaving others in ignorance.

(20) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 29.

(21) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. v. fol. 1, 3.

[*D*] *This*

barbarous uſage from thoſe, who, of all others, ought to have behaved to him in a different manner, his reputation continued to ſpread itſelf over the whole Chriſtian world, inſomuch, that Pope Clement IV, one of the wiſeſt and worthieſt men that for many years had been raiſed to that dignity, wrote him a letter, deſiring that he would ſend him all his works (*q*). This was in 1266, when our author was in the flower of his age, and who, to gratify his Holineſs, collected together, greatly enlarged and ranged in ſome order, the ſeveral pieces he had written before that time, and ſent them the next year by his favourite diſciple John of London, or rather, of Paris, to the Pope (*r*). This collection, which is the ſame that himſelf intituled OPUS MAJUS, or his great work, is yet extant [*D*]. It is ſaid, that this learned book of his procured him the favour of that Pontiff and

(*q*) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294.

(*r*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 367.

[*D*] *This collection, which himſelf intituled* OPUS MAJUS, *or his great work, is yet extant.*] As this has been eſteemed, and with great juſtice, the moſt perfect of all our author's works, and is indeed in ſome meaſure, a compleat ſyſtem of ſcience, built upon his principles of free inquiry, and uſeful experiments; ſo it is requiſite, that we ſhould give as large and full an account of the motives which engaged him to compoſe it, as, at this diſtance of time, it is poſſible for us to acquire; the rather, becauſe though much has been ſaid on this ſubject, eſpecially by the learned and excellent Dr Jebb, whoſe induſtry and care in making it publick, can never be too much admired or applauded; yet ſome circumſtances there are, that ſtill require ſome light, which if we can bring, it is certainly our duty, and what we ought not to neglect, as well out of regard to the memory of ſo extraordinary a perſon, as what we owe to the publick, for the kind reception they have already afforded to our endeavours of a like kind. It was the opinion of the famous Dr John Dee, who publiſhed an edition of another work of our author's, that his Opus Majus, was addreſſed to Pope Clement III (22); which was certainly an egregious error, ſince that Pope died above twenty years before Roger Bacon was born: We ſhall hereafter account for the occaſion of this ſtrange miſtake, and at preſent content ourſelves with obſerving, that there is unqueſtionable authority for aſſerting that our author compoſed this work, at the requeſt of Clement IV, before he was raiſed to that dignity; and in order to clear this point, it will be neceſſary, to give a ſuccinct account of this excellent perſon. He was deſcended of a noble family in the province of Languedoc, in the kingdom of France, and his name was Gui le Gros Fulcodi; he applied himſelf in his youth to the ſtudy of the Law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the bar to ſo high a degree, as to be ſtiled *the light* of that ſcience (23). After the deceaſe of his wife, by whom he had ſeveral children, he entered into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and roſe gradually to the Archbiſhoprick of Narbonne in 1259, in which high ſtation he conducted himſelf with ſuch piety and prudence, that in the month of December 1261, he was promoted by Pope Urban IV to the dignity of Cardinal Biſhop of Sabina (24), and was afterwards declared his Legate in England, in order to compoſe the diſſentions which reigned there, between Henry III and his Barons. Theſe roſe however to ſuch a height before he could get to England, that he found himſelf obliged to continue at Boulogne, where he remained a long time; and having called together ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, that were then beyond the ſeas, by their advice and conſent he excommunicated ſuch as took up arms againſt their prince (25), and having committed the execution of the cenſure to thoſe Biſhops, he ſet out for Rome; but being arrived at Perouſa, he there met with the news of his being elected Pope. He then continued his journey to Rome with the utmoſt diligence, in the habit of a mendicant Friar; and on his arrival, did all that in his power lay, to avoid accepting that high dignity, but finding his endeavours to no purpoſe, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the diſcharge of his duty, which he performed with ſuch apoſtolick ſeverity, that never any Pope was more feared or beloved. He was ſuch an enemy to pluralities, that he obliged his nephew who had three Prebends, to relinquiſh two of them, and behaved in every other reſpect in ſuch a manner, as very plainly ſhewed, that he had nothing ſo much in view as the Reformation of the Church (26). It is no wonder, that ſo wiſe, ſo great, and ſo good a man, ſhould have a juſt eſteem for the merits of Friar Bacon, or that he ſhould contemn the weak and fooliſh calumnies that had been ſpread to his prejudice. It was probably during his ſtay at Boulogne, that he ſent letters to our author by Raymund de Lauduno, earneſtly deſiring that he would ſend him his works, which at firſt our Monk declined, becauſe the chief perſons of his order had forbid him to communicate any of his writings, to any perſon whatever, on pain of loſing them, and being compelled to live many days on bread and water (27); but when he afterwards heard, that the Cardinal Legate, was raiſed to the pontifical dignity, and had taken the name of Clement IV, our author out of reverence to the Holy See, ſignified to him by letter, that he was ready to perform what his Holineſs had deſired. The Pope immediately wrote in anſwer, that he was extreamly well pleaſed with the readineſs which he had expreſſed, and commanded him by his apoſtolick authority, and notwithſtanding any injunctions laid upon him, by the chief perſons of his order, or others, to ſend him what he had required by his former meſſenger, aſſuring him that he would take order, with reſpect to thoſe matters of which he had complained. This letter, dated at Viterbo the tenth of the kalends of July, in the ſecond year of his pontificate (28), no ſooner came to the hands of our author, than he prepared to ſatisfy his own promiſe, and the Pope's requeſt. When he had finiſhed his great work, which, as we ſhall preſently ſhew the reader, contains a complete circle of learning for the time in which it was written, he reſolved to ſend it to the Pope by a diſciple of his own, whom he had inſtructed while he was writing it, in all the ſciences of which it treats. There has been a prevailing miſtake with regard to the name of this youth, which almoſt all our writers will have to be John of London (29), and they quote our author Bacon himſelf to prove it; yet it is very certain that he ſays no ſuch thing, as his learned editor Dr Jebb has well obſerved, but, on the contrary, has diſtinguiſhed him from John of London, who the ſame gentleman very ingeniouſly, and, I think, very truly, gueſſes to have been John Peccam, a monk of the Franciſcan order, then at London, and who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (30). Whereas, this John ſent by our author with his book, was, as himſelf tells us therein, a poor boy, but of quick and lively parts, whom Bacon undertook to inſtruct with a view, as well to the boy's advantage, as to make an experiment of the poſſibility of infuſing, by the new and natural method which he had invented, the principles of all the ſciences in a very ſhort ſpace of time, which ſucceeded very happily; yet ſuch was the modeſty of our author, that inſtead of taking occaſion from hence to boaſt, either of his own or his ſcholar's abilities, he draws from it this judicious concluſion, viz. that there was no room to conceive any high notions of the perfection of human wiſdom, when it was poſſible in a year's time, to teach a young man, all, that with the utmoſt induſtry and application, a zealous enquirer after knowledge, was able either to acquire or to diſcover in the ſpace of twenty or even of forty years (31). It is alſo a conjecture of the editor's, that this young man whom others have ſtiled John of London, ought rather to be ſuppoſed to be John of Paris, becauſe to one of that name there are ſeveral epiſtles addreſſed by our author, which is ſo juſt and reaſonable an account, that I think a better can hardly be given of this extraordinary young ſcholar (32). It is very ſurprizing, that this large and excellent work, ſhould remain ſo long buried in obſcurity, but it is very happy for the learned world, that at length it has been delivered from duſt and oblivion, and ſent abroad with all the advantages imaginable, as it is at preſent in a beautiful folio,

(22) See the laſt of his notes on our author's treatiſe *De ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, &c.* Printed in the fifth Vol. of the *Theatrum Chemicum*.

(23) Aubery, Hiſt. des Card. Tom. I. p. 385.

(24) Chr. S. Antoninus, tit. xx. c. i. ſect. 11.

(25) Tom. XI. Concil. p. 380. Matth. Paris.

(26) Trithem. Chron. Hirſaug. A. D. 1269.

(27) MS. Cot. Tiber. c. v. fol. 3.

(28) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Frat. Minor. Tom. II. p. 294.

(29) Pits. de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 367.

(30) In his learned Preface to Bacon's Opus Majus.

(31) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 29.

(32) Dr Jebb in his preface before cited.

and alſo, ſome encouragement in the proſecution of his ſtudies (s), but if this contributed to raiſe his ſpirits, it could be for a ſhort time only, ſince that Pope died not long after, and

(s) Hiſt. Antiq. Oxon. p. 138.

folio, neatly and accurately printed for William Bowyer at London, A. D. 1733, under the title of *Fratris* ROGERI BACON *ordinis Minorum Opus Majus ad Clementem quartum Pontificem Romanum. Ex M.S. codice Dublinenſi, cum aliis quibuſdam collato, nunc primum edidit.* S. JEBB, *M. D.* The editor has prefixed a long epiſtle addreſſed to Dr Richard Mead, wherein he gives an account of his author and edition, and obſerves, that very few of his writings had been before publiſhed, though Leland, Balæus, and Pitſeus, have given us a long catalogue of them; however he tells us, that Sir Kenelm Digby, and Dr George Langbain, Provoſt of Queen's College at Oxford, had formerly undertaken to publiſh Bacon's works, by the advice of Mr Selden, as appears from their letters to that great man, ſome extracts of which Dr Jebb has printed. Sir Kenelm Digby has this paſſage in his letter dated from Paris, the 11th of February 1637: *Your collections concerning* Bacon, *I ſhall print before his works under your name.* Dr Langbain in a letter dated January the 30th 1653, ſays, *When I have heretofore made report to ſome judicious friends, of ſeveral paſſages in Friar Bacon's epiſtle to Pope Clement, which I perceive is the ſame with what you call,* de utilitate ſcientiarum, *they were very much taken, and ſuitors to me for a publication.* In a letter dated February the 9th, 1653, he ſays, *I am very much encouraged by your laſt, to reſume thoſe thoughts which I had laid aſide, of publiſhing that piece of Dr Bacon*: And in another, dated February the 20th 1653, he ſays, *That latter copy is of ſo legible a hand, as unleſs I receive a countermand from you, I ſhall not long forbear to get it tranſcribed, with a purpoſe to print all together, for I judge it well deſerves to be more publick.* Dr Jebb had propoſed to have publiſhed all his works about three years before his edition of the Opus Majus, but while he was engaged in that deſign, he was informed by letters from his brother at Dublin, that there was a manuſcript in the college library there, which contained a great many treatiſes generally aſcribed to Bacon, and diſpoſed in ſuch order, that that they ſeemed to form one compleat work; but the title was wanting, which had been careleſsly torn off from the reſt of the manuſcript. The Doctor ſoon found that it was a collection of thoſe tracts, which *Bacon* had written for the uſe of Pope Clement IV, and to which he had given the title of *Opus Majus*, ſince it appeared, that what he ſaid of that work in his *Opus Tertium*, addreſſed to the ſame Pope, exactly ſuited with this; which contained an account, of almoſt all the new diſcoveries and improvements that he had made in the ſciences; upon this account Dr Jebb laid aſide his former deſign, and reſolved to publiſh only an edition of this *Opus Majus*. The manuſcripts which he made uſe of to compleat this edition, are as follows, 1. M.S. in the Cotton library, inſcribed *Jul. D. V.* which contains the firſt part of the *Opus Majus*, under the title of a treatiſe *de Utilitate Scientiarum.* 2. Another M.S. in the ſame library marked *Tib. C. V.* containing the fourth part of the *Opus Majus*, in which is ſhewn the uſe of the Mathematicks in the ſciences and affairs of the world, in the M.S. it is erroneouſly called the fifth part. 3. A M.S. in the library belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* in Cambridge, containing that portion of the *fourth part* which treats of Geography. 4. A manuſcript of the fifth part containing a treatiſe upon Perſpective, in the Earl of Oxford's library. 5. A M.S. in the library of Magdalen College Cambridge, comprehending the ſame Treatiſe of Perſpective. 6. Two MSS in the King's library, communicated to the editor by Dr Richard Bentley, one of which contains the *fourth part* of Opus Majus, and the other the *fifth part.* The reader will probably be pleaſed, with the general account of a work, which till lately was imagined to have been loſt, and which is eſteemed the moſt conſiderable of all his writings. He opens it with obſerving, that there are four great impediments which hinder men from arriving at true and uſeful knowledge, which he lays down thus, I. Too great dependance upon authority. II. Allowing too great weight to cuſtom. III. The fear of offending the vulgar. IV. The affectation of concealing ignorance, by the diſplay of a ſpecious appearance of knowledge. In order to remove theſe, he very fully and clearly ſtates the nature and force of authority, experience, and reaſon, and ſhews how injurious to mankind miſtakes upon theſe ſubjects may be, by miſleading them into abſurd and dangerous opinions, and hindering them from diſcerning truth. After handling theſe nice ſubjects in his ſix firſt chapters, he proceeds in his ſeventh to draw this concluſion, That we are not bound to adhere to every thing we hear or read, but that we ought ſtrictly to examine the ſentiments of thoſe who have gone before us, to add where their notions appear defective, and to correct them, where we may conclude, with reaſon, that they have erred, but with modeſty and decency. He ſupports this by various authorities from prophane authors, and from the Fathers of the primitive Church. In his ninth chapter, he expoſes the folly of affecting ſingularity; in the tenth, the danger of learned pride; and in the eleventh, the folly of being aſhamed of ignorance, and ſtriving rather to conceal than to remove it. In his twelfth, he complains that a great many parts of learning, and thoſe too of the utmoſt importance, were neglected merely from the ignorance of mankind, and that the knowledge of languages and Mathematicks, though highly valued by the antients, were deſpiſed by the moderns, who endeavoured to vindicate themſelves in that point, by the authority of ſome weak though good men. He ſhews that many of the Saints and Fathers were ſubject to the common infirmities of human nature, and, conſequently, that their example ought not abſolutely to determine our conduct; and in the following chapter he obſerves, that there were ſome peculiar reaſons, which prevented them from applying themſelves to Philoſophy, and particularly, becauſe Ariſtotle's books were not then tranſlated into Latin, and they were extremely attached to Plato's writings, whoſe doctrines they found to be inconſiſtent with thoſe of Ariſtotle. In his fourteenth chapter, he proceeds to mention other reaſons, for the neglect of philoſophy in the early ages of the Church, which neglect likewiſe continued among the later divines. In the laſt chapter, he addreſſes himſelf to Pope Clement, and tells him, that if it was not poſſible for him during his pontificate, to perfect the reformation of theſe vulgar errors, yet he might lay a foundation, ſo that his ſucceſſors might, with greater facility, compleat what ſhould be thus happily begun. In the firſt chapter of the ſecond part, he maintains that there is one perfect kind of wiſdom, which is contained in the holy ſcripture, from which ſource all real truth is derived. In the following chapters he demonſtrates, that true Philoſophy is not inconſiſtent with Divinity, but rather contributes to the true knowledge of the Deity and religion, which he confirms from the authority of the antient Chriſtians themſelves; and he tells us in the beginning of the ſeventh chapter, that the whole deſign of Philoſophy conſiſts in this, that we may know the Creator by means of the creature, and perceive the obligations which we are under from the excellence of his nature, and the good which he has exerted in the creation and preſervation of mankind, with the aſſurances of a future felicity, to ſerve him with a proper reverence of mind, and regulation of our behaviour, according to the laws of juſtice and reaſon. In his third part, he ſhews largely the uſefulneſs of grammar, and obſerves, that it is impoſſible for the Latins to attain the knowledge of thoſe things which are neceſſary both in divine and human learning, without a proper ſkill in other languages, ſince the Old and New Teſtaments, are tranſlated from the Hebrew and Greek, and Philoſophy is likewiſe borrowed from thoſe languages and the Arabic. And ſince it is impoſſible to preſerve the propriety and force of one language in another; the conſequence of this therefore is, that none of the Latins can obtain ſuch a knowledge as is neceſſary in the Holy Scriptures and Philoſophy, without underſtanding the original tongues from whence they are tranſlated. The ſecond conſideration which he urges in proof of this is, that the tranſlators had not words enough in Latin to expreſs the terms of the ſciences. In the third place he tells us, that it is neceſſary the tranſlator ſhould

and then we find our author under new difficulties, from the ſame cauſes as before, but the ſtorm now roſe higher, and the General of his order, Jerom de Eſculo, having heard his

underſtand the ſcience which he treats of, and the languages which he tranſlates from and into, whereas almoſt all of them have been extremely defective in every one of theſe points. The fourth reaſon is, that many things both in Philoſophy and Divinity were ſtill wanting to the Latins, of which he mentions many inſtances. The fifth, that as the ſciences are delivered to the Latins from other languages, all among the Latins who treat of the ſciences have made great uſe of thoſe languages, and have employed a variety of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic words. The ſixth reaſon is, the neceſſity of correcting an infinite number of errors, both in the text of Divinity, as he ſtiles it, and that of Philoſophy, which errors are not only in the letter, but likewiſe in the ſenſe, and becauſe errors are of more conſequence in Divinity than Philoſophy, he proceeds to point out the corruptions of the text of the Holy Scripture, the better to ſhew the neceſſity of the knowledge of the original tongues, in order to correct them. His ſeventh is, that it is neceſſary for the Latins to underſtand the languages, even ſuppoſing the text were pure and uncorrupt, in order to obtain the true ſenſe of the words amidſt the variety of interpretations. His laſt reaſon for this neceſſity of the tongues is, that the grammar of the Latin is derived from the Greek and Hebrew. Our author's fourth part is deſigned to ſhew the uſe of Mathematicks in the ſciences, as alſo in the affairs and employments of this world. In the firſt chapter he tells us, that there are four capital ſciences without which the reſt cannot be underſtood, but by the knowledge of which, any perſon may make a progreſs without any difficulty both in divine and human learning; that the key of theſe ſciences is the Mathematicks, which holy men diſcovered from the beginning of the world, which was always in uſe among wiſe men above other ſciences; but that the neglect of this for thirty or forty years paſt, had deſtroyed all true learning among the Latins, ſince a perſon who is not converſant in that ſcience can never underſtand the reſt, nor the affairs of this world, as he ſhews in the courſe of his work; and what is ſtill worſe, thoſe who are ignorant of it do not perceive their ignorance, and therefore ſeek no remedy: Whereas on the other hand, the knowledge of the Mathemacks prepares the mind for compleat ſkill in all things; ſo that if men make themſelves maſters of this, as the foundation of their ſtudies, and apply it to the other ſciences in a proper manner, they may then be able to attain what follows with the utmoſt facility, and without any error or doubt: But without the aſſiſtance of the Mathematicks, neither the preceding nor conſequent parts of learning can be obtained, ſince the ſtudy of it is the only means of opening the way to farther improvement in knowledge. In the ſecond chapter he ſhews from authority, that every one of the ſciences requires the knowledge of the Mathematicks: And in the third, he demonſtrates the ſame from reaſon. In the ſecond diſtinction of the fourth part, he ſhews the neceſſity of that ſcience, in order to underſtand the things of this world. In the third and fourth diſtinctions he lays down mathematical principles, for the explication of ſeveral of the phænomena of the univerſe, and examines into the nature of the ſeveral climates of the world, eſpecially of thoſe near the poles and the middle of the earth. In the fifth chapter of the fourth diſtinction, he treats of the cauſe of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea: And in the ſeventh chapter, of the infinity of matter. In the eighth chapter, he enquires whether bodies touch each other in a point: And in the ninth he treats of the figure of the univerſe, which he determines to be ſpherical, and aſſerts, that the earth is likewiſe of the ſame form. In the twelfth chapter he endeavours to ſhew, that there are no more worlds, nor ſuns, nor moons than one, and that matter is not extended *in infinitum*. In the thirteenth, he treats of the unity of time: And in the fourteenth he ſhews, that motion occaſions heat. In the fifteenth, he ſpeaks of the motion of a balance. After having ſhewn the neceſſity of Mathematicks in human affairs and ſciences, he proceeds then to ſhew it likewiſe in thoſe which are divine, and he obſerves, that ſince he had proved that Philoſophy cannot be underſtood without Mathematicks, and ſince every one perceived that Divinity cannot be underſtood without Philoſophy; it follows therefore, that a Divine is obliged to acquire the knowledge of the Mathematicks. He next ſhews, that all holy men have made uſe of the Mathematicks, and alledges ſeven reaſons, to prove the ſtudy fit and neceſſary to a Divine, more eſpecially, from the uſe of Aſtronomy and Chronology in the explication of the Scriptures, and in doing this, he enters into ſeveral curious enquiries, as to thoſe ſciences and Muſick; he then anſwers the objections urged againſt Mathematicks, and particularly that which is drawn from the unlawfulneſs of judiciary Aſtrology, upon which occaſion he obſerves, that true Aſtrologers do not pretend to an abſolute certainty in their judgments, nor aſſert that human actions are neceſſarily determined by the influence of the ſtars, but always proceed upon the ſuppoſition of human liberty. He expoſes next the errors in the kalendar, points out the cauſes of them, and propoſes moſt judiciouſly the means of reforming them, of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more largely. The next ſubject he handles is, the uſe of Mathematicks in the practice of Phyſick, which he ſhews muſt vary according to the difference of climates, which gives him an opportunity of diſcourſing very largely upon that head. He makes a natural tranſition from thence to the influence of the heavenly bodies, in diſcourſing of which he informs us, that the number of fixed ſtars in his time, was held to be one thouſand and twenty two, and much time he ſpends in ſhewing the poſſibility of the celeſtial influences on terreſtrial bodies, in which he ſhows a prodigious reading. We come now to the fifth part of his Opus Majus, which contains his *Treatiſe of Perſpective*, which is one of the moſt curious pieces in his whole book, for in the third part of it, he very copiouſly diſcourſes of *reflected* and *refracted* viſion, and from thence explains the nature of a vaſt variety of glaſſes: To this part of his work is added his famous treatiſe *de Multiplicatione Specierum*. The ſixth part of his *Opus Majus* is concerning experimental knowledge, in the firſt chapter of which he ſays, that having thus laid the foundation of learning in Languages, Mathematicks, and Perſpective, he ſhall proceed to the ſcience of experiments, ſince nothing can be ſufficiently underſtood without experiments; for he obſerves that there are two methods of obtaining knowledge, one by argument or reaſon, and the other by trial or experiment; an argument determines a queſtion and obliges us to determine it, but it does not give us abſolute certainty or remove all doubt, ſo that the mind cannot acquieſce in the perception of truth, unleſs it diſcover it by way of experiment; many perſons know arguments enough in the ſeveral parts of knowledge, but not having made experiments they are negligent, and do not avoid and purſue what they ought to do. He obſerves that this ſcience of experiments, has three great prerogatives beyond all other ſciences; the firſt of which is, that it examines the noble concluſions of thoſe ſciences by experience, and this he illuſtrates by a long explication of the phænomenon of the rainbow; the ſecond prerogative of it is, that it diſcovers ſeveral truths within the limits of the other ſciences, which could not be found out by means of thoſe ſciences themſelves; he mentions ſome inſtances, which he tells us he knew by experience to be true, the firſt inſtance is as follows; Mathematicks, ſays he, can eaſily produce a ſpherical inſtrument, in which are deſcribed all the parts of the heavens which are neceſſary, according to the longitudes and latitudes, with the proper circles agreeable to Ptolemy's method in his Almageſt: But it is not in the power of the Mathematicks to cauſe a body of that form to move naturally with a diurnal motion, whereas a man perfectly ſkilled in Experimental Philoſophy, is able to deviſe various methods towards accompliſhing that motion, being induced to it by many things which follow the motion of the heavenly bodies; as in the firſt place, the three elements, which are moved circularly by the celeſtial influences, then the comets, ſeas, rivers, marrow, the brains of animals, and the matter of diſeaſes;

his cauſe, ordered him to be impriſoned (*t*). This is ſaid to have happened in 1278, and we are farther told, that to prevent his appealing to Pope Nicholas III, that General of

(*t*) Lud. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. II. p. 449.

diſeaſes; plants likewiſe open and ſhut themſelves according to the ſun's motion. The Philoſopher therefore, is excited by the conſideration of theſe things, which have ſome reſemblance to what he intends, ſo that he may poſſibly be able at laſt to compleat his deſign. Such an inſtrument as this, he ſays, would be worthy a King's treaſure, and the inſtruments of Aſtronomy and clocks would become uſeleſs. He draws his ſecond inſtance from the uſe of experiments in Phyſick, in reſpect to which he ſays, that a medicine might be found capable of extending human life much beyond it's ordinary length. On this ſubject he diſcourſes very copiouſly, ſhewing his great learning and exquiſite judgment, interſperſing therein a multitude of very curious relations, all tending to prove the poſſibility of prolonging life, and retarding the inconveniencies of old age by the help of philoſophick medicines. His third example he draws from Alchemy, which he defines an art, by which the baſer metals may be converted into the purer, ſo that gold may be made from lead, and ſilver from copper. This art he allows is liable to many fraudulent practices, notwithſtanding which he avers, that ſuch an art there is, as is not only capable of converting baſe metals into gold, but alſo of exalting gold itſelf far beyond that degree of purity which it receives from nature, which ſecret, he ſays, is not only of the greateſt uſe to mankind, in furniſhing as much as may be deſired of that precious metal, but alſo of infinitely greater conſequence in prolonging life. For, continues he, that medicine which taketh away all the foulneſſes and corruptions of a baſer metal, ſo as to convert it into the pureſt ſilver and gold, is by wiſe men eſteemed likewiſe capable, of wholly purging out the corruptions of the human body, and this, ſays he, is that extraordinary medicine before mentioned (33). *Nam illa medicina quæ tolleret omnes immunditias et corruptiones vilioris metalli, ut fieret argentum et aurum puriſſimum, æſtimatur a ſapientibus poſſe tollere corruptiones corporis humani in tantum, ut vita per multa ſecula prolongaret, et hoc eſt corpus ex elementis temperatum, de quo prius dictum eſt.* The third prerogative of this ſcience of experiments is, as he tells us, proper and eſſential thereto, which, without having regard to other ſciences, by it's own power inveſtigates the ſecrets of nature, and this acts doubly, firſt, in beſtowing the knowledge of things, paſt, preſent, and to come; and ſecondly, in admirable operations, far exceeding any thing that can be wrought by what is ſtiled Judiciary Aſtrology. In proof of this he alledges, not only many authorities but many inſtances; he ſpeaks of a kind of bitumen called malta, capable of burning men even through armour; and hints to us that it was by the uſe of ſomething like gunpowder with which their pots were filled, that Gideon with a handful of men did ſuch dreadful execution in the camp of the Midianites (34), and many other things of a like nature he touches upon; inſinuating to the Pope, that where verſes, ſuperſtitious rites, and charms, are made uſe of, it is not from any belief in the force of thoſe circumſtances, in ſuch as uſe them, but barely to cover and conceal the wonderful effects of natural cauſes from the knowledge of the vulgar. He labours therefore aſſiduouſly, in the cloſe of his work, to perſuade the Pontiff, to whom it is addreſſed, to countenance and encourage this kind of experimental knowledge, by reaſon of the many and great advantages which may be deduced from thence, for the protection of the Church and Common-wealth, and for the reduction of the enemies of both. In reference to the laſt he maintains, that much greater and more extraordinary things, have been performed by the power of wiſdom than by force of arms, of which he aſſures us, an infinite number of examples might be deduced. 'But I, *continues he*, will mention but one of all theſe, which is that of Alexander the Great, who when he marched out of Greece to ſubdue the whole world, had no more than thirty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe; yet, as Oroſius ſays in his treatiſe addreſſed to Auguſtin, with this handful of people he attempted this great deſign, in which it is hard to to ſay, whether it be more wonderful that he ſucceeded, or that he durſt undertake it. In his firſt engagement with King Darius, he ſlew ſix hundred thouſand Perſians, with the loſs of one hundred and twenty horſe, and nine foot only of his own army. In the ſecond battle, he deſtroyed forty thouſand men, yet loſt of his own army but one hundred and thirty foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, by which, the reſt of the affrighted world was eaſily ſubdued. But Oroſius ſays, that it was not leſs by ſkill than valour that the Macedonians conquered. Nor do I wonder at this, ſince Ariſtotle, as we read in his life, attended the King in his wars. And Seneca alſo in his *Natural Queſtions* informs us, that Alexander conquered, having Ariſtotle and Caliſthenes for his inſtructors, who were his maſters in all kind of ſcience. But Ariſtotle was in all reſpects the chief, and it plainly appears from what has been before ſaid, how by the effects of wiſdom Ariſtotle might deliver up the world to his maſter Alexander; and this the Church ought to conſider in her diſputes againſt Infidels and rebels, that the effuſion of Chriſtian blood may be prevented, and more eſpecially upon account of the great dangers to which the Church will be expoſed in the times of Antichriſt, which, with the bleſſing of God, may be eaſily prevented, if Prelates and Princes would promote ſtudy, and the ſearching out the ſecrets of nature and art (35)."

(33) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 472.

(34) Judges vii. 20.

(35) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 476, 477.

Sed nunc offero unum pro omnibus de Alexandro Magno, qui quum de Græcia profectus eſt, ut mundum expugnaret, non habuit peditum niſi triginta duo millia & equitum quatuor millia & quingentos; tamen, ut dicit Oroſius ad Auguſtinum, in libro de Ormeſta mundi, inferens hæc tam parva manu bellum univerſo terrarum orbi, utrum admirabilius ſit quod vicit aut quod aggredi auſus fuerit, incertum eſt. Primo ergo cum Dario rege congreſſu ſexcenta millia Perſarum proſtravit, ſed in ſuo exercitu centum viginti equites & novem pedites defuere; in ſecunda vero congreſſu devicit, quadraginta millia hominum, & de ſuo exercitu centum triginta pedites et centum quinquaginta equites ceciderunt; per hoc reſiduum mundi territum facilius ſubjecit. Sed Oroſius dicit, non minus arte quam virtute Macedonum ſuperavit. Nec mirum, cum Ariſtoteles fuerit cum eo in his bellis, ut legimus in vita Ariſtotelis. Et etiam Seneca in naturalibus dicit, quod mundum vicit Alexander Ariſtotele & Caliſthene ducibus, quod magiſtri ei fuerunt in omni ſapientia. Sed Ariſtoteles extitit principalis & facile patet per prædicta, quomodo per vias ſapientiæ potuit Ariſtoteles mundum tradere Alexandro; & hoc deberet eccleſia conſiderare contra infideles & rebelles ut parcatur ſanguini Chriſtiano; & maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichriſti, quibus cum Dei gratia facile eſſet obviare, ſi Prelati & Principes ſtudium promoverent, & ſecreta naturæ & artis indagarent. Such is the concluſion of this famous piece, of which we have given the Engliſh reader, as exact and as full an account as was conſiſtent with the nature of our plan. We were the rather inclined to this, becauſe as this great work was originally written, ſo it is like to continue, in the Latin tongue, which makes ſuch an extract as we have given, abſolutely neceſſary for the uſe of ſuch, as cannot with facility go through a folio volume in that language. This extract likewiſe fully juſtifies and confirms all that has been delivered in the text, either as to the wonderful abilities, aſſiduous application, or prodigious progreſs made by Friar Bacon in all the ſciences. Whoever conſiders either the matter of his Opus Majus or the manner of it, and reflects at the ſame time on the ſtate of learning in general in the thirteenth century, will need few arguments to convince him, that Roger Bacon was the wonder of his age and country, and in every reſpect as great and good a man, as he is repreſented to have been by ſuch as beſt underſtood his worth. The learned editor of his work, the ingenious and judicious Dr Jebb obſerves very truly, that it does not appear from any thing contained in the Opus Majus, that our author Bacon, either meant to defend himſelf from the imputation of magick, or that he was ſo much as apprized that ever he was accuſed thereof to the Pope. But though this appears very clearly, yet I muſt take leave to obſerve, that both in this and in all the other works of our author which are ſtill remaining, there are abundance of paſſages which

of his order, procured a confirmation of his ſentence from Rome immediately (*u*), but it is not very eaſy to ſay, upon what pretences this condemnation was founded [*E*]. Yet we are told by others, that he was impriſoned by Reymundus Galfredus, who was General of his order, on account of ſome Alchemiſtical treatiſe which he had written but that this man afterwards ſet him at liberty, and became his ſcholar (*x*). However obſcure the nature and circumſtances of his troubles may be, thus much is clear and certain enough, that they endured for many years, and muſt have brought him very low, ſince he was ſixty-four years of age when he was firſt put in priſon, and conſequently the leſs able to ſuſtain the hardſhips he endured, which were without queſtion ſo much the more grievous, as they deprived him of the opportunity of proſecuting his ſtudies, at leaſt in the way of experiments, for that he was ſtill indulged the uſe of his books, appears very clearly from the great uſe he made of them, in the learned works he compoſed, even under theſe misfortunes (*y*). Pope Nicholas III, dying in the year 1280, Simon de Brie, Cardinal of St Cecilia, was elected Pope, and took the title of Martin IV, who with great trouble and perplexity held that dignity about four years, and was then ſucceeded by Cardinal Savelli, who took the name of Honorius IV, in the year 1285. His reign alſo was full of troubles and very ſhort, ſo that we not wonder, that in all this time our author

(*u*) Bal. Script. Brit. p. 342.

(*x*) Hiſtor. Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(*y*) See this point explained in note [*F*].

ſhew his great willingneſs to ſet the world right about Magick, Necromancy, and other unlawful arts, of which to be ſure he thought very juſtly, and as it became a wiſe man to do; for it is manifeſt that he conceived them in many caſes to be meer vanities, and the idle deluſions of weak minds; that in many other, he looked upon them as fraudulent practices, invented and uſed by knaves for the better deceiving of fools; and that in ſome few, he beheld them in the light, of ſpecious but innocent pretences for covering that ſcience, which it was not fit to reveal to the vulgar, and thereby keep up their ignorance with their admiration. But as for our author himſelf, it is very evident that he was not in the leaſt infected with any of theſe narrow notions, but would moſt willingly have communicated all that he knew to the whole republick of Letters, and if ever he ſeems either to think or to act in a manner different from this, there is the juſteſt reaſon to conclude that he was forced thereto by the circumſtances he was under, of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome inſtances, before we part with his memoirs. This Opus Majus of Bacon, was not only addreſſed or dedicated to Pope Clement IV, but is, in fact, a diſcourſe or epiſtle written entirely to him, and in which all that is delivered is particularly adapted to his uſe, yet without any mixture either of meanneſs or flattery; for our author tells him plainly, that as from the nature of his high office, the welfare or the ſuffering of the Chriſtian world muſt, in a great meaſure depend on him, ſo it was from a juſt ſenſe of this, and from a thorough perſuaſion that he would never be able to inſtruct others well, if he had not firſt right notions of true and uſeful knowledge himſelf, that he therefore thought himſelf bound in duty, eſpecially when required thereto by his Holineſs's letter, to exhibit this ſummary of ſcience to his view, that he might the better perceive the conſequence of giving a right turn to the ſtudies of the riſing generation, and prefer true taſte and ſolid learning to that falſe ſhew of both, which had ſo long and generally prevailed, to the unſpeakable detriment both of Church and State.

[*E*] *It is not eaſy to ſay on what pretences this condemnation was founded.*] We need wonder the leſs at the great incertainty which attends this matter of fact, if we conſider how extreamly difficult a thing it is, to obtain clear and perfect lights into matters of this nature, which happen in our own country, and as it were under our eyes. But the difficulty of the thing will not acquit us, from the obligation we are under of giving the beſt account of this tranſaction, that at this diſtance of time can be attained. After the death of his patron Clement IV, Gregory X aſcended the pontifical throne, and on his death Innocent V and John XXI ſucceeded in one year, and to John ſucceeded Nicholas III (36), in the ſecond year of whoſe reign our author's doctrine was condemned. The General of his order was at that time, Hieronymus de Eſculo, an Italian by birth, and called in his own country, Jerom de Aſcoli, a man of a ſevere temper, but one who was neither deficient in probity or learning. He is ſaid to have condemned the doctrine of Friar Bacon at Paris, by the advice of the brethren of his order, to have forbidden any of the brethren to ſtudy or follow it, and to have ordered it's author to be confined in priſon, and all this becauſe, as Bale tell us, his books contained ſome ſuſpected novelties (37). Spondanus ſets down the matter in much the ſame terms (38): 'This year, 'ſays he, the doctrine of Roger Bacon, an Engliſh-'man, was condemned on account of ſome ſuſpected 'novelties, for he who was in all ſorts of learning 'and in every kind of ſtudy and ſcience perfectly 'well verſed, and ſubtile to a miraculous degree, 'while employed in the moſt curious diſcoveries in 'Mathematicks and Philoſophy, to which he was 'every way equal, was by the vulgar looked upon 'as a Conjurer and Magician.' *Hoc anno inquit, damnata eſt doctrina Rogerii Baconis Angli, propter aliquas novitates ſuſpectas, quippe qui in omni doctrinæ facultatis, et ſcientia genere verſatiſſimus, et ad miraculum ſubtilis dum Mathematicam et Philoſophiam naturalem curioſius, quam par erat inquireret, vulgò habitus eſt Præſtigiator et Magus.* But another author who treats more particularly, of the tranſactions of the Franciſcans here in England informs us, what the ſeveral treatiſes were, which upon this occaſion the General of his order condemned, and he reports them to be his ſeveral tracts *de Necromanticis, de Prognoſticis ex ſtellis*, and *de Aſtronomia Vera* (39). As to the other ſtory mentioned in the text, it is reported by Anthony Wood, who tells us, he found it at the end of a manuſcript formerly belonging to the Earl of Dorſet, in theſe words (40). 'Here ends the brief diſcourſe '*(verbum abbreviatum)* the work of Reymundus Gal-'fredus, General of the order of Friars Minors, 'which ſaid diſcourſe he had from Brother Roger 'Bacon, who was of the order of Friars Preachers, 'which is a miſtake, for he was alſo of the order of 'Franciſcans, and the ſaid Roger for this very work, at 'the command of the ſaid Reymundus, by the Bre-'thren of the ſame order was taken and impriſoned; 'but Reymundus releaſed Roger out of priſon, who 'taught him this work, and the ſaid Roger was him-'ſelf the diſciple of Brother Albert.' Wood likewiſe tells us, that he met with an entry of the ſame kind in another Alchemiſtical treatiſe, ſtiled *Breve Breviarum fratris Rogeri Bacon ex dono Dei*, which has been likewiſe attributed to this Reymundus Galfridus, though it is printed among other Chemical pieces of our author Bacon's in Germany (41). To ſpeak my own opinion freely, I conſider this ſtory as an invention of the modern Alchemiſts, though I can ſay nothing as to the treatiſe itſelf, having never had an opportunity to examine it. This impriſonment of our author, conſiſted in his being ſhut up in his apartment in his monaſtery, in his being deprived of converſation and obliged to a very ſevere abſtinence; all which agreed very little with his free and chearful diſpoſition; ſo that one may truly wonder, how, under ſuch oppreſſions as theſe, he was able not only to ſupport life, but to maintain ſuch a conſtancy of mind, as enabled him to reviſe and augment his former performances, to enlarge his Aſtronomical tables, and to take all the care he could, his labours ſhould be tranſmitted with ſome degree of perfection to poſterity (42). But the hopes of having juſtice done him after death, enabled him to bear the miſeries of life; and his confidence of future fame, leſſened the ſenſe of preſent calumnies.

(36) Rainald. ad A. D. 1269, & 1276,

(37) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(38) Annal. A.D. MCCLXXVIII

(39) Collect. Anglo-Minor. p. 116.

(40) Hiſtor. et Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

(41) Under the title of 'Rogerii 'Baconis Theſaurus Chemicus. 'Franckfort, '1604, 8vo,' and again in 1620.

(42) See this juſtified from facts in note [*F*].

[*F*]. *On*

author could never find an opportunity of applying to the Holy See, for the mitigation or repeal of the ſentence pronounced againſt him (z). But when he had been ten years in priſon, Jerom de Aſcoli, who had condemned his doctrine, was choſen Pope, and aſſumed the name of Nicholas IV (a). As he was the firſt of the Franciſcan order that had ever arrived at this dignity, was reputed a perſon of great probity and much learning, our author, notwithſtanding what had before happened, reſolved to apply to him for his diſcharge; and in order to pacify his reſentment, and at the ſame time to ſhew both the innocence and the uſefulneſs of his ſtudies, he addreſſed to him a very learned and curious treatiſe, *On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of old age* (b) [F]. It does not appear

(z) Rainald. Annal. A. D. 1287, §. 4.

(a) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. 1288, n. 1.

(b) See Dr Jebb's preface to his Opus Majus.

[F] *On the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age.*] Upon the deceaſe of Pope Honorius IV, the Cardinals then at Rome aſſembled at his palace, which was near St Sabina, in order to elect a ſucceſſor. As this happened in the very heat of ſummer, which is never a very healthy ſeaſon at Rome, a kind of malignant fever broke out amongſt them, which in a very ſhort ſpace carried off ſix or ſeven, and ſo frighted the reſt, that they quitted the place of election, and retired each to his own palace; this Jerom de Aſcoli, then Cardinal Biſhop of Paleſtrina, was the only perſon that remained in the palace, where he ſecured his health by a very ingenious and philoſophical contrivance; for perceiving that the diſtemper was bred by the foulneſs and ſtagnation of the air, he very wiſely directed fires to be made in all the rooms of the palace, notwithſtanding the heat of the weather, by which he cauſed a new and briſk circulation of that fluid, and ſo preſerved himſelf in perfect health, when his aſſociates diſpaired of it (43). When the Cardinals returned in the winter to the conclave, they unanimouſly choſe the Cardinal of Paleſtrina, Pope, who, in gratitude to his benefactor Nicholas III, took the name of Nicholas IV. I have mentioned this circumſtance attending his election, to ſhew that he was a perſon of great abilities, and one who had turned his thoughts to philoſophick ſtudies (44). It was in all probability the knowledge of this, that induced Roger Bacon to aim at acquiring his favour by writing this treatiſe. If it be true that our author was more cloſely confined by the directions of this Pontiff, I ſhould imagine it muſt have been in the very beginning of his reign, and that Bacon addreſſed this book to the Pope, to ſhew him how falſely he had been repreſented, and how innocent and uſeful his ſtudies were. He divided his work into three books, which, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, was the reaſon, that ſuch as made a catalogue of our author's writings, have repreſented theſe as three diſtinct treatiſes (45). In the ſecond chapter of his work he diſcovers the perſon, (tho' very obſcurely) to whom it was addreſſed, for having laid down theſe principles, that the infirmities of old age are to be avoided and kept off, firſt, by a regular courſe of life, and next, by the uſe of certain ſecret and extraordinary medicines, he proceeds thus, 'The doctrine of ſoberly ordering 'one's life, teacheth how to oppoſe, drive away, 'and reſtrain, the cauſes of old age; and this it does 'by appropriating the ſix cauſes diſtinct in kind, 'which are reckoned neceſſary to fence, preſerve, and 'keep the body, which things when they are obſerved 'and taken in quantity and quality as they ought, 'and as the rules of Phyſicians perſuade, do become 'the true cauſes of health and ſtrength; but when 'they are made uſe of by any man without regard 'to quality and quantity, they cauſe ſickneſs, as may 'be gathered from Galen's regimen with Haly's expoſition, where he treats *of the regimen of health.* 'But exactly to find out the true proportion of theſe 'cauſes, and the true degree of that proportion, is 'very hardly, or not at all to be done, but that there 'will be ſome defect or exceſs therein: Thus the 'ſages have preſcribed more to be done than can 'be well put in practice, for the underſtanding is 'more ſubtle in operation, ſo that the true portioning of theſe cauſes ſeems impoſſible, unleſs in 'bodies of a better nature, ſuch as now are rarely 'found: But medicines obſcurely laid down by 'the Antients, and as it were concealed, whereof 'Dioſcorides ſpeaks, do make up theſe defects and 'proportions, for who can avoid the air infected 'with putrid vapours, carried about with the force 'of the winds? Who will meaſure out meat and 'drink? Who can weigh, in a ſure ſcale or degree, 'ſleep and watching, motion and reſt, and things 'that vaniſh in a moment, and the accidents of the 'mind, ſo that they ſhall neither exceed nor fall 'ſhort? Therefore it was neceſſary that the Antients 'ſhould make uſe of medicines, which might in ſome 'meaſure preſerve the body from alteration, and defend the health of man, oft-times much hurt and afflicted with theſe things and cauſes; leaſt the body, 'utterly eaten up of diſeaſes, ſhould fall to ruin. 'Now for the benefit of *Your Excellency*, I have 'gathered ſome things out of the books of the Antients, whoſe virtue and uſe may avert thoſe inconveniencies, keep off this defect and weakneſs; may 'defend the temper of the innate moiſture, may hinder 'the increaſe and flux of extraneous moiſture, and 'may bring to paſs (which uſually otherwiſe happeneth) that the heat of man be not ſo ſoon debilitated. But the uſe of theſe things and medicines are of no ſervice, nor any thing avails them 'that neglect the doctrine of the regimen of life; 'for how can it be, that he who either is ignorant 'or negligent of diet, ſhould ever be cured by any 'pains of the Phyſician, or by any virtue in phyſick? Wherefore the Phyſicians and wiſe men of 'old time were of opinion, that diet without phyſick ſometimes did good, but that phyſick without 'due order of diet never made a man one grain the 'better. Thence it is reckoned more neceſſary, that 'ſuch rather ſhould be treated of which cannot be 'known, unleſs of the wiſe, and thoſe too of a quick 'underſtanding, and ſuch as ſtudy hard and take a 'great deal of pains, than thoſe things which are 'eaſily known, even as a man reads them. As 'for my own part, being hindred partly by the 'charge, partly by impatience, and partly by the 'rumours of the vulgar, I was not willing to make 'experiment of all things, which may eaſily be tried 'by others, but have reſolved to expreſs thoſe things 'in obſcure and difficult terms, which I judge requiſite for the conſervation of health, leaſt they 'ſhould fall into the hands of the Infidels. One of 'which lies in the bowels of the earth (46); another 'in the ſea (47); the third creeps upon the earth (48); 'the fourth lives in the air (49); the fifth is likened 'to the medicine which comes out of the mine 'of the noble animal (50); the ſixth cometh out 'of the long lived animal (51); the ſeventh is that 'whoſe Mine is the plant of India (52). I have 'reſolved to mention theſe things obſcurely, imitating the precept of the Prince of the Philoſophers 'to Alexander, who ſaid that he is a tranſgreſſer of the 'divine law, who diſcovers the hidden ſecrets of 'nature and the properties of things; becauſe ſome 'men deſire as much as in them lies to overthrow 'the divine law, by thoſe properties that God has 'placed in animals, plants, and ſtones. But ſome 'of theſe things ſtand in need of preparation, others 'of a careful choice: Of preparation, leſt with 'the healthful part poiſon be ſwallowed down; of 'choice, leſt among the beſt thoſe things that are 'worſe be given, and thoſe that are more hurtful 'be taken.' Thus the reader plainly diſcerns, that the obſcurities in this treatiſe of our author, are not ſuch as proceeded from vanity, affectation, reſpect to cuſtom, or any other weakneſs of mind; but from pure concern for his own ſafety, and fear of drawing upon himſelf greater evils than he had yet ſuffered. This treatiſe was firſt printed at Oxford in 1590, and has been ſince tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Richard Browne, under the title of *The Cure of Old Age and Preſervation of Youth. Shewing how to cure and keep off the accidents of Old Age, and how to preſerve the Youth, Strength, and Beauty of Body, and the Senſes, and all the Faculties of both Body and Mind; by that great Mathematician and Phyſician Roger Bacon, a Franciſcan Friar* (53). He added notes upon every chapter of this

(43) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. A. D. 1288.

(44) Fleury, Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, liv. 88.

(45) See the catalogue of his works from Leland, Pits, and Bale, in note [X].

(46) Gold.

(47) Coral.

(48) The Viper.

(49) Roſemary.

(50) This has not hitherto been explained.

(51) Bone of a Stag's heart.

(52) Lignum Aloes.

(53) London: Printed for T. Fleſher at the Angel and Crown, and Edward Evets at the Green Dragon in St Paul's Church-Yard, 1683, 8vo.

appear however, that either his application, or the method he took to ſoften his Holineſs's temper, had any great effect; on the contrary, ſome writers ſay, that he cauſed him to be more cloſely confined (*c*). But however that matter might be, towards the latter end of his reign, Fryar Bacon, by the interpoſition of ſome noblemen, obtained his releaſe, and returned to Oxford, where, at the requeſt of his friends, and very probably of thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in obtaining his liberty, he compoſed, old as he was, and after all the hard uſage he had met with, *A Compendium of Theology*, which ſeems to have been his laſt work (*d*) [G]. He ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, and dying in the college of his order, on the eleventh of June, 1292 (*e*), as ſome ſay, or in 1294 (*f*), as others aſſert, was interred in the church of the Franciſcans (*g*) [*H*]. Theſe are all the circumſtances, that with the utmoſt care and diligence we have been able to collect, concerning the life and actions of this great man, whoſe deep ſcience and vaſt penetration, enabled him to make ſuch a prodigious progreſs in all uſeful knowledge, that even the wiſeſt and ableſt men of later times, read his works with aſtoniſhment, and readily confeſs, that he was well diſtinguiſhed (however ill they treated him in other reſpects) by the title the Monks gave him of *Doctor Mirabilis* (*h*) [*I*], or, the Wonderful Doctor, which moſt certainly he deſerved, in whatever ſenſe

(*c*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(*d*) See this explained in note [*G*].

(*e*) Hiſt. Johan. Roſſi, p. 92.

(*f*) Dr Jebb gives us this date in his preface.

(*g*) Thom. Rudburne Chron. five Hiſtor. MS.

(*h*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

this work, and explains therein the phraſes by which our author concealed his ſecret medicines. He will have *that which lives in the air* to be *Roſemary*, but I have ſeen ſome Latin annotations in which it is ſuppoſed to be *Rue*, the reader will judge of theſe interpretations as he thinks fit. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr Browne likewiſe explains the *fifth* medicine, which is ſaid *to reſemble what comes out of the mine of the noble animal*, and he conceives it to be the youthful heat of a maid, and cites the inſtance of *Abiſhag*, who was given for this purpoſe to King *David*; others have thought that it was an extract or quinteſſence of *human blood*, and ſome again have fancied that it was ſome kind of of *precious ſtone*; for my own part I muſt confeſs, it does not appear to me ſo clearly, as that I dare pronounce what it is, but it ſufficiently appears, that none of theſe interpretations can ſatisfy a rational enquirer, eſpecially one who is well acquainted with our author's exactneſs. It were to be wiſhed that ſome ingenious and ſkilful phyſician would review this work, and compare it with others of the ſame kind, more eſpecially with that excellent treatiſe written by the Lord Chancellor Bacon (54) upon the ſame ſubject; by which method many diſcoveries might be made, and this moſt important topick ſet in a light capable of being turned to the advantage, whereas hitherto it has ſerved for little more than the amuſement, of mankind.

(54) His noble Hiſtory of Life and Death. See alſo note [*R*].

[G] *A Compendium of Theology, which ſeems to have been his laſt work.*] This work, of which there is ſtill a copy preſerved in the royal library, is divided into two parts; in the firſt of which the author propoſes, by a free enquiry into the nature of true ſcience, to find out the cauſes of errors, and the ſeveral manners in which men have erred in this ſtudy, that truth, and the proper method of purſuing it, might the more evidently appear; in the ſecond, he makes it his buſineſs to eſtabliſh capital truths, and to unfold and expoſe all ſorts of errors and miſtakes (55). But it is at leaſt probable from the titles of various MSS. that our author afterwards added three other treatiſes, or parts, to this work (56) of his, which we ſhould not have mentioned particularly, if it had not afforded us an opportunity of fixing the date of this book, and conſequently, in ſome meaſure of our author's life, ſince it is certain that he did not long ſurvive the writing it; for in this book he tells us, that among the forward and raſh profeſſors, whoſe vehemence and impetuoſity contributed greatly to the hindrance of true learning, he knew one Richard of Cornwall, "the worſt and fooliſheſt of them all, who was in great credit with the ſilly multitude, though deſpiſed and rejected by the wiſer ſort, at Paris, for the errors which he invented and propagated, when he read there publickly the ſentences before he read at Oxford, which was in the year 1250, from which time, ſays he, to the preſent, many of this man's errors ſtill prevail, though it be now forty years ago and more. *Et optime novi peſſimum & ſtultiſſimum iſtorum, qui vocatus eſt Richardus Cornubienſis, fameſiſſimus apud ſtultam multitudinem, ſed apud ſapientis fuit infamis & probatus Pariſiis propter errores quos invenerat & promulgaverat, quando ſolemniter legebat ſententias ibidem, prius quam legeret ſententias Oxoniæ ab anno Domini 1250. Ab illo 1250, igitur tempore remanſit multitudo in hujus magiſtri erroribus uſque nunc, ſc. per quadraginta annos & amplius* (57). It is ſufficiently evident from this paſſage, that our author did not compoſe this work before the year 1291, and as he made ſeveral additions to it he muſt have lived ſome time longer, but as to the exact time of his death, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account of it we can in the ſucceeding note.

(55) Præfat. ad Compend. ſtudii Theolog.

(56) Oudin, de Script. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. col. 196.

(57) Compend. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[*H*] *Was interred in the church of the Franciſcans.*] The time of this great man's death, is as differently reported as are moſt of the accidents of his life; and we may juſtly attribute thereto, many of the miſtakes that have been made about his hiſtory and writings, and therefore we ſhall labour to clear up this point, as far as at this diſtance of time it is poſſible. The famous Leland tells us, that he died at Oxford, and was buried in the church of the Franciſcans in the year 1248 (58), which is very amazing, ſince he elſewhere tells us, that he both dedicated and ſent his works to Pope Clemennt IV, who did not arrive at that dignity 'till the year 1265: It muſt however be allowed, that this miſtake was occaſioned by the ſetting down the time of Robert Bacon's death for that of Roger's, which in all probability the author would have corrected, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to his own work (59). Bale changes the date which Leland has given us, and places his death in 1284 (60), which is alſo a little ſtrange, ſince he had ſeen his work, on the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age, which was writ in 1288 at the ſooneſt. This error is tranſcribed by Pits, as indeed almoſt all Bale's errors are, notwithſtanding he takes particular notice, not only of the book which he addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV, but alſo of Bacon's Compendium of Theology, which he tells us, was contained with other treatiſes of our author's in two volumes, in the library of the Lord Lumley, which book, as we have clearly ſhewn, was written at leaſt eight years after the time, which this author has fixed for his death (61). The learned Dr Cave ſpeaks expreſsly of his being impriſoned at the command of Pope Nicholas IV (62), and ſays, that he did not know whether he was releaſed or not, and yet he places his death in 1284, which is three years before Pope Nicholas was raiſed to that dignity, in which he is implicitly followed by Oudin, who is otherwiſe a very diligent and careful writer (63). Anthony Wood, from two MSS. which he mentions, fixes his death to the eleventh of June 1292; to which date the learned Dr Freind, who had taken great pains in the peruſal of our author's works, adheres (64). The excellent editor of his Opus Majus, however, places it in 1294, about which time alſo, he thinks, his Compendium of Theology was written (65).

(58) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

(59) Ibid. p. 286.

(60) Script. Britan. p. 344.

(61) De illuſt. Britan. Scriptor. p. 369.

(62) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. II. p. 325.

(63) De Script. et Scriptis Eccleſ. Tom. III. col. 191.

(64) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 235.

(65) See the cloſe of his preface before the Opus Majus.

[*I*] *By the title they gave him of* Doctor Mirabilis.] It was the cuſtom of thoſe times, to diſtinguiſh the characters of eminent ſcholars by ſuch kind of appellations. Thus St *Thomas Aquinas* was called *Doctor Angelicus*, or the Angelic Doctor; *Johannes Duns Scotus*, *Doctor Subtilis*, or the Subtile Doctor; *William Ocham*, *Doctor Singularis*, or the Singular Doctor; but none of them were more expreſſive or à propos than this given our author, who appears as wonderful to us at the diſtance of four hundred and fifty years, as to the Monks of his order, who were his

ſenſe the phraſe is taken. But it is not ſufficient to obſerve this in general terms, the fame of the man, the reſpect due to truth, and the regard we owe to the honour of our country, which in point of literary credit, has nothing greater to boaſt than the glory of producing ſuch a genius, require from us a more exact, authentick, and particular diſplay of his diſcoveries, in order to juſtify what has been already ſaid in his praiſe, and what will be hereafter delivered on the ſame ſubject, from the teſtimonies of others. If by doing this methodically, we can ſet his merits in a clearer and fuller light, or add any thing new on ſo curious and ſo important a ſubject, it will ſufficiently atone for the labour it requires, by adding to the pleaſure of the ingenious and inquiſitive reader. To begin then with the languages, which he thought the foundation of all true learning, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the peruſal of the beſt authors in ſeveral ſciences, in their originals; he not only underſtood them ſufficiently for that purpoſe, but was alſo a perfect maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and has left poſterity ſuch indubitable marks of his critical ſkill in them, as might have ſecured him a very high character, more eſpecially conſidering the age in which he lived, if he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any other branch of literature. But his various knowledge in other reſpects, has made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be (*i*) [*K*]. In all branches of the Mathematicks he was wonderfully well verſed, and there is ſcarce any part of them, on which he has not written with a ſolidity and clearneſs, which have been deſervedly admired by the greateſt maſters in that kind of ſcience. In reſpect to Mechanicks particularly, the learned Dr Freind ſays very juſtly, that a greater genius had not ariſen ſince the days of Archimedes (*k*), the truth of which the reader will readily allow, when he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes [*L*]. He underſtood likewiſe the whole ſcience of Optics, to a ſurprizing degree

(*i*) Thomæ Cæii Vindic. Antiquit. Academ. Oxon. p. 436.

(*k*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 235.

his contemporaries. Yet it is currently reported, that for ſome time, our author's books were perſecuted with as much malice as his perſon, as Dr Browne tells us, in his ſhort account of this great man's life; 'Many of Bacon's works, ſays he, and of Groſt-'head's alſo, curiouſly written and well bound, were 'by ſome ignorant men, that would be accounted 'ſcholars, when they could not underſtand them, con-'demned for books of the Black Art, and ſo faſtened 'with long nails to the boards, they either became 'food for worms or moths, or rotted with mould and 'duſt.' This account was originally taken from John Twine (66). But Dr Langbain, who had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing Bacon's works, was far from being ſatisfied as to the truth of it, as appears by the following paſſage, in a letter of his to the learned Selden, dated January the 20th 1653: 'I doubt whe-'ther the ſtory be probable, as the ſcene is laid by 'Twine, where Abbot *Voche* ſpeaks it, as done be-'fore his time, which, if true, I think, would not have 'eſcaped the knowledge of Leland; and conſidering 'he was ſo much an admirer of Bacon, and withal 'ſo highly angry with that houſe, for making his 'acceſs into their library ſo difficult, I do not ſee 'well how he could omit to have taken notice of it, '&c. Though it be no neceſſary conſequence in 'Logick, to argue *ab authoritate negativè*, yet this 'authority, all circumſtances conſidered, makes it to-'me very probable (67).' It is true, Leland ſays nothing of this particular, but he ſays, that it was as difficult to collect the works of Roger Bacon, as to find the Sibyls leaves. Another argument to prove that his fame and writings long laboured under the calumnies and aſperſions of the Monks, is the character afforded him by Biſhop Bale in the firſt edition of his work, when he was under thoſe prejudices reſulting from education, and had not applied himſelf, as he afterwards did, to the peruſal of our antient writers. We may add to this, the reports ſpread to his prejudice abroad, which could ariſe from nothing but the bold aſſertions of the Monks, who could not ſuſtain their own characters but at the expence of his, ſince they had perſecuted him ſo cruelly in his life-time, and that wholly on account of his writings. But what ſeems to put this matter out of diſpute, is the the condition of ſcience in the next century; for had Roger Bacon's books been regarded or ſtudied, it muſt have been where it is at this day, our greateſt men having gone very little beyond him, whereas, in fact, it ſunk lower than where he found it.

(66) Comment. de rebus Albionicis, lib. ii. p. 130.

(67) The original letter, Dr Jebb tells us, is in the hands of Edward Burton, Eſq;

[*K*] *Made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be.*] It is very certain from the account given us by Bacon himſelf, that Grammar was at a very low ebb in his time, and as for the learned languages they were not underſtood, at leaſt to any tolerable degree, by above three or four perſons whom he names. It is really matter of wonder how in ſuch an age he became ſo excellently knowing himſelf, for he was not only acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but with the Chaldee alſo, and was able to write grammars in them all. That part of his Opus Majus which treats of this ſubject is exceedingly curious and entertaining, in as much as it is written with a critical exactneſs (68). He ſhews his Holineſs therein, that all ſciences, human and divine, depend in ſome meaſure upon the languages; and in ſhewing this, he not only uſes the authorities of the Fathers and Doctors of the Chriſtian Church, and of the Philoſophers, but alſo of the Poets, particularly Horace and Statius; and he obſerves very pertinently, that the reading their works ſhould be encouraged, for the ſake of delighting the minds of young people, and engaging them to apply themſelves with diligence to the ſtudy of the languages; he even deſcends to pronunciation and quantity, which ſhews with how great accuracy he had ſtudied this ſubject, and how perfectly he was acquainted with every branch of it. To do him juſtice, the method and ſtile of his works, are as admirable as the matter of them, not that I would be underſtood to mean, he was a claſſical writer, for in that perhaps I might go beyond the truth, but his Latin ſtile is neat, ſtrong, and remarkably expreſſive, nor was there any writer of his age, perhaps we might carry it farther, that either knew how to range his matter better, or to bring it into a ſhorter compaſs; ſo that in all his treatiſes on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, he ſeems to have written with equal facility and judgment, leaving nothing perplexed or obſcure, either from a want or from a redundancy of words. It is very ſurprizing that ſome learned men have cenſured him, for believing it poſſible to teach the learned languages in a very ſhort compaſs of time, but it muſt be owned, that they were led into theſe miſtakes for want of being well acquainted with his writings; ſince before his Opus Majus was publiſhed, it was impoſſible to conceive any true notion of it's contents, and therefore, we need the leſs wonder at the miſtaken judgments that were paſſed upon it, or rather upon the ſeveral treatiſes of which it is compoſed, and which nobody, till that work appeared, conceived to have any relation to each other, much leſs that they formed, as they really do, a compleat ſyſtem of learning; but the reader being already acquainted with the plan and diſpoſition of that great work, will have acquired ſuch an idea of it, as muſt enable him to enter perfectly into the truth and juſtice of theſe obſervations, and therefore I will dwell on them no longer.

(68) See his treatiſe *de Utilitate Grammaticæ* in his *Opus Majus*, p. 44.

[*L*] *When he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes.*] This occurs in the ſmall tract ſo often mentioned, which was one of the firſt publiſhed of our author's works, and intitled *Epiſtola Fratris Rogerii Baconis, de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de nullitate Magiæ: i. e.* 'An epiſtle of 'brother

degree of accuracy and exactneſs, and is very juſtly allowed to have underſtood, both the theory and practice of thoſe diſcoveries, which have beſtowed ſuch high reputation on thoſe of our own and of other nations, who have brought them into common uſe (*l*) [*M*].

(*l*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 122.

In

' brother Roger Bacon, concerning the ſecret works ' of Art and Nature, and the non-entity of Magick.' In this very curious treatiſe, our author very clearly ſtates the means of working upon nature, and heightning the wonders ſhe produces by the power of art, and in the *fourth* chapter of this work, he propoſes to ſpeak of wonderful inſtruments which may be artificially contrived, by which, ſays he, ſuch things may be done without the help of Magick, as indeed Magick is unable and incapable of performing. *For a veſſel may be ſo conſtructed, and oars therein ſo diſpoſed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another veſſel fully manned.* Several authors tell us, that this has been attempted ſince the time of Bacon, and the German author who wrote notes upon this treatiſe of Bacon's, expreſsly affirms, that one Thomas Norton made ſuch a boat, in which while he ſat reading or writing, he quickened or retarded it's motion at pleaſure. He likewiſe ſays, that one Horſington of Suſſex invented a mill which went of itſelf; and ſome other inſtances he gives, of which he was an eye-witneſs at London (69): But as to the invention mentioned by our author, it has been practiſed on the canals in Flanders and Holland with ſome degree of ſucceſs; and a writer who is allowed to be an excellent judge of things of this nature, declares his opinion, that this ſcheme will be one day brought to perfection, and ſuch veſſels come into uſe (70). But let us hear our author again: *It is poſſible*, ſays he, *to make a chariot, which without any aſſiſtance of animals, ſhall move with that irreſiſtible force, which is aſcribed to thoſe ſcythed chariots in which the antients fought.* Something of this kind we are told has been attempted in China with ſucceſs, which is the more credible, ſince it is certain that one Thomas Stevens, a celebrated Mathematician of the XVIth century, invented a kind of machine with maſts and ſails, which ran on plain ground at the rate of two leagues an hour, and which was uſed by Maurice Prince of Orange (71). *It is poſſible alſo*, ſays our author, *to make inſtruments for flying, ſo that a man ſitting in the middle thereof and ſteering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to anſwer the end of wings, ſo as to divide and paſs through the air. It is no leſs poſſible to make a machine of a very ſmall ſize, and yet capable of raiſing or ſinking the greateſt weights, which may be of infinite uſe on certain occaſions, for by the help of ſuch an inſtrument not above three inches high or leſs, a man may be able to deliver himſelf and his companions out of priſon, and to aſcend or deſcend at pleaſure.* This is a direct proof that our author was acquainted with the perpetual ſkrew. He ſpeaks alſo in the ſame chapter of machines for diving, and of flying bridges that may be thrown at pleaſure for the paſſage of armies over rivers, aſſuring us, that except the inſtrument for flying, he had ſeen and experienced all the reſt, and that he very well knew the author of that invention. We need not wonder that a man, who underſtood and deſcribed ſuch amazing machines, and, who, by frequent experiments, plainly ſhewed, that he was not either a vain or a credulous perſon, ſhould paſs in thoſe days for ſomething more than man, and, in ſpite of all he writ to prove the contrary, for a magician; and perhaps there are countries even in Europe, where if a perſon attempted things of this nature, he might yet fall under the like imputation. But what made reflections of this kind on Roger Bacon more inhuman than upon any other man, was his plain and honeſt manner of communicating theſe things, not as wonders and prodigies, the effects of a ſecret and miraculous art, but as the genuine produce of true ſcience, the principles of which he offered to teach and to explain; ſo that he publiſhed theſe diſcoveries, not to aſtoniſh or amuſe mankind, but to encourage and excite them to a vigorous ſearch after true knowledge, by which they might have been convinced, that mathematical ſcience was much ſuperior to Magick.

(69) See the notes of P. S. on this treatiſe, in Mangetus's *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, Tom. I. p. 625.

(70) See *Deſmandes, Hiſt. critique de la Philoſophie.* Vol. III. p. 326.

(71) Voſſ. *de Scient. Mathemat.* c. 57.

[*M*] *And of other nations who have brought them into common uſe.*] The deſign of this note is no more than to ſatisfy the reader of the truth of what is advanced in the text; in doing of which we ſhall partly rely on the evidence derived from our author's own writings, and in part, on the authorities of ſuch learned men of our own and of other countries, as have been univerſally allowed proper judges of the ſubject. In reſpect to the ſcience of Perſpective, he took incredible pains, not only in the theory, but the practice, in which he ſpent conſiderable ſums, that he might bring into ſome method a ſcience, which was then underſtood but by very few; and he tells us, that no lectures had been read upon it at Paris, and but twice at Oxford, and that there were but three who had any ſkill in it (72). However, theſe perſons made ſuch prodigious advances in it, that, as Dr Jebb obſerves, they ſeem to have left nothing for poſterity to add to the perfection of their inſtruments. Bacon has very accurately deſcribed the uſes of reading glaſſes, and ſhewn the way of making them, as appears from the following paſſage from his Opus Majus. *Si vero homo aſpiciat literas & alias res minutas per medium cryſtalli, vel vitri, vel alterius perſpecui, ſuppoſiti literis & ſit portio minor ſpheræ, cujus convexitas ſit verſus oculum & oculus ſit in ære longe melius, videbis literas & apparebant, ei majores & ideo hoc inſtrumentum eſt utile ſenibus & habentibus oculos debiles. Nam literam quantumcunque parvum poſſunt videre inſufficienti magnitudine* (73). This point is alſo admitted by the very learned Profeſſor, Peter van Muſchenbroeck of Leyden, who attributes to our author the invention of reading-glaſſes (74). Dr Freind likewiſe remarks, that he deſcribes the *camera obſcura*, and all ſorts of glaſſes which magnify or diminiſh any object, bring it nearer to the eye or remove it farther off (75). Bacon tells us alſo himſelf, that he had made great numbers of burning-glaſſes, and that there were none ever in uſe among the Latins, till his friend *Peter de Maharn Curia*, had applied himſelf to the making of them. He informs us in another paſſage of his writings, that this Peter had already laboured three years about one glaſs, which was to burn at a certain diſtance, and that he would ſoon compleat it through the favour of God; tho' the Latins knew not how to do that, nor was it ever attempted by them, notwithſtanding, ſays he, we have books concerning the method of forming glaſſes of that kind (76). We may obſerve likewiſe, that Thomas Galileo aſcribes the invention of the optic tube or teleſcope to himſelf (77), and Peter Borellus contends, that the honour of it is due to Zachary Joannides, a citizen of Middleburgh (78), yet it is evident, the invention was known to our author from a paſſage wherein he tells us, that he was able to form glaſſes in ſuch a manner, with reſpect to our ſight and the objects, that the rays ſhall be refracted and reflected wherever we pleaſe; ſo that we may ſee a thing under what angle we think proper, either near or at a diſtance, and be able to read the ſmalleſt letters at an incredible diſtance, and to count the duſt and ſand, on account of the greatneſs of the angle under which we ſee the objects; and alſo that we ſhall ſcarce ſee the greateſt bodies near us, on account of the ſmallneſs of the angle under which we ſee them. It is very clear, that he made uſe of his teleſcope in his aſtronomical obſervations, from what he ſays in his Opus Tertium, dedicated to Pope Clement, concerning ſuch things as were neceſſary for compleating thoſe aſtronomical tables which he deſigned: ' But, ſays he, what is much more requiſite than ' theſe things, is to have men who underſtand Per- ' ſpective and the inſtruments of it very well, be- ' cauſe the inſtruments of Aſtronomy are only made ' uſe of by ſight, according to the laws of that ' ſcience (79). The learned Dr Plott, for the honour of the city and univerſity of Oxford, conſiders the invention of the teleſcope at large, and declares, that without wreſting of words or begging favourable conſtructions, it is very poſſible to prove, that Friar Bacon was either the inventor or improver of that uſeful inſtrument. How able he is to make good his aſſertion will beſt appear from his own words, ſince in matters of this nature, it is but fair to let an author ſpeak for himſelf, eſpecially when, as in this caſe, we make uſe at once both of his arguments and his authority (80).

(72) Opus tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. Cott. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(73) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 236.

(74) Elements of Natural Philoſophy, Vol. II. p. 130.

(75) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 236.

(76) Compend. Stud. Theol. MS. Reg. P. ii. c. 1. p. 5.

(77) Libel. rogator. ad Remp. Holland.

(78) De vero Teleſcopii Inventore.

(79) Opus Tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. cot. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(80) Natural Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, p. 215.

' That

In Geography alſo he was admirably well ſkilled, as appears from a variety of paſſages in his works, which ſhew that he was far better acquainted with the ſituation, extent, and inhabitants, even of the moſt diſtant countries, than many who made that particular ſcience their ſtudy, and wrote upon it in ſucceeding times. This I ſuppoſe was the reaſon, which induced the judicious Hackluyt to tranſcribe a large diſcourſe out of his writings, into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels (*m*) [*N*]. But his ſkill in Aſtronomy was ſtill more amazing, ſince it plainly appears, that he not only pointed out that error which occaſioned the reformation in the calendar (*n*), that has given riſe to the diſtinction between the old ſtile and the new, but alſo offered a much more effectual and perfect reformation, than this which was made in the time of Pope Gregory XIII [*O*]. There are

(*m*) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III.

(*n*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

'That this learned Friar underſtood all ſorts of 'glaſſes, and to order and adapt them to ſuch like 'purpoſes (not to cite other places that might eaſily 'be brought) I think I may with truth as well as 'confidence affirm, from the unconſtrained ſenſe of 'his own words in his book of Perſpective (81). *Si 'vero corpora non ſunt plana per quæ viſus videt, ſed 'ſphærica; tunc eſt magna diverſitas, nam vel con-'cavitas corporis eſt verſus oculum, vel convexitas.* 'But, ſays he, if the glaſſes be not plain, (having 'treated of them before) but ſpherical, the caſe is 'much otherwiſe, for either the concavity of the 'glaſs is next the eye, or the convexity, &c. Now 'that he uſed theſe glaſſes in celeſtial obſervations, 'is altogether as evident from the ſame book, where 'he proceeds in theſe words (82). *De viſione fracta 'majora ſunt, nam de facili patet, maxima poſſe ap-'parere minima, & è contra; & longe diſtantia vi-'debantur propinquiſſimè, & e converſo; ſic etiam 'faceremus ſolem & lunam & ſtellas deſcendere ſe-'cundum apparentiam hic inferius, &c.* Greater 'things are performed if the viſion be refracted, for '(by refraction) 'tis eaſily made appear, that the 'greateſt things may be repreſented leſs, and little 'things as the greateſt, and that things afar off may 'be repreſented near. Thus we can make the ſun, 'and moon, and ſtars, to all appearance, to come 'down to us here below, &c.'

(81) Perſpect iv. par. iii. diſt. 2. cap. 3.

(82) Ibid. diſt. ult.

'Again, in his epiſtle *ad Pariſienſem* concerning the 'ſecret works of art and nature (83). *Poſſunt enim ſic 'figurari perſpicua, ut longiſſimè poſita, appareant 'propinquiſſima, & e contrario; ita quod ex incredi-'bili diſtantiâ legeremus literas minutiſſimas, & nu-'meraremus res quantumcunque parvas, & ſtellas fa-'ceremus apparere quo vellemus.* Glaſſes may be ſo 'figured, that things the moſt remote may appear 'near, ſo that at an incredible diſtance we may read 'the ſmalleſt character, and number things though 'never ſo ſmall; and laſtly, make ſtars appear as 'near as we pleaſe; and theſe things he ſays in ano-'ther place, were to the illiterate ſo formidable and 'amazing, *ut animus mortalis ignorans veritatem non 'poſſit aliqualiter ſuſtinere* (84), that no mortal, ig-'norant, of the means, could poſſibly bear it; wherein 'this learned Franciſcan did ſo far excel the antient 'Magicians, that whereas they repreſented the 'moon's approach by their magical charms, he 'brought her lower with greater innocence, and 'with his glaſſes did that in truth, which the an-'tient poets always put in a fable. All which put 'together, it muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed that he 'had ſome ſuch inſtrument, though not ſo trimly 'made, 'tis like, as our teloſcopes are now, in favour 'of which truth much more might be alledged, did 'I not think this ſufficient to evince it to the unpre-'judiced reader.' Such is the judgment of this curious and able man, and ſuch the reaſons on which it is founded, and which we may ſafely add, are ſuch as cannot be refuted.

(83) Cap. 5.

(84) Perſpect. P. iii. diſt. 3.

[*N*] *A large diſcourſe out of his writings into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels.*] I mention this circumſtance for the honour of both authors. It was the deſign of Hackluyt in his excellent collections, to inſtruct, to exhort, and to raiſe the emulation of his countrymen, by ſhewing them what was known to, and what had been performed by, their anceſtors, and not to amuſe his reader with ſtrange tales and wonderful relations (85). It was this deſign, that led him to enquire after the beſt writers of our country upon theſe ſubjects, as this brought him acquainted with the works of Bacon, which he ſoon found were extreamly fit for his purpoſe. What he has publiſhed, is taken out of that part of our author's Opus Majus, in which he treats expreſsly of Geography, and gives ſo clear and plain, ſo full, and yet ſo ſuccinct, an account of the then known world, as, I believe, is ſcarce to be found in any other writer, either of the paſt or preſent age (86). What is publiſhed in this collection of voyages, relates to the countries between the Danube and the utmoſt extremities of Tartary (87). A field ſufficiently large for any man's abilities, and in which he has ſhewn his own in an amazing degree; for whoever reads this fragment of his, as it ſtands in this Engliſh collection, will evidently ſee, that as he ſpared no pains to make himſelf abſolutely maſter of all the new diſcoveries which that age afforded; ſo he likewiſe knew how to make a right judgment of thoſe diſcoveries, ſo as to diſpoſe them in the propereſt manner, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge. It likewiſe very plainly appears, that he had a very juſt notion of the country of the Tartars, of the empire of China, and of all the adjacent kingdoms, which are ſcarce any where to be found more clearly, or more properly deſcribed, than in this diſcourſe. We muſt therefore allow it is much for the credit of our author, that as ſoon as true learning revived, his works came again into credit, ſo that all who ſtudied to bring uſeful knowledge into repute, had recourſe to the works of Bacon, and brought them out of the duſt of libraries, where they had been long buried, into day-light and by a neceſſary conſequence into reputation.

(85) See his ſeveral prefaces and dedications to the different parts of his collections.

(86) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 223—235.

(87) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. III.

[*O*] *A more effectual and perfect reformation than this in the time of Gregory XIII.*] The firſt thing to be obſerved in this note is, that our author ſaw and demonſtrated the errors in the Kalendar, without any aſſiſtance, and purely from the knowledge he had in Aſtronomy. He obſerves indeed, that the miſtake about the length of the year, was commonly known and objected to the Church, but he ſays nobody durſt attempt to mend it, without the authority of a General Council. To facilitate the amending ſo ſcandalous an error, he offers his aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his power, and ſpeaking to Pope Clement IV, he thus lays open both the cauſes of this miſtake, and the means by which it might be remedied. 'Julius Cæſar, *ſays he*, being 'well ſkilled in Aſtronomy, ſettled, as well as it was 'poſſible in his time, the Kalendar, and, as hiſtory 'informs us, maintained in Egypt, againſt Achorius 'the Aſtronomer, and Eudoxus, his notion of the 'length of the ſolar year, upon which our compu-'tation is founded. Hence it is, that the poet Lucan 'brings him in ſpeaking thus:

Non meus Eudoxi vincetur faſtibus annus.
Nor ſhall Eudoxus change my ſettled year.

'But Julius however, did not diſcover the exact 'length of the year, for he has fixed it in our ka-'lendar at three hundred and ſixty five days and the 'fourth of a day, which fourth part is collected once 'in four years, ſo that in the biſſextile year, one day 'more is reckoned in every fourth year than in the 'common years. It is however manifeſt, not only 'by the old and new computation, but is alſo known 'from aſtronomical obſervations, that the ſolar year 'is not of that length but ſomewhat ſhorter, and 'this ſmall difference, wiſe men have computed to 'be the one hundred and thirtieth part of a day. 'So that in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty 'years, there is a ſuperfluous day taken in, which 'if it were taken away, our calendar would be cor-'rected as to this fault; and therefore, as all 'things in our computation depend upon the quantity 'of the ſolar year, it is neceſſary to recede from 'this poſition, when it thus appears to be a funda-'mental error. From hence there ariſes ſtill a greater 'error, that is, in fixing the equinoxes and ſolſtices; 'and this error not only ariſes from the quantity of 'the

are alſo remaining, ſome works of his relating to Chronology, which would have been thonght worthy of very particular notice, if his ſkill in other ſciences had not made his proficiency in this branch of knowledge the leſs remarkable. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that he was perfectly well verſed in the hiſtory of the four great empires of the world, which he has treated very accurately and ſuccinctly, in his great work addreſſed to Pope Clement IV (*o*). He was ſo thoroughly acquainted with Chemiſtry, at a time too that it was ſcarce known in Europe, though it had been long cultivated among the Arabians, that Dr Freind ſays truly, it is no more than doing juſtice, to aſcribe the honour of introducing it to this our countryman, who, as he likewiſe ſays, ſpeaks in ſome part or other of his works, of almoſt every operation now uſed in Chemiſtry, and deſcribes the method of making tinctures and elixirs (*p*). But we muſt not ſo haſtily paſs over his excellency in this art, ſince there are no leſs than three capital diſcoveries made by him, which deſerve to be particularly conſidered. The firſt is, the invention of gun-powder, which, however confidently aſcribed to others, was unqueſtionably known to him, both in regard to it's ingredients and effects (*q*) [*P*]. The

(*o*) Opus Majus, p. 169, et ſeq.

(*p*) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 234.

(*q*) See the proof of this in the note [*P*].

' the year, but has alſo very miſchievous conſe-
' quences; for the equinoxes and ſolſtices are there-
' by fixed to certain days, as if they really happened
' upon them, and were ſo to happen for ever (88):
' But it is certain from Aſtronomy, which cannot lye,
' that they aſcend in the kalendar, as by the help of
' tables and inſtruments may be unqueſtionably proved.'
Thus far we have uſed our author's words, but to avoid prolixity, we will content ourſelves now with purſuing his ſenſe only. He obſerves, that this error with reſpect to the equinoxes and ſolſtices was ſo great, as not only to diſguſt the learned, but to fall under the notice of every ploughman, for the Church having originally fixed the vernal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of April, and the autumnal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of October, that is, on the twenty fifth of March and twenty fourth of September, they were now riſen, that is, at the time he wrote, the one to the thirteenth of March, and the other to the ſixteenth of September. He collects from theſe obſervations, that the equinoxes aſcend about one day in one hundred and twenty-five years, and he therefore propoſes, that the alteration of the kalendar ſhould be made, not from the time afterwards fixed by the council of Nice, but according to the places which the equinoxes and ſolſtices held at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and this he thought might very well be known, from an obſervation made by Ptolemy in his Almageſt, who, one hundred and forty years after the birth of Chriſt, found the vernal equinox to have been on the twenty-ſecond of March, and the winter ſolſtice on the twenty-ſecond of December, upon which he founds his computation of their riſing one day in one hundred and twenty-five years. It muſt be owned, that this reaſoning of his is very clear and exact, and not very far from the truth, for according to this method of computing, the vernal equinox ſhould have riſen this year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, to the eleventh of March, whereas it happened on the ninth. He goes on to ſhew very clearly, what prodigious inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily attend the ſuffering this error to continue, and therefore he concludes, that it was then high time to apply a remedy to theſe palpable miſtakes, which brought ſo much ſhame and ſcandal upon the Church. ' For,
' ſays he, all who are verſed in computations and
' Aſtronomy know theſe miſtakes well, and deride
' the Prelates for their ignorance, in not ſuffering
' them to be corrected, and the Infidel Philoſophers,
' Arabians, Jews, and Greeks, who live amongſt
' Chriſtians in Spain, in the Eaſt, and many other
' parts of the world, abhor the folly that appears in
' ſettling the times, on which the ſolemn feſtivals
' of the Church are celebrated, and this too, when
' Chriſtians are ſkilful enough in Aſtronomy to ſettle
' all theſe points as they ſhould be. Your Reverence
' therefore may command, and there will be found
' perſons every way capable of applying proper re-
' medies in theſe reſpects, and not only to theſe, but
' to the defects of the whole kalendar; for there are
' no leſs than thirteen radical errors, which have al-
' moſt an infinite number of branches. If therefore
' this glorious work could be done in the reign of
' your Holineſs, it would be one of the greateſt, beſt,
' and faireſt performances, that ever was attempted
' in the Church of God (89).' Our author afterwards framed a kalendar for this very purpoſe, a fair and perfect MS copy of which was once in the hands of Mr Theyer of Glouceſterſhire. There is alſo another tranſcript of this kalendar in the Bodleian library at Oxford (90). Dr Plot, who had ſeen Mr Theyer's copy (91), diſcourſes farther on this ſubject thus, ' From which, or ſome other kalendar of his,
' Paulus Middleburgenſis, Biſhop of Foſſombrone,
' in the dukedom of Urbin, ſtole half of his great
' volume, which he calls his Paulina, concerning the
' true time of keeping Eaſter, and day of the paſſion
' of our Lord Jeſus, directed to Pope Leo X, in order
' to the reformation of the Roman kalendar and
' eccleſiaſtical cycles, written juſt in the ſame order
' and method, generally and particularly, as Roger
' Bacon long before had done to Clement IV, and
' yet full ſlender mention, (ſays Dr Dee (92), doth
' this Biſhop make of him, though his chief inſtruc-
' tor in the beſt part of the matter contained in his
' book: In which deſign, though the plagiary were
' unſucceſsful, his endeavours being fruſtrated for a
' time, yet 'twas he that ſtirred up Nicholas Co-
' pernicus, (as the ſame Nicholas honeſtly confeſſes,
' in an epiſtle of his to Paul III (93),) more accu-
' rately to obſerve the motions of the ſun and moon,
' and thence to define the quantities of years and
' months, more truly than they were before in the
' Julian kalendar; upon whoſe foundations Aloyſius,
' and the reſt of the ſumptuous college of Mathema-
' ticians at Rome, having built their reformation,
' it is eaſily deducible, that whatever has been done
' in this matter, from the time of Friar Bacon to that
' of Pope Gregory XIII, muſt in a great meaſure
' be aſcribed to him, their whole reformation ſcarce
' differing from his (94).' In fact however, as Dr Plot alſo obſerves, it was not only ſtolen from our author Bacon, but manifeſtly injured by thoſe who had the direction of that reformation, and who might have made it much more effectual, and have carried it back as he adviſed, not to the Nicene Council, but quite to the nativity of our Lord; for then the vernal equinox this year, would have been placed much nearer the true time than it is, and the kalendar have ſooner become perfect (95). The learned editor therefore of the Opus Majus, Dr Jebb, had reaſon to ſay of this propoſal of our author's to Pope Clement IV, that it was one of the nobleſt efforts of human induſtry (96). It is indeed, conſidered in all it's circumſtances, one of the moſt ſtupendious inſtances of the force of human underſtanding that has been recorded, and will do honour to our learned countryman's memory as long as the ſun and moon endure (97).

(88) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 169, 170.

(89) Ibid. p. 179, 180.

(90) No. 2458, F. 9. Cod. 5. n. 3.

(91) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 225.

(92) Propoſal to Queen Elizabeth and her Council, concerning the reformation of the vulgar Calendar. *MS. in Bibliotheca. C. C. C. Oxon. lit. Z.* fol.

(93) In Præfat. in libros revolutionum.

(94) See Holder's Account of Time, and of the Julian and Gregorian Kalendars.

(95) They fix it as the Nicene Council did, to March 21.

(96) In his preface to the Opus Majus.

(97) See Petavius's Account of this matter in his *Doctrin. Temporib.* vii. *cap.* 12.

[*P*] *Was unqueſtionably known to him both in regard to it's ingredients and effects.*] It is in the firſt place to be obſerved, that our author died more than one hundred years before the invention of gun-powder, according to the ordinary computation; but that he was really acquainted with the ſecret, ſuch as have examined his works have readily confeſſed, and the only queſtion is, whether he has or has not fully revealed this ſecret. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething new upon this head, and which has not hitherto ever been taken notice of, but we will firſt lay down what has been generally advanced on this ſubject. In the ſixth chapter of his famous work *of the Secrets of Nature and Art*, he tells us, ' That
' from ſalt-petre and other ingredients, we are able
' to make a fire that ſhall burn at what diſtance we
' pleaſe.' *In omnem diſtantiam quam volumus, ſic ſumus*

The ſecond is that which commonly goes under the name of *Alchemy*, or the art of tranſmuting metals, of which he has left many treatiſes, ſome publiſhed, and ſome ſtill remaining in MS. which, whatever they may be thought of now, procured him the reputation of an adept, among the greateſt maſters in that myſterious branch of learning; and in which writings, there are, without doubt, a multitude of curious and uſeful paſſages, which, independent of their principal ſubject, will render them always valuable (*r*) [2]. The third diſcovery in Chemiſtry which deſerves the reader's attention, was

(*r*) Boerhave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 28, 29.

ſumus artificialiter componere ignem comburentem ex ſale petræ et aliis. He likewiſe mentions other methods of doing the ſame thing, and then ſpeaking of the effects of theſe ſtrange fires, he ſays, 'That 'ſounds like thunder, and corruſcations may be 'formed in the air, and even with greater horror 'than thoſe which happen naturally; for a little 'matter, properly diſpoſed, about the bigneſs of a 'man's thumb, makes a dreadful noiſe, and occa'ſions a prodigious corruſcation: And this, ſays he, 'is done ſeveral ways, by which a city or an army 'may be deſtroyed, after the manner of Gideon's 'ſtratagem, who having broke the pitchers and lamps, 'and the fire iſſuing out with an inexpreſſible noiſe, 'killed an infinite number of the Midianites, with 'only three hundred men.' *Nam ſoni velut tonitrus & corruſcationes poſſunt fieri in aëre, immo majore horrore quam illa quæ fiunt per naturam. Nam modica materia adaptata, ſcilicet ad quantitatem unius pollicis, ſonum facit horribilem & corruſcationem oſtendit vehementem; & hoc fit multis modis quibus civitas aut exercitus deſtruatur, ad modum artificii Gideonis qui lagunculis fractis & lampadibus, igne exſiliente cum fragore inæſtimabili, infinitum Midianitarum deſtruxit exercitum cum trecentis hominibus* (98). This very plainly proves, that he knew the effects that ſuch a compoſition, as what we now call gun-powder, would produce, and if it were of any conſequence to make this point ſtill clearer, it might very eaſily be done from another paſſage in his Opus Majus, wherein he expreſſes himſelf in yet ſtronger terms upon the ſame ſubject. But ſtill a queſtion may be aſked, was this thundering powder preciſely the ſame with that which we call gun-powder? In anſwer to this, Dr Plot tells us poſitively, that the *alia* before mentioned in a MS copy of the ſame treatiſe, in the hands of the learned Dr G. Langbain, which was ſeen by Dr John Wallis, was explained to be *ſulphur* and *wood-coal* (99). We are told the ſame thing by the judicious Dr Freind (100); but who vouches that theſe words were of Bacon's writing? It was no difficult thing, when ſalt-petre and a thundering powder was mentioned, to think of ſulphur and wood-coal, but the point is, did Roger Bacon think of it? If he did, how does this appear? I anſwer, from all the MSS of this very treatiſe, but never in the place theſe learned gentleman looked for it; for our author did not then intend to reveal it. But after he had written his treatiſe, of the ſecret Works of Nature and Art, he added two appendixes which are the tenth and eleventh chapters, in which he farther explains to his correſpondent, ſome paſſages which appeared to him obſcure in the foregoing work, and it is in the laſt of theſe chapters, that he divulges this ſecret, yet not abſolutely but in a cypher, by tranſpoſing the letters of two of the words, for thus it is ſet down. *Sed tamen ſalis petræ* LURU MOPE CAN UBRE *et ſulphuris; et ſic facies tonitrum et corruſcationem, ſi ſcias artificium* (101). So that if the words *carbonum pulvere*, were ſet down in the fifth chapter of Dr Langbain's MS they were taken from hence, the author, as I obſerved before, not intending at that time to mention all the ingredients of this dangerous diſcovery, for if he had, there would have been no need of his appendix.

(98) De Secretis Operib. Artis & Naturæ, cap. vi.

(99) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 236, 237.

(100) In the Appendix to the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory of Phyſick.

(101) R. Baconi Epiſtola de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, cap. xi.

[2] *Will render them always valuable.*] We have already conſidered our author in the ſeveral lights of a Philologiſt, a Critick, a Mathematician, a Mechaniſt, a Natural Philoſopher, an Aſtronomer, and are now come to view him in that of a Chemiſt. He was, as we have ſhewn in the text, one of the earlieſt in Europe, and contemporary with Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, Biſhop of Ratiſbon. A man exactly of Bacon's temper, for he quitted his biſhoprick, that he might purſue the pleaſures of Experimental Philoſophy in quiet, in a monaſtery at Cologne (102). Yet our author appears to have had no inſtructor, but gathered all from his books and his own meditation. However, with this aſſiſtance only, he became the greateſt Chemiſt of his own time beyond compariſon, and perhaps, without exceeding truth, we might ſay, of any other. His writings on this ſubject are highly finiſhed, and they ſeem to ſpeak the maſter in every line. His ſtile is neat, elegant, conciſe, perſpicuous, and expreſſive, ſo that the reader not only underſtands whatever he delivers, but is alſo ſenſible at the ſame time, that he perfectly underſtood what he wrote. The moſt conſiderable of his chemical works have been printed, but the MSS. which were at Oxford are now at Leyden, being carried abroad amongſt thoſe of Voſſius. In theſe pieces of his he attempts to prove, that imperfect minerals may be ripened into perfect metals. He maintains Geber's principles, that mercury is the common baſis of all metals, and ſulphur the cement. Upon theſe principles he ſhews, that it is by a gradual depuration of the mercurial matter, and the acceſſion of a ſubtile ſulphur, that nature forms gold; and that if while the gold is producing any third matter intervenes, ſome baſer metal ariſes, according to the nature of the intervening ſubſtance. Hence he infers, that it is a thing very practicable by purſuing nature's method, to purify and change all baſer metals into gold (103). He is ſo perfectly clear in all he has written on this ſubject, and appears to have been ſo well verſed from experience in the facts which he lays down, and the conſequences he draws from them, that one would be tempted to imagine, ſome of thoſe trials were actually made by him, that in latter times have paſſed for new experiments. The late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and one of the moſt curious and inquiſitive, as well as knowing and penetrating Princes that have lived in our times, commanded an excellent Chemiſt to examine into the nature of metals, and more eſpecially of gold, that it might appear, whether the old principles of the Arabs (moſt clearly defined and rationally explained by our author) were ſolid truths or empty chimeras. This was putting the antient ſcience of Chemiſtry to the *experimentum crucis*, and giving poſterity an opportunity of learning, by unexceptionable trials, what was to be depended upon in this reſpect. If our author and his inſtructors had been, as ſome have fancied, mere enthuſiaſts and dreamers, their folly had been now diſcovered and exploded; but the very contrary of this happened, and the experimental Philoſophers, who profeſs themſelves only the diſciples of nature, have been obliged to adopt, or at leaſt to admit, the principles of the Chemiſts. But to come cloſer to the point, and to compare the doctrine of our Bacon with the concluſions of the French proficient. The former we know laid it down in direct terms, that *the component parts of* gold, *are, a moſt pure* mercury, *and a ſubtile* ſulphur (104). On the other hand, M. Homberg, in his *Eſſai du ſouffre principe*, gives us two experiments, the firſt with mercury, which upon being expoſed to a digeſting heat, ceaſes to be fluid, becomes a powder heavier than mercury, and at length acquires ſuch a fixedneſs, as to be capable of remaining red-hot for twenty-four hours without loſs, though upon applying a naked fire, the greateſt part flies off in fume, leaving a piece of hard metal formed of the mercury behind. The other experiment is with regulus of antimony, which, upon being expoſed to the Duke of Orleans's great burning-glaſs to calcine, gained one eighth part in weight; from the experiments he concludes, that light may be introduced into porous bodies, may there fix and increaſe both their weight and bulk, and that the light thus retained in mercury, becomes inſeparable therefrom in the moſt vehement fire, and even changes the form of the mercury into a malleable ductile metal, heavier than any other metal except gold. In another place the ſame author argues, *that gold conſiſts principally of two kinds of matter, viz.* mercury *or* quickſilver, *and a metallic* ſulphur; *the latter, according to him, being no other than light, either*

(102) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Tom. I. p. 123.

(103) Speculum Alchemiæ, cap. iv.

(104) His own words are, 'Mercurum quidem eſt 'corpus perfectum, ex argento puro, fixo, claro, 'rubeo, et ſulphure mundo, fixo, rubeo, non 'adurente generatum et nullum habet defectum.' *Speculum Alchemiæ, cap. ii.*

was the tincture of gold for the prolongation of life, of which as Dr Freind ſays, he has given broad hints in his writings (*s*), and which it is very probable he would have laid open more fully, if his diſcourſes upon theſe and other important ſubjects, had been received with the candour they deſerved. As it is, he has ſaid enough to ſhew that he was no pretender to this art, but underſtood as much of it (in this reſpect at leaſt) as any who have lived ſince his time (*t*) [*R*]. That he was far from being unſkilled in the art of

(*s*) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 245.

(*t*) See before in note [*Q*].

either of which being taken apart, evaporates with the leaſt heat, but when joined together in a metal, after the manner juſt mentioned, they loſe their volatility and become ſo fixed, that the moſt intenſe fire of our laboratories cannot ſeparate them (105). Thus this very knowing and judicious perſon, who in conſequence of all the trials and experiments he ran through on this ſubject, was never taught to ſpeak clearer or more aſſuredly than our author, who lived ſo many ages before him. But let us next hear a greater and more famous author among the Moderns than Homberg; I mean the moſt excellent and incomparable Boerhaave, whoſe learning, great as it was, yielded much to his veracity, and whoſe diligence was only equalled by his candour. This admirable man, who had not only the courage to ſeek truth wherever ſhe might be met with, but likewiſe to own where he met with her, let it be in what place it would, diſcourſes thus, both on the ſubject and of our author (106). 'By all that I have hitherto delivered 'it appears, that Chemiſtry is of great uſe and extent through all, or at leaſt the chief of, the mechanical arts, ſo that they who cultivate them might 'truly be called artificers, and make incredible improvements in their ſeveral provinces, if at the ſame 'time they were ſkilled in Chemiſtry; conſequently 'there are many and weighty reaſons to induce men 'to ſuperadd Chemiſtry to all the other ſciences employed in the conſideration or changing of bodies; 'and laſtly, carefully to obſerve and faithfully write 'down ſuch effects as ariſe therefrom, to be afterwards reduced into order and made publick, that 'by a number of contributions thus brought from all 'quarters, the arts may at length be brought to perfection; what was in my power I have endeavoured 'to perform in this undertaking, wherein though I 'make no great advances, I am of ſome uſe, as I 'have ſet an example of labour before you, which 'with the advantage of genius, may lead you on 'to make much greater diſcoveries. I come now 'to add a few, but candid and ingenuous, conſiderations on the great uſe of Chemiſtry in Alchemy. 'To ſpeak my mind freely, I have not met 'any writers on Natural Philoſophy, who treat 'of the nature of bodies, ſo profoundly, and explained the manner of changing them ſo clearly, as 'thoſe called Alchemiſts. To be convinced of this, 'read carefully their genuine writings, for inſtance, 'the piece of Raymond Lully, which he entitles '*Experiments*, you will find him, with the utmoſt 'clearneſs and ſimplicity, relating experiments, which 'explain the nature and actions of animals, vegetables, and foſſils; after this, you will hardly be 'able to name any author, wherein phyſical things 'are treated of to ſo much advantage. The bodies 'which Chemiſtry reſolves before our eyes, afford demonſtrations which call for our aſſent, infinitely 'more cogently than any words could do; by theſe 'we do what we ſay, and what we teach we perform, 'inſomuch, that theſe writers ſeem to have attempted 'to build that body of Philoſophy wiſhed for by the 'great Lord Bacon, viz. a Philoſophy, which ſhould 'lay down ſuch powers of bodies, as the bodies 'themſelves when preſent really exhibit effects to 'warrant, and conſequently, ſhould aſſign ſuch cauſes of 'things, as being given, will readily produce the things 'themſelves, ſo that when it pleaſed, it could do 'what it taught.' He then enters on a moſt judicious abridgment of the principles, practice, and promiſes of the Alchemiſts, the laſt of which he cenſures, as in ſome meaſure abſurd and extravagant. He adds however after all, this modeſt, candid, and moſt ſenſible concluſion (107). 'But enough is ſaid on this 'head, we are always to remember, that the limits 'of nature are by no means to be defined by us, things 'are taken for impoſſible, which are only unknown 'by the ignorant. The antient writers ſpoke ſomething of a perpetual fire, which was of a ſolid 'nature, and endured even under water, but it was 'exploded as an idle chimera, though the ſame has 'ſince been actually diſcovered by Kraff, and prepared 'by Kunkel, deſcribed by Boyle, further explained 'by Nieuwentyt, and more amply ſtill by Hoffman. 'Roger Bacon's artificial thunder and lightning were 'long laughed at as empty fictions, but have been 'diſcovered by Schwartz to be too true, and many 'of the other things related in the chapter of Natural 'Magic, will appear much more incredible to thoſe 'unacquainted with experiments, than that lead 'ſhould loſe it's natural form and be converted into 'gold. Credulity is hurtful, and ſo is incredulity; 'the buſineſs therefore of a wiſe man is to try all 'things, hold faſt what is approved, never limit the 'power of God, nor aſſign bounds to nature.' Such are the ſentiments of the learned and unprejudiced Boerhaave on this ſubject, and as to our author; whoſe reputation as a Chemiſt has been always higheſt among thoſe, by whom the practice of this art was beſt underſtood, becauſe they found from their own experience, the correctneſs, cloſeneſs, and veracity of all his numerous writings.

(105) Memoirs de l'Academie, 1707, p. 50—60.

(106) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 200.

(107) Ibid. p. 204.

[*R*] *As any who have lived ſince his time.*] In this note I intend to examine what our author's notions were, in regard to the medicinal virtues of gold, of which, as the learned Phyſician quoted in the text, ſays, he gave broad hints of a *tincture*, which muſt have been a ſort of *aurum potabile*, or *golden elixir*. There is no doubt to be made that our author had a very high opinion of *gold* as a medicine, it is the firſt in his liſt of ſecret or concealed medicines, which he recommends to Pope Nicholas IV, and the phraſe he uſes to expreſs it is, *the medicine found in the bowels of the earth*. He largely explains it's virtues, and ſhews particularly how great they are in the cure of head-achs, palſies, and other diſorders which ſpring from the brain. He ſays, that Ariſtotle thought the life of man could not be preſerved by any preparation from gold, becauſe gold itſelf is periſhable, or at leaſt the medicines drawn from it; but our author adviſes the Pope not to believe this; for, ſays he, this medicine will do admirable things when it is well prepared, and thoroughly drawn out. That he might alſo ſhew what he meant by this drawing out, he tells his Holineſs, that perhaps the liquor was of that kind, i. e. *a tincture of gold*, which an old huſbandman in the kingdom of Sicily found, as he was ploughing, in a gold veſſel; the man it ſeems was hot and faint, and taking this yellowiſh water which the veſſel contained for a kind of dew, he greedily ſwallowed it, which ſo entirely changed his habit of body and complexion, that of an old man of ſixty he became like one of thirty, his judgment, memory, and underſtanding, becoming much better than they were before, ſo that of a labouring peaſant he became a courtier, and was advanced to be a gentleman of the chamber to William King of Sicily, in whoſe ſervice (and that of his ſucceſſor's I ſuppoſe) he lived fourſcore years. This fact ſeems to have been very well known, for our author mentions it thrice: Firſt in his book *of the Secrets of Art and Nature* (108), again in his *Opus Majus* (109), and laſtly, in this book *of the Cure of Old Age* (110), and it is from all three relations that I have collected the ſeveral circumſtances before mentioned. But I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that our author not only hints at the tincture of gold; but alſo at *another tincture* much beyond it in operation, which is the famous medicine taken notice of in a former note, and of which I propoſe to ſay ſomething here, becauſe I think it is not impoſſible to give a better account of it, than has been hitherto done. But firſt it will be requiſite to give the author's deſcription. 'Wiſe men, ſays he, 'have cautiouſly made mention of a certain medicine, which reſembles that going out of the mine 'of the noble animal. They affirm, that in it there 'is a force and virtue, which reſtores and increaſes 'the natural heat; as to it's diſpoſition, they ſay 'it is like youth itſelf, and contains an equal and 'temperate

(108) De ſecretis operibus artis et naturæ, cap. vii.

(109) Page 469.

(110) In the twelfth chapter.

of phyſick, we might rationally conclude, from his extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences, which have the neareſt relation thereto; but beſides this, we have a particular and manifeſt proof of his perfect acquaintance with the moſt material and uſeful branches of Phyſick, in his Treatiſe of Old Age, which, as Dr Freind, whoſe authority on that ſubject cannot well be diſputed, obſerves, is very far from being ill writ (*u*); and Dr Brown, who publiſhed it in Engliſh, eſteemed it one of the beſt performances that ever was written (*w*). In this work he has collected whatever he had met with upon the ſubject, either in Greek or Arabian writers, and has added a great many remarks of his own. The whole, conſidering the time in which it was wrote, is in reality a very extraordinary performance, in point both of learning and judgment, and will appear the more curious and the more valuable, the oftener it is read, and the more it is conſidered [*S*]. In Logick and Metaphyſicks he was excellently well verſed, as appears by thoſe

(*u*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 244.

(*w*) See Dr Brown's preface to the Cure of Old Age.

'temperate complexion; and the ſigns of a temperate 'complexion in men are, when their colour is made 'up of white and red, when the hair is yellow in-'clining to redneſs and curling. According to Pliny, 'when the fleſh is moderate both in quality and 'quantity, when a man's dreams are delightful, his 'countenance chearful and pleaſant, and when his 'appetite of eating and drinking is moderate. This 'medicine indeed is like to ſuch a complexion, for 'it is of a temperate heat, it's fume is temperate and 'ſweet, and grateful to the ſmell. When it departs 'from this temperature, it departs ſo far from it's 'virtue and goodneſs. This medicine therefore doth 'temperately heat, becauſe it is temperately hot, 'it therefore heals becauſe it is whole, when it is 'ſick it makes a man ſick, when it is diſtempered 'it breeds diſtempers, and changeth the body to it's 'own diſpoſition, becauſe of the ſimilitude it hath 'with the body; for the infirmity of a brute animal 'rarely paſſeth into man, but into another animal 'of the ſame kind, but the infirmity of man paſſeth 'into man, and ſo doth health becauſe of likeneſs. 'Know (moſt gracious Prince) that in this there is 'a great ſecret, for Galen ſaith, that whatever is 'diſſolved from any thing, it muſt of neceſſity be 'aſſimilated to that thing, as is manifeſt in diſeaſes 'paſſing from one to another; ſuch as weakneſs of 'the eyes and peſtilential diſeaſes. This thing hath 'an admirable property, for it doth not only render 'human bodies harmleſs from corruption, but it de-'fends alſo the bodies of plants from putrefaction, 'this thing is ſeldom found, and although ſometimes 'it be found, yet it cannot commodiouſly be had 'of all men; and inſtead of it, the wiſe do uſe that 'medicine which is in the bowels of the earth com-'pleat and prepared, and that which ſwims in the 'ſea, and that which is in the ſquare ſtone of the 'noble animal, ſo that every part may be free from 'the infection of another: But if that ſtone cannot 'be acquired, let other elements ſeparated, divided, 'and purified, be made uſe of; now when this thing 'is like to youth, that is of temperate complexion, 'it hath good operations, if it's temperature be bet-'ter, it produced better effects, ſometimes it is even 'in the higheſt degree of it's perfection, and then 'it operates beſt, and then there is that property 'whereof we have ſpoken before. This differs from 'other medicines and nutriments, which heat and 'moiſten after a certain temperate manner, and are 'good for old men; for other medicines principally 'heat and moiſten the body, and ſecondarily they 'ſtrengthen the native heat; but this doth princi-'pally ſtrengthen the native heat, and after that re-'freſhes the body by moiſtening and heating it: For 'it reduces this heat in old men, who have it but 'weakly and deficient, to a certain ſtronger and more 'vehement power: If a plaiſter be made hereof 'and applied to the ſtomach, it will help very much, 'for it will refreſh the ſtomach itſelf and excite an 'appetite. It will very much recreate an old man, 'and change him to a kind of youth, and will make 'complexions, by what means ſoever depraved or 'corrupted, better. Many wiſe men have ſpoken 'but little of this thing, they have indeed laid down 'another thing like it, as Galen in his fifth book of 'Simple Medicines, and Joannes Damaſcenus in his 'Aphoriſms. But it is to be obſerved, that Venus doth 'weaken and diminiſh the power and virtue of this 'thing; and it is very likely that the ſon of the 'Prince, in his ſecond Canon of the Operations of 'Simple Medicines, ſpoke of this thing, where he 'ſaith, that there is a certain medicine concealed by 'wiſe men, leſt the innocent ſhould offend their crea-'ture; there is ſuch a heat in this thing, as is in 'young men of a ſound complexion, and if I durſt 'declare the properties of this heat, this *moſt hidden* 'ſecret ſhould preſently be revealed; for this heat 'doth help the palſical, it reſtores and preſerves the 'waſted ſtrength of the native heat, cauſeth it to 'flouriſh in all the members, and gently revives the 'aged.' It is from this deſcription that Dr Brown (111), as we before obſerved, concludes, that the medicine here recommended, was a healthy young woman of a proper complexion. But whoever will conſider the whole of this account attentively, and will compare it with what our author ſays upon the ſame ſubject in his Opus Majus (112), in which he ſpeaks much more clearly than in this treatiſe, will (or I am much miſtaken) ſee good grounds to believe, that this medicine is no other than the *great ſecret*, the *grand elixir* of the Chemiſts, far beyond the *tincture of gold* in it's effects, though where *this* cannot be had, *that* may be uſed (according to our author) for the ſame purpoſe, but with leſs ſucceſs.

(111) In his Annotations on the twelfth chapter of the Cure of Old Age.

(112) Page 466—472.

[*S*] *The oftner it is read, and the more it is conſidered.*] There never was an author who took more pains to finiſh and perfect his diſcourſes than Friar Bacon, who was continually reviewing, retouching, and augmenting his pieces, that as he grew older and wiſer, theſe children of his brain might partake of their parent's fortune. The ſubject of this book appears plainly to have thrice exerciſed it's author's application; for it makes the *ſeventh* chapter of his celebrated treatiſe *of the ſecret Works of Art and Nature*, he reviſed it again, and inſerted ſo much of it as he thought proper in his Opus Majus (113), yet in both theſe works he delivers himſelf only in general terms; but in this laſt treatiſe, which was written for the uſe of Pope Nicholas the fourth, he deſcends to practice, and give thoſe receipts in direct and expreſs terms, which he had only hinted at before. If the reader inclines to ſee the ſubject of all theſe three treatiſes in a narrow compaſs, and to take a view of the author's theory, as to the extent of human life, he may find it in the following extract from his firſt work; which contains a ſhort view of his whole ſyſtem (114). 'The poſſibility of prolong-'ing life, ſays he, is confirmed by this: That a man 'is naturally immortal, that is, able not to die, and 'even after he had ſinned, he could live near a thouſand 'years; afterwards, by little and little, the length 'of his life was abbreviated; therefore, it muſt needs 'be, that this abbreviation is accidental. Therefore, 'it might be either wholly repaired, or at leaſt in 'part. But if we would but make enquiry into the 'accidental cauſe of this corruption, we ſhould find 'it neither was from Heaven, nor from ought but 'want of a regimen of health. For in as much as 'the fathers are corrupt, they beget children of a 'corrupt complexion and compoſition, and their chil-'dren from the ſame cauſe are corrupt themſelves, 'and ſo corruption is derived from father to ſon, 'till abbreviation of life prevails by ſucceſſion. Yet 'for all this it does not follow, that it ſhall always 'be cut ſhorter and ſhorter, becauſe a term is ſet 'in human kind, that men ſhould at the moſt of their 'years arrive at fourſcore, but more is their pain 'and ſorrow. Now the remedy againſt every man's 'proper corruption is, if every man from his youth 'would exerciſe a complete regimen, which conſiſts 'in theſe things; meat and drink, ſleep and watch-'ing, motion and reſt, evacuation and retention, air, 'the paſſions of the mind; for if a man would ob-'ſerve this regimen from his nativity, he might live

(113) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 466, & ſeq.

(114) De Secretis Operibus Artis & Naturæ, cap. vii.

thoſe parts of his works, in which he has treated of theſe ſubjects; neither was he unſkilled in Philology and the politer parts of learning, as might be demonſtrated from his writings, if we had not touched upon ſo many ſubjects already (*x*). In Ethicks or Moral Philoſophy he was a very great maſter, and as he was a man of good ſenſe and unblemiſhed probity, ſo he has laid down the nobleſt and moſt generous principles for the conduct of human life, in the treatiſe he has left us upon that ſubject (*y*) [*T*]. But as his profeſſion and courſe of life required a particular application to Theology, ſo it plainly appears, that he made all his other ſtudies ſubſervient thereto, and directed both his actions and his writings to the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. He had the higheſt deference for the Holy Scriptures, and thought that in them were contained the principles of true ſcience, and of all uſeful knowledge. He therefore preſſed the ſtudy of them in their original languages, and an aſſiduous application to the ſeveral branches of learning, which he thought neceſſary for the thorough underſtanding them (*z*). To ſay the truth, the impreſſing this ſtrongly on the minds of men, who made religion peculiarly their profeſſion, is the great endeavour of all his works, as the applying this properly was the buſineſs of his laſt treatiſe, which he left as a kind of Teſtament to thoſe of his order, and is a very excellent work in it's kind [*U*]. As to the vulgar imputation on his character, of his leaning to Magick, it

(*x*) See the note [*K*].

(*y*) This Treatiſe was by the author annexed to his Opus Majus.

(*z*) Opus Majus, p. 29, 30.

'as long as his nature aſſumed from his parents would 'permit, and might be led to the utmoſt term of 'nature, lapſed from original righteouſneſs, which 'term nevertheleſs he could not paſs; becauſe this 'regimen does not avail in the leaſt againſt the old 'corruption of our parents. But it being in a manner 'impoſſible, that a man ſhould be ſo governed in the 'mediocrity of theſe things, as the regimen of health 'requires, it muſt of neceſſity be, that abbreviation 'of life do come from this cauſe, and not only from 'the corruption of our parents. Now the art of 'Phyſick determines this regimen ſufficiently. But 'neither rich, nor poor, neither wiſe men, nor fools, 'nor Phyſicians themſelves, how ſkilful ſoever, are 'able to perfect this regimen, either in themſelves 'or others, as is clear to every man: But nature is 'not deficient in neceſſaries, nor is art compleat; 'yea it is able to reſiſt and break through all acci-'dental paſſions, ſo as they may be deſtroyed, either 'altogether or in part: And in the beginning when 'men's age began to decline, the remedy had been 'eaſy; but now after more than five thouſand years, 'it is difficult to appoint a remedy. Nevertheleſs, 'wiſe men being moved with the aforeſaid con-'ſiderations, have endeavoured to think on ſome 'ways, not only againſt the defect of every man's 'proper regimen, but againſt the corruption of our 'parents. Not that a man can be reduced to the 'life of Adam or Artefius, becauſe of prevailing 'corruption, but that life might be prolonged a cen-'tury of years or more beyond the common age of 'men now living, in that the paſſions of old age 'might be retarded, and if they could not altogether be 'hindered, they might be mitigated; that life might 'uſefully be prolonged, yet always on this ſide the 'utmoſt term of nature; for the utmoſt term of 'nature is that which was placed in the firſt men 'after ſin, and there is another term from the cor-'ruption of every one's own parents. It is no man's 'fortune to paſs beyond both theſe terms; but one may 'well the term of his proper corruption: Nor yet 'do I believe, that any man, how wiſe ſoever, can 'attain the firſt term, though there be the ſame 'poſſibility and aptitude of human nature to that 'term, which was in the firſt men; nor is it a wonder, 'ſince this aptitude extends itſelf to immortality as 'it was before ſin, and will be after the reſurrection. 'But if you ſay, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Plato, 'nor Hippocrates, nor Galen, arrived at ſuch pro-'longation? I anſwer you, nor at many mean truths, 'which were after known to other ſtudents; and 'therefore they might be ignorant of theſe great 'things, although they made their eſſay, but they 'buſied themſelves too much in other things, and 'they were quickly brought to old age, while they 'ſpent their lives in worſe and common things, be-'fore they perceived the ways to the greateſt of ſe-'crets: For we know that Ariſtotle ſaith in his 'Predicaments, that the quadrature of the circle is 'poſſible, but not then known, and he confeſſes, 'that all men were ignorant of it even to his time: 'But we know that in theſe our days this truth is 'known, and therefore, well might Ariſtotle be 'ignorant of far deeper ſecrets of nature. Now alſo 'wiſe men are ignorant of many things, which in 'time to come every common ſtudent ſhall know, 'therefore this objection is every way vain.' Theſe were the thoughts of our author when he firſt turned his inquiries upon this ſubject, and it is upon theſe principles that he reaſons in his third book. It is remarkable that he profeſſes in all his treatiſes, that he had never made any experiments upon himſelf, whence one might be tempted to conclude, that though he did not ſuffer his misfortunes ſo to break his ſpirits, as to hinder him from purſuing his ſtudies; yet was he ſo little pleaſed with life, that he would not take any meaſures to prolong it; notwithſtanding the ſentiments he was in as to that point. For though it might be ſurmiſed, that Bacon might amuſe others with grave diſcourſes accommodated to their humours, though not at all to his own belief; yet whoever reads his works, will evidently perceive that ſuch notions muſt be utterly groundleſs, ſince there is not only the ſtrongeſt character of veracity in all he writes, but the whole is ſo ſyſtematical, that one part ſuſtains another in ſuch a manner, that it is almoſt impoſſible to form any doubts, or to fall into any miſtakes about his opinions, when his Opus Majus has been once thoroughly peruſed and attentively conſidered; becauſe it is a kind of key to all the reſt.

[*T*] *In the treatiſe he has left us upon this ſubject.*] The ſentiments of our author on morality, are very ſingular both in this treatiſe and in other parts of his works; for he conſidered Moral Philoſophy as the end and perfection of all human knowledge. He therefore conſidered all ſpeculative ſcience, as uſeful or uſeleſs in proportion as it contributed to the advantage of mankind. He declares, that in his judgment the Moral Philoſophy of Chriſtians is the ſame with their Divinity, and that though it is by far more perfect than the Philoſophy of the Pagans; yet it reſts upon and takes in their principles; ſo that he makes Natural Religion the ground-work, and Revealed, the ſtructure, ſuppoſing each neceſſary to the other; and therefore, not to be ſeparated or divided. He conſtantly manifeſts ſo much clearneſs and good ſenſe, in treating every ſubject, and this, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which he laboured, and his differing almoſt upon every topick from the notions then in vogue, that inſtead of wondering, there was ſo ſtrong a clamour againſt him, we ought rather to wonder that he was able to ſupport himſelf at all againſt the tide of popular prejudice, which is always ſtrongeſt in the moſt ignorant ages. To ſay the truth, Bacon was the fartheſt from being a popular writer, perhaps of any man that ever wrote, and this I take to be one reaſon, why his writings have hitherto been admired only by *the few*, and I very much queſtion, whether any age will ariſe ſo learned and ſo juſt, as to afford them a general reception.

[*U*] *And is a very excellent work in it's kind.*] Beſides the MS. in the Royal Library, there are ſeveral others ſtill remaining, ſome more and ſome leſs perfect. Mr Theyer of Glouceſterſhire had ſeveral parts of this work (115), and perhaps there are ſome copies of it yet undiſcovered, which however might be brought to light, if any man of equal learning and induſtry with the excellent editor of his Opus

(115) As appears by the catalogue of his MSS.

it was utterly unfounded, and the ridiculous ſtory of his making a brazen head, which ſpoke and anſwered queſtions, is a calumny indirectly fathered upon him, having been originally imputed to his patron Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln (*a*) [*W*]. The pains therefore that have been taken to vindicate him in this reſpect, by the learned Gabriel Naudé (*b*), and other writers, however charitably deſigned, was not very neceſſary; and that he had too high an opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, and ſome other arts of that nature, was not ſo properly an error of his as of the age in which he lived; and conſidering how few errors, among the many which infected that age, appear in his writings, it may be eaſily forgiven (*c*). As his whole life was ſpent in labour and ſtudy, and he was continually employed, either in writing for the information of the world, or in reading and making experiments, that might enable him to write with greater accuracy; ſo we need not wonder his works were extremely numerous, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that on the one hand his ſtudies took in the whole circle of the ſciences, and that on the other, the numerous treatiſes aſcribed to him, are, often in fact, but ſo many chapters, ſections, or diviſions, and ſometimes we have the ſame pieces under two or three different names; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange before theſe points were well examined, that

(a) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 122, 137.

(b) Apologie pour les grandes Hommes ſoupçonner de Magie, p. 350.

(c) See further in the note [Q].

Opus Majus, would undertake the publication of it, which could not but prove extremely agreeable to the learned world, ſince it contains a multitude of things, that one would ſcarce expect to find in a performance under this title. For it was the cuſtom of our author, never to confine his thoughts too ſtrictly unto any particular ſubject, but, on the contrary, believing, as he did, that all ſciences had a relation amongſt themſelves, and were of uſe to each other, and all of them to Theology; it was very natural for him to illuſtrate this, in a work calculated to ſhew how the ſtudy of Divinity might be beſt promoted. It might alſo let us into many particulars, relating to the Eccleſiaſtical and Literary Hiſtory of thoſe times, which could not but be very curious and inſtructive. We may add to all this, that it would undoubtedly have very good effects, in elucidating and explaining the other works of our author, which are already made publick, and which are in many places not a little obſcure. We may ſay the ſame thing, with regard to other treatiſes of our author yet remaining, but never hitherto printed; all of which, if carefully conſidered and compared, might be of very great uſe, the rather becauſe there are ſome things hinted at in ſeveral parts of Bacon's works, which if we could derive lights ſufficient from his hitherto unpubliſhed works, perfectly to underſtand, might be of as great benefit to mankind, as any of thoſe diſcoveries, which, though now common, have given great credit to this author, ſince it appeared from his works, that they were originally due to him, or at leaſt, that they were long before in his poſſeſſion. It would be no very difficult matter to give inſtances of theſe things, but that we have already exceeded our ordinary bounds, and are therefore forced to confine ourſelves more ſtrictly, that theſe memoirs may not exceed the juſt rules of proportion.

[*W*] *Originally imputed to his patron, Robert Grouthead Biſhop of Lincoln*] One may very eaſily imagine, how when the common people are at a loſs to account for any thing, they ſhould call in, more eſpecially in the darkeſt and moſt ignorant ages, the aſſiſtance of the Devil. To them this is as eaſy and as neceſſary, as the machinery of the poets, or of the playhouſe, and anſwers the end as effectually; but what is moſt extraordinary, and which really deſerves wonder, is, that men of good ſenſe, and no way deſpicable in their underſtandings, ſhould adopt theſe ſilly tales and publiſh them to the world as truths. Yet this happened to many others beſides our author, and thoſe too of the worthieſt perſons of the ages in which they lived. As for inſtance, William of Malmſbury (116) tells us very gravely, of Pope Sylveſter II, who flouriſhed in the XIth century, that he made ſuch a head under certain conſtellations, which would ſpeak when ſpoken to, and oraculouſly anſwer ſuch queſtions as were propoſed to it. But it ſeems theſe anſwers were confined to ſingle words. For the ſame writer tells us, that being aſked by his maſter Whether he ſhould ever become Pope? it anſwered *Yes*; and when he enquired, Whether he ſhould die before he ſung Maſs in Jeruſalem? it anſwered *No*. Which however proved a lye, for the Pope died at Rome; but to keep up the credit of this ſtory it was pretended, that he died on that Sunday, which in the Roman Ritual is entitled, *Statio ad Jeruſalem*, immediately after he had ſung Maſs. After this fooliſh ſtory had got into the world, without any other foundation than the Pope's being a great Mathematician: there never aroſe in any country a perſon of extraordinary abilities, eſpecially in thoſe ſciences that were leaſt cultivated, but preſently he was reported to have made a *brazen head*. Hence Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, is reported by an antient writer of his life in verſe, to have made ſuch a brazen head when he was Maſter of Arts at Oxford, which being broken by ſome accident, the relicks thereof are ſaid by him to have been kept in a vault under Lincoln College (117). Something of the ſame kind is thrown out by John Gower the poet (118). And indeed the ſtory was ſo univerſally ſpread, and ſo firmly believed among the vulgar, that becauſe Roger Bacon was his diſciple, they could not help ſuppoſing, that he muſt be as learned in theſe ſecret arts as his maſter, and therefore they beſtowed a *brazen head* upon him too, in conjunction with Fryar Bungy, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething in another place (119). But the deſign of making this head was ſo extraordinary, and the end it met with ſo odd, that it deſerves to be remembered. For theſe two learned Fryars were no leſs than ſeven years employed in framing it, and the matter about which they were to enquire, was, Whether it might not be poſſible to build a wall of braſs round this iſland? But as they had a great many things upon their hands, it ſeems they forgot the time at which their head was to ſpeak, and ſo loſt the opportunity of hearing the anſwer diſtinctly, and thus their labour being vain, and the head in a manner uſeleſs, it was demoliſhed (120). But of all the great men who are fooliſhly ſaid to have dealt in brazen heads, Albertus Magnus was the moſt extraordinary, for he is ſaid to have made not barely a head, but a man, who not only anſwered queſtions very readily and truly when demanded, but was alſo ſo flippant with his *brazen tongue*, that Thomas Aquinas, a reſerved and contemplative perſon, and pupil at that time to Albertus Magnus, knocked the idol to pieces to ſtop it's talking (121). Theſe great men lived at the ſame time with our author, and it is not impoſſible that he might have heard ſomething of this nature, for in a work of his which has been often mentioned, he deplores the attributing every thing that was great and remarkable to the power of Art Magick, which hindered the propagation, as it alſo did the reputation, of true ſcience, depriving men thereby of that reward, which could alone encourage them to take the pains neceſſary to ſucceed in the purſuit of uſeful knowledge. The moſt learned Selden (122), in a diſcourſe of his, wherein, with vaſt reading and judgment, he has examined the riſe and progreſs of theſe notions, declares poſitively, that this ſtory of Fryar Bacon's brazen head was equally fooliſh and groundleſs, and never gained belief, but with the meaneſt and loweſt of the people. Yet there want not ſome writers who have had more credit than they deſerve, that have really doubted whether our author was not a Magician (123)? and perhaps in this reſpect, his character would not have been much aſſiſted, if the famous John Dee had publiſhed as well as promiſed his defence of him (124). To ſay the truth, there cannot be a greater injury offered to the memory of ſo wiſe a man, and ſo univerſal a ſcholar, as to treat ſuch a calumny as this with any degree of gravity, becauſe, in fact, there cannot be any thing more abſurd, or more ridiculous.

(116) De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, lib. ii. c. x.

(117) Richardus Bardenienſis de vita Roberti Grothed Ep. Lincoln. cap. xx. ap. Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 333.

(118) In Confeſſione Amantis.

(119) See the article of BUNGY (THOMAS).

(120) Major. Symbolor. Aureæ Menſæ, lib. x. p. 453.

(121) Delrio Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. i. cap. 4.

(122) De Diis Syris, Syntag i. cap. 2.

(123) Wier. de Præſtig. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(124) In Epiſtol. dedicat. lib. propædeumat. Aphoriſticor. de Naturæ viribus.

that the accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed [X]. But

[X] *The accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed.*] This was the natural conſequence of the bad uſage our author met with while living, and the great declenſion of learning after his death. Leland complains, that either through negligence or other caſualties the writings of Bacon were ſo diſperſed, that it would be eaſier to collect the the leaves of the Sibyl, than the very names of the treatiſes he wrote. He ſets down however the titles of thirty, of which he had ſeen about a third part (125). The induſtrious Bale, by that time he finiſhed his uſeful collection, had met with and digeſted the titles of upwards of fourſcore pieces attributed to our author, of which he had ſeen near one half (126). Pits ſpeaks with amazement of the multitude of books written by our author, and increaſes the number of their titles to near one hundred (127). The learned Dr Jebb has digeſted all theſe titles under the proper heads of the ſciences to which they belong, ſo that the whole of what was either written by, or attributed to, our author, appears to the eye of the reader at one view, as in the following table he will perceive.

(125) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 258, 259.

(126) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(127) De Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 367.

In GRAMMAR.

Summa Grammaticalis, lib. i.	Oratio Grammatica. BAL. PITS.
De Conſtructione Partium, &c. lib. i.	Ad Completam. BAL. PITS.
Grammatica Græca, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
Grammatica Hebræa, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Utilitate Linguarum, lib. i.	Multæ præclaræ radices. LEL. BAL. PITS.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, &c.

De Geometria, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Laudibus Artis Mathematicæ, lib. i.	Poſt hanc Scientiam. BAL. PITS.
De quinta Parte Mathematices, lib. i.	BAL.
Parabolæ de Quadratura. lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Centris Gravium, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Planis, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Materia Prima, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Ponderibus, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Poteſtate mirabili Artis & Naturæ, lib. i.	Quem eundem. PITS.
De Vigore Artis & Naturæ, lib. i.	Veſtræ Petitioni. BAL.
De occultis Operibus Naturæ, lib. i.	Superius quidem. PITS.
De Operibus non occultis.	LEL.
Communia naturalis Philoſophiæ, lib. iv.	Poſtquam tradidi. LEL. BAL. PITS.
In Philoſophiam naturalem, lib. viii.	PITS.
De Multiplicatione Specierum, lib. i.	Primum capitulum. BAL. PITS.
Leges Multiplicationum, lib. i.	Expletis quatuor partibus. BAL. PITS.
De Speciebus, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Ars experimentalis, lib. i.	Poſitis fundamentis. BAL. PITS.
De ſeptem Experimentis, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Rerum mirabilibus, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Fluxu & Refluxu Maris, lib. i.	Deſcriptis his figuris. BAL. PITS.
De Fluxu Maris Britannici, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Venti novem Diſtinctiones, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.

OPTICS.

De Viſu & Speculis, lib. i.	De Speculorum miraculis. BAL. PITS.
De Speculi Uſtoriis, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Forma reſultante in Speculo, lib. i.	Quæritur de forma. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Speculi Facultate, lib. i.	PITS.
De Perſpectivis & Multiplicationibus Specierum Tractatus.	PITS.
Perſpectiva quædam ſingularis, lib. i.	Hic aliqua dicenda ſunt. BAL. PITS.
Perſpectiva diſtincta, lib. iii.	Propoſitis radicibus. BAL. PITS.
Perſpectiva continua, lib. i.	Cupiens te. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Radiis Solaribus, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Coloribus per Artem fiendis, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.

GEOGRAPHY.

Coſmographia, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Situ Orbis, lib. i.	PITS.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Situ Palæſtinæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Locis Sacris, lib. i.	BAL. PITS,
Deſcriptiones Locorum Mundi, lib. i.	Ad hoc autem. BAL. PITS.

ASTRONOMY.

De Cœlo & Mundo, lib. ii.	Prima igitur veritas. BAL. PITS. LEL.
De Utilitate Aſtronomiæ, lib. i.	Poſt locorum. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Introductio in Aſtrologiam, lib. i.	Fuſius quidem dictum. BAL. PITS.
De Locis Stellarum, lib. i.	Quoniam infinitum. BAL. PITS. LEL.
De Aſpectibus Lunæ, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Prognoſtica ex Siderum Curſu, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Judiciis Aſtrologiæ, lib. i.	PITS.

CHRONOLOGY.

Computus Naturalium, lib. i.	Omnia tempus habent. BAL. PITS.

CHEMISTRY.

De Arte Chemiæ, lib. i.	PITS.
Breviarium Alchemiæ, lib. i.	PITS.
Speculum Alchemiæ, lib. i.	Multifariam multiſque. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Documenta Alchemiæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Alchemiſtarum Artibus, lib. i.	PITS.
De Secretis, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Rebus Metallicis, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Sculpturis Lapidum, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Philoſophorum Lapide, lib. i.	Veſtræ Petitioni. BAL. PITS.

MAGIC.

Contra Necromaticos, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Necromanticis Imaginibus, lib. i.	PITS.
De Geomantia, lib. i.	PITS.
De Excantationibus, lib. i.	PITS.
Practicæ Magiæ, lib. i.	PITS.

LOGIC, METAPHYSICS, & ETHICS.

De Logica, lib. i.	Introductio eſt brevis. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Metaphyſica, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Intellectu & intelligibili, lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.
De Paſſionibus Animæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Univerſalibus, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
In Poſteriora Ariſtotelis, lib. ii.	Dictum eſt de Syllogiſmo. BAL. PITS.
In Avicennam de Anima, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Philoſophia Morali, lib. i.	Manifeſtavi in præcedentibus. BAL. PITS.

But notwithſtanding this ſeeming perplexity and confuſion, it is not a very difficult thing, from the lights we now have, to give a very fair and diſtinct account of our author's works, the far greater part of which are ſtill in being, and it were to be wiſhed, that they were alſo made publick. It will likewiſe appear from this account, how great ſervice has been done to the learned world, by ſuch as have made it their buſineſs to collect and preſerve antient MSS, and to bring together the ſcattered memorials of thoſe learned men who have flouriſhed in paſt times, and who, until this care was taken, have been repreſented in very falſe lights to poſterity. It will alſo appear, that this excellent perſon was very far from being a haſty, incorrect, or deſultory writer, but that, on the contrary, all his works have a juſt reference to one great and general ſyſtem, which he has executed in all it's parts to a much greater degree of perfection, than hitherto even the learned have imagined [*Y*]. So that on the whole we may very ſafely affirm, that the hiſtory, character,

PHYSIC.

De Erroribus Medicorum, lib. i.	Vulgus Medicorum. BAL. PITS.
De Retardatione Senectutis, lib. i.	Domine Mundi. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Univerſali Regimine Senum, lib. i.	Summa Regiminis. BAL. PITS.
De Conſervatione Senſuum, lib. i.	Cogito & cogitavi. BAL. PITS.
De Prolongatione Vitæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
Antidotarium Vitæ humanæ, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Major, lib. i.	Sicut ab Antiquis. BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Minor, lib. i.	Humana Natura. BAL. PITS.
De Somno & Vigilia, lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.

THEOLOGY.

Sermonum ſeu Concionum, lib. i.	PITS.
Commentarii in Libros Sententiarum, lib. iv.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Super Pſalterium.	LEL.
De Victoria Chriſti contra Antichriſtum.	Ne ſum Propheta. LEL.
Compendium Studii Theologici, lib. v.	Quoniam autem. BAL. PITS.
De Copiæ vel Inopiæ Cauſis.	LEL. BAL. PITS.

PHILOLOGY and MISCELLANY.

Ad Clementem IV. *Pont. Rom.* lib. i.	Sanctiſſimo Patri. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Impedimentis Sapientiæ, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Valore Muſices, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Gradibus intentionalibus, lib. i.	Omnis forma. PITS.
De Gradibus medicinalibus, lib. i.	LEL. BAL.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Cauſis Ignorantiæ humanæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Utilitate Scientiarum, lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.
In Opera Virgilii, plures.	lib. BAL. PITS.
De Arte Memorativa, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Ad Epiſtolam Bonaventuræ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Vita Edmundi Archiep. Cantuar.	LEL.

[*Y*] *Than even the learned imagined.*] When we find on one hand, ſome modern authors complaining that almoſt all the works of our old writers are either deſtroyed out of malice; or, through careleſſneſs, have the monuments of their learning buried in oblivion, and on the other, ſee ſuch a multitude of books aſcribed to our old authors by Leland, Bale, and Pits, we can hardly tell what to believe, or how to doubt the truth of either of theſe aſſertions. Yet this inſtance of Roger Bacon may ſerve to ſhew us, that ſuch general expreſſions ought not to have too much weight, but that it becomes us to enquire as carefully as we can after theſe precious monuments of antiquity, notwithſtanding ſome who have gone before us in the ſearch, aſſure us it is to little or no purpoſe. At firſt ſight, it muſt appear an endleſs, and, at the ſame time, a fruitleſs labour, for us to endeavour to pick up all the little treatiſes written by Roger Bacon. Yet for all this it may be, the thing is not altogether as difficult as it ſeems; for, as the learned Dr Jebb very juſtly obſerves, the number of our author's works may be much reduced, if we conſider, that the copies of his writings being diſperſed into ſeveral places, it fell out that the ſame tracts had different titles given them, and, which has added ſtill more to the confuſion, the titles of the ſeveral chapters of his works, have been taken for the titles of ſo many treatiſes. Now to extricate ourſelves as well as may be out of theſe difficulties, let us conſider what our author himſelf tells us concerning his writings. He aſſerts in his Opus Majus, that before he ſet about that work, he had publiſhed only a few pieces, and we know that he wrote this book in the year 1267. The buſineſs then is to find out firſt of all theſe *Capitula quædam* as he calls them, and then we are ſure we have his firſt writings. But this we ſhall find no very difficult matter, ſince it plainly appears, that the pieces addreſſed to William of Paris, were written before the Opus Majus, and were publiſhed altogether in 1542, under the title of *Epiſtola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de Nullitate Magiæ* (128). *i. e.* 'The Epiſtle of Brother Roger 'Bacon of the ſecret Works of Art and Nature, and 'of the Non-Entity of Magick.' At the end of this treatiſe we have *explicuit epiſtola Baconis, &c. ad Gulielmum Pariſienſem conſcripta* It is divided into eleven chapters, of which the two laſt, (as we before obſerved) are appendixes or poſtſcripts. The other nine chapters, from their titles appear to be what have paſſed for his treatiſes, *de Poteſtate mirabili Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* 'Of the wonderful Power of Art 'and Nature;' *de Vigore Artis et Naturæ, i. e.* 'Of 'the Force of Art and Nature;' *de Operibus occultis Naturæ, i. e.* 'of the ſecret Works of Nature;' *de 'Operibus non occultis, i. e.* 'of the Works not ſe-'cret;' *de Rerum mirabilibus, i. e.* 'of Wonders;' *contra Necromanticos, i. e.* 'againſt Necromancers;' *de Necromanticis Imaginibus, i. e.* 'of Necromantic 'Images;' *de Geomantia, i. e.* 'of Geomancy, or Di-'vination by Points;' *de Excantationibus, i. e.* 'of 'Charms;' *de Practicis Magiæ, i. e.* 'of the Prac-'tices of Magick;' and, *de Prolongatione Vitæ, i. e.* 'of the Prolongation of life;' which is a different thing from that addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV on the ſame ſubject. As to the two laſt chapters they are dated, but ſo confuſedly, that inſtead of affording any light, they have hitherto ſerved only to increaſe the obſcurity. For example, the tenth chapter begins in the ſix hundred and ſecond year of the Arabians, but it ſeems the manuſcript was ſo obſcure, that it might be read the ſix hundred eighty eighth year of the Arabians. John Dee (129) takes the firſt date, and from thence infers, that our author wrote to Clement the third inſtead of Clement IV, becauſe the year 602 of the Hegira, anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1205, which is nine years before our author was born; the other date of 688 might poſſibly be true, ſince it anſwers to the year 1289, which is three years before our author's death. But though this be poſſible, yet it is far enough from being probable, and therefore we will next conſider the date of the eleventh chapter, or ſecond poſtſcript. This is A. H. 630, which anſwers the year of our Lord 1232, and to the eighteenth year of our author's life; whence I am perſuaded that both dates are wrong, nor do I know how it is poſſible to correct them; we may with certainty enough conclude, that theſe ſeveral little pieces were writ before the

(128) *Pariſ.* 1542, 4*to. Baſil.* 1593, 8*vo. Hamburgh.* 1608. 1618, 8*vo.* It is alſo involved in the fifth volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum*, and in the firſt of the *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, of *Mangetus.*

(129) See his notes on the eleventh chapter, which are printed not only in the edition he publiſhed, but in the two Collections beforementioned.

character, and reputation of Roger Bacon, is in a great measure restored, so that we may truly judge of them all, and determine from the light of evidence, of the usage he has received from all parties. We may now justly applaud those learned prelates of Canterbury and Lincoln, and all the great men who were the patrons of his junior years, the encouragers of his riper studies, and the protectors of his injured innocence. We can plainly discern how harshly, cruelly, and unjustly he was persecuted, by the ignorant and malicious Monks of his order, who envied that learning which they ought to have imitated, and hated that reputation which it became them to admire. We know now with

the year 1267, and that the the two last chapters were penned some years after the rest, and possibly A. H. 648 and 650. His next work was his Opus Majus divided into six parts, and had three tracts of his annexed. The several parts being separately transcribed, with a proper and distinct title to each, increased the supposed number of our author's works, by at least so many tracts. But let us explain this more particularly, and having so experienced a guide, as Dr Jebb, to direct us, let us try if we cannot point out the particular treatises which are involved in that great work. In the two first books are contained the treatises which have hitherto gone under the titles of *de Impedimentis Sapientiæ, i. e.* 'of the Impedi-'ments to Wisdom;' *de Causis Ignorantiæ humanæ, i. e.* 'of the Causes of human Ignorance;' and, *de Utilitate Scientiarum, i. e.* 'of the Usefulness of the 'Sciences.' The third book, is what was formerly called his book, *de Utilitate Linguarum, i. e.* 'of the 'Use of Languages.' In the fourth book of the Opus Majus, are his tracts *de Centris Gravium, i. e.* 'of the Centres of heavy Bodies;' *de Ponderibus, i. e.* 'of weights;' *de Valore Musicis, i. e.* 'of Musick;' *de Judiciis Astrologiæ, i. e.* 'of the Judgments of 'Astrology;' *de Cosmographia, i. e.* 'of Cosmogra-'phy;' *de Situ Orbis, i. e.* 'of the Situation of the 'World;' *de Regionibus Mundi, i. e.* 'of the Regions 'of the World;' *de Situ Palestinæ, i. e.* 'of the 'Situation of Palestine;' *de Locis Sacris, i. e.* 'of 'the holy Places;' and, *Descriptiones Locorum Mundi, i. e.* Description of the World.' To this fourth book is annexed, his tract *de Prognosticis ex Stellis*, in which is comprehended, *de Utilitate Astronomiæ, i. e.* 'of 'the Usefulness of Astronomy;' *Prognostica ex Siderum Cursu, i. e.* 'Prognosticks from the Course of the 'Stars;' and perhaps also his tract, *de Aspectibus Lunæ, i. e.* of the Aspects of the Moon. His fifth part includes the various treatises of Perspective ascribed to him in the foregoing catalogue, viz. *Perspectiva quædam singularis, Perspectiva distincta*, and *Perspectiva continua*. To the end of this book is added, his large treatise *de Specierum Multiplicatione*. In the sixth book we find contained his tracts *de Arte experimentali, i. e.* 'of the experimental Art;' *de Radiis solaribus, i. e.* 'of the solar Rays;' and, *de Coloribus per artem fiendis, i. e.* 'of the Colours that 'may be produced by Art.' Besides his Opus Majus, our author wrote two other pieces, and addressed them to the same patron, that is to say, Pope Clement IV. One of which he stiled his *Opus Minus*, and the other *Opus Tertium*, of which there are still copies amongst the MSS in the Cotton library; but that of the Opus Minus is imperfect. It is not to be doubted, that in these works, abundance of the tracts which have been ascribed to our author are involved, the rather, because it is certain, that after the death of Pope Clement, Bacon revised and augmented these pieces, in order to render his system more compleat, and of greater use to posterity. There is in the Royal Library a treatise of our author's, which bears the title of *Liber Naturalium Rogeri Bacon*, which is the same that in the common catalogues of his works, is stiled *Communia Naturalis Philosophiæ, i. e.* 'the Heads of 'Natural Philosophy;' which, on a closer inspection, appears to be the third part of the *Opus Minus*. On the whole, there is reason to believe, that in this treatise are comprehended the tracts following, *de Summa Grammaticali, de Constructione Partium, de Logica, de Laudibus Artibus Mathematicæ, Communis Naturalis Philosophiæ, de Intellectu et Intelligibili*, and *de Universalibus*. His treatise of Chronology, which in the MS in the King's Library (130), is entitled *Computus Rogeri Baconis*, called by Balæus and Pitseus, *Computus Naturalium*. He divided it into three parts, at the end are subjoined a kalendar and some astronomical tables, which, though they have not his name to them, are most probably of his own composition; since he tells us himself, that he had undertaken to draw up such a set of tables, and some of them relate to the year 1269, which very well agrees with the age of Bacon (131). As to the chemical writings of our author, that are extant in MS. or in print, they are these; *Tractatus duo de Chemia*. i. e. 'Two Treatises 'of Chemistry.' *Speculum Alchemiæ*, 'Mirror of 'Alchemy.' *Thesaurum Chymicum*, i. e. 'Chemical 'Treasure (132).' *Specula Mathematica*, i. e. Ma-'thematical Mirrors.' *Medulla Alchemiæ*, in 8*vo*, ann. 1608, i. e. 'Marrow of Alchemy.' *De Arte Chemia Scripta*, i. e. 'Writings upon the Art of Che-'mistry.' *Breviarium de dono Dei*, 'Breviary of 'God's Gifts.' *Verbum abbreviatum de Leone viridi*, i. e. 'A short Word of the Green Lyon.' *Secretum secretorum Naturæ de laude Lapidis Philosophorum*, i. e. 'Secret of Nature's Secrets in praise of the Philo-'sopher's Stone.' *Tractatus trium Verborum*, i. e. 'Treatise of three Words.' *Epistola de Modo miscendi*, i. e. 'Epistle on the Manner of mixing.' *Epistola secretissima de Ponderibus*, i. e. 'A secret Epi-'stle of Weights.' *Speculum secretorum*, 'Mirror of 'Secrets.' It is not easy to assign the dates of these several pieces, but most probably they were wrote and sent abroad before the time of his imprisonment, and they seem to have had a much greater currency than his other writings, since we find them frequently quoted by the succeeding sages in that school, such as Norton, Ripley, &c. About the year 1288, he addressed to Pope Nicholas IV, his book *De retardandis senectutis accidentibus*, which being divided into three parts, each of these has been taken for a separate treatise, and so the whole divided into *De retardatione senectutis*, i. e. 'Of the retarding Old Age.' *De universali regimine senum*, i. e. 'Of the Regimen for Men in Years;' and *De conservatione Sensuum*, i. e. 'Of the 'Preservation of the Senses.' His last work, as we have already shewn, was his *Compendium Theologiæ*, i. e. 'Compendium of Divinity,' of which there are several MSS. yet in being, some more and some less perfect. Thus it plainly appears, that though it may be true, that some of our author's works are lost, or at least so hid, as that the publick has no knowledge of them; yet that the far greater part of Bacon's works still remain, and if they were published with the same care that has been taken about his Opus Majus, it would undoubtedly be an acceptable service rendered to the commonwealth of learning, and contribute not a little, to the bringing such pieces of our author to light, as are still buried in obscurity. We must likewise observe, in order to compleat the design of this note, that several of the pieces mentioned in the foregoing catalogue, are falsly ascribed to our author, and ought really to be accounted the works of other men. Such as the Treatise *Of the Flux and Reflux of the* British *Sea*, which belongs to *William Burley* (133). The discourse on the *Usefulness of Astronomy*, which is attributed to *William Botoner* (134). The treatise *of the Magnet or Loadstone*, said to have been written by *Peter Peregrinus* (135): The *Rogerina Major & Minus*, which as Dr Freind justly observes, are not at all like to be his, but belong rather to *Roger of Parma* (136): The treatise *on the Psalms*, and *the Life of* St Edmund *Archbishop of* Canterbury, we have already asserted to be the works of *Robert Bacon* (137). On the whole therefore it will appear from this account, that we are already in a much better condition in this respect, than Leland thought was possible; and that we know much more of the life, character, and writings, of this famous man, than Bale or Pits, or any of the writers who transcribe from them, which is not said with any design of discrediting their labours, but with a view to encourage others to surpass our's, and give still a clearer account of this admirable person and his discoveries, to which we shall esteem ourselves happy, if we have any way contributed by the pains we have bestowed.

(130) As we are informed by Dr Jebb in his preface to the Opus Majus.

(131) Perhaps there are copies of the MS. in Mr Theyer's Collection.

(132) I find this title set down by Dr Shaw as of Bacon's Treatise, but I apprehend it is the Editor's title, for I find *Thesaurus Chimicus*. Francofurti. 8*vo*, 1603, 1620. in which most of these treatises are contained.

(133) Cave, Hist. Literar. Vol. II. P. 326.

(134) Id. ibid.

(135) This was the judgment of the famous Thomas Allen, as Wood tells us, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 140.

(136) History of Physick, Vol. II. P. 249.

(137) See the former article of BACON (ROBERT).

with certainty to what Popes he addreſſed his writings, what thoſe writings were, and why they were addreſſed to them. We can form a juſt notion of the reaſon why he was honoured to ſo extraordinary a degree, by the moſt learned and the moſt worthy men of the age in which he flouriſhed, and how his writings have been in ſome ſort the ſtandard of a true taſte for ſcience, that is to ſay, ſought for and admired when it prevailed, neglected and miſrepreſented whenever it was clouded or obſcured. We are now ſenſible of the folly of thoſe prejudices, the falſhood of thoſe calumnies, and the cauſes of thoſe miſtakes, which have been ſpread concerning our author and his writings. Laſtly, we are enabled to diſcern, from the fulleſt and moſt authentick evidence, the juſtice and ſincerity of thoſe praiſes, which in the higheſt degree have been beſtowed upon him, by the ableſt writers and beſt judges of true and uſeful knowledge, in our own and in foreign countries [Z]. It is true, that a great deal of time and pains have been

[Z] *In our own and in foreign countries.*] It is a very juſt reflection made by Dr Freind, on the writers of our Engliſh hiſtory, who are ſo copious in their praiſes of much more inconſiderable perſons, and yet ſilent as to Roger Bacon, 'that ſurely ſome 'relation of ſo extraordinary a genius, would have 'as well deſerved to have had a place in their wri-'tings, as the detail of a blazing ſtar or a bloody 'ſhower, which they never fail to regiſter at large. 'And it might perhaps have been of as much uſe 'and pleaſure to the reader, as a long recital of the 'the riſe and fall of a great miniſter, or the wars 'and victories of our Kings (138).' It is indeed doubtful, whether he would have been remembred at all in the times neareſt his own, if it had not been for the rumours ſpread amongſt the vulgar of his being a great Magician, and the honours paid him by the Alchemiſts at home and abroad, by whom he is always mentioned with great eſteem, and as one of the Patriarchs in their ſcience. Thus Thomas Norton, in his famous book on this ſubject, places him before Raymond Lully, and frequently cites his very words (139). He is alſo mentioned with great applauſe by George Ripley (140), which evidently ſhews, that his chemical works were univerſally known, among ſuch as addicted themſelves to that ſtudy. It is not at all ſtrange therefore, that when John Leland, with moſt laudable zeal, undertook to reſcue ſome part of the literary hiſtory of his country from oblivion; he found it ſo difficult to obtain any tolerable account of our author's life and writings; as to which, however, he made very diligent ſearch, and found enough to warrant his declaring our author, a man moſt diligent in acquiring every kind of learning, and juſtly meriting the title, of the miracle of the age in which he lived. Nay, ſo great an opinion had he of Bacon's learning, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks, that he wiſhes for an hundred mouths and an hundred tongues to proclaim his praiſes, and moſt paſſionately deplores the various accidents, by which he was deprived of the pleaſure of peruſing all his works (141). Biſhop Bale, though carried away at firſt by the ſtream of common opinion, yet afterwards did him ample juſtice, and fairly acknowledges, that he was both an excellent Mathematician, and a moſt learned Philoſopher (142). John Pits gives him a very high character, and celebrates him as one perfectly ſkilled in Poetry, Rhetorick, and every part of polite learning, all the liberal arts, in the ſeveral branches of Mathematicks, Phyſicks, and Philoſophy, eminent in Divinity and Law, well read in Greek and Hebrew learning, and thoroughly verſed in all the monuments of venerable antiquity. So that, ſays he, there was nothing wanting to render him the moſt knowing perſon of his age, and in every various kind of knowledge, moſt excellent. He vindicates him from all the injurious calumnies that had been thrown upon him, and very juſtly pronounces them the effects of that envy, to which the ignorant are provoked againſt ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their extrordinary learning (143). After this, we find him mentioned with the greateſt honour, by the moſt learned and moſt judicious writers, and it began to be accounted a merit to publiſh his writings, and to defend his character. The famous Dr John Dee (144), undertook the former, and promiſed the latter, and perhaps performed it too, though his work was never publiſhed. The learned Selden often mentions our author, with reverence and applauſe (145). The judicious Sir Thomas Brown, ſpeaks of him with great reſpect, and takes particular notice of the ſtory of the brazen-head, which he tells us, ſaid no more than *Time is*; he will have it that this tale is too literally received, as being but a myſtical fable concerning the Philoſopher's great work, wherein he eminently laboured, implying no more by the copper-head, than the veſſel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it ſpake, than the opportunity to be watched of the birth of the myſtical child, or Philoſophical King; which critical opportunity having ſlipped, he miſſed the intended treaſure; which, ſays Sir Thomas, had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England, that is the moſt powerful defence and ſtrongeſt fortification, which gold could have effected (146). But our author's memory has been indebted to none more than the induſtrious Anthony Wood, who, with incredible pains and diligence, firſt drew together the moſt remarkable paſſages of Friar Bacon's hiſtory, from his own, and from the writings of original authors near his time (147). We have already ſhewn what the learned Dr Plot has ſaid in his defence, in his excellent Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in another work of his, he takes notice of Friar Bacon's curious remarks, on the efficacy of unction and painting for preſerving the body, and thereby prolonging life (148); as alſo, of his having obſerved the motion of *aſteriæ* or *ſtar ſtones* in vinegar, four hundred years before he wrote (149). Our author is likewiſe celebrated for his diſcoveries by the famous Joſeph Glanvil, who wrote in defence of the Royal Society (150). The great Mr Boyle ſpeaks of him as the father of the Chemiſts, and the author of that notion, that metals are compoſed of mercury and ſulphur, which however he does not abſolutely approve (151). The famous Dr Cave, ſays of him very truly, that being immerſed in philoſophick ſtudies, he wholly gave himſelf up to the ſearch of hidden things, ſo that penetrating into the ſecret receſſes of nature, he was able to aſſign the cauſes of things, and ſo to exert the effects of his wiſdom in practice, as by the performance of extraordinary deeds, to create in the vulgar an apprehenſion of his being a Magician (152). We have often quoted Dr Freind in his praiſe, ſo that we ſhall at preſent borrow only a few words from him, and theſe ſuch as ſhew him to have been a very impartial judge. 'We find, ſays he, enough in him 'to let us ſee, that the purſuit after the Philoſopher's 'ſtone began early; and Lully, who owns himſelf 'his diſciple (which probably might be when both 'were at Paris) carried theſe viſionary notions to an 'extravagant height. However, there is a great 'deal of new and and ſolid learning upon this ſub-'ject of Chemiſtry in the works of Bacon; if we 'ſtrip it of that jargon of language, which was ſo 'faſhionable in thoſe times. We may be the leſs 'ſurprized to find ſuch diſcoveries in him, who was 'indeed the miracle of the age he lived in (153).' After this excellent perſon, I ſhall not mention any more of our own countrymen, but content myſelf with ſhewing, in how great eſteem our learned author has been with ſuch foreigners, as were ſo happy to meet with, and ſo well verſed in the ſciences, as to be able to judge of his writings: For as to ſuch as have written general introductions to literature, or ſhort characters of great men, whoſe works they never ſaw, and on whom therefore they paſs raſh cenſures, capable only of miſleading raw and weak minds, they are not worth regarding (154). The celebrated Picus de Mirandula, who was himſelf ſuch a prodigy of learning, that, ſolely on this account, he was traduced for a Magician, from a ſuppoſition that it was impoſſible for him to have acquired ſo large a ſtock of ſcience, without more than human aſſiſtance, ſpeaks himſelf with reverence and

(138) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 248.

(139) Ordinal. cap. v.

(140) See his *Compound of Alchymie*, in Aſhmole's *Theſaurum Chemicum Britannicum*, p. 131.

(141) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 258.

(142) De Script. Britan. p. 342.

(143) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 366, 367.

(144) See the article of DEE (JOHN).

(145) De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. c. 2.

(146) Vulgar Errors, Book vii. chap. xvi.

(147) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 120—140.

(148) Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. ii.

(149) Id. ibid. ch. v.

(150) See his PLUS ULTRA; or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, ch. v.

(151) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 323.

(152) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. II. p. 325.

(153) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.

(154) Gottlieb. Stollii, Introd. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 474, 656.

been employed, as indeed they were moſt neceſſary, to bring theſe ſeveral points, with the authorities requiſite to ſupport them, to the view of the publick; but, when the deſign of this work is conſidered, the merit of the man duly weighed, together with the glory which reſults to this nation from having produced, and that too in one of the darkeſt and moſt unlettered ages, the brighteſt and moſt univerſal genius, that perhaps the world ever ſaw, it is hoped that this time and pains, both with regard to the reader and the writer, will be eſteemed properly employed.

and admiration of Roger Bacon (155). One of the moſt eminent members of the republick of learning in Holland, Gerard Joannes Voſſius, has beſtowed many and high commendations upon our author, whoſe works he had read and ſtudied. I will mention only what he ſays of him in one place. 'In the year 1270 'flouriſhed in every kind of learning among the Engliſh, 'Roger Bacon, a Monk of the Franciſcan order, and 'an Oxford Divine, a man of ſuch vaſt learning, 'that England, nay the whole world beſide, had not in 'this reſpect his equal, or his ſecond; yet either 'through the envy, or the ignorance, of the age in 'which he lived, he was ſtigmatized as a Magi-'cian (156). That moſt ingenious Daniſh Philoſopher Olaus Borrichius, ſhewed himſelf a zealous admirer of Bacon's learning and merit, with which he was well acquainted, and aſſerts him to have diſcovered all the kinds of glaſſes now in uſe, to have known gun-powder, and to have made many other important diſcoveries, which entitle him, as he obſerves, to immortal reputation (157). In another book of his, he declares, that he had a moſt extenſive and ſurprizing capacity, in penetrating whatever ſubject he ſtudied. He recommends him as one of the moſt candid, as well as moſt able of the Chemiſts, and one from whom many of the reſt borrowed (158). There are few of the French writers who have given us greater marks of their general learning, than Gabriel Naudé, who expreſsly undertook the defence of our author, and who appears to have been very well acquainted with ſuch of his writings, as in his time were made publick (159). The famous Morhoff mentions him often, and always with the greateſt marks of approbation and eſteem, and often with the higheſt praiſes; neither does he make any doubt of the diſcoveries aſcribed to him by Wood, and other Engliſh writers (160). To him I may ſubjoin the learned and impartial Caſimir Oudin, who, with infinite labour and diligence, has collected the beſt accounts that are any where to be met with, of the pieces written by Bacon, and the places where his manuſcripts are preſerved (161), The moſt judicious and indefatigable Fabricius, commends him highly in the ſhort account he has given us of his life and writings. I cannot help taking notice of the amazing induſtry of this excellent perſon, whoſe labours are, and ever will be extremely uſeful to the lovers of learning; for though his account of Roger Bacon very little exceeds two pages, yet it plainly proves, that he had neglected nothing in his power, to gain a competent knowledge of this author and his works, and the deſire he expreſſes of ſeeing Dr Jebb's edition of his Opus Majus, an account of which he had met with in a French Journal, is a ſingular inſtance of his veracity and willingneſs, to let his readers know, how far his materials extended and where they fell ſhort (162). The moſt ingenious author of the Hiſtory of Hermetick Philoſophy Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy, has given a very conciſe and accurate account of Roger Bacon as a Chemiſt, and done him all the juſtice that could be deſired (163). Another French writer of diſtinguiſhed abilities, ſpeaks of him with ſuch an air of admiration, and ſo warmly aſſerts his right to thoſe diſcoveries which have made other men famous, as ſhews, that he preferred truth to all things, and was reſolved to eſpouſe merit, in what age or country ſoever he found it (164). I ſhall conclude this catalogue of authorities in ſupport of Bacon's character, which however long it may appear, comes very far ſhort of what might have been collected, with that of the famous Boerhaave, who, in his account of Chemical writers, tells us, that Roger Bacon, an Engliſh Monk, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, excelled in Alchemy, Chemiſtry, Natural Magic, Mechanics, Metaphyſics, Phyſics, and Mathematics, and that ſuch of his works, as have been handed down to us, are generally written in a clear, eaſy ſtile, without circumlocutions (165). Thus it appears that the reputation of this extraordinary perſon, has not riſen from any ſuperſtitious regard to antiquity, or the prejudices of a few great men in his favour, but is truly founded on merit, and has been cheriſhed and maintained, from a principle of juſtice, by the ableſt men, and the moſt competent judges in all ages, and of all countries, from the times neareſt his own, down to thoſe in which we live. E

(155) De Prænotione, lib. vii. c. 7.

(156) De natura Artium, lib. iii. c. 70. §. 8.

(157) De Ortu & Progreſſ. Chem. p. 122.

(158) Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum celebriorum, ſect. xix.

(159) Apologie pour les grands Hommes ſupçonnez de Magie, chap. xvii.

(160) Polyhiſtor. I. 2, 6, 67. II. 2, 12, 6. III. 4, 1, 9, 17.

(161) De Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. III. col. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(162) Bibliotheca Latina mediæ & infimæ ætatis, p. 431—433.

(163) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. I. p. 109.

(164) Hiſtoire Critique de la Philoſophie, Vol. III. p. 325.

(165) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. I. p. 28.

BACON (Sir NICHOLAS) Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Suffolk [*A*]. His father was Robert Bacon of Drinkſton in that county, Eſq; and the name of his mother was Iſabel, the daughter of John Gage of Pakenham in the ſaid county, Eſq (*a*). Our Nicholas was their ſecond ſon, and born ſome time in the year 1510, at Chiſlehurſt in Kent (*b*). After having received the firſt rudiments of learning, either in the houſe of his father, or at ſome little ſchool in the neighbourhood, he was ſent when very young to Corpus Chriſti (vulgarly) Bennet college in Cambridge (*c*), where having improved himſelf in all branches of uſeful knowledge, for which he made a very grateful return [*B*], he travelled into France, and made ſome ſtay at Paris, in order to give the laſt poliſh to his education (*d*). On his return he ſettled in Gray's-Inn, and applied himſelf with ſuch aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the Law, that he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that learned profeſſion, ſo that on the diſſolution of the monaſtery of St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he had a grant from King Henry VIII, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, of

(*a*) See the Pedigree of the family of Bacon MS. belonging formerly to Peter le Neve, Eſq;

(*b*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

(*c*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 46.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

[*A*] *An ancient and honourable family in Suffolk.*] The learnded Camden tells us, that Auverton, in the county of Suffolk, was the ſeat of the antient family of Bacon, who held the manor of Thornage and that of Brome, by conducting all the footmen of Suffolk and Norfolk to the wars in Wales (1), and indeed there is a fair pedigree of this family extant, which deduces them from Grimbaldus, who came over hither at the Norman conqueſt, and had lands given him near Holt in Norfolk, where he founded the pariſh church of Letheringſet, of which he made his ſecond ſon Parſon. From him Robert Bacon, the father of our Nicholas, was lineally deſcended. In ſupport of this account many quotations might be made from our moſt antient writers, and particularly from Weaver's Monuments, wherein there is mention made of many of the family of Bacon in Suffolk (2).

(1) Camden. Britan. p. 352. edit. 1594.

(2) Pedigree for the family of Bacon, MS. Funeral Monuments, p. 813, 863.

[*B*] *A very grateful return.*] In regard to the univerſity in general, he ſhewed his kindneſs, by making a preſent to the publick library of 103 Greek and Latin books, when ſuch preſents were much wanted, and not a little encouraged by his example (3). To the college he was a great benefactor, by endowing it with ſix ſcholarſhips, three of which he appropriated to his ſchool of Boteſdale, which he built together with the chapel and library over it, ſhewing himſelf thereby a true lover and encourager of learning, which never enobled any family more conſpicuouſly than his own (4).

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 345.

(4) Stowe's Annals, p. 685. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 2.

[*C*] *A*

of the manours of Redgrave, Boteſdale, and Gillingham, with the park of Redgrave, and ſix acres of land in Wortham, as alſo the tythes of Redgrave to hold *in capite* by Knight's ſervice (*e*), which ſhews that he ſtood high at that time in the favour of his Prince, who was one that never gave or preferred but where true merit invited. In the thirty-eighth of the ſame King, he was promoted to the office of Attorney in the court of Wards, which was a place both of honour and profit. In this office he was continued by King Edward VI, his patent being renewed in the firſt year of that Prince (*f*), and in 1552, which was the laſt year of his reign, Mr Bacon was elected Treaſurer of Gray's-Inn (*g*). His great moderation and conſummate prudence, preſerved him thro' the dangerous reign of Queen Mary. In the very dawn of that of Elizabeth he was knighted, and the Great Seal of England being taken from Nicholas Heath Archbiſhop of York, was delivered to Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the twenty-ſecond of December 1558, with the title of Lord Keeper (*h*). He was alſo of the Privy-Council to her Majeſty, who had much regard to his advice. The Parliament met on the twenty-third of January, but was prorogued on account of the Queen's indiſpoſition to the twenty-fifth, when the Lord Keeper opened the ſeſſion with a moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech [*C*]. Some of the Queen's Counſellors thought it neceſſary that the attainder of the Queen's mother ſhould be taken off, but the Lord Keeper was of another mind, he thought the crown purged all defects, and in compliance with his advice, two bills were brought into Parliament, and paſſed into laws, one for recognizing the Queen's title, the other for reſtoring her in blood as heir to her mother (*i*). The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the ſettlement of religion, in which no man had a greater ſhare than the Keeper, though he acted with ſuch prudence as never to incur the hatred of any party. On this account he was made choice of, together with the Archbiſhop of York, to be Moderator in a diſpute between eight Proteſtant Divines, and eight Popiſh Biſhops, and the latter behaving very unfairly in the opinion of both the Moderators, and deſiring, to avoid a fair diſputation, to go away, the Lord Keeper put that queſtion to each of them, and when all except one inſiſted on going, his Lordſhip diſmiſſed them with this memorandum, *For that ye would not that we ſhould hear you, perhaps you may ſhortly hear of us*, and accordingly for this contempt, the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln were committed to the Tower, and the reſt were bound to appear before the Council, and not to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter without leave (*k*). The whole buſineſs of the ſeſſion, than which there was none of greater importance throughout that reign, was chiefly managed by his Lordſhip, who purſued therein his wiſe maxim, *Let us ſtay a little, that we may have done the ſooner* (*l*), and thereby brought all to a good concluſion, ending the ſeſſion as he began it, with a moſt excellent ſpeech [*D*]. Thenceforward

(*e*) Chitting's Tenures of Suffolk, MS. p. 154.

(*f*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 3. m. 36.

(*g*) Dugdale, Orig. Juridic. p. 298.

(*h*) Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 21.

(*i*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. in the Appendix, where the laſt of theſe Acts may be found.

(*k*) Hollingſhead, Stowe, Speed, Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 88, 94, 95, 96. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. ix. p. 56.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

[*C*] *A moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech.*] The ſum of his diſcourſe was to this purpoſe, 'That the 'Queen had God before her eyes, and was not unmindful of holy precepts and divine counſels, and 'therefore meant chiefly in this conference; that the advancement of God's honour and glory, ſhould be 'ſought as the ſure and infallible foundation, whereupon the policies of every good commonwealth 'were to be erected, and was as the ſtrait line, 'whereby it was wholly to be directed and governed; and as the chief pillar and buttreſs, wherewith it was to be continually ſuſtained. And as 'the well and perfect doing of this, could not but 'make good ſucceſs in all the reſt; ſo the remiſs 'and looſe dealing in it, could not but make the 'reſt full of imperfection and doubtfulneſs, which 'muſt needs bring with them continual change and 'alteration; a thing to be eſchewed in all good 'governments, but moſt of all in matters of faith 'and religion. That the Queen therefore principally required them, for the duty they bore to 'God, and their ſervice to her and their country, 'that in this conſultation they would with all humbleneſs, ſingleneſs, and pureneſs of mind, uſe their 'whole endeavour and diligence to eſtabliſh that 'which by their wiſdoms ſhould be thought moſt 'meet, for the well preſerving this godly purpoſe; 'and this without reſpect of honour, rule, or ſovereignty, profit, pleaſure, or eaſe; or of any thing 'that might touch any perſon in eſtimation or opinion of wit, learning, or knowledge; and without 'all regard of other affection. And that in their 'conference about this, they ſhould wholly forbear, 'as a great enemy to good counſel, all manner of 'contention, reaſonings, diſputes, and ſophiſtical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, matters for oſtentation of wit, rather than conſultation of weighty matters; comlier for ſcholars than 'counſellors. And becauſe commonly they were 'cauſes of much expence of time, and bred no good 'reſolutions. He adviſed that by counſel, proviſion 'ſhould be made, that no contentious and contumelious words, as heretic, ſchiſmatic, papiſt, and 'ſuch like, being nurſes of ſeditious factions and 'ſects, ſhould be uſed, but baniſhed out of men's 'mouths as the cauſers, continuers, and increaſers of 'diſpleaſure, hate, and malice; and as utter enemies 'of all concord and unity; and the very marks they 'were now come to ſhoot at. And that as nothing 'ſhould be adviſed or done, that might any way breed 'or nouriſh any kind of idolatry or ſuperſtition; ſo 'heed was to be taken, that by licentious or looſe 'handling, any occaſion were given, whereby contempt, or irreverend behaviour towards God and 'godly things, might creep in (5).'

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 54.

[*D*] *A moſt excellent ſpeech.*] On the ſubject of religion he ſpoke thus: 'That as to the obſervation 'of the uniform order in religion, they of the Parliament, in their ſeveral places, ſhould endeavour, 'to the beſt of their powers, to further and ſet forth 'the ſame; which by great and deliberate advice in 'that Parliament, had been eſtabliſhed. That watch 'ſhould be had of the withdrawers and hinderers 'thereof, eſpecially of thoſe that ſubtilly, and by 'indirect means, ſought to procure the contrary. 'Among theſe he comprehended, as well thoſe that 'were too ſwift, as thoſe that were too ſlow; thoſe 'that went before the Law or behind the Law, as 'thoſe that would not follow. For good government 'could not be where obedience failed, and both theſe 'alike broke the rule of obedience. That theſe were 'they, that in all likelihood would be the beginners 'and maintainers of factions and ſects, the very 'mothers and nurſes of all ſeditions and tumults. 'Of theſe therefore great heed ſhould be taken; and 'upon their being found, ſharp and ſevere corrections 'ſhould be impoſed, according to the order of Law; 'and that in the beginning, without reſpect of perſons, 'as upon the greateſt adverſaries that could be to 'unity and concord, without which no common-'wealth, he ſaid, could long endure.' After this ſpeech, which was made on the fifth of May, 1559, the Parliament was diſſolved (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 61.

forward the Lord-Keeper ſtood as high in the favour of the Queen as any of her miniſters, and he took care to fortify his friendſhip, by maintaining a cordial intereſt with other great men, particularly with thoſe eminent perſons (*m*), who had married into the ſame family with himſelf, *viz.* Cecil, Hobby, Rowlet, and Killigrew. By their aſſiſtance he maintained his credit at Court, though he ſometimes differed in opinion from the mighty favourite Leiceſter, who yet once bid fair for his ruin. There was, it ſeems, great intrigues at that time carried on in relation to the ſucceſſion. Some great men, and particularly the Earl of Leiceſter, pretended to favour the title of the Queen of Scots, whereas others were more inclined to the Houſe of Suffolk. The Queen ſometimes affected a neutrality, but at others, ſhe ſhewed a tenderneſs for the title of the Scottiſh Queen. In 1564, when theſe diſputes were at the height, one Mr John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, thought fit to write a treatiſe, or rather to publiſh it, for it ſeems to have been written before in favour of the Suffolk line, and directly, and in plain terms, againſt the title of the Queen of Scots. This book was complained of by the Biſhop of Roſs, who was Ambaſſador from the Queen of Scots, and his cauſe being warmly ſupported by the Earl of Leiceſter, Hales was committed to priſon, and ſo ſevere an enquiry made after all who had any notice of, or had expreſſed any favour for, this piece, that at laſt the Lord-Keeper came to be ſuſpected, which drew upon him the Queen's diſpleaſure to ſuch a degree, that he was forbid the Court, removed from his ſeat at Council, and prohibited from meddling with any affairs but thoſe of the Chancery; nay Camden carries it ſo far as to ſay he was confined. Certain it is, that the Queen was much eſtranged from him, and he in the utmoſt danger of total ruin (*n*) [*E*]. At laſt, however, Cecil with much difficulty reſtored him to the Queen's good opinion, who in all probability liked him not the leſs in the ſucceeding part of her reign, for this diſtaſte he had ſhewn towards the title of the Queen of Scots (*o*), as appears by her ſetting him at the head of that commiſſion, granted in the year 1568 (*p*), for hearing the difference between that unfortunate Princeſs, and her rebellious ſubjects; and in 1571 (*q*), we find him again acting in the like capacity, though very little was done before the Commiſſioners at either time, and very likely this was what Queen Elizabeth chiefly deſired, and the covering her inclination with a decent appearance of juſtice, was perhaps not a little owing to the addreſs of the Lord-Keeper. Thenceforward he continued not only in, but at the head of her Majeſty's Councils, and had a great hand in preventing, by his moderation, ſome warm advices that afterwards took effect. The ſhare however that he had in the buſineſs of the Duke of Norfolk, his known diſlike to the title of the Queen of Scots, and his great care for promoting the Proteſtant religion, created him many bitter enemies among the Papiſts both at home and abroad, who though they were able to do him no great hurt, yet by ſeveral bitter libels gave him no ſmall pain (*r*) [*F*]. As a ſtateſman he was remarkable for a clear head, and deep counſels, and

(*m*) Camden. Annal. p. 309.

(*n*) Strype's Annal's, Vol. I. p. 453, 454, 455, 456. Camden. Annal. p. 109, 110.

(*o*) See Strype's Annals, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 109; where there is a long Memorial of Sir Nicholas Bacon's, dated Nov. 20, 1577.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 170.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 225, 226.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 178. Camden. Annal. p. 274.

[*E*] *In the utmoſt danger of total ruin.*] This is the moſt curious, as well as moſt difficult point to ſettle, that occurs in the memoirs of this great man, and yet few of our hiſtorians have given any clear account of this matter. I will therefore endeavour to ſet it in the beſt light that may be, ſo that the reader may at leaſt comprehend, how a matter of no great importance at firſt ſight, came to affect ſo great a man ſo deeply. Among other projects formed by Queen Elizabeth, to make herſelf eaſy in relation to the Queen of Scots, one was contrived in the beginning of 1564, for marrying that Princeſs to Lord Robert Dudley, created for that purpoſe Earl of Leiceſter, and the great argument uſed to perſwade the Queen of Scots to this marriage, was a ſolemn aſſurance, that upon it's taking place, Queen Elizabeth would declare her preſumptive heir to the crown. This project alarmed all the great men, who were of a party oppoſite to that of the Earl of Leiceſter, and this induced them to wiſh that ſomething might be written, to ſhew that this new project was impracticable, by reaſon of the title of the Houſe of Suffolk to the crown. This occaſioned ſome countenance to be given to a treatiſe written the year before, on the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Lady Katherine Gray, under the title of *A Declaration of the Succeſſion of the Crown Imperial of England*, which the author laboured to prove, muſt belong to the iſſue of this marriage (7). The Earl of Leiceſter highly reſented this, for which various reaſons have been aſſigned, the moſt obvious is it's croſſing his intended match; a late writer has gueſſed, that he might think it neceſſary to declare againſt the Houſe of Suffolk, becauſe of his near relation to it, which might otherwiſe have brought him into ſuſpicion with Queen Elizabeth (8). For my own part, I think a better reaſon than any of theſe may be given, and that is, his hopes of ruining his adverſaries, by fixing this book upon them, which he knew muſt be as odious to the Queen his miſtreſs, as to the Queen of Scots. In the month of April 1564, Hales was committed to the Fleet, and the farther enquiry into the matter, was committed to Sir William Cecil Secretary of State. He, in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, written at this very time, expreſſes a great concern at his being obliged to meddle in ſo knotty a buſineſs, however he profeſſes that he would act in it uprightly, and move neither to the right-hand nor to the left. Upon his report, one Mr Nudigate was likewiſe committed, and upon farther ſearching into the buſineſs, Lord John Gray of Pyrgo was reſtrained. Theſe proceedings occaſioned ſuch general diſcontent, that the Queen thought proper to prorogue the Parliament, and in the month of November, Hales was committed to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper diſgraced, upon which Secretary Cecil in one of his letters ſays, *The affairs of the nation ſuffered much, as well as the Lord-Keeper's life, being in danger through heavineſs of mind* (9), and this appears the more probable, ſince Lord Gray before-mentioned, died thro' apprehenſion of what might befal him. The matter ſuſpected was, that the Lord-Keeper had ſome hand in writing the book. Anthony Wood tells us, that Cecil had as much hand in it as Bacon, but that it was agreed he ſhould lay the whole weight upon the former, that he might preſerve his intereſt with the Queen entire, and ſo be the more capable of bringing the Keeper again into favour, which however he was not able to do, till the beginning of the next year, nor had it been done at all, if Sir Anthony Browne, who in the reign of Queen Mary was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, would have accepted the ſeals, but he a wiſe man, and of a religion different from that of the State, wiſely and ſteadily refuſed them, though ſtrongly importuned by the Earl of Leiceſter, who by this gentleman's prudence, found all his fine-ſpun ſchemes defeated (10).

(7) Camden. Ann. p. 109, 110. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 453, & ſeq. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. col. 176.

(8) Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, by Mr Robert Keith, p. 353.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 456.

(10) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *Gave him no ſmall pain.*] About the year 1570, ſome Popiſh fugitives in Scotland, not content with

and while it was thought of ſome other great men that they ſeemed wiſer than they were, yet the common voice of the nation agreed in this, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was wiſer than he ſeemed. His great ſkill lay in balancing factions, and it is thought he taught the Queen that ſecret, the more neceſſary to her becauſe the laſt of her family, and conſequently without many of thoſe ſupports incident to Princes (s). In the Chancery he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very moderate uſe of power, and ſhewing great reſpect to the Common Law. At his own requeſt, an act of Parliament was made, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the power of a Lord-Keeper (t) [G]; though he might probably have taken away all need of this, by procuring the title of Lord Chancellor, but according to his motto which was *Mediocra firma*, he was content to be ſafe, and did not deſire to be great. In that court, and in the Star-Chamber, he made uſe on proper occaſions, of ſet ſpeeches, in which he was happier than moſt men, pleaſing the people by their ſound, and charming the wiſeſt men of that age with their ſenſe, whence he attained the reputation of uniting two oppoſite characters, *viz.* of a witty and a weighty ſpeaker (u). His great parts and great preferment were far from raiſing him in his own opinion, as appears from the modeſt anſwer he gave Queen Elizabeth, when ſhe told him his houſe at Redgrave was too little for him, *Not ſo, Madam*, returned he, *but your Majeſty has made me too great for my houſe.* Yet to ſhew his reſpect for her Majeſty's judgment, he afterwards added wings to his houſe (w). His modeſty in this reſpect was ſo much the greater, ſince he had a great paſſion for building, and withal a very fine taſte, as appeared by his houſe and gardens at Gorhambury near St Albans, a deſcription of which the reader will find in the notes [H]. Towards the latter end of his life he became very corpulent,

(s) See Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 25. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 470, 471.

(t) Lives of the Chancellors, p. 86, 87.

(u) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 43.

(w) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 3.

with having printed there ſeveral ſeditious books, ſent one of them, entitled *A Detection of certain Practices, &c.* with the following letter, addreſſed to their loving friends, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel, the Queen's Lieutenants in the county of Worceſter. 'After our hearty commendations; 'foreſeeing, by mature advice and conſideration, 'the preſent perils and imminent dangers whereinto 'the realm is like to fall, and that even at hand, if 'wiſdom prevent not the ſame; and having a natural 'care, and faithful affection towards our country, as 'beſeemeth all true Engliſhmen, we have thought 'good, as well to prevent the peril, as alſo to take 'care for the continual, proſperous, and peacable go-'vernment of this State, to ſignify unto you, what 'we, as well by credible report of ſtrangers, as alſo 'by the univerſal ſpeech of our countrymen at home, 'underſtand to be the cauſes of theſe ſo ſudden dangers 'like to enſue. The commonalty of this realm are 'thoroughly perſuaded, that the Lord-Keeper, Ma-'ſter Secretary, Mr Mildmay, and Mr Sadler, 'ſhould ſo miſgovern the State, and abuſe our Sove-'reign; that all, or the moſt part, of theſe dangers 'ſhould ariſe from them, as procurers of the ſame; 'and that by them, and the Paganical pretended 'Biſhops, now uſurping in this realm, we ſhould be 'thus ſtill drawn and continued in a religion of their 'deviſing, much worſe than Turkerie, *&c* (11).' From the cloſe of this letter it appears, that letters of the ſame ſort had been diſpatched to every county in England, with a view, no doubt, to ſtir up a general rebellion, under pretence, that the Queen was guided by evil Counſellors. In the beginning of the year 1572, there was a libel publiſhed in France, deeply charging the Lord-Keeper, and the Lord-High-Treaſurer Burleigh, as traytors to the State of England, which book was written with ſuch bitterneſs, that it gave theſe great men much diſquiet. The Treaſurer hereupon wrote to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, 'That 'he had a great mind to know who the author was, 'and deſired him to make his enquiry, adding that 'if by means of the printer it might be found out, 'he would beſtow a reward upon the diſcovery. But 'that if it could not, then he wiſhed that ſome 'means might be uſed, as of himſelf, to the Queen-'mother, that the print might be deſtroyed, for 'that otherwiſe they ſhould think themſelves, conſi-'dering the places they held in this eſtate, not well 'conſidered by that eſtate. He added, that this licen-'tiouſneſs to inveigh againſt men by name in printed 'books, who did not themſelves uſe by books to 'provoke any, was in all good eſtates intolerable. 'And then he added, by way of proteſtation of the 'integrity and faithfulneſs of both their ſervices, 'God, ſaid he, *ſend this eſtate no worſe meaning 'ſervants in all reſpects than we two have been, who 'indeed have not ſpared labour nor care to ſerve our 'Queen and country, and if we had not, we might 'truly avow, neither our Queen nor country had enjoyed*

(11) Cotton. Lib. Titus, B. ii.

'*that common repoſe that it hath done* (12).' Mr Camden, in his Annals, tells us, the title of this book was, *A Treatiſe of Treaſon*, and that the Queen was ſo moved therewith, as to publiſh a proclamation to juſtify her Miniſters, and directing that all theſe books ſhould forthwith be brought in and burnt, under ſevere penalties (13).

(12) Staype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 274.

[G] *The power of a Lord-Keeper.*] We have before obſerved, that he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, the twenty-ſecond day of December, 1 Eliz. (14), but it ſeems, after he had been ſome months in his office, he began to doubt to what degree his authority extended, which ſeems to have been owing to the general terms uſed upon the delivery of the Great-Seal, of which we have various inſtances in Rymer's Fœdera (15). Upon this, he firſt applied himſelf to the Queen, from whom he procured a patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the fourteenth of April, in the firſt year of her reign, whereby ſhe declares him to have as full powers as if he were Chancellor of England, and ratifies all that he had already done (16), This however did not fully ſatisfy him, but four years afterwards he procured an act of Parliament (17), which declares, 'That the Common Law always 'was, that the Keeper of the Great Seal always had, 'as of right belonging to his office, the ſame autho-'rity, juriſdiction, execution of laws, and all other 'cuſtoms, as the Lord Chancellor of England lawfully 'uſed.' What the true reaſon was that made his Lordſhip ſo uneaſy, is not perhaps known to poſterity, but Sir Henry Spelman (18) has obſerved, that for the benefit of that wiſe counſellor Sir Nicholas Bacon, the authority of the Keeper of the Great Seal, was by this law declared to be in all reſpects the ſame with that of the Chancellor.

(14) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 167.

(15) Tom. IV. p. 523. Tom. V. p. 62. Ibid. p. 194.

(16) Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 30. dorſ.

(17) 5 Eliz. c. xviii.

(18) Gloſſ. Verbo Cancellarius.

[H] *Find in the notes.*] This manour was part of the antient revenue of the church of St Albans, near which it lies. On the diſſolution of the monaſtery, it was granted to Ralph Rowlet, Eſq; afterwards knighted, and by him conveyed to Sir Nicholas Bacon (19), who charmed with the pleaſant ſituation, built here a neat and elegant houſe, adorned with fine gardens, which in thoſe days made it very famous. Over the entrance into the hall ſtood theſe lines (20):

(19) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(20) Hiſtory of Engliſh Improvements in Architecture, Gardening, &c. MS.

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus tecta Baconus
Elizabeth regni luſtra fuere duo.
Factus eques magni Cuſtos ipſe Sigilli:
Gloria ſit ſoli tota tributa Deo.
Mediocria firma.

This houſe Nicholas Bacon finiſhed
When Elizabeth had ten years ruled,
Who made him Knght and Keeper of her Seal:
To God alone all glory ever be.
Firm is the middle ſtate.

corpulent, which made Queen Elizabeth ſay merrily, that *Sir Nicholas's ſoul lodged well*, to himſelf however his bulk was very cumberſome, inſomuch, that after walking from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Star-Chamber, which was but a very little way, he was uſually ſo much out of breath, that the Lawyers forbore ſpeaking at the bar till he recovered himſelf, and gave them notice of it by knocking with his ſtaff (*x*). After having held the Great-Seal more than twenty years, this able Stateſman and faithful Counſellor, was ſuddenly removed from this life, as a certain writer informs us, by the following accident. 'He was under the hands of his barber, and the weather being ſultry, had 'ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, 'he preſently fell aſleep, in the current of freſh air that was blowing in upon him, and 'awaked after ſome time diſtempered all over. Why, ſaid he to the ſervant, did you 'ſuffer me to ſleep thus expoſed? the fellow replied, That he durſt not preſume to 'diſturb him. Then ſaid the Lord-Keeper, By your civility I loſe my life; and ſo 'removed into his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after (*y*).' I have tranſcribed this ſtory exactly, though I think there is ſome reaſon to doubt the circumſtances of it, for all our writers agree, that Sir Nicholas Bacon paid his laſt debt to nature, on the twentieth of February 1579 (*z*), and one would imagine, that the weather could not then be very ſultry, if it had, that muſt have been very unuſual, and the hiſtorians of thoſe times would not have failed to take notice of it. It cannot however be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a fact as this is abſolutely unſupported by authority, though the original writer, whoever he was, muſt probably have been miſtaken, and have applied to Sir Nicholas Bacon, what was true of ſome other great perſon in thoſe times. However that matter may be, moſt certain it is, that the Lord-Keeper Bacon, after a long, happy, and honourable life, died, equally lamented by the Queen and her ſubjects, as I have ſaid, on the twentieth of February 1579, and on the ninth of March following, was buried with great ſolemnity, under a ſumptuous monument erected by himſelf in St Paul's church (*a*) [*I*]. Camden's character of him is juſt and plain, *Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, ſingulari prudentia, ſumma eloquentia, tenaci memoria, & ſacris Conciliis alterum Columen* (*b*). i. e. A man of a groſs body but moſt quick

(*x*) Chauncy's Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(*y*) Mallet's Life of the Lord ChancellorBacon, p. 4.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, p. 547. Stowe, p. 685. Hollingſhed, Vol. II. p. 1286.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. p. 333. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 547. Stowe's Annals, p. 685.

(*b*) Annal. p. 333.

Over a gate leading into the orchard, which had a garden on one ſide and a wilderneſs on the other, under the ſtatue of Orpheus, ſtood theſe verſes:

Horrida nuper eram aſpectu latebræque ferarum,
Ruricolis tantum numinibuſque locus.
Edomitor fauſtò huc dum forte ſupervenit Orpheus
Ulterius qui me non ſinit eſſe rudem;
Convocat, avulſis virgulta virentia truncis
Et ſedem quæ vel Diis placuiſſe poteſt.
Sicque mei cultor, ſic eſt mihi cultus et Orpheus:
Floreat O noſter cultus amorque diu.

Of yore how frightful did this place appear,
Here howl'd wild beaſts and ſatyrs frolick'd here,
When luckily for me this Orpheus came,
Whoſe heav'nly art has ſmooth'd my rugged frame,
For wither'd ſtocks, gave theſe fair ſpreading trees,
And rais'd a ſhade that deities might pleaſe.
Labours like his my Orpheus here employ,
O may we both each other long enjoy.

In the orchard was a little banquetting-houſe, adorned with great curioſity, having the liberal arts beautifully pictured on it's walls, over them the pictures of ſuch learned men as had excelled in each, and under them, verſes expreſſive of the benefits derived from the study of them. The verſes, and the names of thoſe hoſe pictures were there placed, follow:

GRAMMAR.

Lex ſum ſermonis linguarum regula certa,
Qui me non didicit cætera nulla petat.
O'er ſpeech I rule, all tongues my laws reſtrain,
Who knows not me ſeeks other arts in vain.
DONATUS, LILLY, SERVIUS, and PRISCIAN.

ARITHMETICK.

Ingenium exacuo, numerorum arcana recludo,
Qui numeros didicit quid didiciſſe nequit.
The wit to ſharpen, I my ſecrets hide,
Theſe once explor'd, you'll ſoon know all beſide.
STIFELIUS, BUDÆUS, PYTHAGORAS.

LOGICK.

Divido multiplices, res explanoque latentes
Vera exquiro, falſa arguo, cuncta probo.
I ſep'rate things perplex'd, all clouds remove,
Truth I ſearch out, ſhew error, all things prove.
ARISTOTLE, RODOLPH, PORPHYRY, SETON.

MUSICK.

Mitigo mœrores, et acerbas lenio cruras,
Geſtiat ut placidis mens hilarata ſonis.
Sorrow I ſooth, relieve the troubled mind,
And by ſweet ſounds exhilarate mankind.
ARION, TERPANDER, ORPHEUS.

RHETORICK.

Me duce ſplendeſcit, gratis prudentia verbis
Jamque ornata nitet quæ fuit ante rudis.
By me the force of wiſdom is diſplay'd,
And ſenſe ſhines moſt when in my robes array'd.
CICERO, ISOCRATES, DEMOSTHENES, QUINTILIAN.

GEOMETRY.

Corpora deſcribo rerum et quo ſingula pacto
Apte ſunt formis appropriata ſuis.
What bodies are and all their forms I ſhew,
The bounds of each, and their proportions too.
ARCHIMIDES, EUCLID, STRABO, APOLLONIUS.

ASTROLOGY.

Aſtrorum luſtrans curſus vireſque potentes,
Elicio miris fata futura modis.
I mark the motions of the ſtarry train,
And what thoſe motions mean, I too explain.
REGIOMONTANUS, HALY, COPERNICUS, PTOLOMY.

The manour, together with this fine ſeat, belongs now to the Lord Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland.

[*I*] *In St Paul's church.*] The inſcription on this monument, penned by the famous George Buchanan, is ſingular and very worthy of notice (21), and therefore though it has been often printed, yet becauſe it is

(21) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 71.

quick wit, ſingular prudence, ſupreme eloquence, happy memory, and for judgment the other pillar of the State. His felicity was not greater in his fortune than in his family. His firſt wife was Jane, daughter of William Fernley, of Weſt Creting in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons and three daughters. The ſons were, 1. Sir Nicholas. 2. Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey in Norfolk, Eſq; who married two wives, 1. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Greſham of London, Knt. by whom he had three daughters his coheirs; 1. Anne, who being married to Sir Roger Townſhend of Rainham in Norfolk, anceſtor to the preſent Lord Viſcount Townſhend, brought the Stiffkey eſtate into that family; 2. Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Knyvet of Aſhwelthorp in Norfolk; and 3. Winifred, to Sir Robert Gawdy, of Claxton in Norfolk, Knt. Sir Nathaniel's ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Hopton of Suffolk, Knt. by whom he had no iſſue. 3. Edward Bacon, of Shrubland-Hall in Suffolk, Eſq; in right of his wife Helen, daughter and heir of Thomas Littel of the ſame place, Eſq; and of Bray, in the county of Berks, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to Sir Robert Litton, of Kneb[illegible]orth in the county of Hertford, Knt. from whom is lineally deſcended Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland-Hall, Eſq; and from younger ſons of the ſaid Edward, are the Bacons of Ipſwich in Suffolk, and Earlham in Norfolk, deſcended. The daughters were, 1. Anne, married to Sir Henry Wodehouſe, of Waxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. 2. Jane, married 1. to Sir Francis Windham, Knt. one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas; 2. to Sir Robert Mansfield, Knt. And 3 Elizabeth, married 1. to Sir Robert D'Oyly of Chiſlehampton in Oxfordſhire, Knt. 2. to Sir Henry Nevil, Knt. and 3. to Sir William Periam, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. After her deceaſe, he married Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy-Hall in the county of Eſſex, Knt. by whom he had two ſons, Anthony and Francis (*a*), of whom an account will be given in the following articles.

(*a*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 4, 5.

is generally ſpeaking ſtrangely mangled, it may not be amiſs to give a correct copy of it here.

Hic Nicolaum nè Baconum conditum,
Exiſtima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni ſecundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis Aſylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem ſors, ſed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, Pietas, unica et Prudentia,
Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
Vitam ſecundam cælites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia eſt.
Hac poſitum in ara eſt corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata ſempiternæ Memoriæ.

The ſenſe in Engliſh, thus:

Here repoſes Nicholas Bacon,
The ſame who was ſo long
The ſecond pillar of the Britiſh ſtate,
Scourge of the wicked, to the good a refuge;
Whom no blind fate exalted
To this high honour; but equity and truth,
Learning, piety, and exalted prudence:
Think not that death has ſnatched him,
Becauſe in one ſhort life, he merited two without end:
His ſoul among the happy leads a ſecond,
His fame, which fills the world, is to him a third life.
Here inſhrined lies the body, his ſoul once inhabited,
Under a monument ſacred to his deathleſs memory:

E

BACON (FRANCIS) Viſcount St Albans, and High-Chancellor of England in the reign of King James I, the glory and ornament, as he has been juſtly ſtiled, of his age and nation. His parents were, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, with whoſe character the reader is already acquainted; his mother, Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, Tutor to King Edward VI, a lady equally diſtinguiſhed by her piety, prudence, and learning (*a*). She was the ſecond wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and this Francis her ſecond ſon, was born at York-Houſe in the Strand, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1561 (*b*). His infancy being paſt, his noble genius, cultivated and encouraged by his excellent parents, gave early proofs of it's ſurprizing ſtrength and pregnancy, inſomuch, that we may juſtly ſay, his fame commenced with his childhood, as it accompanied him to his grave; for ſo remarkably conſpicuous were his parts, even in his tender years, that perſons of great worth and high dignity, delighted in converſing with him while a boy, and Queen Elizabeth herſelf, whoſe peculiar felicity it was to make a right judgment of merit, was ſo charmed with the ſolidity of his ſenſe, and the gravity of his behaviour, that ſhe would often call him *her young Lord-Keeper* (*c*); a happy preſage, which, in the ſucceeding reign, was fully accompliſhed. When he had acquired the neceſſary rudiments of learning to qualify him for academical ſtudies, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where, on the ſixteenth of June 1573, he was entered of Trinity-college, under Dr John Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then in the twelfth year of his age (*d*). The quickneſs of his natural parts, aſſiſted by an uncommon diligence and application, under the direction of as able and careful a Tutor, as any that learned age afforded, enabled our young ſcholar to make a moſt ſurprizing progreſs in his ſtudies; ſo that before he was full ſixteen, he had not only run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, as they were then taught, but began to perceive thoſe imperfections in the reigning Philoſophy, which he afterwards ſo effectually expoſed, and thereby, not only overturned that tyranny which prevented the progreſs of true knowledge, but laid the foundation of that free and uſeful Philoſophy, which has ſince opened a way to ſo many great and glorious diſcoveries (*e*). A thing highly worthy of notice, and which would certainly be eſteemed incredible, if it were not ſupported by as clear evidence, as the nature of the fact requires.

(*a*) See the character of this Lady in note [*A*] in the article BACON (ANTHONY).

(*b*) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 1.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 829.

(*d*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 77.

(*e*) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

requires [*A*]. His father, the Lord-Keeper, diſcovering in his ſon ſuch a ripeneſs of judgment and diſcretion, as ſeemed to warrant taking an extraordinary ſtep in his education, reſolved to ſend him, young as he was, to France, that he might improve himſelf in the knowledge of the world, under a Miniſter, as capable and as honeſt as that age produced, Sir Amias Powlet, then the Queen's Ambaſſador at Paris. His behaviour while in the houſe of that famous ſtateſman was ſo well conducted, that he gained the eſteem and confidence of Sir Amias to ſuch a degree, as to be intruſted with a commiſſion of importance to the Queen, which required both ſecrecy and diſpatch. To execute this he came over hither, and performed it with ſuch applauſe, as gained both himſelf and the Ambaſſador credit (*f*). He afterwards returned to Paris, from whence he made ſome excurſions into the French provinces, that he might be the better acquainted with the country, reſiding for ſome time at Poictiers, and making ſuch obſervations upon men and things, as opportunities would allow, of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings [*B*]. He applied himſelf during his ſtay there, not only to ſuch ſtudies as were agreeable to his inclination, but to thoſe likewiſe, for his improvement in which, his father might probably be ſuppoſed to have ſent him thither, as appears from a very ingenious and elegant performance of his, containing A ſuccinct View of the State of Europe at that time, which, as the worthy writer of his life, with great penetration has obſerved, appears plainly to have been written when our author was but nineteen (*g*). In this ſhort treatiſe there appears, not only much of the ſpirit and judgment, but of the method alſo which he purſued in his ſucceeding writings, which is a point particularly worthy of notice, becauſe it corroborates and ſupports what has been before related, of his early proficiency, and ſurprizing progreſs in learning, and is indeed, not only worthy in all reſpects of ſo great a genius, but deſerves likewiſe to be eſpecially pointed out, for the imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances [*C*]. But

(*f*) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, P. 375.

(*g*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works; London, 1740, in four Volumes in Folio.

[*A*] *As clear evidence as the nature of the fact requires.*] We are indebted to Dr Rawley, who was our author's Chaplain, for this and many other circumſtances relating to the earlier years of his life. He tells us, for inſtance, that Queen Elizabeth was charmed at an anſwer given her by Bacon, when a perfect child. Her Majeſty it ſeems had aſked him how old he was, to which he anſwered, *that he was two years younger than her Majeſty's happy reign* (1). There was certainly a great deal of wit in this ſprightly and well-turned compliment, from whence one may eaſily be induced to believe, that by the help of his education, and the example of his parents, the beſt bred and the moſt learned couple of their time, Mr Bacon might have acquired very extraordinary lights even before he went to the Univerſity. But the point which in this note we are to make good, was not at all of this nature, ſince, whatever he heard of Ariſtotle before he went to College, muſt have been ſuch things as would have ſerved rather to impreſs on him an awe of his authority, than a diſtruſt of his knowledge. Yet we are aſſured by Dr Rawley, that he received this particular from Lord Bacon's own mouth, who likewiſe told him, *that his exceptions againſt that great Philoſopher were not founded upon the worthleſſneſs of the author, to whom he would ever aſcribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulneſs of the way; being a Philoſophy (as his Lordſhip uſed to ſay) only for diſputations and contentions, but barren in the production of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued to his dying day* (2). Dr Teniſon likewiſe, in his introduction to the *Baconiana* tells us, that when our author began his ſtudies, Ariſtotle was in effect, the Pope in Philoſophy, the lectures both in his private college and in the publick ſchools, were generally expoſitions upon Ariſtotle's text, and every opinion written by him as his own, was eſteemed as authentic, as if it had been given under the ſeal of the Fiſher; it was therefore a very ſingular felicity in a young gentleman, to ſee farther into nature than the celebrated Philoſopher, at whoſe feet he was placed; and it was as happy as it was extraordinary, that he took diſtaſte betimes at the vulgar ſchemes of Natural Philoſophy. 'Uſe and cuſtom in that 'way, continues Dr Teniſon, might have reconciled 'it to him, as it had done to others of great learn-'ing. For a Philoſopher is like a vine, of which 'they ſay, it muſt be ſet of a plant and not of a 'tree. But tho' there was bred in Mr Bacon ſo early 'a diſlike of the Phyſiology of Ariſtotle, yet he did 'not deſpiſe him with that pride and haughtineſs, 'with which youth is wont to puffed up. He had 'a juſt eſteem of that great maſter of learning, a 'greater than that which Ariſtotle expreſſed himſelf, 'towards the Philoſophers that went before him, for 'he endeavored (ſome ſay) to ſtifle all their labours, 'deſigning to himſelf an univerſal monarchy over 'opinions, as his patron Alexander did over men. 'Our hero owned what was excellent in him, but in 'his enquiries into nature, he proceeded not upon 'his principles. He began the work anew, and laid 'the foundation of philoſophic theory in numerous 'experiments (3).' Thus we ſee that upon the whole, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the truth of this matter of fact, how extraordinary ſoever it may appear in it's nature, and we ſhall very ſoon have occaſion to ſupport the evidence already given, by another proof as convincing as either of thoſe which we have alledged already; for truths appear clearer the more cloſely they are examined, whereas errors, however ſpecious, cannot endure ſuch teſts.

(1) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(2) Ibid. p. 3.

(3) Paconiana, edit. Lond. 1679. P. 10, 11.

[*B*] *Of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings.*] The moſt curious as well as the moſt authentic paſſages of the lives of learned men, are uſually drawn from their own works, and therefore they ought to be read with the utmoſt attention for this purpoſe. The paſſage I am to cite on this occaſion, has not, for any thing that I know, been taken notice of by any who have have laboured to oblige the world with memoirs of this learned perſon; and I the rather cite it, becauſe it ſhews how early he began thoſe enquiries into human nature, which were finiſhed only with his life. Speaking of the differences between youth and old age, and having enumerated many of them, he proceeds thus: When I was a young man at Poictiers in France, I familiarly converſed with a young gentleman of that country, who was extremely ingenious, but ſomewhat talkative, he afterwards became a perſon of great eminence. This gentleman uſed to enveigh againſt the manners of old people, and would ſay, that if one could ſee their minds as well as their bodies, their minds would appear as deformed as their bodies; and indulging his own humour, he pretended; that the defects of old men's minds, in ſome meaſure correſponded to the defects of their bodies. Thus dryneſs of the ſkin, he ſaid, was anſwered by impudence; hardneſs of the viſcera, by relentleſſneſs; blear eyes, by envy; and an evil eye, their down look, and incurvation of the body, by atheiſm, as no longer, ſays he, looking up to heaven; the trembling and ſhaking of the limbs, by unſteadineſs and inconſtancy; the bending of their fingers, as to lay hold of ſomething, by rapacity and avarice; the weakneſs of their knees, by fearfulneſs; their wrinkles, by indirect dealings and cunning, &c (4).

(4) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis. Vol. III. p. 183.

[*C*] *The imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances.*] The principal deſign in travelling is, or ought to be, the ſhaking off ſuch prejudices as are contracted in a manner unavoidably in the courſe of common education, and the acquiring ſuch lights, by experience and enquiry, as can be obtained no

But while he was thus improving his talents abroad, his fortune received a very untoward check at home, by the ſudden and unexpected death of his father, the Lord-Keeper, who having provided amply for his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond venter, had laid by a conſiderable ſum of money for the ſettlement of the younger ſon, but dying before he could find a proper purchaſe, Mr Francis Bacon had no more than the fifth part of this money for his whole fortune, which proving but a narrow proviſion, he found himſelf obliged to return to England, and to think of ſome profeſſion that might ſuſtain his fortune (*h*). He was not long in making this choice, in which perhaps the advice of his relations, the perſuaſion of friends, and the fame of his father, had to the full as great a ſhare as his own inclinations. However that might be, he, on his return home, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Common Law, and for that purpoſe entered himſelf of the honourable ſociety of Gray's-Inn, where his ſuperior talents rendered him the ornament of the houſe, as the gentleneſs and affability of his deportment, procured him the affection of all it's members. The place itſelf was ſo agreeable to Mr Bacon, that he erected there a very elegant ſtructure, which for many years after was known by the name of the *Lord* Bacon's *Lodgings*, which he inhabited occaſionally through the greateſt part of his life, and thereby teſtified, how pleaſantly he had paſſed his time in that ſeat of learning, while he had no higher title than that of a member of Gray's-Inn (*i*). He ſpent his time during the firſt years of his reſidence in that place, in very hard ſtudy, not confining himſelf entirely to the Law, which however he made ſufficiently his care, but indulging his extenſive genius, in the free contemplation of the whole circle of ſcience. This appears clearly from hence, that he framed, as he tells us himſelf, not long after his being ſettled here, the plan of that great philoſophical work, which will not only render his name immortal, but do honour to his age and country, ſo long as learning ſhall continue to flouriſh (*k*). As to this tract of his, in which, as an ingenious writer obſerves, he traced the out-lines of that magnificent ſtructure, which after thirty years labour he finiſhed; it ſeems (at leaſt to me) doubtful, whether it be entirely loſt, or whether we have it ſtill as it's author left it, imperfect and unfiniſhed [*D*]. But though he did not entirely confine

(*b*) Stephen's Introduction to his Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters.

(*i*) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4.

(*k*) See his Letter to Father Fulgentio.

other way. It was to facilitate theſe, that Mr Bacon compoſed, as far as we can judge from the piece itſelf, this treatiſe intituled, *Of the State of* EUROPE (*), in which he ſets down the names of all the Princes then reigning, their characters, families, intereſts, dominions, forces, revenues, and principal tranſactions of their reigns; together with ſome notices of their miniſters, favourites, and the principal perſons in their dominions; which without doubt our author drew forth into this form, that he might with the greater eaſe, underſtand what he heard or read concerning them, as alſo to help his own converſation on any of theſe ſubjects, and thereby prevent his falling into any of thoſe errors, which are but too common with young travellers, and which frequently lay them open to ſuch corrections, as muſt naturally put them out of countenance. It is a very ingenious obſervation of Mr Mallet, who has written our author's life with great ſpirit and vivacity, that this tract muſt have been written about the year 1580, becauſe he tells us therein, that Henry III of France was then thirty years old; and as that Prince began his reign in 1574, when he was twenty-four years of age; this is certainly a very clear proof of the fact, and that our author compoſed this work by that time he was nineteen (5). I cannot however help believing, that it was not compoſed all at once, but rather, that our author began it in his travels, and afterwards reviſed and finiſhed it when he was ſettled at Grays-Inn. I am confirmed in this by obſerving ſome other dates, mentioned in this ſhort tract, which do not fall in exactly with that year; as for inſtance, ſpeaking of Pope Gregory XIII, he ſays, he was then ſeventy years old, but as that Pontiff died in 1585, at the age of eighty-three (6); it is plain that he muſt have wrote this particular paſſage in 1582. Again, ſpeaking of Philip II King of Spain, he ſays he was about ſixty years of age, but this King Philip was born in 1527, and conſequently, was not ſixty till the year 1587 (7); and if we examine his other dates with the ſame care, we ſhall find that they refer to different years, which plainly proves that my conjecture is probable at leaſt, if not certain. But what is extremely remarkable in this ſmall treatiſe, is the care and accuracy with which he has ſet down moſt of the little Princes in Germany, with the ſtate of their dominions. In ſhort, the whole of this piece argues the author's great diligence and exactneſs, and at the ſame time demonſtrates, how early he had found the advantages of committing whatever he thought worthy of notice to writing, and reducing it into a proper method: To ſay the truth, this was a thing very cuſtomary in thoſe days, with ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of publick affairs, with a view to make themſelves uſeful to the ſtate; of which many inſtances might be given, if we had not already exceeded the bounds of a note, and ſpent rather too much time upon a performance, chiefly remarkable, for being in all probability the firſt that fell from the pen of this eminent writer, and in all likelyhood, was never intended by it's author for the eye of the publick: though from the great eſteem attracted by many excellent works, it was juſtly held a benefit conferred upon poſterity to deliver from obſcurity, whatever was aſſuredly the product of ſo vaſt a genius.

(*) See this treatiſe in the appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, edit. 1740, p. 35.

(5) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

(6) Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. V. p. 44.

(7) Vie de Philipe II, par Gregor. Leti, Vol. I. p. 3.

[*D*] *Or whether we have it ſtill as it's author left it imperfect, and unfiniſhed.*] In order to clear up this point, and give the world ſomewhat new upon this ſubject, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew on what grounds it is believed our author wrote ſuch a work ſo early; next, what the title of that piece really was; and laſtly, what reaſons there are to conceive it is not wholly loſt, as has hitherto been the common opinion. As to the firſt, the author himſelf, in a letter to Father Fulgentio, a very learned Italian (9), who deſired to have an account of the works he had already written, and of thoſe he had ſtill thoughts of making publick, having firſt mentioned the ſeveral parts of his great body of Philoſophy, which had already ſeen the light, he goes on thus: 'Attamen in prodromis (iis dico 'tantum, quæ ad univerſalia naturæ fere pertingunt) 'non levia jacta erunt hujus rei fundamenta. Conamur (ut vides) tenues grandia: in eo tamen ſpem 'ponentes, quod videntur iſta a Dei providentia & 'immenſa bonitate profecta. Primo, propter ardorem '& conſtantiam mentis noſtræ, quæ in hoc inſtituto 'non conſenuit, nec tanto temporis ſpatio refrixit. 'Equidem memini me quadraginta abhinc annis juvenile opuſculum circa has res confeciſſe, quod 'magna prorſus fiducia et magnifico titulo, *temporis* 'partum maximum inſcripſi. Secundo quod propter 'utilitatem infinitam Dei opt. max. auctoramento 'gaudere videatur (10).' That is, *Nevertheleſs, in theſe introductory pieces (thoſe I mean which related chiefly to generals) the foundation of this matter was not haſtily laid. We ſtruggled (as you ſee) to effect great things by a ſmall force, putting our firm confidence in God, that through his providence and great goodneſs, we ſhould accompliſh them. Firſt, becauſe of the ardour and conſtancy of our mind, which grew not languid after making a beginning, or cooled at all in ſo long a ſpace. For well I remember that forty years ago, I compoſed a juvenile work about theſe things, which with great confidence, I graced with the ſwelling*

(9) The conſtant companion of Father Paul at Venice, and the ſame who wrote his life.

(10) *Epiſt. ad* Fulgentium, in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 404.

confine his thoughts to his profeſſion, yet his quick parts and ſurprizing penetration, enabled him to make as rapid a progreſs in that, as in other kinds of learning, and the rather, becauſe he was extremely methodical, and wonderfully diligent in his ſtudy, taking all imaginable pains, to make himſelf thoroughly maſter of the principles of the Law, and to extend his knowledge gradually through all the branches of that laborious, but moſt uſeful and noble profeſſion, as is very evident, from his ſolid and learned writings. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs in his practice, which was very conſiderable, and after diſcharging the office of Reader at Gray's-Inn, which he did in 1588, when in the twenty-ſixth year of his age; he was become ſo conſiderable, that the Queen, who never over-valued any man's abilities, thought fit to call him to her ſervice, in a way which did him very great honour, by appointing him her Counſel learned in the Law Extraordinary; by which, tho' ſhe contributed abundantly to his reputation, yet ſhe added but very little to his fortune, as indeed in this reſpect he was never much indebted to her Majeſty, how much ſoever he might be in all others (*l*). We are henceforth to conſider him in a new character, I mean that of a ſtateſman and candidate for Court favour, as well as a Lawyer, and it will require ſome pains, and much caution, ſo to ſpeak of him in this light, as to avoid injuring either his character or the truth. He ſeemed to come into the world with as great advantages, and with as high pretenſions to preferment as any man

(*l*) Stephens's Introduction, p. xi.

ling title of the Greateſt Birth of Time. *Secondly, becauſe for it's infinite utility, the moſt wiſe God ſeemed to incourage my progreſs.* It is very clear from hence, that our author wrote a book, containing the rudiments of his Philoſophy, when he was very young; for if we ſhould even allow this letter which is without date, to have been written in the laſt year of his life, yet this will carry the treatiſe ſo far back as to the year 1586, when our author was in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and before he had attained to any preferment; and it is poſſible, that it might have been wrote ſome time before. As to the title of this book, the Reader has it in the letter, but then there is ſome doubt, whether this title were the true one, or rather as I think, whether it was the only one. It may not be amiſs to hear, what a very learned editor of ſome of our author's works has ſaid upon this ſubject, in which, ſpeaking of the works of Lord Bacon that are miſſing, he ſays (11), 'Loſt 'likewiſe is a book, which he wrote in his youth, 'he called it (Temporis Partus Maximus) the Greateſt 'Birth of Time, or rather, Temporis Partus Maſculus, the Maſculine Birth of Time, for ſo Gruter 'found it called in ſome of the papers of Sir William 'Boſwel; this was a kind of embryo of the Inſtauration, and if it had been preſerved, it might have 'delighted and profited philoſophical readers, who 'could then have ſeen the generation of that great 'work, as it were, from the firſt egg of it.' In like manner the ingenious Mr Mallet (12), ſpeaking of this treatiſe, is pleaſed to deliver himſelf thus: 'Tho' 'the piece itſelf is loſt, it appears to have been the 'firſt out-lines of that amazing deſign, which he afterwards filled up and finiſhed, in his grand Inſtauration of the Sciences; as there is not a more amuſing, perhaps a more uſeful ſpeculation, than 'that of tracing the hiſtory of the human mind, 'if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, in it's progreſſion from 'truth to truth, and from diſcovery to diſcovery; 'the intelligent reader would, doubtleſs, have been 'pleaſed, to ſee in the tract I have been ſpeaking of, 'by what ſteps and gradations, a ſpirit like Bacon's 'advanced in new and univerſal theory.' But perhaps, after all this, the treatiſe ſo much deplored may not be loſt, for it is certain, that the tract mentioned by Gruter, under the title of *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, or *the Maſculine Birth of Time*; is in ſome meaſure preſerved by him, in the Latin works which he publiſhed of Lord Bacon, and we find it again in the lateſt Engliſh edition of his works, in the language and ſtate in which it's noble author left it (13). But here ſeems to lie the difficulty, ſome writers who have reviewed the ſcattered works and fragments of Lord Bacon, have with great labour and induſtry, endeavoured to bring in this treatiſe, otherwiſe ſtiled *Of the Interpretation of Nature*, as a part of that great body of Philoſophy which he had framed; whereas our author himſelf, ſpeaking of this treatiſe, tells us, as the reader may ſee above, that it was not a part or portion of his great ſtructure of Philoſophy, but the firſt ſketch or rough draft of the whole. Now I conceive, that whoever looks into theſe fragments of the book on the Interpretation of Nature, as they ſtand in the works of our author, and ſhall afterwards compare them with the beginning of his Inſtauration, will not need many arguments to perſuade him, that this conjecture is founded in truth, and that there is as much reaſon to conceive that the great work juſt mentioned, roſe out of the *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, as that the *Novum Organon*, ſprung from another of the fragments which accompanies this, and is commonly called his *Cogitata & Viſa*. If the reader would be told what is the iſſue, what the advantage of this laboured inquiry, he will ſurely be ſatisfied with this anſwer, That by drawing theſe fragments of the Interpretation of Nature into a good light, it appears, that what the honeſt and candid Teniſon thought ſo fine a ſight, the generation of Lord Bacon's Philoſophy from the egg is ſtill in our power; and what the ingenious and inſtructive Mr Mallet moſt truly obſerves, the ability of reviewing and tracing the author's ſteps from one diſcovery in ſcience to another, is yet in a great meaſure with us, which, to ſuch as rightly apprehend Lord Bacon's worth and have a juſt conception of the value of his writings, will appear ſomewhat of conſiderable conſequence. I am ſatisfied, that in matters of this nature there is no abſolute certainty, and that in the depths of Lord Bacon's knowledge, a man of ordinary talents may be very eaſily loſt; but I own at the ſame time, the thing ſtruck me ſo ſtrongly, that I could not help putting it down, yet with all imaginable ſubmiſſion to the reader, to whoſe ſervice as I dedicate my labours, I hope (ſhould it be found ſo) he will the more eaſily pardon my miſtake. There are, however, a few circumſtances more, to which I muſt deſire the reader's attention, and then he will have a juſt notion of Mr Bacon's frame of mind. While at Grays-Inn, he was eagerly engaged in the ſtudy and purſuit of his new Philoſophy, the whole ſcheme of which he had already formed. It was to this he applied his thoughts, and this was the great object of his ambition. If he deſired or laboured for preferment in civil life, it was but with a view to gain thereby the means of improving and accompliſhing his ſyſtem, for he made even the moſt ſhining tranſactions of his life, but ſubſervient thereto. In a word, the introducing this new method of attaining wiſdom was his ruling paſſion, and his great ſpring of action through life. It quickened him in the purſuit of employments, it conſoled him when he met diſappointments in that purſuit; it filled up (moſt agreeably) his few leiſure moments when in the zenith of his grandeur; it ſoftened his fall, by propoſing a new road to fame and eſteem, in which he was in no danger of being either impoſed on by one ſet of men, or ſacrificed to the intereſts of another. Thus, this was always, and in all conjunctures, his leading object, of which he never loſt ſight, and as we have already had a train of evidence ſufficient to convince us, that he conceived ſomething of this kind when he was but ſixteen, and brought it into ſome form by that time he was twenty-ſix; ſo the remainder of this article will ſhow, how warmly he proſecuted this point till death overtook him on the road, when his mind was wholly occupied with theſe ſpeculations.

(11) Dr Teniſon, in his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 22.

(12) Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4, 5.

(13) In the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 17, where it is intituled, *VALERIUS TERMINUS of the Interpretation of Nature, with the Annotations of HERMES STELLA.*

man of his time; for, beſides being the ſon of a Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and one of the ableſt ſtateſmen of the age, he was nephew to William Lord Burleigh, who married his mother's ſiſter, and firſt couſin to Sir Robert Cecil, his ſon, who was Principal Secretary of State, ſo that one would have thought Mr Bacon's abilities, ſupported by ſuch powerful mediators, might eaſily have made their way at Court (*m*). But it was his misfortune to have too much merit, and too extenſive intereſt, the former rendered him ſuſpicious to his Court patrons, and the latter engaging both parties in his favour, produced him much credit, but contributed more than any thing to ſpoil his fortune. The Court and Miniſtry of Queen Elizabeth, was through her whole reign divided into two parties, at the head of one of which were the two Cecils, and at the head of the other, firſt the Earl of Leiceſter, and afterwards his ſon-in-law the Earl of Eſſex (*n*). If Mr Bacon, who, as we have already ſhewn, was nearly allied to their family, had ſteadily adhered to the Cecils, he might very probably have riſen by their intereſt, but he made a very early friendſhip with Robert Earl of Eſſex, who was at the head of the other faction, and attached likewiſe his elder brother, Mr Anthony Bacon, to that nobleman's ſervice, and that in ſo ſtrict a manner, as could not fail to give great jealouſy to the Cecils (*o*). All theſe are indiſputable matters of fact, and therefore ſuch as are acquainted with the intrigues of a court, will not be very much ſurprized at the fate of Mr Bacon, of whoſe parts and application, while both parties made their advantage, yet neither made his fortune. Sir Robert Cecil is repreſented, and perhaps juſtly, as the perſon who threw thoſe obſtacles in Mr Bacon's way, that throughout this whole reign he was never able to ſurmount, for he who had all the arts and addreſs of a Court, failed not to ſuggeſt, that Mr Bacon was a ſpeculative man, and conſequently the leſs fit for buſineſs, one who had his head full of philoſophical notions, and therefore more like to perplex than to promote publick affairs, if permitted to have any ſhare in their direction (*p*). However, that they might not ſeem to neglect ſo near a relation, or to ſlight a perſon of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, the Cecils procured for him the reverſion of a very conſiderable place, *viz.* the Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which nevertheleſs he did not enjoy till the next reign (*q*) [*E*]. As for his other patron, Robert Earl of Eſſex, as he was a nobleman juſtly celebrated for his great qualities and eminent virtues, ſo he approved himſelf to Mr Bacon, a warm, ſteady, and indefatigable friend. This appeared clearly, upon Mr Bacon's preſſing very earneſtly to be made Queen's Sollicitor, in the year 1594, in which he made uſe of all his friends, and exerted his own endeavours to the utmoſt; it was now that he diſcovered, how little reaſon he had to truſt to, or depend upon, the Cecils, and had very little cauſe to be well pleaſed with the conduct of the then Lord-Keeper (*r*); but as for the Earl of Eſſex, he not only afforded him all the aſſiſtance, both by perſonal application, and by engaging his friends to intereſt themſelves on the behalf of Mr Bacon, that was in his power, but had ſo generous a concern for his want of ſucceſs in that application, which he believed to be owing to his own appearing in this gentleman's cauſe, that he moſt kindly and freely made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune (*s*) [*F*]. This was ſo rare, ſo extraordinary an

(*m*) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM), Lord Burleigh.

(*n*) See Camden, Strype, Dugdale, and the reſt of the writers of her reign.

(*o*) Lord Bacon's Apology, in the third Vol. of his Works, p. 429.

(*p*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9, 10. See alſo Lord Bacon's Letters in the fourth Vol. of his Works.

(*q*) See Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(*r*) See the Letters of Lord Bacon on this Subject, in the fourth Vol. of his Works, from p. 516.

(*s*) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 431.

[*E*] *The regiſter of the court of Star-Chamber which however he did not enjoy till the next reign.*] When our author firſt applied himſelf to publick affairs, he ſtudied to recommend himſelf ſolely to the good graces of the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, from whom, as his uncle, he expected, and had reaſon to expect, the faireſt quarter in the world. We learn this from his own writings, for there are many of his letters to that noblemen ſtill extant, in which he declares no leſs, and expreſſes a very warm and paſſionate deſire, to dedicate himſelf entirely to the Queen's ſervice, through the interpoſition, and ſolely by the recommendation of that great miniſter (14). It was by the means of that Lord he obtained the reverſion of this office, as he acknowledges in the ſame letters, with this additional circumſtance, that his Lordſhip obtained it for him, notwithſtanding a vehement oppoſition. What this place was and the value of it, Dr Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's Chaplain, and one who lived with him in the ſtricteſt intimacy, tells us plainly, and with circumſtances worthy notice (15). 'His birth and other capacities, ſays 'he, qualified him above others of his profeſſion 'to have ordinary acceſſes at Court, and to come 'frequently into the Queen's eye, who would often grace 'him with private and free communication, not 'only about matters of his profeſſion or buſineſs 'in Law, but alſo about the arduous affairs of ſtate, 'from whom ſhe received from time to time a great 'ſatisfaction. Nevertheleſs, though ſhe cheared him 'much with the bounty of her countenance, yet ſhe 'never cheared him with the bounty of her hand, 'having never conferred upon him any ordinary place, 'or means of honour, or profit, ſave only one dry 'reverſion of the *Regiſter's-office* in the *Star-Chamber*, 'worth about 1600 *l. per Ann.* for which he waited 'in expectation, either fully, or near, twenty years; 'of which his Lordſhip would ſay in Queen Eli'zabeth's time, *That it was like another man's ground 'buttalling upon his houſe, which might mend his 'proſpect, but it did not fill his barn.*' His having the reverſion of this place, I take to be the reaſon, why ſeveral writers ſtile him one of the clerks of the privy-council (16), for that he had no other employment than this under that reign, is very clear from the foregoing paſſage in Dr Rawley's Memoirs, and from his own letters (17). It was in gratitude for his obtaining for him this reverſion, that in the year 1592, our author compoſed a large treatiſe, which he called *Certain Obſervations upon a Libel entitled, A Declaration of the true Cauſes of the great troubles*; in which he very warmly vindicates the Lord Treaſurer particularly, and his own father, and the reſt of Queen Elizabeth's miniſters occaſionally, and this I take to have been the firſt political production of his pen (18), and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to remark, that theſe ſort of miniſterial pamphlets were much in faſhion in thoſe days, and proved the great ſupport of that Queen's adminiſtration; for her Miniſters being wiſe and able men, and acting upon juſt and honeſt principles, were not afraid of explaining and juſtifying their conduct, by which they were ſure to ſatisfy the ſenſible part of the nation, and ſecure to themſelves the rational ſupport of a well founded popularity during their lives, and a juſt reſpect for their memories after their deceaſe; which are bleſſings that can never be enjoyed by wicked or weak miniſters, ſuch as act either upon bad principles, or upon no principles at all.

(14) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 512.

(15) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(16) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(17) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 573.

(18) In the Reſuſcitatio publiſhed by Dr Rawley, p. 81. And in the fourth Vol. of Bacon's Works.

[*F*] *Made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune.*] We learn this ſingular particular from beſt authority poſſible; viz. that of our author

an inſtance of this nobleman's ſincere friendſhip, and tender regard for Mr Bacon, and at the ſame time, ſo noble a teſtimony of his ſpotleſs honour and boundleſs generoſity, that one would have thought it muſt for ever have attached Mr Bacon to that Earl's fortunes. But it happened otherwiſe; that great favourite fell into deep misfortunes, which prove ſo frequently the fate of all Court favourites, that it ought not to be eſteemed a wonder; yet, that Mr Bacon ſhould be apparently, and in the eye of the world, an inſtrument of his misfortunes, that in the exerciſe of his profeſſion he ſhould appear againſt him as a Lawyer, that he ſhould plead for the Crown when that nobleman was tried for his life, and that after he had ſuffered a ſhameful death, Mr Bacon ſhould endeavour to perpetuate this ſhame, by drawing that declaration of the treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex, which was calculated to juſtify the government, in a meaſure very diſagreable to the bulk of the people, and to ward off the publick hate, from thoſe who had ruined the Earl of Eſſex, and had never done Mr Bacon any good; this indeed is ſtrange, but at the ſame time it is true, ſo true, that our author found himſelf obliged to write an apology for his conduct, which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was the faſt friend of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, and his own (*t*) [G]. But this apology, though admirably well penned, and which ſeems to be as much diſtinguiſhed by the ſincerity of the writer's heart, as enlivened by the beauties of his eloquence, yet amounts to no more than this, that he had given the Earl good advice, which he did not follow; that upon this a coldneſs enſued, which kept them at a greater diſtance than formerly; that however he continued to give his advice to the Earl, and laboured all he could to ſerve him with the Queen; that in reſpect to his laſt unfortunate act, which was

(*t*) See the Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 429.

author himſelf, who in his apology (19) addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, gives us the ſtory at large in theſe words: 'I muſt and will ever acknowledge 'my Lord's love, truſt, and favour towards me, and 'laſt of all his liberality, having enfeoffed me of 'land, which I ſold for eighteen hundred pounds to 'Maſter Reynold Nicholas, which I think was more 'worth, and that at ſuch a time, and with ſo kind 'and noble circumſtances, as the manner was as much 'as the matter, which though it be but an idle 'digreſſion, yet becauſe I am not willing to be ſhort 'in comemoration of his benefits, I will preſume to 'trouble your Lordſhip with relating to you the 'manner of it. After the Queen had denied me the 'Sollicitor's place, for the which his Lordſhip had 'been a long and earneſt ſuitor on my behalf, it 'pleaſed him to come to me from Richmond to 'Twicknam-park, and brake with me, and ſaid, Mr 'Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for 'you, and hath placed another; I know you are the 'leaſt part of your own matter, but you fare ill, becauſe 'you have choſen me for your mean and dependance; 'yet you have ſpent your time and thoughts in my mat-'ters; I die, (theſe were his words) if I do not ſomewhat 'toward your fortune, you ſhall not deny to accept 'a piece of land, which I will beſtow upon you. 'My anſwer, I remember, was, that for my fortune, 'it was no great matter, but that his Lordſhip's 'offer, made me call to mind what was wont to 'be ſaid when I was in France of the Duke of Guiſe, 'that he was the greateſt uſurer in France, becauſe 'he had turned all his eſtate into obligations; mean-'ing, that he had left nothing, but only had bound 'numbers of perſons to him. Now, my Lord, ſaid 'I, I would not have you imitate his courſe, nor 'turn your eſtate thus by great gifts into obligations, 'for you will find many bad debtors. He bad me 'take no care for that and preſſed it; whereupon I 'ſaid, my Lord, I ſee I muſt be your homager, and 'hold land of your gift, but do you know the manner 'of doing homage in Law? Always it is with the 'ſaving of his faith to the King, and his other Lords; 'and therefore, my Lord, ſaid I, I can be no more 'your's than I was, and it muſt be with the antient 'ſavings, and if I grow to be a rich man, you will 'give me leave to give it back again to ſome of your 'unrewarded followers.' There is an odd ſtory reported by a perſon who was once in Lord Bacon's ſervice, which attributes this gift to another cauſe, which I muſt confeſs, is not very probable; but however, as the man tells it with extraordinary confidence, it ought not to be paſſed over. He ſays, that our author, then his maſter, preſented to the Earl of Eſſex a ſecret curioſity of nature, whereby to know the ſeaſon of every hour of the year by a philoſophical glaſs (with a ſmall proportion of water) in a chamber; with which that Earl was ſo pleaſed, that he beſtowed upon him Twitnam-park, and it's garden of paradiſe, as a place for his ſtudies (20). It was ſuch a ſtory as a ſervant might pick up and repeat,

(19) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 430, 431.

(20) Baſhell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philoſophical Theory in mineral proſecutions. Lond. 1659. 4to. In the Poſtſcript after Lord Bacon's Atlantis, p. 1.

but, as Dr Teniſon (21) juſtly obſerves, could have no farther foundation in fact, than what is contained in the beforementioned account by our author *himſelf* on ſuch an occaſion to ſuch a perſon, and attended with ſuch circumſtances, as leaves no room to ſurmiſe, he would either conceal or depart from truth, which at the time he wrote could have done him no good.

(21) In his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 18.

[G] *Which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was faſt friend to the unhappy Earl of Eſſex and himſelf.*] This diſcourſe of our author's, in vindication of his conduct towards the Earl of Eſſex, was wrote many years after the death of that nobleman, and is certainly a very curious and very elegant performance; the chief topicks inſiſted on therein are briefly ſummed up in the text. But whereas our author poſitively declares in his addreſs at the beginning of that work, that he did not write it for the ſatisfaction of the many but of the few; it from thence moſt clearly appears, that with all his learning and all his art, he did not think it poſſible to ſatisfy common minds on that topic, and therefore affected to deſpiſe them. But undoubtedly, he was too good a judge of truth and of the nature of mankind to be really of this opinion; ſince at the bottom it will be found that the meaſures and obligations of gratitude, muſt depend upon the ſentiments of mankind in general, or have no foundations at all. The ground-work of his defence is this, that he indeed had obligations to the Earl of Eſſex as his friend and patron, which we have already ſeen he had in the higheſt degree, but then he likewiſe owed duty and obedience to the Queen, which he thought, and very juſtly too, ought not to be ſacrificed to his private obligations to the Earl of Eſſex. But this is ſo far from untying, that it does not touch the knot, which he ought to have reſolved, and which was plainly this; whether, after the Earl of Eſſex had been ſo active in his favour, he ſhould have been ſo buſy as he was in the proceedings that brought him to the block: That he was not bound to rebel with the Earl becauſe he was his friend, which yet the Earl of Southampton did, no man in his wits would deny; but that he ſhould be ſo ready to do againſt the man that he had profeſſed ſuch friendſhip for, and that had been ſo good a friend to him, what any other man might have done as well, is what even the wit of this able author could not account for. I could mention a late inſtance of a great man in the like circumſtances with the Lord Bacon, who when called upon by the higheſt authority to proſecute his benefactor, modeſtly declined it, though he might have pleaded the ſame excuſe, and even a better than our author had to alledge, which proved no bar to his preferment, and which, when his name ſhall come to adorn a work like this, will redound to his immortal honour, as at the time it happened, it procured him univerſal applauſe; which ſhews the truth of what I advanced, that the obligations of gratitude are determined by common opinion.

[H] *Injured*

was in truth no better than an act of madneſs, he had no knowledge or notice whatever; that he did no more than by duty he was bound to do for the ſervice of the Queen, in the way of his profeſſion; and that the declaration was put upon him altered, after he had drawn it, both by the Miniſters and the Queen herſelf; and it had not the wiſhed-for effect, of entirely wiping off the imputation of ingratitude, but left him under ſuch a ſtain, as injured his reputation, in the common opinion of mankind, as long as he lived (*u*) [*H*]. The ingenious author of his life has treated this matter very freely and fairly, and has ſhewn that he was not led away by that fond ſpirit of partiality, which too often betrays the writers of great men's lives, into an approbation of their weakneſſes, as well as a zeal and admiration for their virtues (*w*) [*I*]. But it is now time to return, not only to the thread of our memoirs, but to the courſe of our author's ſtudies, which were always the principal buſineſs of his life, and which we interupted a little, that we might proſecute the ſtory of his tranſactions as a courtier, without breaking the thread. His enemies repreſented him as a man, who, by applying too much of his time in purſuit of other branches of knowledge, could not but neglect [illegible] of his profeſſion; which, however, at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices are worn off, and nothing hinders men from perceiving or owning truth, is confeſſed by the beſt judges to have been a rank calumny. This judgment of theirs is founded on his writings upon the Law, moſt of which were written, though not publiſhed under this reign. About the year 1596, he finiſhed his *Maxims of the Law* (*x*) [*K*], which, though

(*u*) Oſborne's Memoirs, p. 459.

(*w*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

(*x*) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18.

[*H*] *Injured his reputation in the common opinion of mankind as long as he lived.*] There is extant a letter of our author's to Queen Elizabeth, written ſome little time after this unlucky affair, when it ſeems he thought fit to abſent himſelf from court, on account of the uneaſy ſituation in which he found himſelf there; and yet it appears, his privacy did not give him that quiet and content he looked for in it, as we may gather from the following concluſion of this letter to her Majeſty (22): 'But in this mind I find ſuch 'ſolitude and want of comfort, which I judge to be 'becauſe I take duty too exactly, and not according 'to the dregs of this age, wherein the old anthem 'might never be more truly ſung: *Totus mundus 'in maligno poſitis eſt.* My life hath been threatened, 'and my name libelled, which I count an honour. 'But theſe are the practices of thoſe whoſe deſpairs 'are dangerous, but yet not ſo dangerous as their 'hopes, or elſe the devices of ſome that would put 'out all your Majeſty's lights, and fall on reckoning 'how many years you have reigned, which I beſeech 'our bleſſed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may 'never live to ſee any eclipſe of your glory, interruption of ſafety, or indiſpoſition of your perſon, 'which I commend to the Divine Majeſty who keeps 'you and fortifies you.' This plainly ſhews into how great danger as well as obloquy he was fallen by taking this courſe, to which, from this letter, and whatever elſe he has written about it, he would perſuade us he was moved by duty and reverence for the Queen his miſtreſs, but perhaps, there might be alſo a mixture of fear, which I do not by any means hint as an imputation on his memory, but on the contrary ſuggeſt it by way of excuſe. If we may credit a writer who lived near, not to ſay in thoſe times (23), the Queen and her miniſtry, drove the proſecution upon Eſſex's treaſon, which might as well have been ſtiled madneſs, with unaccountable fury, and exerciſed ſuch rigour againſt all offenders, nay, and all ſuſpected of having a will to give offence, as is ſcarce credible to us in better times. Thus for inſtance, he talks of Sir Henry Lee loſing both life and fortune, for wiſhing well to the three Lords in the Tower, and of another meaner perſon who was hanged in Smithfield, for only writing to his father in the country, an account of their apprehenſion and commitment. In a ſeaſon like this, our author, who had been both a favourite and of the privy-council to the Earl of Eſſex, might very well doubt his ſafety, and make it his choice, rather to perform the functions of his office, yet with tenderneſs and decency (as it is owned he did) than expoſe himſelf either to the Queen's anger, or to the reſentment of thoſe miniſters who had her confidence at that time, and whoſe power in the ſucceeding reign not only continued, but increaſed, which I take to be the reaſon that this affair was never more truly ſtated by men of knowledge and capacity, but left to the pens of ſuch, as for want of more authentick vouchers had recourſe to traditional memoirs, enlarged and pieced out by their own fancies, by which means, this is become one of the moſt perplexed paſſages in our hiſtory.

(22) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 511.

(23) Oſborne's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, ſect. 24.

[*I*] *Approbation and defence of their weakneſſes, as well as zeal and admiration of their virtues.*] The author cited in the text ſpeaking of this tranſaction ſays (24), 'The untimely fate of this noble-'man, who died on a ſcaffold in the prime and vigour 'of his years, excited univerſal pity, and was mur-'mured againſt by all conditions of people. Their 'reflexions on the prevailing party at Court, even on 'the Queen herſelf, were ſo bold and injurious, that 'the Adminiſtration thought it neceſſary to vindicate 'their conduct in a publick appeal to the people. 'This taſk was aſſigned to Bacon, even then in high 'eſteem for his excellencies as a writer, ſome ſay it 'was by his enemies inſidiouſly impoſed on him, to 'divert the national reſentment from themſelves upon 'a particular perſon, who was known to have lived 'in friendſhip with Eſſex, and whom they intended to 'ruin in the publick eſteem. If ſuch was their in-'tention they ſucceeded but too well in it. Never 'man incurred more univerſal or more laſting cenſure 'than Bacon by this writing. He was every where tra-'duced as one who endeavoured to murder the good name 'of his benefactor, after the miniſtry had deſtroyed 'his perſon. His life was even threatened, and he 'went in daily hazard of aſſaſſination. This obliged 'him to publiſh in his own defence the apology we 'find among his writings. As it is long and elaborate, 'but not perhaps in every part ſatisfactory, let us be-'lieve him on his own teſtimony, that he had never 'done that nobleman any ill offices with the Queen, 'though ſhe herſelf had inſinuated the contrary; that, 'on the other hand, he had always, during the time 'of their intimacy, given him advice no leſs uſeful 'than ſincere; that he had wiſhed, nay endeavoured, 'the Earl's preſervation, even at laſt, purely from 'affection to him, without any regard to his own in-'tereſt in that endeavour; let all this be allowed, 'ſome blemiſh will ſtill remain on his character. 'Eſſex deſerved the fate he underwent, but he had 'paid his debt to juſtice, and the common-wealth 'had now nothing to fear from any of his party. 'The declaration abovementioned could therefore be 'intended to ſtill the preſent clamours of the mul-'titude, and though the matter of it might be true, 'Bacon was not the man who ſhould have publiſhed 'thoſe truths, he had been long and highly indebted 'to the Earl's friendſhip, almoſt beyond the example 'even of that age. In another man this proceeding 'might not have been blameable; in him it cannot 'be excuſed. In the next reign, Sir Henry Yelverton 'ventured on the diſpleaſure both of the King and his 'minion, rather than do the miniſtry of his office, 'by pleading againſt the Earl of Somerſet who had 'made him Sollicitor-General; had Bacon refuſed 'that invidious part, there were others among the 'herd of aſpiring and officious lawyers ready enough 'to have performed it, and his very enemies muſt 'have thought more advantageouſly of him, for de-'clining a taſk itſelf of no eſſential importance to the 'State, and in him unjuſt to friendſhip, obligation, 'gratitude, the moſt ſacred regards among men.'

(24) Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his Works.

[*K*] *About the year* 1596 *he finiſhed his maxims of the Law.*] As theſe are now publiſhed they make only the firſt part of what are ſtiled, *the Elements of the*

COMMON

though he had been ſo hardly dealt with the year before in his ſuit for the Sollicitor-ſhip, he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and yet for reaſons we are unacquainted with, he did not think proper to print it, which was a great misfortune to the publick, ſince, by coming abroad after his deceaſe, it has conſiderably ſuffered. The next year he publiſhed a work of quite another kind, that is to ſay, the firſt part of his *Eſſays or Counſels, Civil and Moral* (y) [L]; an admirable work, in which our author inſtructs men in the moſt uſeful principles of wiſdom and prudence, and teaches how to acquire what are eſteemed the greateſt bleſſings, and how to avoid the evils which are moſt dreaded in the conduct of human life. His penetration, exactneſs, and perfect ſkill in all the offices of civil life, appeared to great advantage in this performance, which, as our author himſelf was ſenſible, proved of great ſervice to his character, and promoted the high eſteem that was already conceived of his parts and learning. About the cloſe of the ſucceeding year 1598, he compoſed, on a particular occaſion, his *Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office* (z) [M], which however

(y) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 401.

(z) Ibid.

(25) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 12. Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 23.

COMMON LAW *of* ENGLAND (25), but I think there can be no ſort of doubt, that the author himſelf intended a ſeparate work. His own title was, *A Collection of ſome principal Rules and Maxims of the* COMMON LAW *with their Latitude and Extent.* To this work of his, which however was intended but as a ſpecimen of a much larger, ſince it contains but twenty-five rules out of three hundred which he had collected, he prefixed a dedication and a preface, in both which he largely explains, both the intention and utility of his performance. The former is addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, and is written in a very high ſtrain of compliment, yet mixed with many ſerious and important truths; he obſerves, that thoſe were times in which if ſcience increaſed, conſcience decayed, and laws, though multiplied in number, were ſlackened in vigour and execution; ſo that ſuits in law, the major part of which, he ſays, are always unjuſt, daily multiplied and increaſed; and, which was ſtill worſe, indirect courſes and practices to abuſe Law and Juſtice, where often attempted and put in uſe; from whence he adds, much greater enormities would have been bred, but for the royal policy of the Queen, the foreſight at her Council-table and Star-Chamber, and the integrity of her Judges, by whom they were repreſſed and reſtrained; for he farther notes, that for the preventing frauds in agreements, abuſes in the Law, and the bad behaviour of it's miniſters and inſtruments, there had been more ſtatutes made in her Majeſty's reign, and thoſe too of deeper reach, than in any of her predeceſſors. He then proceeds to the reaſons which induced him to offer this work, in repreſenting which, we will make uſe of his own words (26). 'But I am an unworthy 'witneſs to your Majeſty, of an higher intention 'and project, both by that which was publiſhed by 'your Chancellor in full parliament from your royal 'mouth, in the five and thirtieth year of your 'happy reign, and much more by that which I 'have been ſince vouchſafed to underſtand from 'your Majeſty, imparting a purpoſe for theſe many 'years infuſed into your Majeſty's breaſt, to enter 'into a general amendment of the ſtate of your laws, 'and reduce them to more brevity and certainty, 'that the great hollowneſs and unſafety in aſſurances 'of lands and goods, may be ſtrengthened, and 'ſwerving penalties that lie upon many ſubjects removed, the execution of many profitable laws revived, 'the Judge better directed in his ſentence, the Counſellor better waranted in his counſel, the ſtudent 'eaſed in his reading, the contentious ſuitor that 'ſeeketh but vexation diſarmed, and the honeſt ſuitor 'that ſeeketh but to obtain his right relieved; which 'purpoſe and intention, as it did ſtrike me with great 'admiration when I heard it, ſo it might be acknowledged to be one of the moſt choſen works, 'and of the higheſt merit and beneficence towards 'the ſubject, that ever entered into the mind of any 'King, greater than we can imagine. Becauſe the 'imperfections and dangers of the Laws, are covered 'under the clemency and excellent temper of your 'Majeſty's government.' In his preface he very fully ſhews, the nature and the conſequence of his deſign, and explains with great accuracy, the benefit and advantage ariſing from the uſe of maxims or general rules in the Law, and their being univerſally known and underſtood. As for the ſecond treatiſe, which together with this, goes to the making up of what is called his Elements of the Common Law, it was by himſelf ſtiled, *The Uſe of the Law for Preſervation of our Perſons, Goods, and good Names, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Land* (27).

(26) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 14.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 56.

An excellent work it is, and not only compleatly fitted for the improvement of ſuch as ſtudy the Law, but alſo the book in the world beſt calculated, to give every man of good ſenſe and unbiaſſed judgment, both a general idea, and a good opinion of the Law, which is repreſented therein in that light, which is at once the faireſt, fulleſt, and moſt agreeable; that is, not as a contrivance to limit the freedom, and abridge the natural liberty of mankind, but as an inſtitution, principally intending the benefit and advantage of men, as rational beings, and members of ſociety, by protecting them in their perſons, fame, and eſtates, and therefore I eſteem it one of the beſt and moſt uſeful pieces that our author ever compoſed.

[L] *The firſt part of his* Eſſays or Counſels Civil and Moral.] The reaſon why Mr Bacon publiſhed theſe eſſays at this time, is aſſigned in his dedication of them to his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, which was, that many of them had ſtolen abroad in writing, and were very likely to come into the world in print, with more imperfections than the author thought it juſt to take upon himſelf (28). About ſixteen years afterwards, he had thoughts of publiſhing a new edition of them, which he intended to dedicate to Prince Henry, and in his dedication he inſerted a very clear and candid account of the book (29). 'To write 'juſt treatiſes, ſays he, requires leiſure in the writer 'and leiſure in the reader, and therefore are not ſo fit 'neither in your Highneſs's princely affairs, nor in regard 'of my continual ſervice, which is the cauſe that 'hath made me chuſe to write certain brief notes, 'ſet down rather ſignificantly than curiouſly, which 'I have called Eſſays. The word is late, but the 'thing is antient, for Seneca's Epiſtles to Lucilius, 'if you mark them well, are but eſſays, that is, diſperſed meditations, tho' conveyed in the form of 'epiſtles. Theſe labours of mine I know, cannot 'be worthy of your Highneſs, for what can be 'worthy of you! But my hope is, they may be as 'grains of ſalt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with ſatiety. And although 'they handle thoſe things, wherein both men's lives 'and their perſons are moſt converſant, yet what 'I have attained I know not, but I have endeavoured 'to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof 'a man ſhall find much in experience and little in 'books, ſo as they are neither repetitions nor fancies.' Sir Francis Bacon deſigned to have prefixed this epiſtle to his Eſſays, printed in the year 1612, but was prevented by the Prince's death. Yet it was ſo well liked by Mr Matthew, that he inſerted in his declaration to the Duke of Tuſcany, before his tranſlation of thoſe Eſſays printed in 1618 (30). This ſecond edition when publiſhed, the author addreſſed to Sir John Conſtable, his brother in law. He afterwards ſent them abroad again reviſed and enlarged in Latin and in Engliſh, dedicating them in both languages to the Duke of Buckingham, in which dedication he tells his Grace, that he thought it agreable to his affection and obligations to prefix his name before them, becauſe he conceived they might laſt as long as books laſt (31); there are other places in our author's writings in which theſe Eſſays are mentioned, and in which he expreſſes a particular ſenſe of their uſefulneſs to mankind, and redounding as much or more to his honour, than thoſe large and extenſive works, which had coſt him much greater pains and labour, in which he certainly was not miſtaken, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in it's proper place.

(28) See his Dedication to his brother in his Works, Vol. III. p. 290.

(29) See this Dedication in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 586.

(30) See Stephens's Letters, and of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(31) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 300.

[M] *He compoſed, on a particular occaſion, the Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office.*] This curious and highly

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however was not publiſhed till many years after his deceaſe. In this learned work he has fully ſhewn, how great a maſter he was, not in our Law only, but in our Hiſtory and Antiquities, ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid, there never fell any thing from his pen, which more clearly and fully demonſtrated his abilities in his profeſſion. It is not written in that dry, dark, and unentertaining way, which ſo much diſcourages young readers in the peruſal of books of this kind; but, on the contrary, the ſtile is pleaſant and agreeable, though plain and ſuitable to the ſubject, and facts, authorities, obſervations, remarks, and reflections, are ſo judiciouſly interwoven, that whoever reads it with a competent knowledge of the ſubject, muſt acknowledge him an able lawyer, and an elegant writer. It is needleſs to mention ſome ſmaller inſtances of his abilities in the Law, which nevertheleſs were received by the learned ſociety of which he was a member, with all poſſible marks of veneration and eſteem, and which they have preſerved with that reverence due to ſo worthy a perſon, and ſo eminent an ornament of their houſe (*a*). As a further argument of their reſpect, they choſe him Double Reader in the year 1600, and in the thirty-ninth of Mr Bacon's age, which office he diſcharged with remarkable ſufficiency, as appears by his learned reading on the Statute of Uſes, being one of the firſt who argued Chudleigh's caſe, largely reported by Lord Coke (*b*), which reading, as it well deſerves, has been printed in his works, and in the collection of his Law Tracts, where it remains an everlaſting monument of his abilities in his profeſſion (*c*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe, during the latter part of the Queen's reign, in the Houſe of Commons, where he ſpoke often, and yet with ſuch weight and wiſdom, that his ſentiments were generally approved by that auguſt aſſembly, and himſelf ſo much eſteemed therein, that though he uſually ſpoke on the ſide of the Court, yet he was ever looked upon as a friend to the people, and therefore as popular a member as any, though ſometimes, as appears from his letters, it created great jealouſy in the Miniſters, who took it ill, that any thing they thought proper to introduce into that Houſe, ſhould be oppoſed by ſuch as were in the Queen's ſervice (*d*). However, this did not hinder him from perſevering in the ſame courſe to the end of that reign, in which, though he received but ſlender marks of honour, and ſcarce any of profit, which yet his family, his merit, and his circumſtances, not to mention his near relation to the Miniſters, and his perſonal favour with the Queen, ſeemed to require; yet this was ſo far from warping him either in duty or affection, that, ſo long as the Queen lived, he ſerved her both with zeal and fidelity, and after her deceaſe, compoſed a memorial of the happineſs of her reign, which did equal honour to her adminiſtration, and to the capacity of it's author, being eſteemed a moſt exquiſite performance in it's kind, and as ſuch made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou, in his invaluable Hiſtory (*e*) [*N*]. After the

(*a*) See *Arguments, &c.* in the fourth Volume of his Works.

(*b*) Coke's Reports, Book i. fol. 113.

(*c*) Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 299.

(*d*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer on his oppoſing a Subſidy, in his Works, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*e*) Hiſtor. ſui Temporis, lib. cxxvi.

finiſhed tract, which has been but lately publiſhed from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library (32), is one of the moſt laboured pieces penned by our moſt learned author, containing his reſolutions of a very perplexed queſtion, Whether it was moſt for the Queen's benefit, that the profits ariſing from this office for Alienations, ſhould be let out to farm or not? In handling this he has ſhewn ſuch diverſity of learning, and ſo clear a conception of all the different points of Law, Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Policy, as is really amazing; for I think it may be truly ſaid, that there is not any treatiſe of the ſame compaſs extant in our language, which manifeſts ſo comprehenſive a genius, and ſo accurate a knowledge, both with reſpect to theory and practice as this, and therefore it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, that it lay ſo long hid from the world; but what appears to me moſt ſurprizing is, that it ſhews our author to have had as true notions, and as good a turn for œconomy as any man ever had, which before the publication of this treatiſe, was thought the only kind of knowledge in which he was deficient. But it ſeems it was one thing as a Lawyer, Stateſman, and candidate for court favour, to enter into a detail of the Queen's revenues, to conſider the various methods in which they might be managed, together with the advantages and diſadvantages attending each method; and quite another, to enter with like ſpirit and diligence into his own affairs, which if he had done, he might have paſſed his days more happily, and have left his fame without blemiſh.

(32) Appendix to the third Vol. of his Works, p. 149.

[*N*] *Made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou in his invaluable hiſtory.*] It was one, and that not the leaſt remarkable, point of the felicity of Queen Elizabeth, that not only thoſe who owed their being, or at leaſt their greatneſs to her bounty, but even ſuch as experienced little or nothing of her favour, were equally deſirous of ſupporting her fame and tranſmitting it to poſterity. As for this piece written by our author, it ſeems to have been originally compoſed in the life-time of that Queen (33), and after her deceaſe thrown into another form, reviſed, corrected, and tranſlated into Latin (34). It was tranſmitted by the requeſt of the author to M. de Thou, who freely owns, that he made uſe of it in his hiſtory (35). As for our author, he was not only pleaſed with ſhewing this mark of eſteem and honour for his deceaſed miſtreſs, but conſidering that the piece he had written was not publiſhed in his life-time, he particularly directed, that it ſhould be printed after his deceaſe, which, tho' at a conſiderable diſtance of time, was performed (36). There is not, perhaps, in all the works of Lord Bacon, any treatiſe which does more honour to his memory than this, in which he ſhews himſelf not only a great maſter of learning and language, one capable of expreſſing great things in an equal and elevated ſtile, but an admirable politician alſo; one capable of penetrating even into the depths of the councils of thoſe times, which perhaps were as deep and as intricate, as any this country ever ſaw, or perhaps that have guided the concerns of any country whatever. Yet if this performance does honour to the ſolid wiſdom and prodigious abilities of our author, it does much more with reſpect to the great Princeſs celebrated therein, and is, beyond all doubt, the nobleſt of the many monuments erected to her memory. The great point laboured in this panegyrick is to ſhew, that as, on the one hand, the wiſe councils, prudent meaſures, and great undertakings of this high-ſpirited Queen, merited the greateſt ſucceſs; ſo they were conducted in ſuch a manner as to be, generally ſpeaking, crowned with that ſucceſs which they deſerved; herein he places, and indeed very juſtly places, the felicity of Queen Elizabeth. But there is ſtill another light in which this piece may be conſidered with equal reputation to the author who wrote, and to the monarch who is the ſubject of this excellent diſcourſe: The light I mean is that of a political hiſtory, or rather ſpeculum of the politicks of this reign, and I think one may truly aſſert, that it was the peculiar felicity of this Queen, to have the actions of her reign recorded by ſo able and ſo candid a hiſtorian, as the learned and judicious Camden (37); and the councils and ſprings of thoſe actions, repreſented to poſterity by the pen of

(33) To judge of this, the reader muſt conſult our author's diſcourſe, intituled, *Of the Praiſe of his Sovereign*, publiſhed in Stephens's Letters, &c. p. 245.

(34) Vol. II. p. 389.

(35) Hiſtor. ſui temporis, l. cxxvi. See alſo Bacon's Letter to Sir George Carew, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 575.

(36) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bac

(37) Guliel. Camdeni Annal. Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnan. Elizabetha, &c.

the deceaſe of his miſtreſs, he applied very early to her ſucceſſor King James VI, who, by a quiet and peaceable acceſſion, became King James I of England. Mr Bacon had many reaſons to hope, that this tender of his ſervices would be well received by that Prince, as he was known to be learned himſelf, and a great encourager of learning; as he was well acquainted with the general characters and reputation of all perſons of note in England, and as he had a ſingular eſteem for, on account of the ſignal ſervices rendered him by, our author's brother, Mr Anthony Bacon (*f*). So that taking all theſe circumſtances together, there was nothing forward or haſty, much leſs mean or indecent in the firſt applications of our author to that Prince. He ſeems in this, as in the former reign, to have fixed his hopes of advancement upon the proſecution of a plan of his own framing, which conſiſted in procuring a fair report of him to the King, by men of different parties and different nations; and it is remarkable on this occaſion, that he offered his ſervice to the Earl of Northumberland, and at the ſame time ſought the friendſhip of the Earl of Southampton, who was ſo near deſtruction in the unfortunate affair of the Earl of Eſſex (*g*). But if he depended upon the Engliſh, he did [illegible] neglect the Scotch, with ſome of whom he had formerly had an acquaintance, which he now renewed, and thereby wrought himſelf into great credit with that nation (*h*). He likewiſe offered his pen, and drew up the form of a proclamation, which, though it was not uſed, had nevertheleſs a good effect, and was taken for an inſtance of his duty and good affection (*i*). On the twenty-third of July, 1603, he was introduced to the King at Whitehall, when he received the honour of knighthood, as a mark of his Majeſty's gracious acceptance of paſt ſervices, and of the tender he had made of the continuance of them for the future (*k*). This might have been thought a greater favour, if the new King had been more careful of his honours, but moſt of our hiſtorians have remarked, that King James was as profuſe in this particular, as Queen Elizabeth was ſparing. But however it ought to be conſidered, that many circumſtances concurred to make this difference in their conduct. It was neceſſary at the opening of a new reign, and even cuſtomary, ſo that Queen Elizabeth herſelf had then uſed it; but this was not only a new reign, but the coming in alſo of a new family, and, which was ſtill more, a family from another country, which made ſuch numerous acts of royal favour more expedient. We may add to this another reaſon, which was the quiet and peaceable acceſſion of King James, ariſing from the readineſs of all ranks of people, to own and acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and as he could not without ingratitude avoid beſtowing ſome honours on ſo ſingular an occaſion; ſo in policy he could not beſtow ſuch marks of diſtinction on one ſet of people, or in one part of the kingdom, without taking notice of the loyalty and affection ſhewn in other places, and by other perſons. There was yet another cauſe of the beneficence of this Monarch in this particular, which was his deſire to unite the whole nation in their affections to himſelf, and to one another, inſtead of governing, as his predeceſſor had done, by factions, which, though no error in her, becauſe founded in neceſſity, had been a great error in him, when that neceſſity was taken away (*l*). In his firſt applications to the King, Sir Francis Bacon appeared as a courtier and ſervant to the crown, but it was not long before he had occaſion to approach his Majeſty in quite a different capacity. The country people found themſelves greatly oppreſſed in the laſt reign by Purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. Queen Elizabeth had been informed of it by accident, and, it is ſaid, had given way to an act of extraordinary ſeverity to repreſs it; but ſtill there had been nothing done towards a thorough reformation, which obliged the Houſe of Commons, in the firſt Parliament of King James, to think of ſome method for effectually redreſſing this evil. The way they took, was by a ſolemn repreſentation of this grievance and it's conſequences, and the perſon they made choice of to ſet forth the ſenſe of the Houſe on this ſubject, was Sir Francis Bacon, which ſhews his credit in Parliament at that juncture. He performed it in ſuch a manner, as both ſatisfied the Houſe, whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and pleaſed the King (*m*) [O]. His Majeſty, from his

(*f*) See the King's own Teſtimony, Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 597.

(*g*) See his Letters to both Lords, Vol. IV. p. 555, 561.

(*h*) See his Letters to Dr Morriſon, Mr Murray, &c.

(*i*) See that Draught recommended by him to the Earl of Northumberland, Vol. IV. p. 560.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 430.

(*l*) See Stephen's Hiſtorical Introduction, p. 4.

(*m*) See his Letter to the King, Vol. IV. p. 573.

of ſo capable a writer as Bacon; who in this treatiſe has given us an admirable ſupplement to the hiſtories of thoſe times, and has therein taken notice of many things that would otherwiſe have eſcaped the knowledge of ſucceeding ages, and ſet all the facts of which he takes notice in ſuch lights, as they could have ſcarce been repreſented by any other writer than himſelf. This tribute therefore to the memory of his ſovereign, deſerved, in every reſpect, the regard paid to it both at home and abroad, as well as the particular concern which our author expreſſed that it might be printed after his deceaſe, as an everlaſting teſtimony of his reverence for the memory of his incomparable ſovereign.

[O] *Both ſatisfied the Houſe whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and at the ſame pleaſed the King.*] It appears evidently enough by a letter ſtill extant, from Sir Francis Bacon to his Majeſty, that he managed the buſineſs of this complaint with great addreſs, in which I conceive, the chief point was the procuring himſelf to be choſen to this difficult taſk: difficult indeed, it might well be called, ſince, on the one hand, it required much delicacy to preſs a complaint of this kind, to a Prince of King James's temper, ſo as not to wound his authority by the manner of doing it; and next, there required no leſs art, ſo to repreſent the grievance as to come up to what the people expected from their repreſentatives, and the houſe from their member. He did both very happily, for by magnifying the King's power, wiſdom, and natural clemency, at the beginning, and premiſing likewiſe, that the Houſe had no intent to injure the royal prerogative, but barely to provide againſt the abuſe of it; he thereby obtained the means, under colour of vindicating his majeſty's perſon and government, from the imputations brought upon both, by theſe illegal and unjuſtifiable actions, to deliver the very utmoſt, of what even the warmeſt patriots of thoſe times, could deſire ſhould be ſpoken in the royal preſence. The reader will fully apprehended this, from the manner of his ſtating the complaint (38): 'The abuſes of purveyors, *ſays he*, naturally divide themſelves

(38) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 23.

his firſt entrance, had continued him in his ſervice, in the ſame manner in which he had ſerved the late Queen, but when his affairs were better ſettled, he thought fit to ſhew him higher marks of favour than he had received from her late Majeſty; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1604, conſtituted him by patent, one of his Counſel learned in the Law, with a fee of forty pounds a year, which is ſaid to have been the firſt act of royal power in that nature (*n*). He granted him the ſame day, by another patent under the Great-Seal, a penſion of ſixty pounds a year, for ſpecial ſervices received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himſelf, which I the rather take notice of, becauſe it has not hitherto been mentioned by any of the authors who have undertaken to write his life (*o*). He was from this time a ſpecial ſervant to the crown, and ſeemed to be in a fair road to preferment; but however, he found himſelf ſtill croſſed by the jealouſy and envious diſlike of two great men, who were afraid of his parts, and apprehended that the courſe of his fortune might thwart the views of their ambition. The firſt of theſe, was his near relation and old antagoniſt, Sir Robert Cecil, now created Earl of Saliſbury, and in as great credit with King James, as ever his father, the wiſe Lord Burleigh, had been with Queen Elizabeth; the other was Sir Edward Coke, diſtinguiſhed by his great knowledge of the Law, and the King's Attorney-General, a man who affected to ſlight our author's knowledge in his profeſſion, who envied his general reputation, and feared his abilities as a ſtateſman, But though no man ſaw clearer than Sir Francis Bacon into matters of this nature, and though he perceived very early, how little ſervice the one, and how much diſſervice the other of theſe great men meant him; yet he behaved towards both in the manner that became him; towards the Earl of Saliſbury, who was now become Lord-Treaſurer and Prime-Miniſter, with ſubmiſſion and reſpect, and yet with frequent admonitions, as to what he had reaſon to believe he might expect, from the nearneſs of their relation, and his Lordſhip's fair promiſes. Towards the other, he uſed more freedom and leſs ceremony, as appears clearly from a letter of his, in which he expoſtulates with Mr Attorney very roundly, on the uſage he had met with (*p*). But in the midſt of theſe difficulties and diſappointments, he not only proſecuted his own plan for preferment with the utmoſt ſteadineſs, but alſo that of his ſtudies; ſo that in the year 1605, he publiſhed the firſt ſpecimen of his great work, in his book *of the Advancement of Learning* (*q*) [*P*], a performance moſt excellent in itſelf, and conſidered by itſelf

(*n*) Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 596.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 597.

(*p*) See his Letter to Mr Attorney Coke, Vol. IV. p. 570.

(*q*) Stephens's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

'themſelves into three ſorts; the firſt they take in 'kind, that they ought not to take; the ſecond they 'take in quantity, a far greater proportion than 'cometh to your Majeſty's uſe; the third, they take 'in an unlawful manner, in a manner, (I ſay) directly, 'and expreſsly, prohibited by diverſe laws. To the 'firſt of theſe I am a little to alter their name, for 'inſtead of Takers, they become Taxers; inſtead of 'taking proviſion for your Majeſty's ſervice, they tax 'your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; impoſing 'upon them, and extorting from them diverſe ſums 'of money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the 'nature of ſtipends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be 'freed and eaſed of their oppreſſion. Again they 'take trees, which by law they cannot do, timber 'trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and ſhelter 'of men's houſes, that men have long ſpared from 'their own purſe and profit, that men eſteem (for 'their uſe and delight) above ten times the value, 'that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover; 'theſe do they take to the defacing and ſpoiling of 'your ſubjects manſions and dwellings, except they 'be compounded with to their own appetites. And 'if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is 'at home, they will watch their time when there is 'but a Bailiff or ſervant remaining, and put the 'the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter 'can ſtop it. Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt 'unjuſt exaction, in cauſing the ſubjects to pay 'poundage of their own debts due from your Ma'jeſty unto them; ſo as a poor man, when he has 'had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which 'perchance, he was full loth to part with, and had 'for the proviſion of his own family, and not to 'put to ſale) taken from him, and that not at a 'juſt price, but under the value, and cometh to re'ceive his money, he ſhall have after the rate of 'twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage, 'of his due payment upon ſo hard conditions: Nay 'farther, they are grown to that extremity, (as is 'affirmed, tho' it be ſcarce credible, ſave that in 'ſuch perſons all things are credible) that they will 'take double poundage, once when the debenture 'is made; and again the ſecond time, when the 'money is paid, &c.' As to the particular facts which had been laid before the Houſe in order to juſtify this charge, Sir Francis Bacon cauſed them to be digeſted into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, and deſired they might be read to his Majeſty, as accordingly they were after he had finiſhed his ſpeech.

[*P*] *In his book of the Advancement of Learning*] This admirable and elegant performance was intituled, 'The two Books of Francis Bacon of the Proficience 'and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human; 'to the King (39).' We have a large and excellent account of this work given us by the learned Dr Teniſon (40), who ſpeaking of the great Inſtauration of the Sciences, which our author divided into ſix parts, proceeds thus. The firſt part propoſed, was the partition of the ſciences, and this the author perfected in that golden treatiſe of the Advancement of Learning, addreſſed to King James; a labour, which he termed a comfort to his other labours (41). This he firſt wrote in two books in the Engliſh tongue, in which his pen excelled; and of this firſt edition, that is to be meant, which with ſome truth and more modeſty, he wrote to the Earl of Saliſbury, telling him (42), *That in his book he was contented to awake better ſpirits, being himſelf like a bell-ringer, who is firſt up to call others to church*; afterwards he enlarged thoſe two diſcourſes, which contained, eſpecially the aforeſaid Partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books; and knowing that this work was deſired beyond the ſeas, and being alſo aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change, in a few years were out of uſe, he cauſed that part of it which he had written in Engliſh, to be tranſlated into the Latin tongue by Mr Herbert, and ſome others, who were eſteemed maſters in the Roman eloquence. Notwithſtanding which, he ſo ſuited the ſtile to his conceptions, by a ſtrict caſtigation of the whole work, that it may deſervedly ſeem his own. The tranſlation of this work (that is, of much of the two books written by him in Engliſh) he firſt commended to Dr Playfer, a Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge, uſing, among others, theſe words to him (43). 'The privateneſs of the 'language conſidered, wherein the book is written, 'excluding ſo many readers, as on the other ſide, 'the obſcurity of the argument in many parts of it, 'excludeth many others; I muſt account it a ſecond 'birth of that work, if it might be tranſlated into 'Latin, without manifeſt loſs of the ſenſe and mat'ter: For this purpoſe, I could not repreſent to myſelf 'any man, into whoſe hands I do more earneſtly de'ſire,

(39) London: Printed for Henry Tomes, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, 4to. 1605, again 1629, and in 1633. In the new edition of Bacon's Works, 1740, Vol. II. p. 413.

(40) In his Account of all Lord Bacon's Works, annexed to his *Baconiana*, p. 24.

(41) See his Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, Vol. IV. p. 364.

(42) Ibid. p. 565.

(43) Ibid. p. 567.

itſelf, and not as a part of that great ſyſtem to which it belonged, and into which it was afterwards incorporated by it's author. He likewiſe continued his diligence in Parliament, where he did the King and his Miniſters great ſervice, which ought to have been ſo much the more regarded, becauſe ſcarce any other man could have rendered them ſuch ſervice (r). One thing there was above the reſt, about which the King was extreamly ſollicitous, and yet only in part ſucceſsful, which was the promoting an union between his ſubjects in the two kingdoms, and becoming thereby fully and perfectly, as well as ſtrictly and literally, King of *Great Britain*. In Parliament, Sir Francis Bacon laboured this point with great diligence, and to his great reputation, though it went on ſlowly, and never came to any concluſion; but in Weſtminſter-Hall, his eloquence was more prevailing, and the Judges did for the King there, almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere (s) [Q]. In other things of the like nature, he proceeded with the like diligence, and this giving him not only great countenance at Court, but gaining him alſo the general eſteem of the world, his friends adviſed him to take this opportunity of

(r) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Lettters, p. 4.

(s) See this fact explained in note [Q].

'fire the work ſhould fall than yourſelf, for by that 'I have heard and read, I know no man a greater 'maſter in commanding words to ſerve matter.' The Doctor was willing to ſerve ſo excellent a perſon and ſo worthy a deſign, and within a while ſent him a ſpecimen of a Latin tranſlation; but men generally come ſhort of themſelves, when they ſtrive to outdo themſelves, they put a force upon their natural genius, and by a ſtraining of it crack and diſable it; and ſo it ſeems it happened to that worthy and elegant man upon this great occaſion; he would be over accurate, and he ſent a ſpecimen of ſuch ſuperfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work, in the penning of which, he deſired not ſo much neat and polite, as clear, maſculine, and apt expreſſion. The whole of this book was rendered into Engliſh by Dr Gilbert Wats of Oxford, and the tranſlation has been well received by many; but ſome there were who wiſhed, that a tranſlation had been ſet forth, in which the genius and ſpirit of the Lord Bacon had more appeared; and I have ſeen a letter written by a certain gentleman to Dr Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate verſion by his own hand: *It is our humble ſuit to you, and we do earneſtly ſollicit you, to give yourſelf the trouble to correct the too much defective tranſlation of* de Augmentis Scientiarum, *which Dr Wats hath ſet forth. It is a thouſand pities ſo worthy a piece ſhould loſe it's grace and credit by an ill expoſitor, ſince thoſe perſons who read that tranſlation, taking it for genuine, and upon that preſumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of the benefit, which (if you would pleaſe to undertake the buſineſs) they would receive. This tendeth to the diſhonour of that noble Lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.* This work hath been alſo tranſlated into French, upon the motion of the Marquis Fiat, but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly miſtaken, and ſome things (eſpecially ſuch as relate to Religion) wilfully perverted; inſomuch that in one place, he makes his Lordſhip to magnify the Legend, a book ſure of little credit with him, when he thus began one of his eſſays (44): *I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this univerſal frame is without a mind.* The faireſt and moſt correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio, printed at London, anno 1623: And whoſoever would underſtand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him conſult that accurate edition (45); for in ſome other editions which I have peruſed, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the myſtery conſiſteth, is not obſerved; but the Roman and Italick ſhapes of them are confounded. To this book we may reduce the firſt four chapters of that imperfect treatiſe, publiſhed in Latin by *Iſaac Gruter*, and called, *The Deſcription of the Intellectual Globe*; they being but a rude draught of the partition of the ſciences, ſo accurately and methodically diſpoſed in the book of the Advancement of Learning: To this alſo we may reduce the treatiſe called *Thema Cæli*, publiſhed likewiſe in Latin by *Gruter*; and it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter and the third book of it, as being a diſcourſe tending to an improvement of the ſyſtem of the Heavens, which is treated of in that place, the houſes of which (had God granted him life) he would have underſtood, as well almoſt as he did his own. For the ſame reaſon, we may reduce to the ſame place of the Advancement, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters, of the *Deſcriptio Globi Intellectualis* above remembered.

(44) Eſſay on Atheiſm, Vol. III. p. 323.

(45) De Augment. Scientiar. lib. vi. c. 1.

[Q] *Did for the King there almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere.*] There was no one point which King James preſſed ſo eagerly as this, which he thought would do him honour in his own country, and procure him credit in this. The laſt attempt made in the Houſe of Commons, was to procure a law for a general naturalization of all the inhabitants of Scotland, which met, as might be very readily expected, a very warm oppoſition: It is very eaſy to conceive, that though there might be many reaſons for the King's deſiring the thing, and ſome very good ones why the Engliſh nation, ſhould, out of regard to their own intereſts, have yielded to it; yet there were many cauſes, why the people in general ſhould be then extreamly averſe to it; and indeed, it does ſufficiently appear that their prejudices were very ſtrong againſt it; in this ſituation things were, when Sir Francis Bacon was prevailed upon to ſpeak in favour of this point in the Houſe of Commons, and one cannot help wondering, that he ſhould do this with great warmth, without loſing his character for popularity (46): But upon peruſing of his ſpeech it will appear, that he had ſtudied this ſubject ſo well, and underſtood it ſo perfectly, that tho' he might not be able to conquer the prejudices of ſome, or to convince the judgments of all, yet he ſhewed evidently, that he was far enough from having taken up his own opinion upon truſt, or undertaking to manage this affair upon no better ground, than that of making his court to his maſter. His diſcourſe was ſo eloquent, and withal ſo weighty, the arguments he offered ſo ſtrong in themſelves, and ſo well ſupported by examples drawn from hiſtory, that though they might be over-ruled, they could not eaſily be anſwered; and as in moſt other things ſo in this, what he has delivered upon the ſubject, is as full and as ſatisfactory as the learning of thoſe could, or the experience of ſucceeding times is ever like to furniſh. In as much as that I may venture to aſſert, the inhabitants of Scotland never had ſo good an advocate, and never can have a better. Yet after all, the diſpute upon this head was of no great conſequence, as Sir Francis Bacon well obſerved, for it was only whether the fathers ſhould be put into as good a condition as their children, for it was held for Law then by the ableſt men of the profeſſion, and decided afterwards in a great cauſe argued by Sir Francis Bacon, when King's Sollicitor, that the *Poſt Nati*, or ſuch as were born in Scotland after the King's acceſſion to the throne of England were naturalized; ſo that the point then under the conſideration of the Houſe, was whether the *Ante Nati* ſhould be naturalized by law or not (47). The reader, from what has been ſaid on this head in the text and in this note, will eaſily comprehend the merit of Sir Francis Bacon's ſervices in this affair, which is all that we intended; for if a hiſtory were to be written of the endeavours uſed in this reign, to procure an union between the two nations, it would take up much more room than we have to ſpare, and would beſides, lead us too far from our preſent ſubject; and therefore we have included, in as few words as poſſible, thoſe points in which this gentleman was principally concerned; and if the reader is inclined to obtain a farther view of this matter in all it's branches, he may conſult the hiſtories of thoſe times, and the letters and works of our author, which will afford him tolerable ſatisfaction (48).

(46) See Arthur Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, in the Compleat Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 673.

(47) See this Speech of Sir Francis Bacon in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 235.

(48) See his Preparation towards the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland, Vol. IV. p. 84. His Brief Diſcourſe of the Union of the kingdoms, to the King, Vol. IV. p. 210. His Conſiderations touching the Union, ibid. p. 217. His Argument in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati*, ibid. p. 185.

of marrying, that ſo he might eſtabliſh his family; which motion he readily embraced, and ſoon after took to wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Eſq; Alderman of London, a lady who brought him an ample fortune, but by whom he never had any children (*t*). A little after this marriage, there happened a promotion in the Law, which induced him to renew his application for the Sollicitorſhip, which was then like to become vacant, by the promotion beforementioned, in which, with ſome difficulty, he prevailed, and upon Sir John Doderidge's being advanced from that poſt to be the King's Serjeant, he was, in the year 1607, appointed Sollicitor, with the conſent at leaſt, if not by the recommendation, of his couſin, the Earl of Saliſbury, and then he appeared more frequently in Weſtminſter-Hall, grew into more extenſive practice as a Lawyer, and had a ſhare in almoſt all great cauſes; which were the reaſons he aſſigned, for being ſo preſſing in his applications for that employment, though one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, he was influenced in ſome degree by motives of a ſuperior nature, as conſidering this, but as a ſtep to higher preferment (*u*). He aſſured the King, before he obtained this employment, that it would give him ſuch an increaſe of capacity, though not of zeal, to ſerve his Majeſty, that what he had done in times paſt ſhould ſeem as nothing, in compariſon of the ſervices he would render for the future. In this reſpect, Sir Francis Bacon kept his word, for in that ſeſſion of Parliament, held in the year in which he was made Sollicitor, he ran through great variety of buſineſs, and that of a nature which demanded a man, not only of great abilities but of great art, and yet of general reputation, for he was employed from the Houſe of Commons to the King, to repreſent to him the grievances under which the nation laboured; and though the paper relating to them was couched in pretty ſtrong terms, which could not but be diſagreeable to his maſter's temper, yet Sir Francis, by a ſoft and ſmooth ſpeech, ſo abated their harſhneſs, as to perform this difficult commiſſion with univerſal applauſe (*w*). He was likewiſe employed by the Houſe at a conference with the Lords, to perſuade them to join in an application to the Crown, for the taking away the antient tenures, and allowing a certain and competent revenue in lieu of them, and in his ſpeech on this occaſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſet that affair in ſo clear a light, as excited that ſpirit, which at length procured the diſſolution of the Court of Wards, which has been juſtly eſteemed a point of the higheſt conſequence to the liberties of this kingdom (*x*). He likewiſe ſatisfied the Houſe, at a time when they were much out of temper, at the manner in which the King's meſſages were conveyed to them; and towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, when the ſupply ſtuck in the Houſe, he procured a paſſage for it, by a very ſhort and well-timed ſpeech, which effectually ſhewed of how great conſequence it was to the King, to have ſo able and ſo popular a ſpeaker at his devotion (*y*). One would have imagined, that in the midſt of ſo many arduous affairs of State, joined to the cares of his employment, and the buſineſs of his profeſſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſhould have had but little leiſure for his philoſophic ſtudies; and yet we find, that about this time, he had in ſome meaſure digeſted the plan of the ſecond part of his great work, which he tranſmitted to his friends, who were the ableſt and the beſt judges in the kingdom, in order to have their free ſentiments upon the ſubject; for as Sir Francis laboured only to arrive at truth, and not to acquire a mighty reputation, ſo he was rather deſirous of hearing the objections that might be made againſt his new ſyſtem, than to ſeek the praiſes of ſuch, as were more willing to beſtow applauſe, than to enquite into his title to it (*z*) [*R*]. It was

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(*u*) See his Letters to the King and his Miniſters, with Mr Stephens's excellent notes, in his Collection, p. 28—34.

(*w*) See this Speech in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 260.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 261.

(*y*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 832.

(*z*) See the Letters here referred to in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 176.

[*R*] *More willing to beſtow applauſe, than to inquire into his title to it.*] This piece of our author's was intituled, *Cogitata & Viſa*, and contained the ground-work or plan of his *Novum Organum*, ſo eſſential a part of his Inſtauration, that it ſometimes bears that title. He was ſenſible of the difficulties that would attend his great deſign of building up the whole Palace of Wiſdom anew, and that he might be the better able to overcome thoſe difficulties, he was deſirous of ſeeing what they were, before he undertook his large work, of which this piece was no more than the out-lines. We may form a true notion of what he ſought by conſidering the letter, which he wrote to the learned Biſhop Andrews, when he ſent him the diſcourſe of which we are ſpeaking (49). 'Now your Lordſhip hath been ſo 'long in the Church and the Palace diſputing be'tween Kings and Popes, methinks you ſhould take 'pleaſure to look into the field, and refreſh your 'mind with ſome matter of Philoſophy, though the 'ſcience be now through age waxed a child again, 'and left to boys and young men; and becauſe you 'were wont to make me believe you took a liking to 'my writings, I ſend you ſome of this vacation's 'fruits, and thus much more of my mind and pur'poſe. I haſten not to publiſh; periſhing I would 'prevent, and I am forced to reſpect, as well my 'times as the matter; for with me it is thus, and 'I think with all men in my caſe. If I bind myſelf to 'an argument it loadeth my mind, but if I rid my mind 'of the preſent cogitation, it is rather a recreation; 'this hath put me into theſe Miſcellanies, which I 'purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if God give me leave to write 'a juſt and perfect volume of Philoſophy, which I 'go on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your Lord'ſhip too much, leaſt it may glut you; now let me 'tell you what my deſire is; if your Lordſhip be ſo 'good now, as when you were the good Dean of 'Weſtminſter, my requeſt to you is, that not by 'pricks but by notes, you will make known unto me 'whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you, either not current in 'the ſtile, or harſh to credit and opinion, or incon'venient for the perſon of the writer. For no man 'can be judge and party, and when our minds 'judge by reflexion of ourſelves, they are more ſub'ject to error, and though for the matter itſelf, my 'judgment be in ſome things fixed, and not acceſſible 'by any man's judgment, that goeth not my way; 'yet even in thoſe things, the admonition of a friend 'may make me expreſs myſelf diverſly.' He likewiſe recommended with the ſame view, the peruſal of the *Cogitata & Viſa* to Sir Thomas Bodley, who wrote him a very full anſwer, which, together with the piece itſelf, is printed amongſt the Latin works of our author (50). There is alſo in the laſt Collection of Mr Stephens, a ſmall diſcourſe in Engliſh, under the Latin title of *Filum Labyrinthi; ſive Formula Inquiſitionis, ad Filios. Pars prima.* This we ſee plainly was the original of the *Cogitata & Viſa*, and the firſt draught of our author's firſt plan. Of this very ſhort treatiſe, the three firſt paragraphs (which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the whole) run thus (51). '*FRANCIS BACON* 'thought

(49) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 576.

(50) Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 266.

(51) Stephens's Collections, p. 452.

was by this means, which very few great writers have taken, that Sir Francis obtained thoſe lights, which enabled him to finiſh thoſe parts of the Inſtauration to ſo high a degree of perfection; he likewiſe in a great meaſure avoided, by taking this method, thoſe ill-natured cenſures, and critical examinations, to which works of this nature are uſually expoſed, and to which his own ſyſtem was ſo much the more liable, as it went entirely upon new principles, and could therefore only be ſupported by it's own worth, and ſtand on no other foundation than it's own ſolidity (*a*). But that he might relieve himſelf a little from the ſeverity of theſe ſtudies, and as it were amuſe himſelf with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of Philoſophy was building, he compoſed and ſent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatiſe *Of the Wiſdom of the Antients*, in which he ſhewed that none had ſtudied them more cloſely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning (*b*) [S]. There have

(*a*) Dr Teniſon's Introduction, p. 29.

(*b*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 21.

'thought in this manner, the knowledge where of the 'world is now poſſeſſed, eſpecially that of nature, ex-'tendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works, the 'Phyſician pronounces many diſeaſes incurable, and 'faileth oft in the reſt: The Alchemiſts wax old and 'die in hopes: The Magicians perform nothing that 'is permanent and profitable: The Mechanicks take 'ſmall lights from Natural Philoſophy, and do but 'ſpin out their own little threads: Chance ſometimes 'diſcovereth inventions, but that worketh not in 'years but ages; ſo he ſaw well, that the inventions 'known are very imperfect, and that new are not 'like to be brought to light but in great length of 'time, and that thoſe are come not to light by Phi-'loſophy. He thought alſo this ſtate of knowledge 'was the worſe, becauſe men ſtrive (againſt them-'ſelves) to ſave the credit of ignorance, and ſo ſa-'tisfy themſelves in this poverty: For the Phyſician, 'beſides the cauteles of practice, hath this general 'cautele of art, that he diſcharges the weakneſs of 'his art upon ſuppoſed impoſſibilities, neither can his 'art be condemned, when itſelf judgeth. That Phi-'loſophy alſo, out of which the knowledge of Phy-'ſick which now is in uſe is hewed, receiveth certain 'poſitions and opinions, which (if they be well 'weighed) induce this perſuaſion that no great works 'are to be expected from art and the hand of man; 'as in particular, that opinion that the heat of the 'ſun and fire differ in kind, and that other in com-'poſition is the work of man, and mixture is the 'work of nature and the like, all tending to the 'circumſcription of man's power, and to artificial 'deſpair; killing in men not only the comfort of 'imagination, but the induſtry of trial; only upon 'vain glory, to have their art thought perfect, and 'that all is impoſſible that is not already found. The 'Alchemiſt diſcharges his art upon his own errors, 'either ſuppoſing a miſunderſtanding of the words 'of his authors, which maketh him liſten after au-'ricular traditions, or elſe a failing in the true pro-'portions and ſcruples of practice, which maketh 'him renew infinitely his trials, and finding alſo 'that he lighteth upon ſome mean experiments and 'concluſions by the way, feedeth upon them and 'magnifieth them to the moſt, and ſupplieth the 'reſt in hopes. The Magician, when he findeth 'ſomething (as he conceiveth above nature) effected, 'thinketh when a breach is once made in nature, 'that it is all one to perform great things and ſmall, 'not ſeeing that they are but ſubjects of a certain 'kind, wherein Magick and ſuperſtition hath played 'in all times. The mechanical perſon, if he can refine 'an invention, or put two or three obſervations or 'practices together in one, or couple things better 'with their uſe, or make the work in leſs or greater 'volume, taketh himſelf for an inventor. So he ſaw 'well, that men either perſuade themſelves of new 'inventions as of impoſſibilities, or elſe think they 'are already extant but in ſecret and in few hands, 'or that they account of thoſe little induſtries and 'additions, as of inventions, all which turneth to 'the averting of their minds from any juſt and con-'ſtant labour, to invent further in any quantity. He 'thought alſo, that when men did ſet before them-'ſelves the variety and perfection of works produced 'by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire 'the proviſions of man, than to apprehend his wants, 'not conſidering that the original inventions and 'concluſions of nature, which are the life of all 'that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and 'that the reſt is but the ſubtile and ruled motion of the 'inſtrument and hand, and that the ſhop therein, is 'not unlike the library, which in ſuch number of 'books, containeth (for the far greater part) nothing but 'iterations, varied ſometimes in form, but not new 'in ſubſtance; ſo he ſaw plainly that opinion of ſtore 'was a cauſe of want, and that both works and 'doctrines appear many, and are few.' We may from hence conceive, the manner in which this piece was written, and how well it was ſuited to ſerve the author's purpoſe, of ſo far manifeſting his own deſign, as to obtain a tolerable account of the ſtrongeſt and beſt founded objections which could be brought againſt it, ſo as that in his larger work, he might either correct his own faults, or ſhew ſuch as were inclined to criticize his performance, theirs.

[S] *Had pierced deeper into their meaning.*] In the firſt part of his Inſtauration our author had obſerved, that there was a great deficiency in explaining the allegorical poetry of the Antients, and more particularly in laying open the Philoſophy of antient fables; and as he was deſirous of affording inſtances of the poſſibility of ſupplying all the deficiencies he pointed out, he compoſed this work, to anſwer the end of ſupplying the deficiency before mentioned (52). In his introduction to this book, he gives a large and very clear account of the reaſons which induced him to believe, that notwithſtanding the ſeeming abſurdities in the fabulous hiſtory of the Antients; there was however, ſomething at the bottom which deſerved to be examined into and enquired after: Theſe obſervations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus: But the argument of moſt weight with me is this, that many of theſe fables by no means appear to have been invented by the perſons, who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Heſiod, or others; for if I were aſſured they firſt flowed from thoſe latter times, and authors that tranſmit them to us, I ſhould never expect any thing ſingularly great or noble from ſuch an origin. But whoever attentively conſiders the thing, will find that theſe fables are delivered down and related by thoſe writers, not as matters then firſt invented and propoſed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages: Beſides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the ſame ages, 'tis eaſily perceived, that the relators drew from the common ſtock of antient tradition, and varied but in point of embelliſhment, which is their own, and this principally raiſes my eſteem of theſe fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the Poets, but as ſacred relicks, gentle whiſpers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more antient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks: But if any one ſhall, notwithſtanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or impoſed upon the antient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undiſturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects (though we cannot help accounting it ſomewhat dull and phlegmatick) and if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument. Men have propoſed to anſwer two different and contrary ends by the uſe of parable, for parables ſerve as well to inſtruct and illuſtrate, as to wrap up and envelope; ſo that though for the preſent we drop the concealed uſe, and ſuppoſe the antient fables to be vague undeterminate things, formed for amuſement, ſtill the other uſe muſt remain and can never be given up; and every man of any learning muſt readily allow, that this method of inſtructing is grave, ſober, and exceedingly uſeful, and ſometimes neceſſary in the ſciences, as it opens an eaſy and familiar paſſage to the human underſtanding in all new diſcoveries, that are abſtruſe, and

(52) See the ſecond part of the author's Advancement of Learning, Vol. II. p. 497.

have been very few books publiſhed, either in this or in any other nation, which either deſerved or met with more general applauſe than this, and ſcarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a ſingular proof of his capacity to pleaſe all parties in literature, as in his political conduct, he ſtood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this diſcourſe, which ſeems expreſsly calculated to juſtify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their oppoſites were no leſs pleaſed with a piece, from which they thought they could demonſtrate, that the ſagacity of a modern genius, had found out much better meanings for the Antients, than ever were meant by them (*c*). At this time, Sir Francis Bacon was in ſuch high credit with his maſter, as well as in ſuch high eſteem with all ranks and degrees of people, that as, on one hand, he was able to attain, with little or no aſſiſtance from the Miniſters, whatever he thought expedient to aſk of the King; ſo, on the other, there was no danger that any ſuit he obtained, ſhould beget either popular diſlike, or diſtaſte thoſe of his profeſſion; yet it does not appear, that Sir Francis made any great advantages of this favourable ſituation, except that in the year 1611, he procured the office of Judge of the Marſhal's Court (*d*), jointly with Sir Thomas Vavaſor, then Knight Marſhal, by which he preſided, though for a very ſhort time, in the court newly erected, under the title of the Palace-Court for the verge of the King's houſe, in which ſtation he has left us a moſt learned and methodical charge, given to the jury there upon a commiſſion of oyer and terminer (*e*). One may eaſily diſcern from hence, that he had not either a very aſpiring, or a very covetous diſpoſition, but was content to wait the proper ſeaſons and favourable opportunities of riſing, which are brought forth by time. It muſt however be owned, that his private fortune was never in a better condition, or his domeſtick affairs in a happier ſituation, than at preſent; he was poſſeſſed, and had been ſo for ſome years, of a good eſtate in Hertfordſhire, and of his father's pleaſant ſeat of Gorhambury, which came to him by the death of his brother, Mr Anthony Bacon. He was in great practice at the bar, the King's Sollicitor, and, beſides the new place laſt mentioned, was juſt come into the poſſeſſion of that office, which had been granted him twenty years before, of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which was of great value; ſo that at this time he could not enjoy leſs than five thouſand pounds a year, including the fortune brought him by his wife, of which, though there are good reaſons to believe that he took little to himſelf, yet it muſt have prevented a very conſiderable expence in his family, which would have been otherwiſe neceſſary. Beſides, as his employments were not of a nature to require much ſplendor or magnificence, ſo, notwithſtanding the generoſity of his temper, which it muſt be confeſſed leaned a little towards profuſeneſs, yet he muſt have been at this juncture in very eaſy circumſtances, which to a man who never affected riches, muſt have been a very comfortable condition, eſpecially when joined to the high reputation and unenvied credit which at this time he enjoyed (*f*). He had now the King's ear ſo entirely, that he obtained a promiſe of ſucceeding Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, in caſe either of his death or removal. In the beginning of the year 1612, that worthy man had a very ſevere fit of illneſs, which induced Sir Francis Bacon to put the King in mind of his promiſe, and it ſeems by another letter of his, that he was now on very good terms with the Earl of Saliſbury, Lord-Treaſurer, who ſupported his pretenſions (*g*), but however the Attorney recovered, and he did not ſucceed him in that employment till the year following, when Sir Henry Hobart was made Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, upon the removal of Sir Edward Coke from that office, who was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench. Sir Francis Bacon took poſſeſſion

(*c*) Dr Shaw's Preface to his excellent Abridgment of Bacon's Works.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 438.

(*e*) See this Charge in Bacon's Works, Vol. II p. 288.

(*f*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 574.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 586.

and are out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence in the firſt ages, when ſuch inventions and concluſions of the human reaſon, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, ſimilies, compariſons, and alluſions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilſt the minds of men continued rude and unpractiſed in matters of ſubtility or ſpeculation, or even impatient, or in a manner uncapable of receiving ſuch things, as did not directly fall under and ſtrike the ſenſes; for as hieroglyphicks were in uſe before writings, ſo were parables in uſe before arguments; and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human underſtanding, and conquer prejudice without raiſing conteſts, animoſities, oppoſition, or diſturbance, he muſt ſtill go in the ſame path, and have recourſe to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and alluſion. To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy, great, if they by deſign made this uſe of trope and figure; happy, if whilſt they had other views, they afforded matter and occaſion to ſuch noble contemplations; let either be the caſe, our pains perhaps will not be miſemployed, whether we illuſtrate antiquity, or the things themſelves; the like indeed has been attempted by others, but, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, their great and voluminous labours have almoſt deſtroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilſt being unſkilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the ſenſe of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth; for myſelf therefore, I expect to appear new in theſe common things, becauſe leaving untouched ſuch as are ſufficiently plain and open, I ſhall drive only at thoſe that are either deep or rich (53). In this admirable work our author has laid open with great ſagacity and penetration, the ſecret meaning of the phyſical, moral, and political fables of antiquity, in doing which, he very wiſely and prudently took occaſion to throw out many obſervations of his own, for which he could not have found otherways ſo fit and favourable an opportunity. He publiſhed this treatiſe in Latin, in which language he ſeems to have wrote it, and dedicated it to his couſin, the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, and the univerſity of Cambridge. This work has been very often reprinted ſince, and, except his Eſſays, is of all his writings the moſt generally known and eſteemed. Sir Arthur Gorges rendered the whole into Engliſh, which is uſually added to the author's eſſays, and it is to this book the great poet as well as traveller, Mr George Sandys (54) doth, in his learned notes on his verſion of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, acknowledge himſelf to be much indebted, ſtyling my Lord St Albans, the crown of all modern authors.

(53) De Sapientia Veterum in Præfat. Vol. II p. 349, 350.

(54) See his tranſlation of Ovid, p. 257.

poſſeſſion of his new office, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 1613 (*b*), in which he made as great a figure as any of his predeceſſors, and had ſome particular honours done him, which few or none of them had received; as for inſtance, he was allowed to take his ſeat in Parliament, though it was adjudged, that by reaſon of his office he had no right to it, as being an attendant on the Houſe of Lords; but this favour was granted him, purely out of reſpect to his perſon, and the ſervices he had formerly rendered his country in that Houſe (*i*). In the court of Star-Chamber again, a ſolemn decree having been made againſt the faſhionable, though fatal practice of duelling, his ſpeech, which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith [*T*]. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt

(*b*) Pat. 11 Jacob. p. 5.

(*i*) Petyt's *Placit. Parliament.* p. 174.

[*T*] *His ſpeech which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith.*] This barbarous and bloody cuſtom, like moſt of our other bad cuſtoms, was derived to us from France, where, notwithſtanding the edicts of Henry IV and Louis XIII, it occaſioned the ſhedding of rivers of blood, till the great Cardinal de Richelieu, though cruel and revengeful himſelf, put ſome ſtop to it, by the execution of Lord Bouteville, a man of high quality, and of as great intereſt as any in France, which, though ſevere, was univerſally allowed one of the beſt acts of his adminiſtration. It is eaſy to perceive from the writings of Wilſon, Oſborne, and other authors of thoſe times, to what height it was riſen in England, and what lamentable effects it produced; for when once it grew into practice amongſt perſons of diſtinction, thoſe of an inferior degree, forgetting that it was altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of God and man, affected it as a point of good breeding; ſo that it grew every day more and more frequent, notwithſtanding the melancholy conſequences with which it was attended, and the ſeverity with which ſome had been proſecuted, who by this means had been drawn in to commit capital offences: But ſtill the root of the evil was left, ſuch perſons, though they died with ſhame, had the pity and compaſſion of the people, and, though murderers, were regarded as men of honour (55). This ſerved to keep up the practice to the ſcandal of Law, Religion, and Government, which were ſet at defiance by this lawleſs and bloody courſe of calling men to account for trifles, and taking that ſatisfaction by the ſword, which the laws of nature and the land would never have granted. Sir Francis Bacon being made the King's Attorney, uſed all his efforts to put a ſtop to this practice here, and his charge with regard to duels, upon an information in the Star-Chamber againſt *Prieſt* and *Wright*, was ſo highly approved by the Lords of the Council, who were then in the Star-Chamber, that they ordered it, as is ſaid in the text, to be printed and publiſhed with the decree of the Court itſelf (52). 'In this charge he ſpeaks of the 'the nature and greatneſs of the miſchiefs of duels, 'the cauſes and remedies of it, the juſtice of the 'Law of England, which ſome, he ſays, ſticks not 'to think defective in this matter; of the capacity 'of the Court in the Star-Chamber, where certainly 'the remedy of that miſchief was to be found;' and of his own *purpoſe* and *reſolution*, wherein he humbly deſires the aſſiſtance of that Court. With regard to the miſchief itſelf, he obſerves, that when revenge is once extorted out of the magiſtrate's hand, contrary to God's ordinance; and every man ſhall bear the ſword, not to defend but to aſſail, and private men begin once to preſume to give law to themſelves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foreſee the dangers and inconveniencies which may ariſe and multiply by that means. Other offences yield and conſent to the law, that it is good, not daring to make defence, or to juſtify themſelves; but this offence expreſsly gives law an affront, as if there were two laws, one a kind of gown law, and the other a law of reputation as they term it: So that *Paul*'s and *Weſtminſter*, the pulpit and courts of juſtice, muſt give place to the Law (as King James expreſſes it in his proclamation) of ordinary tables, and ſuch reverend aſſemblies. The year books, and ſtatute books, muſt give place to ſome French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of duels, which if they be in the right, *tranſeamus ad illa*, let us receive them, and not keep the people in conflict and diſtraction between two laws. He conſiders then the loſs which the nation ſuffers by the deſtruction of thoſe perſons by private, inſignificant quarrels, whoſe blood, if it was adventured in the ſervice of the King and realm, would be able to make the fortune of a day, and to change the fortune of a kingdom, with reſpect to the cauſe of it; the firſt motive undoubtedly is a falſe and erroneous imagination of honour and credit, upon which account, King James in his proclamation, calls them *bewitching duels*, 'for if one 'judge of it truly, ſays the Attorney, it is no better 'than a ſorcery that inchanted the ſpirits of young 'men, that bear great minds with a falſe ſhew, '*ſpecies falſa*, and a kind of ſatanical illuſion, and 'apparition of honour againſt Religion, againſt Law, 'againſt moral virtue, and againſt the precedents and 'examples of the beſt times, and the valianteſt nations.' Beſides this, men have almoſt loſt the true notion, and underſtanding of fortitude and honour. 'For fortitude diſtinguiſheth the grounds of quarrels 'whether they be juſt, and not only ſo, but whether 'they be worthy, and ſetteth a better price upon men's 'lives than to beſtow them idly, nay it is a weakneſs and 'and diſeſteem of a man's ſelf, to put a man's life upon 'ſuch lieger performances; a man's life is not to be 'trifled away, it is to be offered up and ſacrificed to 'honourable ſervices, publick merits, good cauſes, 'and noble adventures: It is in expence of blood as 'it is in expence of money, it is no liberality to make 'a profuſion of money upon every profane occaſion, no more is it fortitude to make effuſion of 'blood, except the cauſe be of worth.' The remedies which he propoſes for the reſtraint of this evil are, Firſt, that there appear and be declared a conſtant and ſettled reſolution in the State to aboliſh it: Secondly, care muſt be taken that it be no longer countenanced, or the humour of it indulged: Thirdly, ſays he, 'I muſt 'acknowledge that I learned out of the King's laſt 'proclamation, the moſt prudent and beſt applied remedy for this offence (if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to uſe it) that the wit of man can deviſe. This 'offence is grounded upon a falſe conceit of honour, 'and therefore it ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame 'kind, *in eo quis rectiſſime plectitur, in quo peccat*; 'the fountain of honour is the King and his aſpect, 'and the acceſs to his perſon continueth honour in 'life, and to be baniſhed from his preſence, is one 'of the greateſt eclipſes of honour that can be: If 'his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed, that when this court 'ſhall cenſure any of theſe offences in perſons of eminent quality, to add this out of his own power and diſcipline, that theſe perſons ſhall be baniſhed and excluded from his court for certain years, and the 'courts of his Queen and Prince; I think there is 'no man, that hath any good blood in him, will 'commit an act, that ſhall caſt him into that darkneſs, that he may not behold his Sovereign's face:' Laſtly, that this court ſhould puniſh all the middle acts and proceedings which tend to the duel, and ſo to hew and vex the root in the branches, which no doubt will kill the root, and yet prevent the extremity of the Law. The Attorney obſerves then, that the Law of England is excepted to, tho' ignorantly, in two points; the one, that it ſhould make no difference between an inſidious and ſoul murder, and the killing a man upon fair terms, as it is called: The other, that the Law has not provided ſufficient puniſhment and reparations for contumely of words, as the lye, and the like: But theſe are no better than childiſh novelties againſt the divine law, and all laws in effect; and againſt the example of all the braveſt and moſt virtuous nations in the world; for in the law of God there is never to be found, any difference made in homicide, voluntary and involuntary, which we term miſadventure: As for example in civil ſtates, 'All memory, ſays he, doth conſent that Greece 'and Rome were the moſt valiant and generous nations 'of the world, and that which is more to be noted, 'they were free ſtates, and not under a monarchy, 'whereby a man would think it a great deal the 'more reaſon, that particular perſons ſhould have 'righted themſelves, and yet they had not this practice

(55) See Arthur Wilſon's Life, written by himſelf in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*.

(52) See this Charge of our author in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 297.

'of

ſtrongeſt marks of the high eſteem he was then in that can be deſired, and indeed Sir Francis Bacon had now overcome all difficulties, and ſtood ſecurely on his own intereſt with the King, the Earl of Saliſbury being dead, and for any thing that appears, Sir Francis having no dependance on the Earl of Somerſet, who was the reigning favourite, but kept at a diſtance from him when he was in his greateſt power, and conſequently had nothing to anſwer for, with reſpect either to his perſonal or political failings (*k*). It is however manifeſt, that after the death of the Earl of Saliſbury, there grew many diſorders in the government, which verified the character Sir Francis Bacon gave of that great Miniſter to the King his maſter, viz. *That though it was not likely the King's affairs ſhould ever have gone much better under his management, yet he was ſuch a Miniſter, as would have hindered them from growing worſe* (*l*), which as things ſtood would have been of very great ſervice, as appeared by what happened in the year following, when the King having called a Parliament in hopes of obtaining a ſupply, ſome forward people in the Houſe of Commons, to ingratiate themſelves with the Court, made a tender to the King of their intereſt, with a kind of promiſe, that in caſe they were obliged, his Majeſty's affairs in Parliament ſhould go to his wiſh (*m*). Theſe people, from this bold, and as it afterwards appeared, illgrounded preſumption of their own abilities and intereſts, were ſtiled undertakers; yet ſo far were they from being able to carry matters, as they pretended, in the Houſe of Commons, that this fooliſh and unjuſtifiable ſcheme of theirs having taken air, one of the firſt things the Houſe fell upon, was an enquiry after theſe Undertakers (*n*). To pacify the heats occaſioned by this ſtrange project, the Attorney-General made a long and very fine ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved. It had not however the deſired effect, for the Houſe was ſo much out of humour at this, and ſome other miſtakes in the adminiſtration, that the King ſeeing no hopes of obtaining any thing from them, diſſolved the Parliament in a heat, and ſoon afterwards committed ſeveral members, who had ſpoken freely of his meaſures in the Houſe of Commons. This inſtead of allaying increaſed the ferment in the nation (*o*), and that to ſuch a degree, that the King ſeeing little hopes of better ſucceſs in another, than he had found in the former Parliament, declined calling one; but being extreamly diſtreſſed for money, he was glad to receive it in any manner, and by any means; and upon this, ſeveral of the nobility and clergy in and about London, made at leaſt a ſeeming voluntary preſent to his Majeſty, which the Council taking notice of, and being willing to encourage ſuch an example, and make it more diffuſive, they wrote letters to the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace of the counties, and Magiſtrates of ſeveral corporations, informing them what had been done above, and how acceptable and ſeaſonable the bounty of his ſubjects would be to the King and his occaſions, but without any clauſes of compulſion; or requiring, or returning of the names of ſuch as ſhould refuſe (*p*). Among others, one was directed to the Mayor of Marlborough in Wiltſhire, where Mr Oliver St John, a gentleman of an antient family, was then reſiding, who being conſulted thereupon, he wrote a letter to the Mayor upon the eleventh of October, 1614, repreſenting to him, that this benevolence was againſt the laws, reaſon, and religion, inſinuating, that the King, by promoting the ſame, had violated his coronation oath, and that by ſuch means as theſe, King Richard II, had given an opportunity to Henry IV, to deprive him of his crown, deſiring if he thought fit, to communicate his ſentiments to the Juſtices who were to meet about the benevolence (*q*). For this action, Mr St John was proſecuted in the Star-Chmber, and upon the fifteenth of April, 1615, the cauſe was brought to a hearing, as appears by Sir

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(*l*) Amongſt Apophthegms of himſelf and others, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 295.

(*m*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(*n*) Memorables in the reign of James I, p. 119.

(*o*) Saunderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 407.

(*p*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(*q*) See this Letter of Mr St John's in the CABALA, edit. 1691, p. 333.

'of duels, nor any thing that bare ſhew thereof, and 'ſure they would have had it if there had been any 'virtue in it; nay, as he ſaith (*fas eſt & ab hoſte 'doceri*) it is memorable, that is reported by a 'Counſellor, Ambaſſador of the Emperor's, touching 'the cenſure of the Turks of theſe duels. There 'was a combat of this kind, performed by two per-'ſons of quality of the Turks, wherein one them 'was ſlain, the other party was convented before the 'council of Baſhaws, the manner of the reprehenſion 'was in theſe words: "How durſt you undertake to "fight one with the other, are there not Chriſtians "enough to kill? Did you not know, that whether of "you ſhould be ſlain, the loſs would be the Grand "Seignior's?" So as we may ſee, that the moſt warlike 'nations, whether generous or barbarous, have ever de-'ſpiſed this, wherein now men glory.' As for the ſecond defect pretended in our Law, that it hath *provided no remedy for lies or fillips*; it may receive the ſame anſwer. It would have been thought a madneſs amongſt the antient lawgivers to have ſet a puniſhment upon the lye given, which, in effect, is but a word of denial, a negative of another's ſaying. Any lawgiver if he had been aſked the queſtion, would have made Solon's anſwer, That he had not made any puniſhment for it, becauſe he never imagined the world would have been ſo fantaſtical as to take it ſo highly. The Civilians diſpute whether an action of injury lie for it, and rather reſolve the contrary; ſo every touch or light blow of the perſon is not in itſelf conſiderable, except that they have got upon them the ſtamp of a diſgrace, which makes theſe light things paſs for great matter. 'The law of England and all laws hold 'theſe degrees of injury to the perſon, ſlander, bat-'tery, maim, and death; and if there be extraordi-'nary circumſtances of deſpite and contumely, as in 'caſe of libels, and baſtinadoes, and the like, this 'court taketh them in hand, and puniſheth them ex-'emplarily: But for this apprehenſion of a diſgrace, 'that a fillip to the perſon ſhould be a mortal wound 'to the reputation, it were good that men did 'hearken to the ſaying of *Conſalvo*, the great and 'famous commander, that was wont to ſay, that a 'Gentleman's honour ſhould be, *de tela craſſiore*, of 'a good ſtrong warp or web, that every little thing 'ſhould not catch it, whereas now it ſeems they are 'but cobweb, lawn, or ſuch like ſtuff, which cer-'tainly is weakneſs, and not true greatneſs of mind; 'but like a ſick man's body, that is ſo tender that 'it feels every thing.' We find likewiſe, that in December in the year 1616, he proſecuted one Mr Markham, for diſperſing letters of challenge to the Lord Darcy: He mentions this in a letter to the Lord Viſcount Villiers, publiſhed in the works of our author; who in reference to this crime, ſhewed himſelf no reſpecter of perſons, but proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch as, forgetting their duty to God and the government by which they were protected, ran into offences of this kind, merely to gain or to ſupport their reputation, with ſuch as were the worſt judges of what deſerved praiſe or diſpraiſe.

(r) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 603.

Sir Francis Bacon's letter of that date (*r*). In this Court, which was compoſed of a great many Lords of the Council, the Chief-Juſtices and Chief-Barons, ſome of them thought that this offence was of a higher nature than a contempt; but they all agreed, that this benevolence, as it was circumſtanced, was not reſtrained by any of the acts of parliament, which prohibits that ſort of taxation, and that the defendant ſhould be fined five thouſand pounds, impriſoned during the King's pleaſure, and make ſubmiſſion in writing, which he accordingly did (*s*). While this cauſe was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, in right of his office, was employed in the proſecution of two other offenders for high-treaſon, and they were both caſes in ſome ſort ſingular, and in which he had a great deal of trouble. The firſt was that of Peacham a clergyman, who had inſerted ſeveral treaſonable paſſages in a ſermon never preached, and which, as ſome ſaid, was never intended to be preached; however the papers being found in his ſtudy, it was reſolved he ſhould be proſecuted, and the King being, it ſeems, doubtful of the event, was reſolved to go upon as ſure grounds as he could, and therefore directed Sir Francis Bacon, to procure the opinion of Sir Edward Coke and the reſt of the Judges beforehand, which was accordingly done, but the Chief-Juſtice Coke was not prevailed upon to give his without much difficulty, declaring it to be a thing unuſual, and which he was very much afraid might be attended by very ill conſequences; the point was at laſt carried notwithſtanding, and Peacham was afterwards tried and found guilty, but not executed (*t*), which, however it may leſſen the ſeverity, does not in the leaſt excuſe the injuſtice of the proceeding, ſince ſeveral of the Judges were of opinion, that his crime was not high-treaſon. The other caſe was that of Mr Owen, of Godſtowe in Oxfordſhire, who returning out of Spain, did not only affirm, but enforce with reaſons, a doctrine, which 'tis probable Suarez and ſome other Jeſuits had diſſeminated, in that country; That if the King were excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, it was lawful for any perſon to kill him. This being a poſition in direct terms contrary to the late Oath of Allegiance, and of dangerous conſequence if believed and propagated, it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould be made an example; and accordingly in Eaſter term, 1615, he was proſecuted and convicted in the King's-Bench, my Lord Coke and the other Judges of that Court declaring, that it was high-treaſon within the ſtatute of 25 Edw. III (*u*). The ſpeech of Sir Francis Bacon at the arraignment of this Owen, is preſerved in his works (*w*) [*U*], and there are alſo a great many paſſages in his letters, relating to both theſe proſecutions. But we are now to ſhift the ſcene a little, and to take notice of a new favourite, who began to engroſs King James's

(s) Memorables in the reign of King James I. p. 231.

(t) Croke's Reports, p. 125.

(u) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 601.

(w) Ibid. p. 321.

good

[*U*] *Is preſerved in his Works.*] The caſe of this Owen was very remakable, and the true reaſon of his being proſecuted, ſeems to have been, in order to awe the more violent ſort of Papiſts. This man had aſſerted, that if the King was excommunicated, it was lawful to kill him, which aſſertion the Attorney maintained to be high-treaſon, in which he was ſupported by the Lord Coke, who was even more forward in this buſineſs than the Attorney himſelf, and inclined to carry the thing higher, as may appear from the following paſſage in a letter, written by Sir Francis Bacon to the King upon this ſubject (53). 'The Judges deſired 'us to leave the examinations and papers with them 'for ſome little time to conſider, (which is a thing 'they uſe) but I conceive there will be no manner of 'queſtion made of it. My Lord Chief Juſtice, to 'ſhew forwardneſs, (as I interpret it) ſhewed us 'paſſages of Suarez, and others, thereby to prove, 'that though your Majeſty ſtood not by particular 'ſentence, yet by the general bulls of *Cœna Domini*, 'and others, you were upon the matter excom-'municate, and therefore, that the treaſon was as *de* '*præſenti*. But I that foreſee, that if that courſe 'ſhould be held, when it cometh to a publick day, 'to diſſeminate to the vulgar an opinion that your 'Majeſty's caſe is all one, as if you were *de facto*, 'particularly and expreſsly, excommunicate, it would 'but increaſe the danger of your perſon with thoſe 'that were deſperate Papiſts; and that it is needleſs, 'commended my Lord's diligence, but with all put it 'by, and fell upon the other courſe (which is the 'true way) that is, that whoſoever ſhall affirm *in diem*, 'or *ſub conditione*, that your Majeſty may be deſtroyed, 'is a traitor *de præſenti*, for that he maketh you but 'tenant for life, at the will of another; and I put the 'Duke of Buckingham's caſe, who ſaid, that if the 'King cauſed him to be arreſted of treaſon, he would ſtab 'him; and the caſe of the impoſtreſs, Elizabeth 'Barton, that ſaid, if King Henry VIII took not his 'wife again, Katherine Dowager, he ſhould be no 'longer King, and the like.' When this man came to be indicted for high-treaſon, at the bar of the court of King's Bench, Sir Francis Bacon ſupported the charge againſt him by that ſpeech which is mentioned in the text, of which the latter part is loſt, or at leaſt, has not hitherto been printed; and it is remarkable, that it is that very part of the ſpeech in which he maintained, that tho' the priſoner did not affirm ſimply, that it is lawful to kill the king, but conditionally only, that if the King be excommunicated, that it is lawful to kill him; yet this was treaſon. It was for this reaſon, that I cited in this note, the foregoing paſſage from his letter to the King, becauſe it fully ſupplies the ſenſe and argument, tho' not the form of the ſpeech, and ſhews in what manner he made that out, which, for any thing I know, has not been obſerved before. At the beginning of this ſpeech there is ſomething very remarkable; this Mr Owen, it ſeems, was but an obſcure man, and therefore the Attorney-General thought it requiſite, to take off the imputation of ſeverity in this reſpect, by ſhewing the true reaſon for this proceeding againſt him. His words are theſe (54): 'I have now ſerved 'his Majeſty, Sollicitor and Attorney, eight years, 'and better, yet this is the firſt time that ever I gave 'in evidence againſt a traitor at this bar, or any 'other. There hath not wanted matter in that party 'of the ſubjects, whence this kind of offence floweth, 'to irritate the King, he hath been irritated by the 'powder treaſon, which might have turned judg-'ment into fury; he hath been irritated by wicked 'and monſtrous libels, irritated by a general inſo-'lency and preſumption of the Papiſts throughout the 'land, and yet I ſee his Majeſty keepeth Cæſar's 'rule, *Nil malo, quam eos eſſe ſimiles ſui, & me mei*, 'he leaveth them to be like themſelves, and he re-'maineth like himſelf, and ſtriveth to overcome evil 'with goodneſs. A ſtrange thing! bloody opinions, 'bloody doctrines, bloody examples, and yet the 'government ſtill unſtained with blood: As for this 'Owen that is brought in queſtion, tho' his perſon 'be, in his condition, contemptible; yet we ſee by 'miſerable examples, that thoſe wretches which are 'but the ſcum of the earth, have been able to ſtir 'earthquakes by murthering of Princes, and if it 'were in caſe of contagion, (as this is a contagion 'of the heart and ſoul) a raſcal may bring a plague 'into the city, as well as a great man; ſo it is 'not the perſon but the matter, that is to be con-'ſidered.'

(53) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 601.

(54) Ib'd. p. 322.

[*W*] *And*

good graces, to whom Sir Francis Bacon was both a friend and counſellor. This was Mr George Villiers, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of Buckingham. His riſe at Court was very ſwift and ſurprizing, to which the advice of his friend Bacon contributed not a little; and yet it muſt be allowed that this advice was ſuch, as is not uſually given in Courts, but of a ſtrain equally free and friendly, calculated to make the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, both good and great, and ſo equally honourable for the giver and the receiver (x) [W]. But while this gentleman was riſing, his predeceſſor Somerſet was falling, in which Sir Francis Bacon alſo had a ſhare, and a large one too, of which however we ſhall ſpeak as briefly as poſſible, as having occaſion to treat this matter much more at large, in ſeveral other articles (y). The occaſion of this extraordinary event, was the unexpected diſcovery, of the deep concern that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet had, in the barbarous fact of poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, the firſt occaſion of which diſcovery, as I find it no where clearly mentioned but in one of the ſpeeches of Sir Francis Bacon, I ſhall take notice of here. Sir Thomas Overbury was poiſoned in the beginning of the year 1613, chiefly by the means of one Weſton, formerly an Apothecary's man, who had been put about him for this purpoſe. This Weſton was afterwards promoted by Sir Gervaiſe Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was alſo privy to the murder; and this gentleman having in other reſpects a good character, being ſtrongly recommended to a certain nobleman by a friend of his, the ſhare he had in the ill uſage of Sir Thomas Overbury was objected, and this having led the Lieutenant to proteſt, that he had perſuaded Weſton from the deſign he had of poiſoning Sir Thomas, and had engaged him to let it fall; this again afforded ſuch light, that by purſuing it ſteadily the whole matter was found out (z). There never was an affair of this kind made more noiſe in England than this, and the King ſhewed a very earneſt deſire of bringing all who were concerned in it to juſtice; ſo that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet were immediately committed, and the reſt of the offenders proſecuted with all imaginable ſeverity. It does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon meddled at all with this affair at the beginning, for Richard Weſton, who was tried on the nineteenth of October 1616, had the charge againſt

(x) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 845.

(y) See OVERBURY (Sir Thomas); CAR (Robert) Earl of Somerſet; COKE (Sir Edward).

(z) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 350.

[W] *And ſo equally honourable for the giver and receiver.*] It was immediately after this new favourite came to be diſtinguiſhed, that Sir Francis Bacon entered into a ſtrict and cloſe friendſhip with him, which laſted with little, or no interruption, ſo long as they lived. Mr Villiers came well recommended to the King, for he was introduced by the Queen, perſuaded by Archbiſhop Abbot, and other perſons of the firſt quality (55). When he had received the honour of knighthood, and was made one of the bedchamber, our author compiled, at his requeſt, ſuch a ſcheme of advice for his conduct, as perhaps was never before penned, and will hardly ever be amended (56). It is very large, and may be uſed very ſucceſsfully, in the education of young men of quality, as it contains every thing neceſſary to be known or attended to, by a perſon in great favour, and admitted to great offices in the ſtate. It was firſt printed in 4to in the year 1661, and again in the Cabala (57), and very correctly in our author's works (58). I ſhall ſelect a paragraph or two at the beginning, to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, and to prove that this piece was written, not in the ſtile of a flatterer, but of a friend. 'You know, ſays our author to Sir G. Villiers, I am no courtier, nor verſed in ſtate-affairs, 'my life hitherto hath rather been contemplative 'than active, I have rather ſtudied books than men, 'I can but gueſs at the moſt, at thoſe things in which 'you deſired to be adviſed; nevertheleſs, to ſhew my 'obedience, tho' with the hazard of my diſcretion, 'I ſhall yield unto you. Sir, in the firſt place, I 'ſhall be bold to put you in mind of the preſent condition you are in, you are not only a courtier, but 'a bedchamber man, and ſo in the eye and ear of 'your maſter, but you are alſo a favourite, the favourite 'of the time, and ſo are in his boſom alſo, the world 'hath ſo voted you, and hath ſo eſteemed you, for 'Kings and great Princes, even the wiſeſt of them, 'have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes, in all ages, for they have their affections as 'well as other men. Of theſe they make ſeveral uſes, 'ſometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts 'with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; ſometimes to eaſe their cares by imparting them, 'and ſometimes to interpoſe them between themſelves 'and the envy or malice of their people; for Kings 'cannot err, that muſt be diſcharged on the ſhoulders 'of their miniſters, and they who are neareſt to them 'muſt be content to bear the greateſt load. Remember then what your true condition is, the King him'is above the reach of his people, but cannot be 'above their cenſures; and you are his ſhadow, if 'either he commit an error and is loth to avow it, 'but excuſeth it upon his miniſters, of which you 'are firſt in the eye, or you commit the fault, or 'have willingly permitted it, and muſt ſuffer for it, 'and ſo perhaps you may be offered a ſacrifice to 'appeaſe the multitude. But truly, Sir, I do not believe or ſuſpect you are choſen to this eminency, 'out of the laſt of thoſe conſiderations; for you 'ſerve ſuch a maſter, who by his wiſdom and goodneſs, is as free from the malice or envy of his 'ſubjects, as I think I may truly ſay, ever any King 'was, who has ſat upon his throne before him; but 'I am confident his Majeſty has caſt his eyes upon 'you, as finding you to be ſuch as you ſhould be, or 'hoping to make you to be ſuch as he would have 'you to be; for this without flattery I may ſay, your 'outſide promiſeth as much as can be expected from 'a gentleman; but be it in the one reſpect or other, 'it belongeth to you to take care of yourſelf, and to 'know well what the name of a favourite ſignifies. 'If you be choſen upon the former reſpects, you 'have reaſon to take care of your actions and deportment, out of your gratitude for the King's 'ſake; but if out of the latter, you ought to take 'the greater care for your own ſake. You are as a new 'riſen ſtar, and the eyes of all men are upon you; 'let not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor.' There is certainly great ſpirit and freedom in this Introduction, and it cannot be denied that the ſame ſpirit and freedom alſo runs through the whole piece. There might be ſomewhat of lightneſs and indiſcretion in the King's choice of ſo young a favourite, but certainly, there was nothing ſtrange, nothing that could give offence in the endeavours of Sir Francis Bacon, to make him become his place, to enable him, of a young courtier, to become a good ſtateſman; and to turn the King's condeſcenſion to his own liking, to the benefit of his people. I have dwelt the longer upon this, becauſe the application of Sir Francis Bacon to this *riſing ſtar*, has been made one of the principal objections againſt our author's conduct; whereas, whoever ſhall conſider, what need Sir Francis Bacon had of the intereſt of Sir George Villiers; and, on the other hand, how neceſſary to Sir George Villiers, the counſels were of Sir Francis Bacon, will eaſily diſcern that this was, in it's beginning at leaſt, a very equal friendſhip, and that the King's Attorney-General, did not run himſelf into a haſty and an indecent dependance, upon a boy juſt come into favour at Court.

(55) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 457.

(56) As this piece was originally calculated to make a young man who was already great, a Politician; ſo it may well be uſed, to render a man verſed in politicks, who would that way aſpire to greatneſs.

(57) In the edition of 1691, p. 37.

(58) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 564.

[X] *Were*

againſt him opened by the Queen's Attorney-General (*a*). This man at firſt refuſed to plead, and by that means endeavoured to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, but the famous Lord Coke directing all the evidence there was againſt him to be publiſhad in open court, he retracted his plea, and putting himſelf upon his tryal, was found guilty, and received ſentence of death, which was afterwards executed (*b*). But the Earl of Somerſet, though a fallen Miniſter, had ſo many friends, that notwithſtanding this clear proceeding, they endeavoured, by miſrepreſenting what had paſſed at Weſton's trial, and by interrogating him at the gallows, to make the whole paſs for nothing better, than an artificial contrivance to ruin that nobleman. This attempt of theirs brought Sir Francis Bacon into the buſineſs, for, as Attorney-General, he was commanded by the King to proſecute the perſons, who had been moſt buſy in this baſe undertaking, in the Star-Chamber. Accordingly he there brought a charge againſt Mr Lumſden, a courtier and a gentleman of good family in Scotland, Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Sir John Wentworth, upon which occaſion he made a moſt excellent ſpeech, which is not only preſerved among his other works, but was alſo inſerted by Mr Wilſon in his Hiſtory. In conſequence of this proſecution, all the parties were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that court (*c*) [*X*]. It was his wiſe and prudent conduct in this proſecution, that engaged his maſter King James, to entruſt him chiefly in the management of the tryals of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, as appears by his own letters to the King upon this ſubject, in which it is evident, that this affair was now become, in ſome meaſure, a matter of State; and the King, who from the beginning had taken a great deal of pains, as his manner was, to magnify his zeal for, and ſkill in, doing juſtice, continued now to intereſt himſelf therein to ſuch a degree, as drew very heavy imputations upon his character, and ought to be a warning to Princes, to leave matters of this nature to the free courſe of the laws, without any interpoſition whatever (*d*). After many examinations, and much unneceſſary ſtir about

(*a*) Sir Lawrence Hyde was at that time the Queen's Attorney, and had a large ſhare in all proſecutions.

(*b*) Annals of King James and King Charles I, p. 13.

(*c*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 333. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 324. Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 700.

(*d*) See Sir Francis Bacon's own Letters, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 616—626.

[*X*] *Were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that court.*] The deſign of this proſecution, was to vindicate the juſtice of the nation, and to prevent the obſtructing of it's courſe, which might have been the conſequence, if the methods taken by theſe gentlemen, and indeed by many others, ſuch as Mr Sackvil, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, and the famous Sir Henry Vane, out of their too great affection for the Earl of Somerſet, had prevailed, and eſtabliſhed a notion, that Weſton died innocently, or at leaſt, that he had not accuſed the Earl. Sir Francis Bacon, in the opening of his charge (59), expoſed very fully the great danger of poiſoning, and why it was formerly accounted high-treaſon; becauſe, ſays he, it is an offence that evidently tends, to the ſubverſion and diſſolution of human ſociety, which he aſſigns as one reaſon, why the King had taken ſo much pains in this matter. He next obſerves, that Sir Thomas Overbury, at the time he was poiſoned, was a priſoner of ſtate in the Tower, and conſequently, more immediately under the King's protection. He adds to theſe, a third, that by the means of theſe three gentlemen, the honour of the King was deeply injured, by the aſperſions thrown upon his juſtice, for which no remedy could be had but here in the Star-Chamber. Having thus introduced the cauſe, he proceeded to the particular offences of the ſeveral perſons at the bar. As to Mr Lumſden, he ſays, that in the time between Weſton's ſtanding mute, and his trial; he drew up a falſe and libellous relation, containing as many untruths as lines, and delivered it to Mr Henry Gibb of the King's bed-chamber, that he might put it into his Majeſty's hands, with intent to ſlander the Chief Juſtice, of whom Sir Francis gives a great encomium upon this occaſion. As to Sir John Wentworth, he charges, that at the gallows he aſked Weſton, *whether he poiſoned* Overbury *or no?* And with his giving this reaſon for his queſtion, that he deſired to know it, that he might pray with him. For Sir John Hollis, he does not charge him with aſking any queſtions, but for acting as a kind of Confeſſor, by deſiring Weſton *to diſcharge his conſcience, and to ſatisfy the world*; to which he giving no anſwer, Sir John turned about his horſe and ſaid, *he was ſorry for ſuch a concluſion.* He farther charges him with another offence, prior in point of time, which was, that on the day the verdict was given againſt Weſton, he ſaid, *If he were of the jury, he would doubt what to do.* After having gone through theſe particulars, Sir Francis thus ſummed up his charge (60). 'Of the offence of theſe two 'gentlemen in general, your Lordſhip muſt give me 'leave to ſay, that it is an offence greater or more 'dangerous than is conceived, I know well, that as we 'have no Spaniſh Inquiſitions, nor juſtice in a corner; 'ſo we have no gagging of men's mouths at their 'deaths, but that they may ſpeak freely at the laſt 'hour, but then it muſt come from the free motion 'of the party, not by temptation of queſtions. The 'queſtions that are to be aſked, ought to tend to 'farther revealing of their own or others guiltineſs. 'But to uſe a queſtion in the nature of a falſe interrogatory, to falſify that which is *re judicata*, is 'intolerable, for that were to erect a court or commiſſion of review at Tyburn, againſt the King's 'Bench at Weſtminſter: And beſides, it is a thing 'vain and idle, for if they anſwer according to the 'judgment paſt, it adds no credit, or if it be contrary, 'it derogateth nothing, but yet it ſubjecteth the 'majeſty of juſtice, to popular and vulgar talk and 'opinion. My Lords, theſe are great and dangerous 'offences, for if we do not maintain juſtice, juſtice will not maintain us.' All this was juſt and decent, what aroſe from the nature of the cauſe, and what was fit for a man in his office to ſay upon ſuch an occaſion. Sir John Hollis in his anſwer ſaid, 'That Mr Attorney had ſo well applied his charge 'againſt him, that tho' he carried the ſeal of a good 'conſcience, he would almoſt make him believe that 'he was guilty; but he hoped that their Lordſhips 'would take the bird by the body, and not by the 'feathers.' But the Chief Juſtice Coke dealt with them a little more rudely (61), telling Mr Lumſden, that he was the Earl of Somerſet's pimp, and that he could prove him to be ſo under the Earl's own hand: As for Sir John Hollis, he ſaid his crime was very great, for that he had queſtioned the truth of a fact after a verdict, which was of ſo ſacred a nature, that the law could not allow a man to do it, tho' ever ſo much concerned in intereſt: And becauſe in his defence Sir John had made uſe of this expreſſion, *that if any thing were determined againſt him, he did humbly ſubmit himſelf thereto.* The Chief Juſtice ſaid, he thought, that by *determining*, he meant the court were to give their cenſures againſt him by conſpiracy: 'For my own part, continued he, I talked with none 'other, nor I think did any of us, one ſpeak with 'the other before we came together here. Peradventure he thinks, as ſome have thought, that all 'the carriage of this buſineſs is but a conſpiracy 'againſt the Earl of Somerſet (62).' Upon the whole, the court gave the following ſentence, viz. Mr Lumſden, was fined two thouſand marks, impriſoned in the Tower for a whole year, and after, until he ſhould at the King's-Bench bar, ſubmit himſelf and confeſs his fault, and alſo produce his authors. Sir John Hollis was fined one thouſand pounds, impriſoned in the Tower for the ſpace of a year. Sir John Wentworth fined one thouſand marks, impriſoned in the Tower for a year, and both were to make ſubmiſſion at the King's-Bench bar (63).

(59) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 333.

(60) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 329.

(61) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 337.

(62) Ibid. p. 338.

(63) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

[*Y*] *His*

about it, Frances, Counteſs of Somerſet was brought to her tryal, on the twenty-fourth of May 1616, and there pleaded guilty, upon which occaſion Sir Francis Bacon made a ſpeech, in which the beforementioned circumſtance, relating to the diſcovery of this whole affair was contained (*e*). The next day the Earl of Somerſet was brought to his tryal, and Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-General, opened the matter very fully, and with much perſpicuity, and though the Earl defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, yet he was found guilty (*f*). It is true, that neither the Counteſs who confeſſed her guilt, nor the nobleman who was convicted upon evidence, ſuffered, though all who had been their inſtruments in this black and barbarous affair did; but the mercy extended to the former, was in regard to her family, the moſt noble in the kingdom, and the interceſſion of the Peers in her behalf; and the latter flowed from the King's tenderneſs towards a man, who had been once ſo high in his favour, and who is generally allowed to have been much leſs guilty than his wife. However, the ſparing of them has been always accounted one of the greateſt ſtains on King James's adminiſtration, and is a proof, that ill-timed mercy in a Prince, is often an act of ſeverity to himſelf, and was more eſpecially ſo in this caſe, becauſe the King had taken ſo much pains to make the juſtice of that ſentence appear, which afterwards he declined to execute (*g*). It muſt notwithſtanding be allowed, that there is no kind of reaſon to believe, Sir Francis Bacon had any hand at all in procuring the Earl of Somerſet's pardon, to whom as he had no obligations, ſo he conducted himſelf towards him in this matter, with a laudable indifference, ſhewing a warm, but decent diligence in the diſcharge of his duty, as Attorney-General, without any prejudice againſt either of the priſoners; ſo that in an affair which proved fatal to the Chief-Juſtice, he conducted himſelf with ſuch wiſdom and caution, as to deſerve the approbation of the King his maſter, and the general applauſe of the whole nation (*h*). He was now truſted and employed by the King, not only in the buſineſs of his profeſſion, but in ſo many affairs of another nature, and of ſuperior conſequence to the State, that he judged it would be for his own honour, and at the ſame time advantageous to the King's ſervice, that he ſhould be ſworn of the Privy-Council, which, tho' unuſual for a man in his ſtation, was, by the interpoſition of his friend, Sir George Villiers, brought about, and he accordingly took his place at the Board, on the ninth of June 1616, at Greenwich, where the Court then was (*i*). His credit at this time was ſo great with the King, that his Majeſty depended chiefly upon his integrity and abilities, in the regulation of an affair that very nearly concerned himſelf, and was of the higheſt conſequence to the nation. There had grown a very high difference between the two Courts of Chancery and King's-Bench, as to the point of Juriſdiction, which ſeems to have ariſen in a great meaſure from the warmth and haughtineſs of Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Juſtice, who inſtead of endeavouring to bring matters to a fair hearing and amicable concluſion, did all he could to drive things to extremities, and to get the better of the Court of Chancery, by ſetting on foot ſome violent proſecutions at law. This, as might reaſonably be expected, occaſioned a very great noiſe, which was not a little heightened by a very unfortunate circumſtance, *viz.* that the Chancellor was very dangerouſly ill, when the Chief Juſtice fell upon him in this manner (*k*). The King proceeded in this affair with great coolneſs and caution, and referred it to the examination of thoſe, who he thought were moſt able and moſt willing to give him a right information, of which Sir Francis Bacon was one, and as far as at this day we can diſcern, his opinion went the fartheſt, towards ſettling the point [*Y*]. The concluſion of the matter was, that the King

(*e*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 348. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 330.

(*f*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 351. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 334. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 419.

(*g*) See CAR (ROBERT) Earl of Somerſet. ELVAYES (Sir GERVAS). MONSON (Sir THOMAS).

(*h*) See an Explanation of this in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(*i*) Camden's Annals of King James, July 9, 1616. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 38.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 609.

[*Y*] *His opinion went the fartheſt in ſettling that point.*] It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of the firſt riſe of this controverſy, which then occaſioned ſo much clamour, and has been more than once revived ſince. It was in few words this, one Mr Courteney ſuing in Chancery to be relieved, againſt a judgment obtained at the Common-Law; an indictment for a *Præmunire*, grounded upon the ſtatute 27 *Edw. III. cap.* 1. was preferred againſt him and his agents, in the King's-Bench at the end of Hillary term, 1615-6. Tho' the jury refuſed to find the bill yet thereupon ſprung that contended queſtion, *whether by virtue of the ſaid ſtatute, and that of the fourth year of* Henry IV, *cap.* 3. *the Chancery, after judgments given in the courts of Law, was prohibited from giving relief upon matters ariſing in equity, which the judges at law, could not determine or relieve* (64)? This affair, as has been obſerved in the text, making a great noiſe in the world, the King, as ſupreme Judge of the juriſdictions of his courts, uſed the utmoſt care to inform himſelf therein, and referred the ſame to Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Attorney and Sollicitor; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at Law, and Mr Walter, the Prince's Attorney, all eminent men in their profeſſion; who, upon a ſerious conſideration of the ſtatutes and the occaſion of making them, and of the precedents ſince that time, did, in April 1616, preſent the King with their opinions and reaſons, why they conceived theſe ſtatutes did not extend to the court of Chancery; conſonant to which reſolution, his Majeſty, upon further advice, gave judgment in July following, and ordered the caſe, the certificate, and the tranſactions thereupon, to be inrolled in the ſame court (65). All the time this great buſineſs was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, beſides the pains he took in his office, and as a Commiſſioner in right thereof, wrote from time to time to the King upon this ſubject, and at laſt, when the affair drew near to a concluſion, drew up a memorial for the King's conduct in this matter, as alſo in another of no leſs importance, with which, as we ſhall have an occaſion to mention it in another place (66), we have not meddled here. This memorial, as the King followed it cloſely, ſo far as it concerns the preſent caſe, we ſhall inſert here (67).

(64) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, 4*to*, 1702. p. 33.

(65) Chancery Reports, Vol. I. at the end, by way of Appendix.

(66) See the affair of Commendams, in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(67) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 632.

'That about the end of Hillary term laſt, there 'came to his Majeſty's ears, only by common voice 'and report, not without great rumour and wonder, 'that there was ſomewhat done in the King's-Bench 'the laſt day of that term, whereby his Chancery 'ſhould be pulled down and be brought in queſtion 'for *Præmunire*, being the moſt heinous offence after 'treaſon, and felony, and miſpriſion of treaſon, and 'that the time ſhould be, when the Chancellor lay 'at the point of death.

'That his Majeſty was ſo far from hearing of this 'by any complaint from his Chancellor (who then had 'given over worldly thoughts) that he wrote letters 'of

King in perſon pronounced a kind of judgment in the Star-Chamber, in favour of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, with ſome pretty ſharp remarks on the conduct of his antagoniſt, who ſoon after loſt his maſter's eſteem, tho' he lived to recover and loſe it again (*l*). Sir George Villiers was all this time riſing in his Sovereign's favour by very ſwift degrees, in which perhaps he was not a little aſſiſted by the good advice that was given him by his friend Sir Francis Bacon, who certainly took a great deal of pains to ſerve him, and therefore had the greateſt right to expect, that in return he ſhould render him all the good offices that were in his power, in which, as from their letters it very clearly appears, he was not at all backward, but, on the contrary, promoted his intereſt with great warmth and ſincerity, agreeable to the character which is given of him by the Earl of Clarendon, than whom there are few who have ſhewn themſelves better judges of men (*m*). But however it does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon relied entirely upon his aſſiſtance; but that, on the contrary, he addreſſed himſelf with much plainneſs and freedom to the King, repreſenting very fairly and ſtrongly, tho' with modeſty and decency, the nature and length of his ſervices, and the ſeveral reaſons he had to expect, that the King, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhould think of him for the cuſtody of the Seals, as a matter equally honourable for himſelf, and advantageous to his Majeſty's ſervice. It is not eaſy to conceive, how applications for favour can be conducted with dignity, or how a man can ſet forth his merits and ſervices, explaining at the ſame time his own fitneſs for any particular employment, and marking the inaptitude of others, without a mixture of meanneſs on the one hand, and of envy and injuſtice on the other. But the more difficult ſuch a taſk appears, the more his excellency muſt ſhine, who was able to diſcharge it, and to diſcharge it with honour to himſelf, without wrong to others, and with duty and benefit to the King his maſter. Yet this, as the reader will plainly ſee, Sir Francis Bacon did, at a time when the death of the then Lord Chancellor was daily expected, and conſequently, when he might aſpire to that high dignity, without any breach of the friendſhip with which he had been honoured by that worthy perſon. It is true, the libellers of thoſe times, or, which is the ſame thing in milder words, the writers of ſecret hiſtory, report matters otherwiſe (*n*), but for the honour of his memory, his letter written upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in it's true light (*o*) [*Z*]. But the Lord Chancellor recovering, his application

(*l*) Camden's Annals of King James, June 20, 1616. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 431. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 33.

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion; Oxford 1732, fol. p. 4.

(*n*) Court and Character of King James, by Sir A.W. p. 127.

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

' of comfort to him upon this accident, before he heard ' from him; and for his Attorney, his Majeſty chal- ' lenged him for not advertizing him of that, of ' which it was proper for his Majeſty to be informed, ' from him.

' That his Majeſty being ſenſible of this ſo great ' novelty and perturbation in his courts of juſtice, ' nevertheleſs uſed this method and moderation, that ' before he would examine this great affront and ' diſgrace offered to his Chancery and Chancellor, ' he would firſt inform himſelf whether the Chancery or ' Chancellor were in fault, and whether the former ' precedents of Chancery did warrant the proceedings ' there, after judgment paſſed at Common Law (which ' was the thing in queſtion) and thereupon his Ma- ' jeſty called his learned Counſel to him, and com- ' manded them to examine the precedents of Chan- ' cery, and to certify what they found, which they ' did; and by their certificate it appeareth, that the ' precedents of that kind were many and preciſe in ' the point, and conſtant and in good times, and ' allowed many times by the Judges themſelves.

' That after this, his Majeſty received from the ' Lord Chancellor a caſe, whereby the queſtion was ' clearly ſet down, and contained within the proper ' bounds of the preſent doubt; being, whether upon ' apparent matter of equity, which the Judges by ' the law, by their place, and oath, cannot meddle ' with or relieve, if a judgment be once paſt at Com- ' mon Law, the ſubject ſhall periſh, or the Chancery ſhall ' relieve him, and whether there be any ſtatute of Præ- ' munire or other, to reſtrain this power in the Chan- ' cellor? Which caſe, upon the requeſt of the Lord ' Chancellor, his Majeſty likewiſe referred to his learned ' Counſel (and the Prince's Attorney, Mr Walter, ' was joined with them) who, upon great advice, and ' view of the original records themſelves, certified, ' the Chancery was not reſtrained by any ſtatute in ' that caſe.

' That his Majeſty again required his learned Coun- ' ſel to call up the Clerks of the King's-Bench to ' them, and to receive from them any precedents of ' indictments in the King's Bench againſt the Chan- ' cery, for proceeding in the like caſe; who produced ' only two precedents, being but indictments offered, ' or found, upon which there was no other proceeding; ' and the Clerks ſaid, they had uſed diligence and ' could find no more.

' That his Majeſty, after he had received this ſa- ' tisfaction, that there was ground for that the ' Chancery had done, and that the Chancery was not in ' fault, he thought then it was time to queſtion this ' miſdemeanour and contempt, in ſcandalizing and ' diſhonouring his juſtice in that High Court of Chan- ' cery, in ſo odious a manner, and commanded his ' Attorney-General, with the advice of the reſt of his ' learned Counſel, to proſecute the offenders in the Star- ' Chamber, which is done, and ſome of them are ' fled, and others ſtand out and will not anſwer.

' That there reſteth only one part more towards his ' Majeſty's compleat information in this cauſe, which is, ' to examine that which was done in open court the ſaid ' laſt day of Hillary term; and whether the Judges of the ' King's-Bench did commit any exceſs of authority, or ' did animate the offenders otherwiſe than according to ' their duty and place; which enquiry, becauſe it ' concerneth the Judges of a court (to keep order and ' decorum) his Majeſty thinketh not ſo convenient to ' uſe his learned Counſel therein, but will commit ' the ſame to ſome of the council table, and ſome of ' his learned Counſel to attend them.

' This declared, or what elſe his Majeſty in his ' own high wiſdom ſhall think good, it will be fit ' time to have the certificate of the learned Counſel ' openly read.'

[Z] *His letter writ upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in it's true light.*] The ſcope of this letter is fully ſhewn in the text, and ſo much thereof as is neceſſary to give the reader a true notion of Sir Francis Bacon's conduct in this particular, follows (68): ' I hope I may be acquitted of pre- ' ſumption if I think of it, both becauſe my father ' had the place, which is ſome civil inducement to ' my deſire, (and I pray God your Majeſty may have ' twenty no worſe years in your greatneſs, than Queen ' Elizabeth had in her model after my father's ' placing) and chiefly becauſe the Chancellor's place ' after it went to the Law, was ever conferred upon ' ſome of the learned Counſel, and never upon a ' Judge; for Audeley was raiſed from a King's Ser- ' jeant, my father from Attorney of the Wards, ' Bromley from Sollicitor, Puckering from Queen's ' Serjeant, Egerton from Maſter of the Rolls, having ' newly left the Attorney's place. Now I beſeech ' your Majeſty, let me put you the preſent caſe truly. ' If you take my Lord Coke this will follow, firſt, ' your Majeſty ſhall put an over-ruling nature into an ' over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; ' next, you ſhall blunt his induſtry in matter of fi- ' nances, which ſeemeth to aim at another place; ' and

(68) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

cation did not at that time take effect; and therefore he betook himſelf to the duties of his office, and to ſuch other employments as were impoſed upon him by the King his maſter. Various indeed they were, and thereby ſpeak the vaſt extent of his abilities in civil life; for beſides ſettling the juriſdiction of Courts, and the nature of the King's prerogative, which were things ſome way incident to his office and profeſſion (*p*): we find him frequently conſulted in affairs of ſtate and of the revenue, more particularly in a great diſpute between the Merchant-Adventurers, or, as we find them commonly called, the *Old Company*, and another company of merchants, with one Alderman Cockaine at their head, who by promiſing great things to the King, and greater to the nation, had procured to themſelves powers, which they were not able to manage ſo advantageouſly, as either they expected, or was expected from them (*q*). We find him likewiſe deeply engaged in Iriſh affairs (*r*), and acting in both, not as a buſy and forward man, fond of thruſting himſelf into every thing, but as an active and diligent ſervant to his Prince, who thought nothing a burthen, nothing a hardſhip, which it was in his power to perform for the benefit of the State, or as an inſtance of his gratitude to ſo good and kind a maſter. He likewiſe ſhewed himſelf exceedingly careful and ſollicitous, in whatever related to the preferments, honours, or fortunes of Sir George Villiers, to whom he profeſſed an early friendſhip, and for whom however, if we may judge from his letters, he did nothing officiouſly, but rendered him ſuch ſervices only, as fell properly in the way of the Attorney-General: ſuch as the preparing his warrants for patents, and for the grants of land, in which, if beſides the bare duties of his function, he gave him ſome marks of particular friendſhip; it ought rather to be attributed to his affection for his perſon, and his regard for one who had ſhewn great willingneſs to ſerve him, than to a ſervile ſpirit and mean adulation of power, ſince he had never ſhewn any thing of that ſort with reſpect to Somerſet, who had enjoyed a much greater meaſure of power, than Sir George Villiers had hitherto done (*s*). The laſt act of Sir Francis Bacon as Attorney-General, was of the ſame nature with the firſt, by which I mean, his proſecuting Mr Markham in the Star-Chamber, for ſending a challenge to Lord Darcy, wherein he gained great reputation (*t*). So that in the courſe of upwards of three years, in which he held the poſt of Attorney-General, which, as an able writer has obſerved, proves often a rock on which the greateſt lawyers ſplit; he behaved himſelf with ſuch prudence and moderation, and went through ſo many difficult and perplexed affairs, with ſuch evenneſs and integrity, that, for any thing appears, his conduct was never called in queſtion, nor has malice itſelf dared to utter of him the leaſt reproach (*u*). When this is conſidered, we need the leſs wonder at his ſo confidently expecting the high employment to which he was raiſed. It was a very natural elevation from the poſt he was then in, the good old Lord Chancellor deſired to have him for his ſucceſſor, and indeed there was no man of the profeſſion ſo fit for it at that time as himſelf. The manner in which it was done was every way great and gracious, for the Lord Viſcount Brackley, then Lord Chancellor, being worn out with age and infirmities, on the third of March 1617, at a viſit which the King paid him, reſigned the Seals into his Majeſty's hands, whoſe tenderneſs at parting with ſo ancient and faithful a ſervant, made him ſhed tears (*w*). Upon the ſeventh of the ſame month, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir Francis Bacon, then in the fifty-fourth year of his age, with the title of Lord-Keeper, giving him at the ſame time theſe three cautions; firſt, That he ſhould not ſeal any thing but after mature deliberation. Secondly, That he ſhould give righteous judgments between parties. And laſtly, That he ſhould not extend the royal prerogative too far. Theſe wiſe and grave admonitions were highly worthy of a good Prince, and happy had it been for the new Lord-Keeper, if they had been

(*p*) Ibid. p. 609, 611.

(*q*) See Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 39.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 646, 647.

(*s*) See the Annals of King James.

(*t*) Hobart's Reports, p. 120.

(*u*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 19, in a note.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, March 3, 1617.

'and laſtly, popular men are no ſure mounters for 'your Majeſty's ſaddle: If you take my Lord Ho- 'bart, you ſhall have a Judge at the upper end of 'your council board, and another at the lower end, 'whereby your Majeſty will find your prerogative 'pent; for tho' there ſhould be emulation between 'them, yet as Legiſts, they will agree in magnifying that 'wherein they are beſt. He is no ſtateſman but an 'œconomiſt wholly for himſelf, ſo as your Majeſty '(more than an outward form) will find little help in 'him for the buſineſs: If you take my Lord Can- 'terbury, I will ſay no more, but the Chancellor's 'place requires a whole man, and to have both ju- 'riſdictions ſpiritual and temporal in that height, is 'fit but for a King. For myſelf I can only preſent 'your Majeſty with *gloria in obſequio*, yet I dare 'promiſe, that if I ſit in that place, your buſineſs 'ſhall not make ſuch ſhort turns upon you as it 'doth, but when a direction is once given, it ſhall 'be purſued and performed; and your Majeſty ſhall 'only be troubled with the true care of a King, 'which is, to think what you would have done in 'chief, and not how for the paſſages. I do preſume 'alſo, in reſpect of my father's memory, and that 'I have been always gracious in the Lower Houſe; 'I have intereſt in the gentry of England, and ſhall 'be able to do ſome good effect in rectifying that 'body of parliament-men which is *cardo rerum*; for 'let me tell your Majeſty, that that part of the 'Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity be- 'tween party and party, that ſame *regnum judiciale*, '(which ſince my father's time is but too much 'enlarged) concerneth your Majeſty, leaſt, more 'than the acquitting of your conſcience for juſtice, but 'it is the other parts of a moderator amongſt your 'counſel, of an overſeer over your judges, of a 'planter of fit juſtices and governors in the country, 'that importeth your affairs, and theſe times moſt. 'I will add alſo, that I hope by my care the inventive 'part of your council will be ſtrengthened, who now 'commonly do exerciſe rather their judgments than 'their inventions, and the inventive part cometh 'from projectors and private men, which cannot be 'ſo well, in which kind my Lord of Saliſbury had 'a good method if his end had been upright. To 'conclude; if I were the man, I would be, I ſhould 'hope, that as your Majeſty hath of late won hearts 'by depreſſing, you ſhould in this loſe no hearts by 'advancing, for I ſee your people can better ſkill of '*concretum* than *abſtractum*, and that the waves of 'their affections flow rather after perſons than things, 'ſo that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more 'good than twenty bills of grace.'

been as conſtantly remembered, as they were graciouſly given and ſubmiſſively received (*x*). He went afterwards to viſit the late Lord Chancellor, as well to acquit himſelf of the debt of perſonal gratitude which he owed to that worthy perſon, as to acquaint him with his maſter's gracious intentions, which were to give him the title of an Earl, with a penſion for life, which though he did not ſurvive long enough to receive, yet they were made good to his ſon, who was created Earl of Bridgewater, by the firſt patent to which the new Lord-Keeper affixed the ſeal (*y*). Within eight days after Sir Francis Bacon was raiſed to this high honour, the King ſet out for Scotland, notwithſtanding his favourite lately created Earl of Bucks, had oppoſed that journey as far as he durſt. By this means the Lord-Keeper was placed at the head of the Council, and intruſted with the management of publick affairs in the King's abſence, which if it proved an acceſſion of honour, proved alſo a ſource of much envy and malice. He was ſucceeded as Attorney-General, by Sir Henry Yelverton, who was replaced as Sollicitor-General, by Sir Thomas Coventry. How much ſoever Sir Francis Bacon might gain in dignity by this promotion, it ſeems very doubtful whether he gained any thing in point of profit, ſince he quitted three very gainful offices, Firſt, that of Attorney-General, which, as he told the King himſelf, was worth to him ſix thouſand pounds a year (*z*); next, that of Chancellor to the Prince, which he likewiſe mentions in one of his letters (*a*); and laſtly, his poſt of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber. What the profits were of his new office is uncertain, but the fees granted him by patent were not large, being no more than five hundred forty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings a year, as Lord-Keeper, three hundred pounds a year for his attendance in the Star-Chamber, threeſcore pounds a year for wine, and ſixteen pounds a year for wax (*b*). On the ſeventh of May following, which was the firſt day of the term, he went to Weſtminſter in great ſtate, and there took poſſeſſion of his high office, being attended by many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction. Upon this occaſion he did, what whether it was uſual or not was certainly very decent and becoming, that is to ſay, he made a long and large ſpeech, of the nature and duty of his office, of what might be expected from him in it, and of the manner in which he meant to diſcharge it; in the opening of this ſpeech he took notice of the cautions given him by the King, which however he enlarged, and ſo made them the ground-work of his copious oration, which has been always eſteemed one of the fineſt in our language, and which perhaps is no leſs for his honour, has been moſt eſteemed by thoſe, who from their learning in the profeſſion underſtood it beſt (*c*). In this ſpeech he laid down rules for his own conduct, for the conduct of the ſuitors to the Court, and the gentlemen at the bar. At this diſtance of time we cannot ſay what effect it had, but in all probability it muſt have raiſed his reputation very high, and himſelf tells us, that it reflected no ſmall honour on the King (*d*). He very ſoon experienced the truth of that ſolid obſervation, That the higheſt ſeats are the moſt expoſed; for within a little time after the King's ſetting out for Scotland, the Spaniſh match, was, by direction of his Majeſty, brought upon the carpet, and his Lordſhip had too much wiſdom and penetration, not to perceive the many and great difficulties, with which it was like to be attended, which he hinted to the King in a letter, wherein he very prudently and honeſtly adviſed his Majeſty not to proceed therein, but with an united Council, expreſſing at the ſame time his juſt ſenſe of the misfortunes that had already attended, in various inſtances, diſcordancy of opinions. As that buſineſs proceeded, his diſlike increaſed; yet he did not declare himſelf openly againſt it, but contented himſelf with ſuch inſinuations, as he thought might have reſtrained and diſcountenanced it (*e*). In other affairs of no ſmall conſequence, he behaved as circumſtances required, with the gravity of a great officer of State, or with the freedom of an accompliſhed gentlemen. Thus, in his ſet ſpeech to the Judges before the ſummer circuit in 1617, and in his ſeveral ſpeeches to ſuch as were ſworn before him into offices of high truſt, he conducted himſelf with all imaginable gravity; but to qualify this, he ſoon after invited all the Judges to dinner, and when over in a friendly converſation ſatisfied them, that he had no intention to extend the power of the Court of Chancery beyond it's ordinary limits, to the prejudice of other courts, and therefore deſired them, in caſe they were at any time diſſatisfied with his proceedings, to acquaint him therewith, adding, that he made no doubt of their adjuſting things to their mutual ſatisfaction (*f*); he recommended to them likewiſe, their bringing him reports of their ſeveral circuits, that according to his command they might be certified to his Majeſty (*g*). In all other reſpects he was equally cautious and methodical, tranſmitting from time to time, clear and diſtinct accounts of whatever paſſed of any moment to the Earl of Buckingham, who wrote to him alſo in a very reſpectful ſtile, expreſſing not only his own admiration of his great parts and prudent conduct, but likewiſe the commendations given of them by the King (*h*), which makes it very improbable, that ever this favourite pretended to treat the Lord-Keeper in the manner which ſome pens have repreſented [*AA*]. But however

(*x*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 437. Camden's Annals, March 7, 1617. Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 705.

(*y*) Bacon's Works. Vol. IV. p. 666. Camden's Annals, May 28, 1617, Dugdale's Baronage of England, p. 415.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 607.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 660.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 1.

(*c*) Memorables in the reign of King James, p. 295.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 664.

(*e*) Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 212.

(*f*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 665.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 666.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 667, 668.

[*AA*] *In the manner ſome pens have repreſented.*] There is perhaps no country in the world in which exalted fortune does not beget envy, but at the ſame time, I believe, it may be truly ſaid that kind of envy riſes no where higher, or manifeſts itſelf with more violence and bitterneſs than with us in England. The Lord Keeper Bacon felt this very ſeverely, for no ſooner was he advanced to this high point of preferment in his profeſſion, than all tongues were opened againſt him, that either from intereſt or inclination, wiſhed to have ſeen ſome other perſon ſeated in that high poſt. He was very ſenſible of this, and ſought by all poſſible means to guard againſt it, endeavouring always to conduct buſineſs *ſuavibus modis*,

however, it muſt be allowed, that not long after this, Sir Francis Bacon fell into ſome kind

as his own expreſſion is, by the ſofteſt and gentleſt methods, that to his utmoſt he might avoid giving provocations, which however had not altogether the force that might have been expected. For this there may be many reaſons aſſigned, but I ſhall mention only a few; he was on bad terms with all Somerſet's party, which was numerous and powerful; he was an opponent to the famous Sir Edward Coke, who had a great train of admirers and dependants; he was a conſtant friend to Buckingham, which drew upon him the ill will of ſuch as hated that haughty favourite; and beſides all this, he provoked many of that great man's dependants by ſtopping their grants at the Seal. However, very little evil was publickly divulged of him during his life-time, when it might afforded room for apology or defence, but has diſcovered itſelf in libels, penned indeed by ſuch as lived in his days, but not ſuch as were moſt likely to be well acquainted with him, or the points of which they ſo confidently wrote. Sir Anthony Weldon, in his Court and Character of King James aſſerts, 'That Buckingham, to vex the very ſoul of Lord 'Chancellor Egerton in the laſt agony, ſent Bacon to 'him for the ſeals; and that the dying Chancellor 'hated that Bacon ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and that 'the old man's ſpirit could not brook this, but ſent 'the ſeals by his own ſervant to the King, and 'ſhortly after yielded up his ſoul to his Maker (69).' But this account contains two egregious falſities; for in the firſt place, though as we have ſeen in the text, Camden ſays, the Chancellor reſigned to the King himſelf; other authors agree, that it was the King ſent for the Seals, and not the Duke of Buckingham; and he ſent for them, not by Sir Francis Bacon, but by Secretary Winwood, with this meſſage, that himſelf would be his under-keeper, and not diſpoſe of them while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor; nor did any perſon remove the ſeal out of the King's ſight till the Lord Egerton died, which happened ſoon after (70). In the next place, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, as Dr Teniſon obſerves, was willing that the Attorney-General, Bacon, ſhould be his ſucceſſor, and ready to promote it, ſo far from conceiving any hatred againſt him either upon that or any other account. He had been a friend to Sir Francis Bacon even in the Queen's time, as appears from a letter of the latter to him, mentioned by Dr Teniſon, and this favour of his continued to the laſt (71): For Sir Francis Bacon writes as follows in a letter to Sir George Villiers, dated the 15th of February 1615 (72): 'My Lord 'Chancellor told me himſelf yeſterday in plain terms, 'that if the King would aſk his opinion, touching the 'perſon that he would commend to ſucceed him upon 'death or diſability, he would name me for the fitteſt 'man. You may adviſe whether uſe may not be 'made of this offer.' And in a letter to King James dated January 29, 1614, he wrote as follows: 'It 'pleaſed the Lord Chancellor out of his antient and 'great love to me, (which many times in ſickneſs 'appeared moſt) to admit me to a great deal of freedom 'of ſpeech with him this afternoon, which during theſe 'three days he hath ſcarce done to any (73). Sir Anthony Weldon reproaches my Lord Bacon, as a very neceſſitous man, and one for that reaſon made Keeper by the Duke of Buckingham, to ſerve ſuch turns as men of better fortunes would never condeſcend to. But this is a mere groundleſs and malicious inſinuation; for he had enjoyed for a long time many profitable places, which preſerved him from indigence, though, as Dr Teniſon obſerves, his great mind did not permit him to ſwell his purſe by them to any extraordinary height, and in the Queen's time when he was in meaner circumſtances, he did not look upon himſelf as in that eſtate of neceſſity, which tempteth generous minds to vile things. But let us hear himſelf in the letter to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, quoted by Dr Teniſon (74), 'My eſtate ſays he, I confeſs a truth 'to your Lordſhip, is weak and indebted and in need 'of comfort; for both my father (though I think 'I had greateſt part in his love of all his children) 'in his wiſdom ſerved me as laſt comer, and myſelf 'in mine own induſtry, have rather referred and 'aſpired to virtue than to gain, whereof yet I am 'not wiſe enough to repent me. But the while, 'whereas Solomon ſpeaketh, that want cometh 'firſt as a wayfaring man, and after as an armed 'man, I muſt acknowledge myſelf to be in *primo 'gradu*, for it ſteaketh upon me; but for the ſecond, 'that it ſhould not be reſiſted, I hope in God I am 'not in that caſe; for the preventing whereof as I 'do depend upon God's providence all in all, ſo in 'the ſame his providence, I ſet opened unto me three 'not unlikely expectations of help; the one, my prac'tice; the other, ſome proceeding in the Queen's 'ſervice; the third, the place I have in reverſion, 'which as it now ſtandeth unto me, is but like ano'ther man's ground butalling upon my houſe, which 'may mend my proſpect, but it doth not fill my 'barn.' However, it muſt be owned, that the Earl of Buckingham was very inſtrumental in the Lord Keeper's preferment, which he acknowledged in his letter, written the ſame day that the Seals were preſented to him; and ſurely, ſays Mr Stephens (75), fewer lines did never contain a greater ſenſe of gratitude, or expreſſed it in a more becoming manner, though by the original they ſeemed to have been haſtily written, and may ſerve to confirm what had been told me, by one who lived in his latter times, that his firſt copies required no great labour to render them competent for the niceſt judgments; it is as follows: 'It is both in care and buſineſs, that ſmall ones float 'upon the tongue, and great ones ſink down into the 'heart in ſilence; therefore I could ſpeak little to 'your Lordſhip to day, neither had I fit time, but 'I muſt profeſs thus much, that in this day's work 'you are the trueſt and perfecteſt mirrour and example 'of firm and generous friendſhip that ever was in 'court, and I ſhall count every day loſt wherein I 'ſhall not either ſtudy your well doing in thought, 'or do your name honour in ſpeech, or perform you 'ſervice indeed.' In the ſame volume we have likewiſe his ſpeech at the taking his place in Chancery, in performance of the charge of his Majeſty had given him, when he received the Seals in 1617. Sir Anthony Weldon has upon this occaſion introduced another ſcandalous ſtory with regard to Sir Francis Bacon, and tells us (76), that this great favourite (Buckingham) ſent a noble gentleman and of much worth to him with this meſſage, That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to ſerve his maſter in the Keeper's place, but he alſo knew him of a baſe and ungrateful diſpoſition, and an errant knave, apt in his proſperity to ruin any that had raiſed him in his adverſity; yet for all this, he did ſo much ſtudy his maſter's ſervice, knowing how fit an inſtrument he might be for him, that he had obtained the Seals for him, but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him as he had done ſome others to whom he had been bound, he would caſt him down as much below ſcorn, as he had now raiſed him high above any honour he could ever have expected. Bacon, continues that author, was at that time Attorney-General, who patiently hearing this meſſage, replied, I am glad my noble Lord deals ſo friendly and freely with me, and hath made that choice of ſo diſcreet and noble a friend, that hath delivered his meſſage in ſo plain language. But, ſays he, can my Lord know theſe abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the higheſt preferment my profeſſion is capable of, I ſhall ſo much fail in my judgment and underſtanding as to loſe theſe abilities, and by my miſcarriage to ſo noble a patron, caſt myſelf headlong from the top of that honour to the very bottom of contempt and ſcorn. Surely my Lord cannot think ſo meanly of me. The gentleman replied, I deliver nothing from myſelf, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordſhip, to which I neither add nor diminiſh; for had it been left to my diſcretion, ſurely, tho' I might have given you the ſubſtance, yet I ſhould have apparelled it in a more modeſt attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lord's to you, ſo will I as faithfully deliver your's to his Lordſhip. You muſt underſtand, continues Sir A. Weldon, the reaſon of this meſſage was his ungratefulneſs to the Earl of Eſſex, which every one could remember, for the Earl ſaved him from ſtarving, and he requited him ſo as his apology muſt witneſs; were there not a great fault there needed no apology, nor could any age, but a worthleſs and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy of ſuch a place of honour. Very hard language this of a man ſo eminent and well known, and this from a perſon

(69) Court and Character of King James I, p. 115.

(70) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 171.

(71) Teniſon's Baconiana, p. 249, 250.

(72) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 610.

(73) Ibid. p. 609.

(74) Baconiana, p. 251.

(75) Introduction to Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 41.

(76) Court and Character of King James, p. 116, 117, &c.

kind of disgrace, both with the King and the favourite, and this about a family concern of Buckingham's, which, to say the truth, shews a most shameful weakness in that government, as it very plainly proves, that the private concerns of a particular person, were grown to be of as great consequence as matters of State (*i*). The case then, to state it in as few words as possible, was this, Sir Edward Coke had formerly rejected, with some marks of contempt and disdain, a marriage that had been proposed between Buckingham's elder brother, Sir John Villiers, and one of Sir Edward's daughters, by Lady Hatton, but now finding the power of this family so great, and being desirous of coming again into favour, he applied himself to Secretary Winwood, and with great professions of sorrow for having offended the King, and of not being able to live if he was not restored to his good grace, he offered to do any thing that was required from him, and particularly to consent to this marriage (*k*). As soon as the Lord-Keeper was informed of this, he wrote very freely and fully both to Buckingham, and to the King, against the marriage, which however, had not the desired effect, but, on the contrary, drew upon him the displeasure of the favourite and his master. It must likewise be acknowledged, as indeed it appears clearly by his letters, that the Lord-Keeper was chiefly moved to this opposition, from his apprehension of it's bringing Sir Edward Coke again into favour, and there is no denying that this was a great meanness in him, and very unbecoming a person of his great abilities, as well as one in his high station (*l*). But after all, this proves no more, than that even the greatest men have their weaknesses, and that the corruptions of Courts are capable of tainting the most noble minds. On the King's return from Scotland, which was in the beginning of the month of September 1617, the Lord-Keeper and some other members of the Council, were reprimanded for the concern they had in this affair; but it does not appear, that it went so far as to create a breach between his Lordship and the Earl of Buckingham; and indeed, considering all things, one can see no just ground why it should, since, in the course of the whole dispute, it very plainly appears, that it was not from any coldness or distaste that his Lordship had taken, but rather from the excess of his fidelity and affection to Buckingham, that he had interested himself so much in this affair; and therefore, when the Earl had maturely considered it, he, of his own accord, thought proper to mitigate his Majesty's displeasure against the Lord-Keeper, and very soon procured, that is, within a fortnight after the King's return, a thorough reconciliation, for which the Lord-Keeper wrote Buckingham a letter of thanks, conceived in the strongest terms possible (*m*). Towards the close of the month, the marriage which had raised all those disputes, was solemnized, in consequence of which, Sir Edward Coke was recalled to the Council table, yet it was not long that he continued in favour, for his great friend Secretary Winwood dying, things soon ran again into their old channel, and therefore the stories we meet with in some writers of those times, may well be accounted, rather instances of Court malice, than representations of any real facts (*n*) [*BB*]. This storm once over, the Lord-Keeper returned to his former province, of superintending the King's affairs in general, and

(*i*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his Works, p. 24, 25.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 669.

(*l*) Stephens's Collections of of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 216.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 674.

(*n*) See Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, p. 115. Aulic. Coquinar. p. 171. Saunderson's Hist. of King James I, p. 437.

of no character at all, or, which is worse, of a very bad one, as will be very fully shewn in another place, where we shall have occasion to enter more fully into the history and value of Sir Anthony Weldon's performance (77). At present it shall suffice that we observe, there is not the least degree of probability in the story which he relates, at the same time that he pretends not to the least shadow of evidence; so that we are to take a fact, which would scarce deserve credit, though supported by ever so good witnesses, without any witness at all, and this against the light of one's own reason, and of a multitude of facts which may be alledged to discredit it; for whereas this is made to have been a sudden promotion, in consequence of a bargain with Buckingham, we have seen that it was so far from being such a promotion, that it was long before in agitation with the King himself, upon whom it is evident enough Sir Francis Bacon chiefly depended. This story makes Buckingham even before he had acquired that title, an insolent and overbearing favourite, which is directly contrary to what all the historians of those times say, who commend him for his affability and generosity at the beginning, by which, as he rose in the King's favour, he grew likewise in esteem with his subjects, pursuing therein a conduct very different from that of his predecessor, Somerset, who really raised and disgraced, brought into credit or drove out of the court, without the least regard to decency, men of great merit or men of none, just as his interest required or his fancy dictated. It is not therefore at all probable, that the new favourite, who so well knew by what steps the old one became so very odious, should immediately pursue his path, more especially when he could not but very well know, that he was far enough from being absolutely master of the King's good graces, out of which he had very near thrown himself a very little after this, by most imprudently discovering his aversion to the King's intended journey into Scotland.

(77) See the article of YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

[*BB*] *Instances of Court malice than representations of any real facts.*] We have in the former note given the reader a specimen of Sir A. Weldon's malice to Sir Francis Bacon, and of his small regard for truth; in this we are obliged again to quote him, and quote him for the very same reason. He was informed of the quarrel between the Lord Keeper and Buckingham, while the latter attended his Majesty in Scotland, and he could not but see, that, during his Majesty's absence, the Lord Keeper Bacon had the chief direction of affairs, which in some measure he lost, while this quarrel subsisted. Now let us hear the whole of this story in his own language: 'Now was Bacon, says he, invested in this 'office, and within ten days after the King goes to 'Scotland. Bacon instantly begins to believe him-'self King, lies in the King's lodgings, gives au-'dience in the great banquetting-house, makes all 'other counsellors attend his motions with the same 'state, the King used to come out to give audience to 'ambassadors; when any other Counsellors sat with 'him about the King's affairs, would (if they sat 'near him) bid them know their distance, upon 'which, Winwood, then Secretary, rose, went a-'way, and would never sit more, but instantly dis-'patched one to the King, to desire him to make 'haste back, for his seat was already usurped. At 'which, I remember, the King reading it to us, both 'the King and we were very merry; and if Buck-'ingham had sent him any letter, would not vouch-'safe opening it, or reading in publick, though it 'was said it required speedy dispatch, nor would 'vouchsafe him any answer. In this posture he lived 'until he heard the King was returning, and began 'to believe the play was almost at an end; he might

'personate

and more particularly the bringing the expence of the King's government, now called the Civil Liſt, into ſuch a compaſs, as that it might not exceed his ordinary revenue (*o*). We have many of the Lord-Keeper's letters on this and on other ſubjects of importance, both to the King himſelf and to Buckingham, in which there is nothing diſcovered of a ſupple cringing or low ſpirit, but quite the contrary, for he often ſtopped at the ſeal, patents and grants obtained by the intereſt of the favourite, and gives him his reaſons in very free and clear terms, which moſt evidently ſhews, that he was not of ſuch a ſervile temper, as his enemies have repreſented him (*p*); and though he muſt have been exceedingly occupied, by that prodigious variety of buſineſs which paſſed through his hands, yet, even at this time, we have a remarkable inſtance of his care and concern for the publick, expreſſed in the care he took to procure a patent, which was inrolled in Chancery, for conſtituting two Reporters in the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, with a fee of one hundred pounds *per annum* to each, which, how little fruit ſoever it may have brought forth, was certainly a thing well deſigned, and which might have proved highly advantageous, as well to the nation in general, as to the profeſſion of the Law in particular (*q*). Towards the end of this year, which had been ſo fruitful of extraordinary events to his Lordſhip, he was in ſome little danger of loſing his life. This fell out from the paſſion of an angry man, againſt whom he had made a decree in Chancery, *viz.* Gervaſe Lord Clifton, who publickly declared, that he was very ſorry he had not ſtabbed the Lord-Keeper in his chair, at the time he pronounced the decree (*r*). He was for this offence committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London, and the thing made the more noiſe, becauſe, but the year before, one Sir John Tyndal, a Maſter in Chancery, had been actually ſhot by one Mr Bertram, a man of conſiderable fortune and very fair character, and this for making a report againſt him, that was perfectly agreeable to juſtice. There is ſeveral times mention made of this affair of Lord Clifton's, in the Lord-Keeper's letters, from which it is eaſy enough to diſcern, that though his Lordſhip profeſſes, that he neither hated him for what was paſt, nor feared what might happen from him in time to come, yet he did not care that he ſhould be enlarged ſuddenly, and without ſuch notice taken of him, as the nature of his crime deſerved (*s*). There is no certainty, though there may be a probability, that a proſecution was commenced againſt this angry Lord in the Star-Chamber, but however it was, to ſecure himſelf from the effects of thoſe misfortunes drawn on by his own ill conduct, he laid violent hands upon himſelf the next year, which ſhews how great danger the Lord-Keeper was in, from the reſentment of a perſon of ſuch ſtrong paſſions (*t*). In the very entrance of the ſucceeding year 1618, *viz.* on the fourth of January, Sir Francis Bacon had the title given him of Lord High Chancellor of England (*u*), which ſhews how effectually he had got over that coldneſs, which aroſe about the marriage beforementioned, and as to which it began already to appear, that he had formed a much better, or at leaſt a truer, judgment, than thoſe who had promoted it; and about the ſame time his friend the Earl of Buckingham was raiſed to the degree of a Marquis (*w*), by the ſame title, and if we may judge from their letters, their friendſhip at this time was as cordial as ever. Yet the Chancellor

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 673.

(*p*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 42, 43.

(*q*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 27.

(*r*) Camden's Annals of King James.

(*s*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 683.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 424.

(*u*) Pat. 15 Jac. I, p. 4.

(*w*) Pat. 15 Jac. I, p. 11.

'perſonate a King's part no longer, and therefore did 'again re-inveſt himſelf with his old rags of baſeneſs, 'which were ſo tattered and poor at the King's com-'ing to Windſor; that he attended two days in Buck-'ingham's anti-chamber, being not admitted to any bet-'ter place, than the room where trencher ſcrapers 'and lacquies attended, there ſitting upon an old 'wooden cheſt (amongſt ſuch as for his baſeneſs were 'only fit for his companions, although the honour 'of his place did merit far more reſpect) with his 'purſe and ſeal lying by him on that cheſt, myſelf 'told a ſervant of my Lord of Buckingham's, it was a 'ſhame to ſee the purſe and ſeal of ſo little value 'or eſteem in his chamber, though the carrier with-'out it merited nothing but ſcorn, being worſt 'among the beſt; he told me they had command 'it muſt be ſo. After two days he had admittance, at 'firſt entrance fell down flat on his face at the Duke's 'foot, kiſſing it, vowing never to riſe till he had 'his pardon; then was he again reconciled, and ſince 'that time ſo very a ſlave to the Duke, and all that 'family, that he durſt not deny the command of the 'meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppoſe any thing; by 'this you ſee, a baſe ſpirit is ever moſt concomitant 'with the proudeſt mind, and ſurely, never ſo many 'parts, and ſo baſe an abject ſpirit, tenanted together 'in any one earthen cottage, as in this one man (78).' The very manner in which this libel is delivered, ſufficiently deſtroys it's credit, the facts contained therein are ſo unlikely and improbable, that there ſeems to be no occaſion for refuting them; yet as they have been very unaccountably tranſcribed, as well atteſted truths by ſome writers, I think it may not be amiſs, to ſhew how little appearance of truth there is in them. There are ſtill remaining abundance of Lord Bacon's letters to Buckingham, and many of his anſwers, not one of which bears any mark of meanneſs on the one ſide, or of haughtineſs on the other, but rather, I think, quite the contrary (79). It is indeed true, that the author of this book attended King James in his journey to Scotland, as one of the Clerks of the Green-Cloth, but it is not very probable that the King ſhould read the Secretary of State's letter in abuſe of the Lord Keeper, either to, or in the preſence of ſuch a Clerk. It was this man's misfortune to be diſgraced in this journey, and that for writing a libel on the people of Scotland, while they were endeavouring to outdo one another in careſſing the King's Engliſh ſervants, for which he was turned out, as a man unfit to be in the King's family, but had a ſum of money given him, and a ſmall penſion for life, which he gratefully returned by writing this book: This makes it improbable that he ſhould be ſo intimate at Buckingham's, as he pretends to be on the King's return (80): He contradicts himſelf alſo in this account, for in another part of his book, he ſays, that Buckingham behaved modeſtly ſo long as his brother Purbeck was about him; and it appears plainly, that this brother of his, then Sir John Villiers, was in greater credit with him then, than at any time afterwards (81): Add to all this, the unlikelineſs, that, after ſuch treatment, the Lord Keeper ſhould in three months time be made Lord Chancellor, by the intereſt of that very perſon, who, according to this account, had offered him ſuch an inſult as could not well be forgiven, or at leaſt, forgot on either ſide, and that no other perſon except this obſcure man, ever mentions any circumſtance that agrees with, or affords the leaſt credit to, this wild and improbable ſtory.

(78) Court and Character of King James, p. 130—133.

(79) See theſe Letters from Mr Stephens's excellent Collection in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 605, & ſeq.

(80) Aulicus Coquinariæ, in the preface.

(81) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

Chancellor ſtill continued to uſe the ſame freedom as formerly, with reſpect to grants and patents which came recommended by the favourite, ſeveral of which he ſtopped at the Seal, and on ſignifying his reaſons to the Marquis of Buckingham, he was ſo far from reſenting any thing in the Chancellor's conduct, or expreſſing himſelf with any loftineſs upon ſuch occaſions, that, on the contrary, he thanked his Lordſhip by letter, telling him expreſsly, that he deſired nothing ſhould paſs the Seal at his inſtance or requeſt, but what was juſt and convenient (*x*). As the new year entered with an Act of Advancement, ſo the ſpring afforded frequent opportunities to the Chancellor, to ingratiate himſelf with his maſter by free and honourable counſels, which inclined his Majeſty to confer ſtill higher marks of his favour, and accordingly by letters patents dated at Wanſtead the eleventh of July 1618, Sir Francis Bacon was created Baron of Verulam in the county of Hertford, and in the preamble to thoſe letters it is recited, that his Majeſty was moved thereto, by the grateful ſenſe of the many and faithful ſervices rendered him by this worthy perſon, as well in the Court of Chancery, as in the Privy-Council, and elſewhere; and the witneſſes to the aforeſaid letters, are Charles Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and others of the prime nobility (*y*). This new honour excited his Lordſhip to new ſervices, and it appears from his own writings, that he was very attentive to every thing that might conduce, either to the immediate benefit of his Majeſty, or to the general good of his ſubjects. He has indeed been cenſured for giving ſome oppoſition to the charity of Mr Alleyne the Player, but it is very evident, that his Lordſhip meant no more therein, than to prevent an extravagant increaſe of licences in Mortmain, agreeable to the ſentiments he had expreſſed while Sollicitor-General, on account of the foundation of Sutton's Hoſpital, and as at this diſtance of time, we have an opportunity of comparing his advice with the events that have followed, there ſeems but little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings (*z*) [*CC*]. The next affair of great moment, in which his Lordſhip had a particular concern, was the proſecution of the Dutch merchants, for tranſporting abroad vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver, in money, plate, and bullion, in which his Lordſhip proceeded with great caution, and due reſpect to juſtice. The firſt ſtep taken in it, was the Attorney-General's applying to the Chancellor, on the nineteenth of October 1618, for writs of *Ne exeant Regnum*, againſt ſeveral of thoſe merchants, on a ſuggeſtion of their offending in this matter; upon which he immediately wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, expreſſing an unwillingneſs to grant thoſe writs in prejudice of the merchants, without being acquainted with evidence, and at the ſame time gave theſe ſalutary cautions; That his Majeſty would

(*x*) See the Marquis of Buckingham's Letter to the Lord Chancellor, in Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 75.

(*y*) Sanderſon's Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVII. p. 17, where there is a plain miſtake of a year in the date.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 686.

[*CC*] *Little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings.*] This imputation of his having no great affection to charitable foundations, is a very high reflection on his memory, and, though in itſelf very groundleſs, has been maintained with great warmth by many well meaning people, from unreaſonable prejudices, and for want of due information. When he was Sollicitor-General, he oppoſed the erecting that hoſpital which is now called the Charter-houſe, purſuant to the will of Mr Sutton the founder, and this in two capacities; firſt, in that of his profeſſion, for he was of counſel with Simon Baxter, nephew to Mr Sutton, who claimed his eſtate as heir at law, together with Mr Walter and Mr Yelverton, afterwards Attorney-General and a Judge. Secondly, as Sollicitor-General, he adviſed the King, in caſe the heir at law failed in his ſuit, to improve this charity of Sutton's, which he thought was but crudely digeſted, and therefore he compares it to a ſacrifice without ſalt. The defects he apprehended were, that by degrees this deſign might be corrupted, and ſuch perſons placed therein as poor, as the owner never intended; that the maſter would grow into a place of great profit, and be conſidered rather as a good preferment, than as the head and director of a charity, that the great revenue aſſigned by the founder, of near ſix thouſand pounds a year, would in the end make a few people rich, inſtead of affording a comfortable maintenance to many. In his diſcourſe upon this ſubject, as indeed in his diſcourſes upon all ſubjects, there are many curious and uncommon remarks, which, to an unbiaſſed reader, will fully prove, that he oppoſed this charitable foundation, from no other principle than that of an extenſive charity (82). Yet a certain writer has been pleaſed to aſſign three very unworthy motives for his behaviour on this occaſion: The firſt is, *the comfortable expectation of a great ſhare of the revenues* (83). But how could this be, ſince, as a Lawyer, he contended for the right of the heir at law, which would have veſted Sutton's eſtate in him; and in his advice to King James, he recommends three things; firſt, the erecting a college of controverſy againſt the Papiſts; ſecondly, an hoſpital for converts to the Proteſtant religion; and thirdly, the maintaining itinerant preachers in ſuch parts of the King's dominions as were infected with Popery. I ſhould be glad to know in which of theſe he would have placed himſelf. The ſecond motive to this oppoſition is ſaid to be, *becauſe he was not named by* Sutton, *as one of the truſtees for the foundation* (84); *which very reflection was ſuggeſted by Mr* Laws, *the executor, about the time of the trial.* A reflection it is very juſtly called, for it could never be proved, and therefore cannot be anſwered; but one may have leave to ſuggeſt, that if he had really had a mind to have had a hand in the direction of this charity, he might very eaſily have ſucceeded, by employing his pen and his intereſt in the ſupport of it. The laſt motive for his oppoſition is ſaid to have been, *that he and Sir* Edward Coke *could never agree, and therefore no wonder if they differed in this affair.* I ſhould be glad to know what can be inferred from this difference; was Sir Edward Coke a man always in the right, ſo that whoever differed from him muſt be neceſſarily in the wrong? Or can it be ſuppoſed, that Sir Francis Bacon, who was ſo wiſe a man, ſhould act ſo unpopular a part, as to oppoſe this charity merely becauſe Sir Edward Coke eſpouſed it? The reaſons himſelf aſſigned for his conduct very evidently prove the contrary, in as much as they have been judged very ſtrong, and very well grounded by men of the beſt underſtandings in ſucceeding times. As to the caſe of Alleyne the Player, he meant not to hurt or to oppoſe his charity, but to reſtrain it from eight hundred pounds a year to five, to make way for a grant of three hundred pounds a year to the two univerſities, which he judged might be of greater uſe to the publick. The reader may inform himſelf farther upon this ſubject, by peruſing the letter itſelf, with ſome remarks upon it already inſerted in a foregoing article (85). Upon the whole, it may be juſtly affirmed, that if no other part of his conduct had been more liable to exception than this, few men's characters would have been more unſpotted.

(82) See his advice to the King as to Sutton's Hoſpital in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 449.

(83) Account of the Charter-Houſe by Samuel Herne, p. 107.

(84) Might not Sir Francis Bacon have retorted on Mr Laws, that his zeal aroſe from his being an executor?

(85) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 120.

[*DD*] *Such*

would not grant to Sir Thomas Vavaſor, or Sir John Brittaine, the forfeitures accruing from this diſcovery, but rather reward them at diſcretion; and next, that his Majeſty would grant a commiſſion to his Lordſhip, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Coke, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice of England, for examining into, and conducting this affair to his Majeſty's profit (*a*). Theſe notices were both kindly received, and readily complied with, by his royal Maſter; and the conſequences were, that the Attorney-General filed informations againſt one hundred and fourſcore of theſe merchants, but at firſt proceeded to trial againſt twenty only, of the richeſt and moſt remarkable, who were convicted and fined to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Some time after, ſeveral more of theſe merchants were likewiſe brought to tryal and fined, the reſt of the proſecutions being ſtayed at the inſtance of Buckingham, who was moved thereto by letters from the States-General, and the ſeverity of the fines was afterwards mitigated to a third part, by the interceſſion of Sir Noel Caron, then Miniſter here from the republick of the United Provinces (*b*). While this buſineſs was depending, there fell out another affair, in which the Lord Chancellor had a pretty large concern, of which we ſhould have been able to give a better account, if all the letters written by the Lord Verulam about this matter had been preſerved. It was, in ſhort, this, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord High-Treaſurer, being removed from this high employment upon a ſuſpicion of corruption, a commiſſion was granted for enquiring into his conduct, and upon the report of theſe Commiſſioners, there was a proſecution commenced againſt him in the Star-Chamber (*c*). If we may credit the writers of thoſe times, his Lordſhip was an honeſt, open-hearted man, but had a cunning, rapacious, and buſy wife, who by the help of one Sir John Bingley, an under officer to his Lordſhip, had driven ſeveral ſcandalous bargains, which brought the Earl under this proſecution, carried on with a great deal of rigour, and brought to a hearing on the nineteenth of November, 1619 (*d*). In pronouncing the judgment of the Court, Sir Edward Coke led the way, and having ſhewn his learning, by running through the proſecutions againſt Treaſurers in paſt times, for like offences, concluded for a fine of one hundred thouſand pounds, the impriſonment of the Earl and Counteſs in the Tower, and a fine of five thouſand pounds on Sir John Bingley, and commitment to the Fleet; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, concurred with him in this judgment, but the Lord Chief-Juſtice Hobart thought this rather a ranſom than a fine, and therefore declared for thirty thouſand pounds on the Earl, and two thouſand on Sir John Bingley, with whom the reſt of the Court concurred (*e*). The Earl and Counteſs were both for ſome time committed to the Tower, but by the interpoſition of the Marquis of Buckingham were ſet at liberty, and the fine reduced to ſeven thouſand pounds, which was paid (*f*). It appears from the letters of the Lord Verulam that are ſtill remaining, that he was very aſſiduous in this buſineſs, that he had a principal hand in detecting the frauds and corruptions practiſed in the Treaſury, and that at the time of paſſing ſentence, he approved the more moderate proceeding, and laboured to eſtabliſh in the minds of the Court and of the audience, an high opinion of the King's tenderneſs and mercy (*g*), for which he received his Majeſty's thanks, together with a full approbation of his conduct, by a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham (*h*). Such were the great tranſactions of theſe two years, for if we were to mention all the matters of importance which paſſed through his hands, and of which he has either left memorials in his letters, or that might be collected from records, it would ſwell this life into a volume, and therefore we touch only the moſt memorable accidents that we meet with in his memoirs, and that with a due regard to the times in which they happened, a circumſtance wherein we have met with great difficulties, from the many falſe and imperfect dates which occur in the hiſtories of that reign. While he was High Chancellor of England, he procured from the King the farm of the Alienation-Office, which was of conſiderable benefit, and proved a great part of his ſubſiſtence, after he loſt his office; he likewiſe procured York-Houſe for the place of his reſidence, for which he ſeems to have had an affection, as being the place of his birth, and where his father had lived, all the time he poſſeſſed the high office of Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (*i*). He, in the beginning of the year 1620, he kept his birth-day with great ſplendor and magnificence, as appears by a ſhort performance of the famous Poet Ben. Johnſon upon that occaſion, in which, though the verſe be ſomewhat harſh, there is ſo much good ſenſe, and ſuch a vein of Poetry, as very well deſerves the reader's notice (*k*) [*DD*]. One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this year, was the proſecution of the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, in which the city of London was alſo involved. The offence with which he was charged, being the exceeding

(*a*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 46.

(*b*) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 222.

(*c*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 625.

(*d*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 437, 490. Court and Character of King James, p. 126. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 280.

(*e*) Annals of the Reign of King James I, p. 222.

(*f*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 48.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 696.

(*i*) See the note [*DD*]; in which the date of the year is fixed by that of the Chancellor's age.

(*k*) Jonſon's Works, Lond. 1631, fol. Vol. II. p. 232.

[*DD*] *Such a vein of Poetry as well deſerves the reader's notice.*] This poem is amongſt thoſe which Ben Jonſon, of immortal memory, ſtiled his *Underwood*, in alluſion to a former work of his, which he named his *Foreſt*. The reader will obſerve, that the form of the poem implies a very beautiful fiction, the poet ſtarting, as it were, on his entering York-Houſe, at the ſight of the Genius of the place performing ſome myſtery, which, penetrating from the gayety of his look, affords matter for the compliment (85).

(85) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. p. 222.

LORD BACON'S BIRTH-DAY.

Haile happie GENIUS of this antient pile!
How comes it all things ſo about thee ſmile?
The fire, the wine, the men; and in the midſt
Thou ſtandſt, as if ſome myſtery thou didſt!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whoſe returnes, and many, all theſe pray:

ing his inſtructions in drawing a charter for this metropolis (*l*). This gentleman had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of the Marquis of Buckingham, who, according to his nature, which inclined him to do much good to his friends, and much evil to thoſe he eſteemed his enemies, perſecuted him with great fury, and it ſeems, from a letter of Verulam's, that this diſpoſition of the Marquis had made ſome impreſſion upon himſelf, ſince he adviſes the King not to accept the Attorney's ſubmiſſion, as a ſatisfaction, and yet to make uſe of it as evidence; but in the ſame letter he ſhews, that ſuch violent methods were not ſuitable to his temper, ſince he concludes it, with recommending the Attorney to his Majeſty's mercy (*m*). In conſequence of this advice, an information was preferred in the Star-Chamber againſt the Attorney, and the Lord-Mayor of London, which ended in a heavy ſentence and a ſevere impriſonment; but however he was afterwards reſtored to Buckingham's favour, by whoſe recommendation he was made a Judge of the Common-Pleas; but as this happened long after that Lord Verulam was removed from having any ſhare in publick affairs, we ſhall take no farther notice of it here, but refer the reader to his article, in which he will find it fully ſet forth (*n*). The ſame cares, with reſpect to the King's buſineſs, and chiefly with regard to his revenue, ſtill employed and took up a great part of his Lordſhip's time, in which he ſeems to have agreed better with Sir Edward Coke, than could have been well expected, and always repreſents him as labouring heartily and effectually in the King's ſervice, which ſhews that he was very far from being of an unforgiving nature, and indeed his whole ſtudy ſeems at this time to have been directed, to keep all who were concerned in the King's affairs on good terms with each other (*o*). About this time however, an attempt was made to the prejudice of his Lordſhip, which might have given him ſome warning of his fall. For one Mr Wrenham, againſt whom he had made a decree, ſurmiſing he had wrong done him, preſented a libellous petition to the King againſt him, the ſuggeſtions of which were thoroughly examined, from whence it clearly appeared, that the Chancellor had acted as became him, and that he had in truth been very much injured by this Wrenham (*p*). Happy had it been for his Lordſhip, had he been always as ready and able to defend himſelf. But tho' he was fully acquitted of all blame on account of this matter, yet the effects of it ſtuck cloſe to him, and in the end proved his ruin, the induſtry of Wrenham producing thoſe complaints, of which we ſhall hear enough hereafter (*q*). But in the midſt of ſo much difficulty, under the weight of ſo great a load of buſineſs, and notwithſtanding the diligence and attention ſhewn by him in the diſcharge of the ſeveral branches of his duty, he was ſo far from forgetting or neglecting his philoſophick ſtudies, that in the month of October 1620, he ſent the King his maſter the ripeſt fruits of them, in the moſt perfect and moſt important work that ever fell from his pen, and which of all others he valued moſt, his *Novum Organum* (*r*) [*EE*]. This his Majeſty received as graciouſly

(*l*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 699.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 700.

(*n*) See YELVERTON (Sir HENRY).

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 696, 702.

(*p*) Hobart's Reports, as quoted by Stephens.

(*q*) This Mr Wrenham found out, and egged on, ſuch, as in the next ſeſſion of Parliament petitioned againſt the Chancellor to the Houſe of Commons.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 269.

as

And ſo doe I. This is the ſixtieth yeare,
Since Bacon, and thy Lord was borne and here;
Sonne to the grave, wiſe Keeper of the Seale,
Fame and foundation of the Engliſh weale.
What then his father was, that ſince is hee,
Now with a title more to the degree.
England's High-Chancellor the deſtin'd heire,
In his ſoft cradle to his father's chair,
Whoſe even thred the Fates ſpinne round and full,
Out of their choyceſt and their whiteſt wooll.

'Tis a brave cauſe of joy, let it be knowne
For 'twere a narrow gladneſſe, kept thine owne.
Give me a deep-crown'd bowle, that I may ſing,
In rayſing him, the wyſdome of my King.

[*EE*] *Which of all others he valued moſt, the* Novum Organum.] In order to give the reader a juſt idea of the value and importance of this work, we will firſt deſcribe the nature of it, and then mention the judgment paſſed thereon by ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the republick of letters. The deſign of the *Novum Organum* was, to execute the ſecond part of the Inſtauration, by advancing a more perfect method of uſing the rational faculty than men were before acquainted with, in order to raiſe and improve the underſtanding, as far as it's preſent imperfect ſtate admits, and enable it to conquer and interpret the difficulties and obſcurities of nature; with this view it undertakes the care and conduct of the underſtanding, and draws out and deſcribes the apparatus and inſtruments of reaſoning; whence it appears to endeavour at a new kind of Logick, tho' greatly ſuperior to the common, which, through the abuſes crept into it, appears fitter to corrupt than ſtrengthen and improve the mind, for the ſcope and uſe of this new Logick, is not to diſcover arguments and probable reaſons, but arts and works. It is divided into two principal parts, viz. into a preparatory part, and one that is ſcientifical and inſtructive; the firſt part tends to prepare and purge the mind, and fit it to receive and uſe the inſtructions and inſtruments laid down in the ſecond; the mind, like a mirror, requiring to be levelled and poliſhed, or diſcharged of it's falſe imaginations and perverted notions, before it can be ſet to receive and reflect the light of truth and juſt information; and the levelling part is of four kinds, with reſpect to the four different ſorts of idols or falſe notions, that poſſeſs the mind: Theſe idols are either acquired or natural, and proceed either from the doctrines and ſects of Philoſophers, the perverted and corrupt laws and methods of demonſtration, or elſe are innate and inherent in the very conſtitution of the mind itſelf. The firſt labour therefore is to diſcharge and free the mind from it's ſwarms of falſe theories, which occaſion ſuch violent conflicts and oppoſitions; the next point is to releaſe it from the ſlavery of perverted demonſtrations; and the laſt is to put a check upon this ſeducing power of the mind, and either to pluck up thoſe innate idols by the root, or if that cannot be done, to point them out that they may be thoroughly known and watched, and ſo have the depravities which they occaſion corrected: This levelling part therefore is performed by three kinds of confutations, viz. the confutation of philoſophies, the confutation of demonſtrations, and the confutation of the natural unaſſiſted reaſon. When thus the mind is rendered equable and unbiaſſed, the work proceeds to ſet it in a proper ſituation, and as it were, with a benevolent aſpect to the remaining inſtructions, whereby the buſineſs of preparing the mind is ſtill further carried on, and the whole drift of this enſuing part, is only to poſſeſs mankind with a juſt opinion of the whole Inſtauration for a time, that they may wait with patience, the iſſue and event thereof, upon ſolid aſſurances of ſome conſiderable benefit and advantage from it, when it's ſcope ſhall come to be well underſtood; and thence it proceeds diſtinctly to obviate all the objections and falſe ſuſpicions which

as he could wiſh, and wrote him a letter thereupon, which certainly does honour to both their

may be raiſed about it, through the prevailing notions and prejudices drawn from religious conſideration, thoſe of abſtract ſpeculation, natural prudence, diſtruſt, levity, &c. thus endeavouring to pacify and allay every wind of oppoſition: to render this preparation ſtill more compleat and perfect, the next thing is to raiſe the mind from the languor and torpidity it may contract from the apparent miraculous nature of the thing, and as this wrong diſpoſition of the mind cannot be rectified without the diſcovery of cauſes; the work proceeds to mark out all the impediments, which have hitherto perverſly retarded and blocked the way of true Philoſophy, and thus makes it appear no wonder at all, that mankind ſhould have been ſo long entangled and perplexed with errors. When the ways of removing theſe impediments are ſhewn, there follows a chain of arguments for eſtabliſhing a ſolid foundation of hope, for the better ſucceſs of genuine and ſerviceable Philoſophy in future; for it is hereby demonſtrated, that tho' the interpretation of nature intended by the Inſtauration may indeed be difficult, yet much the greater parts of the difficulties attending it, are in the power of man to remove, as ariſing, not from the nature of the ſenſes and things themſelves, but only require that the mind be rectified, in order to their removal; and this firſt general part concludes, with an account of the excellence of the end in view. The preparatory part being thus diſpatched, the work proceeds to the buſineſs of information, the perfecting of the underſtanding, and the delivery of the art of working with this new machine in the interpretation of nature: This is laid down in three ſeveral branches, with regard to the ſenſe, the memory, and the reaſon, each whereof is aſſiſted in it's turn. This work he addreſſed to his Majeſty, who, in his letter dated October 16, 1620 (86), tells him that he could not have made him a more acceptable preſent, and that for his part he could not expreſs his thanks better, than by informing him of the reſolution he had taken to read it through with care and attention, tho' he ſhould ſteal ſome hours from his ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read, as his Lordſhip had to write it, with many other gracious expreſſions, which fully demonſtrate how much the Chancellor was in the King's good graces, and how high an eſteem he had for his parts and learning. The famous Sir Henry Wotton, to whom his Lordſhip ſent three copies of this book, wrote him a large letter of praiſe in return, which, as we have no room for complements, we ſhall omit. He received the like tribute of commendation from ſuch as were the moſt learned, or ſo affected to be thought, in this and in the neighbouring nations; yet after all, this performance was rather praiſed than read, and more generally applauded than underſtood. This produced a kind of latent cenſure, a ſort of owl-like criticiſm that durſt not abide day-light: Honeſt Ben. Johnſon produced this to the world a little after our author's death, when he very generouſly, as well as judiciouſly, gave this character of the *Novum Organum* (87): 'That tho' 'by moſt ſuperficial men, who cannot get beyond 'the title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated or underſtood, really openeth all defects of learning whatſoever and [illegible] book,

Qui longum noto ſcriptori prorogat ævum.
To lateſt times ſhall hand the author's name.

We need not wonder at this, when we conſider the pains it coſt the noble Verulam, for Dr Rawley aſſures us, that he had ſeen twelve copies reviſed, altered, and corrected year by year, before it was reduced into the form in which it was publiſhed (88). We muſt however allow that it is not abſolutely perfect, as appears from what a moſt ingenious and judicious writer has delivered upon it, with that modeſty, circumſpection, and good ſenſe, which is diſcernible in all his writings: The perſon I mean, is the late learned and excellent Mr Baker of St John's College in Cambridge, who allows, that my Lord Bacon, ſaw clearer into the defects of the art of reaſoning than moſt men did, and being neither ſatisfied with the vulgar Logick, nor with the reformations that were made; ſuitable to his vaſt and enterprizing genius, attempted a Logick wholly new and plain, which is laid down in his *Novum Organum* (89). 'The way of ſyllogizing, ſays he, ſeemed to him very 'fallacious, and too dependent upon words to be much 'relied on, his ſearch was after things, and therefore 'he brought in a new way of arguing from induction, 'and that grounded upon obſervation and experiments:' But the ſame gentleman obſerves, 'that this 'plan, as laid by him, looks liker an univerſal art 'than a diſtinct Logick, and the deſign is too great, 'and the induction too large to be made by one man, 'or any ſociety of men in one age, if at all practicable. For whatever opinion he might have of the 'concluſiveneſs of this way, one croſs circumſtance in 'an experiment would as eaſily overthrow his induction, 'as an ambiguous word would diſorder a ſyllogiſm; 'and a man needs only make a trial in any part of 'natural hiſtory, as left us by my Lord Bacon, to ſee 'how concluſive his induction was like to have been. 'To ſay nothing, that notwithſtanding his blaming 'the common logicks, as being too much ſpent in 'words, himſelf runs into the fault he condemns, 'for what elſe can we make of his *Idola Tribus*, *Idola 'Specus*, *Fori*, *Theatri*; or of his *inſtantiæ ſolitariæ*, '*migrantes*, *oſtenſivæ*, *clandeſtinæ*, *conſtitutivæ*, &c. 'but fine words put to expreſs very common and 'ordinary things? After the way of free-thinking had 'been laid open by my Lord Bacon, it was ſoon 'after greedily followed; for the underſtanding affects freedom as well as the will, and men will purſue liberty though it ends in confuſion.' There is certainly a great deal of truth in what Mr Baker ſays, with regard to the conſequences of Lord Verulam's Philoſophy, and the manner in which it has been proſecuted; but ſurely this ought not to be imputed to him, who, if I underſtand him at all, was of all philoſophical writers the leaſt addicted to free-thinking. Of this opinion is the famous Morhof (90), who beſtows the higheſt praiſes on the work of which we are now ſpeaking, making no ſcruple to declare, that he had found but very little in the books ſince written by Engliſhmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon, the extent of whoſe genius ſtruck him with admiration, as it muſt do every man who takes the pains to underſtand him; becauſe, tho' this new Logick of his be very difficult, and requires much ſtudy and application to maſter it, yet it leads to the knowledge of things and not of words. Mr Voltaire, in his Letters concerning the Engliſh nation (91), remarks, 'That the 'moſt ſingular and the beſt of all his pieces, is that 'which is moſt uſeleſs and leaſt read, I mean, ſays 'my author, his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*, this 'is the ſcaffold with which the new Philoſophy was 'raiſed, and when the edifice was built, part of it 'at leaſt, the ſcaffold was no longer of ſervice. The 'Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, 'but then he knew, and pointed out the ſeveral paths 'that led to it. He had deſpiſed in his younger years 'the thing called Philoſophy in the univerſities, 'and did all that lay in his power to prevent thoſe 'ſocieties of men, inſtituted to improve human reaſon, 'from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors 'of *vacuum*, their ſubſtantial forms, and all thoſe impertinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered 'venerable, but which had been made ſacred by their 'being ridiculouſly blended with religion.' There cannot be any thing more honourable for the memory of this great perſon, than the teſtimony of the writer before mentioned, who, it is certain, has not ſhewn too great a readineſs to praiſe or commend any body, and much leſs the Engliſh authors, whom, except Newton, he ſeems to applaud with reluctance. There is however one thing in his judgment of this work, which deſerves to be particularly conſidered, and that is, his compariſon of it to a ſcaffold, which it cannot be denied, is at once very juſt and very ſignificant; but then it is not very eaſy to know, what this great Critick means by repreſenting it as uſeleſs, and aſſigning that as a reaſon, why *this treatiſe is now* ſo little read or underſtood. The very contrary of this ſeems to be the fact: The new Philoſophy ſtands like a vaſt magnificent palace, in ſome places half finiſhed, in others the walls carried up to a moderate height,

(86) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 704.

(87) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(88) See Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*.

(89) Reflections upon Learning, chap. v. p. 71, 72.

(90) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 1, 2, & ſeq.

(91) Letter vii.

their memories (*s*). He received alſo the complements of many learned men on the ſame ſubject, and had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with the general reception of a work, which coſt him ſo much time and pains. The King's affairs were by this time come to ſuch a paſs, that notwithſtanding all the labour that his Council had beſtowed in regulating his expences and revenues, a Parliament was not only expedient but neceſſary, and this in no man's judgment more than in that of the Chancellor, who was always deſirous of governing according to the Conſtitution, and who valued himſelf particularly upon his abilities in managing ſuch aſſemblies (*t*). When the calling a Parliament was reſolved upon, he was directed to conſult with the proper perſons, about the means moſt likely to render that meaſure ſafe and ſalutary for the King and kingdom, and accordingly taking to his aſſiſtance the two Chief-Juſtices, Montague and Hobart, and Serjeant Crewe, they, after mature deliberation, agreed upon four points, which the Chancellor repreſented in a letter to his Majeſty. The firſt was looking carefully into the grievances formerly complained of, and examining into ſuch things of a like nature, as might probably afford room for new complaints. The ſecond was, the ſettling a proclamation, explaining the cauſes which at that juncture moved his Majeſty to call a Parliament, ſo as to quiet and conciliate the minds of the nation. The third related to the admonitions that might be fitly given, as to the choice of members. The fourth referred to commonwealth bills, as his Lordſhip called them, a phraſe which I take to be equivalent to popular laws, as they are now ſtiled (*u*). The King was extremely well pleaſed with this advice, for which the Marquis of Buckingham returned him his Majeſty's thanks, and recommended to him the drawing of ſuch a proclamation, which he accordingly performed, and ſent it to his Majeſty, after it had received the approbation of Sir Edward Coke, the two Chief-Juſtices, and Serjeant Crewe. We have it ſtill extant in his Works, and it muſt be allowed, that never any thing of it's kind ſurpaſſed it; however it did not entirely pleaſe the King, who thought it too long, and that it told the people too much of what ought to be reſerved for his Majeſty's ſpeech and his own, at the opening of the Parliament (*w*). It was therefore contracted, and only the ſubſtance of it retained, in the proclamation iſſued for calling the Parliament, on the ſixth of November following. But after all it was found impoſſible to put things in order by that time, which made another proclamation neceſſary, which was referred to his Lordſhip to draw, and ſo happily he ſucceeded therein, that the King declared he thought a word could not be altered in it (*x*). By this proclamation the meeting of the Parliament was put off to the thirtieth of January following, and in the mean time, ſeveral ſteps were taken to pleaſe the people, in order to render this meeting between the King and his great Council, more agreeable to all parties. Amongſt theſe, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, his Majeſty by his letters patents of that date, raiſed Sir Francis Bacon, Knt. Baron of Verulam, to the dignity of a Viſcount, by the ſtyle and title of Viſcount St Albans in the county of Hertford. In the preamble to this patent the King ſets forth, that as he thought nothing could adorn his government more, than raiſing of worthy perſons to honour, or afford greater encouragement to virtue and publick ſpirit, he, after mature deliberation, had thought fit to advance his dearly beloved and faithful Counſellor, deſcended from an antient and honourable family, ſo much the more illuſtrious, by his ſucceeding his moſt worthy and prudent father in the office of Keeper of the Great-Seal, to which, through various offices of inferior dignity, from a juſt experience of his capacity and fidelity, he had by his Majeſty been led, and reflecting finally on the acceptable and faithful ſervices, which as well by his aſſiduity and integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice, as by his care and prudence in the diſcharge of his duty as a Privy-Counſellor, and in the management of his revenue, without reſpect either to private advantage or vain breath of popularity, to a higher degree of nobility (*y*). At the ſame time this new dignity was granted to him and his heirs male, there was annexed to it a ſmall penſion out of the cuſtoms. The witneſſes to this patent, were more illuſtrious in ſome reſpects than thoſe to the former. For beſides the Prince of Wales, there were the Viſcount Maundevile, Lord High-Treaſurer; the Earl of Worceſter, Lord Privy-Seal; the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High-Admiral; Marquis Hamilton, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Rutland, Montgomery, Leiceſter, March, Holderneſs,

(*s*) See the contents of this letter in note [*EE*].

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 39.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 702.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 708.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 712.

(*y*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 279.

height, in ſome, juſt raiſed above the ground, in others, hardly marked out; what reaſon therefore for taking away the ſcaffold? Or rather, what reaſon to expect the work ſhould ever be finiſhed, at leaſt thoroughly and regularly, if the ſcaffold be taken away? The truth of the matter is, that ſeveral who have wrought upon this noble ſtructure ſince; have erected ſcaffolds for their own uſe, of their own contrivance, and when they have in ſome meaſure finiſhed the part they were about, taken them away, and concealed from the eye of the publick their manner of working (92). Others again have attempted to raiſe ſcaffolds from the lights received from our author, and ſo far as they have copied them, have done this with great ſucceſs. But Lord Verulam's was a more noble deſign, he knew that the life of one man, could not ſuffice for the finiſhing, even a ſmall part of this ſtately edifice, and therefore he ſpent ſo many years in conſtructing this ſcaffold, which might have ſerved for perfecting and compleating the whole work, if others had been as diligent in purſuing his plan, as he was ſtudious and careful, in rendering it every way fit for the uſe which he deſigned. This is the true account, and the only true one, of the *Novum Organum*, and one may ſafely venture to aſſert, that if his deſign had been purſued with that ſteadineſs which it deſerved, the new Philoſophy had been by this time, not only more perfect than it is, but more perfect than it is ever like to be, unleſs the learned at laſt diſcern their error in this reſpect, and are content to make uſe of the helps he has left them, which, the more they are conſidered, the more they are tried, will be found more adequate to the great deſign of their author, than well can be imagined.

(92) See Dr Shaw's Appendix to the *Novum Organum*, in his Abridgment of Lord Bacon's Works.

Holderneſs, and many others. He was likewiſe ſolemnly inveſted in this new dignity, the Lord Crewe carrying the robe of ſtate before him, which robe was held up by the Marquis of Buckingham, and the new Viſcount gave the King ſolemn thanks for all the favours he had beſtowed upon him, which he particularly recapitulated (*z*). On the thirtieth of January he opened the Parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, and made another larger at the receiving Sir Thomas Richardſon, whom the Commons choſe for their Speaker (*a*). The King had great hopes of this Parliament, from the general inclination ſhewn by the people, to enable his Majeſty to aſſiſt his ſon-in-law, who was not only deprived of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he was elected, but alſo in great danger of utterly loſing his hereditary dominions, whence his Majeſty flattered himſelf, that knowing his neceſſities, they would immediately apply themſelves to the means of relieving them, without digreſſing into any diſagreeable enquiries after grievances. But in this he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken, for, like a true Houſe of Commons, they were reſolved to expreſs their loyalty to their Prince, by chearfully voting a ſupply, and to teſtify their zeal for the ſervice of their country, by examining diligently all the complaints that were laid before them (*b*). Theſe in a few days became numerous enough, ſo that early in the month of February, many of the Agents of the Marquis of Buckingham and his family, who had been buſy in obtaining patents, and very active in making a bad uſe of them, found themſelves in the utmoſt danger of being brought to a ſevere account (*c*). Nor was it long, before the Houſe ſaw cauſe to extend their enquiries further, and to appoint a Committee, for examining into the proceedings of the Courts of juſtice, which exceedingly alarmed the Miniſters, and is thought to have given riſe to thoſe reſolutions, which made way for the ruin of the Chancellor, which ſo ſoon followed his advancement in title. For upon the fifteenth of March 1620-1, Sir Robert Phillips reported, from the Committee appointed to enquire into the abuſes in the courts of juſtice, that two charges of corruption had been brought againſt the Lord-Chancellor (*). The firſt was in the caſe of one Awbrey, who finding a ſuit he had in Chancery to go on very ſlowly, he was adviſed to quicken it, by giving the Lord-Chancellor one hundred pounds. The poor gentleman being in great diſtreſs, took up this money of an uſurer, and when he had got it, he ſent it by Sir George Haſtings and Mr Jenkins, to the Lord-Chancellor, going with them when they carried it. They took the money in to the Lord-Chancellor, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn, and when they came out again, Sir George Haſtings told Mr Awbrey, that his Lordſhip was thankful, and aſſured him of good ſucceſs in his buſineſs, which however he had not (*d*). The other caſe was of one Mr Egerton, and it came out to be, that he had mortgaged his eſtate for four hundred pounds, which he ſent by Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young, who preſented it to the Lord-Chancellor, telling him, that it was in gratitude for the aſſiſtance he had given this gentleman when he was Attorney-General. At firſt his Lordſhip refuſed it, ſaying it was too much, but at laſt he accepted it, as it was for favours paſt, and theſe gentlemen coming out to Mr Egerton, told him, that their Lord ſaid he did not only enrich him, but laid a tie upon him, to aſſiſt him in all juſt and lawful buſineſs. Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young being examined, acknowledged the receiving and delivery of a purſe, but pretended that they knew not what was in it, but it could not be made appear to the Committee, that Mr Egerton had at that time any cauſe depending, either in the Chancery or the Star-Chamber (*e*). Sir Robert Phillips in making the report, proceeded not only with caution and decency, but with viſible reluctancy and tenderneſs towards the Lord-Chancellor. The Houſe ordered a farther enquiry by the Committee, and on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, Sir Robert Phillips reported ſome ſtronger circumſtances; Sir George Haſtings, who was himſelf a member, becoming a witneſs, and teſtifying poſitively to both facts. Sir Edward Sackville, and Mr Finch, then Recorder of London, ſpoke in favour of the Chancellor, and endeavoured to extenuate the thing, though now it appeared plainly that there were cauſes depending in both caſes, and that Dr Field, Biſhop of Llandaff, was deeply concerned in the laſt mentioned buſineſs; Sir Edward Coke, his Lordſhip's old antagoniſt, preſſed for the ſending up of the complaint to the Houſe of Lords, but without any heat or bitterneſs (*f*); after the debate, the Houſe *ordered*, 'That the complaint of Awbrey 'and Egerton againſt the Lord-Chancellor and the Biſhop for corruption, for the 100, 'and 400 pounds, and the recognizance, ſhould be drawn up by Sir Robert Phillips, 'Sir Edward Coke, Mr Noy, and Sir Dudley Diggs, and that the ſame be related to 'the Lords without prejudice or opinion, at a conference, and that a meſſage be ſent 'to the Lords for this purpoſe, on Monday the nineteenth.' Accordingly, on that day the complaint was made to the Houſe of Lords, in the manner preſcribed by the Commons (*g*), and when it came to be debated, the Marquis of Buckingham preſented a letter from the Lord-Chancellor, who was then ſick, wherein he deſired four things of their Lordſhips; Firſt, that they would maintain him in their good opinion till his cauſe was heard. Secondly, that they would give him a convenient time, as well in regard of his ill ſtate of health, as of the importance of the charge, to make his defence. Thirdly, that they would allow him to except againſt the credit of the witneſſes againſt him, to croſs-examine them, and to produce evidence in his own defence. And fourthly, that in caſe there came any more petitions of the like nature, that their Lordſhips would not take any prejudice at their number, conſidering they were againſt a Judge, that made

(*z*) Camden's Annals, Jan. 2, 1621.

(*a*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 720.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. I. p. 20.

(*c*) Hacker's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons of that date.

(*d*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 371. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 21. Camden's Annals of King James I.

(*e*) See this affair fully explained in the note [*GG*].

(*f*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 373. See alſo the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD). Annals of King James, p. 53.

(*g*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 377. Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 448. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 28.

two thouſand orders and decrees in a year (*h*). Upon which expoſtulatory letter, anſwer was ſent on the twentieth of March unto the Lord-Chancellor, *viz.* 'That the Lords received his 'Lordſhip's letter, delivered unto them by the Lord-Admiral. They intended to pro-'ceed in his cauſe now before their Lordſhips, according to the right rules of juſtice, 'and they ſhall be glad if his Lordſhip ſhall clear his honour therein, to which end they 'pray his Lordſhip to provide for his juſt defence.' The very next day there came up freſh complaints from the Houſe of Commons, which induced their Lordſhips to appoint a ſelect Committee to take examinations, and to report the proofs in reſpect to theſe and other inſtances of corruption in the Lord-Chancellor, which Committee reported above twenty ſeveral facts, in which he had taken bribes to the amount of ſeveral thouſands of pounds (*i*). It may be very eaſily conceived, that things were now grown too high to be got over, eſpecially in ſuch times, by any interpoſition from the court. However his Lordſhip applied to the Marquis of Buckingham, as appears by his letter of the twenty-fifth of March, to preſent another which was encloſed to the King, wherein he paſſionately laments his misfortunes, and with all poſſible ſubmiſſion intreats his Majeſty's favour. In conſequence of this letter he had an audience of the King, who received him, as appears by another letter of thanks, with great tenderneſs and compaſſion (*k*). To ſay the truth, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that his maſter was very unfeignedly ſorry for his calamity, ſince he tells us himſelf, that the King ſhed tears on the firſt news of it, and it very evidently appears from the circumſtances before related, that he had every kind of aſſiſtance given him, and all the ſigns of friendſhip and protection afforded, that was either in the power of the Marquis of Buckingham, or even in the King his maſter, who actually procured a receſs of Parliament, in hopes that ſome means might be found to ſoften things a little (*l*). But that method, though probably dictated by himſelf, had a quite contrary effect; for the more time there was allowed to enquire into and examine this matter, the plainer the facts appeared, and the higher the clamour roſe againſt him. This it was, that very probably determined the Lord-Chancellor to depart from his firſt deſign, and inſtead of entering into a long and formal defence, to throw himſelf on the mercy of the Houſe, by an humble ſubmiſſion which he drew up in writing, and prevailed upon the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I, to preſent to the Houſe of Peers, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fourth of April, when this matter came again under their Lordſhip's conſideration. There never was perhaps any piece of this kind, penned with more beauty of ſtyle or ſtrength of expreſſion, which ſhews that even in the depth of miſery, he was able to command his thoughts and his pen too, ſo as to expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom (*m*) [*FF*]. This ſubmiſſion of his being read, as alſo the report of the Lords Committees

(*b*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685.

(*i*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 381. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713. Sanderſon's Life of King James I, p. 500.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, 714, 715.

(*l*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 51.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 716. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 501. Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 159.

[*FF*] *Expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom.*] There is no great wonder in this ſudden and dreadful fall of the Chancellor St Albans. He was attacked in a conſtitutional way, in conſequence of a regular inquiry ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons, and conducted not only with calmneſs and juſtice, but with great decency and tenderneſs. It does not appear that this was either contrived or carried on by any particular perſon, or encouraged or ſupported by any faction, though there did not want warm ſpirits enough in the Houſe, but they ſeem to have had other perſons, and other things in their view, and to have been forced out of their way in taking notice of this; for as his Lordſhip truly obſerves, he was at the opening of this parliament in the greateſt credit of any man with both houſes, but at that time it ſeems no man's credit was too ſtrong for juſtice, and of this he was ſo ſenſible, that he determined to try how far a moving and ſubmiſſive letter might prevail in his favour, which he reſolved to ſend, rather than venture upon a dangerous defence: This letter was dated the twenty-ſecond of April, 1621. He deſired firſt of their Lordſhips a benign interpretation of what he ſhall write, ſince words that came from waſted ſpirits and an oppreſſed mind, are more ſafe in being depoſited in a noble conſtruction, than in being circled in any reſerved caution. He tells them then, that in the midſt of a ſtate of as great affliction, as he thinks a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) he ſhall begin with the profeſſing of gladneſs in ſome things; the firſt is, that hereafter the greatneſs of a Judge or Magiſtrate ſhall be no ſanctuary or protection of guiltineſs, which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world; the next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing that is in likeneſs of corruption, (though it were at a great diſtance) as from a ſerpent, which tendeth to the purging of the courts of juſtice, and the reducing them to their true honour and ſplendor; he obſerves, that he underſtood that ſome juſtification had been expected from him, and therefore he had choſen one only juſtification inſtead of all others, out of the juſtification of Job; for after the clear ſubmiſſion and confeſſion which he ſhould then make to their Lordſhips, he hoped he might ſay and juſtify with Job in theſe words, *I have not hid my ſin as did* Adam, *nor concealed my fault in my boſom*: That it reſted therefore, that without fig leaves, he ſhould ingenuouſly confeſs and acknowledge, that having underſtood the particulars of the charge, not formally before the Houſe, but enough to inform his conſcience and memory, he found matters ſufficient and full, both to move him to deſert his defence, and to move their Lordſhips to condemn and cenſure him: That he would not trouble their Lordſhips by ſingling thoſe particulars which he thought might fall off; *Quid te exempta juvat de millibus una?* nor prompt them to obſerve upon the proofs, where they come not home, on the ſcruple touching the credit of the witneſſes; neither would he preſent to their Lordſhips, how far a defence in diverſe things might extenuate the offence, in reſpect of the time and manner of the gift, or the like circumſtances, but only leave thoſe things to ſpring out of their own noble thoughts and obſervations of the evidence and examinations themſelves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God ſhould put it into their minds, and to ſubmit himſelf wholly to their piety and grace; that having ſpoken to their Lordſhips as Judges, he ſhould ſay a few words to them as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending his cauſe to their noble minds and magnanimous affections, that their Lordſhips were not ſimply Judges, but parliamentary Judges, and had a farther extent of arbitrary power than other courts, and if their Lordſhips were not tied by ordinary courſes of courts, or precedents in points of ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation; and yet if any thing which he ſhould move might be contrary to their worthy ends of introducing a reformation, he ſhould not ſeek it: That his humble deſire was, that his Majeſty would take the ſeal into his hands, which would be a great downfall, and might ſerve, he hoped, in itſelf for an expiation of his faults; therefore if mercy and mitigation were in their Lordſhip's power, and did

Committees, containing the collections of his corruptions and the proofs, they ſent a copy of the former but not of the latter, by Mr Baron Denham, and Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, to the Lord-Chancellor, with this meſſage from their Lordſhips, *viz.* That they did not conceive his ſubmiſſion to be full enough, for three reaſons; 1. His Lordſhip confeſſeth not any particular bribe or corruption. 2. Nor ſhews how his Lordſhip heard the charge thereof. 3. The confeſſion, ſuch as it is, is afterwards extenuated in the ſame ſubmiſſion, and therefore their Lordſhips have ſent him a particular of the charge, and do expect his anſwer to the ſame with all convenient expedition. Unto which meſſage the Lord-Chancellor anſwered, that he would return the Lords an anſwer with ſpeed. And on the twenty-fifth of April, the Lords conſidered of the Lord-Chancellor's ſaid anſwer, ſent unto their meſſage of the day before, and ſent a ſecond meſſage unto his Lordſhip to this effect, by the ſaid Mr Baron Denham, and Mr Attorney-General, *viz.* The Lords having received a doubtful anſwer unto the meſſage their Lordſhips ſent him yeſterday, therefore they now ſend to him again, to know of his Lordſhip directly and preſently, Whether his Lordſhip will make his confeſſion, or ſtand upon his defence? Anſwer returned by the ſaid meſſengers, *viz.* The Lord-Chancellor will make no manner of defence to the charge, but meaneth to acknowledge corruption, and to make a particular confeſſion to every point, and after that an humble ſubmiſſion, but humbly craves liberty, that where the charge is more full than he finds the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in ſuch particulars, the charge being brief, and containing not all circumſtances. The Lords ſent the ſame meſſengers back again to the Lord-Chancellor, to let him know, that their Lordſhips had granted him until Monday the thirtieth of April, by ten in the morning, to ſend ſuch confeſſion and ſubmiſſion, as his Lordſhip intended to make (*n*). Accordingly on that day, the Lord-Chancellor ſent a very full and particular confeſſion and ſubmiſſion to the Houſe, in which he acknowledges moſt, but extenuates ſome, of the many inſtances of corruption with which he had been charged, and ſo once more threw himſelf entirely upon the mercy of his Peers (*o*) [*G G*]. The Lords having heard this paper read, the following members of

(*n*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 551.

(*o*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383.

no ways croſs their noble ends, why ſhould he not hope of their favour and commiſeration? 'Your 'Lordſhips, ſays he, will be pleaſed to behold your 'chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of 'incomparable clemency, and whoſe heart is inſcru-'table for wiſdom and goodneſs. Your Lordſhips 'will remember, that there ſat not theſe hundred 'years before a Prince in your houſe, and never 'ſuch a Prince, whoſe Preſence deſerves to be made 'memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and 'juſtice: Your Lordſhips are either Nobles, (and 'compaſſion ever breathed in the veins of noble 'blood) or reverend Prelates, who are the ſervants 'of him, who would not break the bruiſed reed, 'nor quench the ſmoaking flax; you all ſit upon one 'high ſtage, and therefore, cannot but be more ſenſible 'of the changes of the world, and of the fall of any 'of high place; neither will your Lordſhips forget 'that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia ho-'minis*; and that the beginning of reformations, 'hath the contrary power of the pool of Betheſda, 'for that had ſtrength to cure him only that was 'firſt caſt in; and this hath commonly ſtrength to '*hurt* him only that is firſt *caſt* in; and for my part, 'I wiſh it may ſtay there, and go no farther. Laſtly, 'I aſſure myſelf, your Lordſhips have a noble feeling 'of me, as a member of your own body, and one 'that in this very ſeſſion had ſome taſte of your 'loving affections, which I hope was not a lighten-'ing before the death of them, but rather a ſpark 'of that grace, which now in the concluſion will 'more appear. And now therefore, my humble ſuit 'to your Lordſhips is, that my penitent ſubmiſſion 'may be my ſentence, and the loſs of the Seal my 'puniſhment, and that your Lordſhips will ſpare my 'further ſentence, but recommend me to his Ma-'jeſty's grace and pardon for all that is paſt.'

[*GG*] *Once more threw himſelf entirely on the mercy of the Peers.*] In almoſt all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of the Viſcount of St Albans, there has been not only a veil drawn over theſe tranſactions, (which was needleſs and to no purpoſe) but great pains have been likewiſe taken to inſinuate, that he was rather ſuſpected than guilty, that he might be more properly ſaid to be given up than convicted; and on the whole, that he ought to be conſidered as a court ſacrifice, and not as a victim to publick juſtice. But let us conſider whether this be right? An author who takes upon him to tranſmit the actions of great men to poſterity, ought to be ſure to have no ſervile complaiſance, no party-views in favour of a court. And why? Becauſe this is inconſiſtent with that regard for truth, which is neceſſary, and indeed, almoſt the one thing neceſſary for an Hiſtorian; but if this be ſo, ought not the ſame regard to be always paid to truth, or can there be any merit in ſacrificing courts, kings, and nations, to any favourite character of a man, great in reſpect to parts, or high in reference to his ſtation? ſurely there is not, and therefore it is more than time that the world ſhould be undeceived in this matter: It would take up a great deal of time to go through the whole charge and defence, or rather apology; we will therefore take the firſt article of each, and leave it to the reader's judgment, after ſeeing what was ſaid againſt him, and what he was able to ſay for himſelf, whether this great man was ſuſpected only, or whether he was really guilty (93).

(93) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 685. Sanderſon's Life of King James, p. 501.

The Commons, at a conference with the Lords, which was reported by the Lord-Treaſurer, then Viſcount Mandeville, formerly Sir James Montague, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſtated their charge thus (94). 'The caſe of Edward Egerton 'is this: There being diverſe ſuits between Edward 'Egerton and Sir Rowland Egerton in the Chancery, 'Edward Egerton preſented his Lordſhip a little after 'he was Lord-Keeper, with a baſon and ewer of the 'value of 50 pounds and upwards, and afterwards 'he delivered into Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard 'Young, 400 pounds in gold; Sir Richard Young 'preſented it his Lordſhip, who took it and poiſed 'it, and ſaid it was too much; and returned anſwer, 'that Mr Egerton had not only enriched him, but 'had laid a tie upon his Lordſhip to do him favour 'in all his juſt cauſes. The proofs for this are the 'teſtimony of Sir George Haſtings, and the teſti-'mony of Mereſil, a Scrivener, thus far, that he 'took up 700 pounds for Mr Egerton, Mr Egerton 'then telling him, that a great part of it was to be 'given to the Lord-Chancellor, and that Mr Egerton 'afterwards told him, that the 400 pounds in gold 'was given to the Lord-Chancellor. At this con-'ference was farther declared ſomewhat relating to a 'Biſhop, who was touched in this buſineſs upon the 'bye, whoſe function was much honoured, but his 'perſon touched herein. The buſineſs depending 'between the Egertons being ordered againſt Edward 'Egerton, he procured a new reference thereof from 'the King to the Lord-Chancellor, his Lordſhip de-'manded the parties to bound in 6000 marks to ſtand 'to his Lordſhip's award; they having entered into 'that bond, his Lordſhip awarded the matter againſt 'Edward Egerton for Sir Rowland Egerton; but 'Edward Egerton refuſing to ſtand to the ſaid award; 'a new bill was exhibited in the Chancery, and there-

(94) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 380. Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 450.

upon

of that illuſtrious aſſembly, *viz.* the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, the Biſhop of Durham, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Lord Wentworth, and Lord Cromwell, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, the Lord Chandois, and the Lord Hunſdon, were ſent to him the ſaid Lord-Chancellor, and ſhewed him the ſaid confeſſion, and told him, that the Lords do conceive it to be an ingenuous and full confeſſion, and demanded of him, Whether it be his own hand that is ſubſcribed to the ſame? and Whether he will ſtand to it or not? Unto which the ſaid Lord-Chancellor anſwered, My Lords, It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beſeech your Lordſhips to be merciful to a broken reed. The which anſwer being reported to the Houſe, it was agreed by the Houſe, to move his Majeſty to ſequeſter the Seal (*p*). And the Lords intreated the Prince's Highneſs, that he would be pleaſed to move the King, whereunto his Highneſs condeſcended, and the ſame Lords which went to take the acknowledgment of the Lord-Chancellor's hand, were appointed to attend the Prince to the King, with ſome other Lords added. And his Majeſty did not only ſequeſter the Seal, but awarded a new commiſſion unto the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, to execute the place of Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, as Speaker in the Lords Houſe. It was on the firſt of May, as appears by a very particular account of the whole tranſaction, drawn up by the King's order, and inrolled in Chancery, that his Lordſhip delivered up the Great-Seal with the greateſt decency, as well as with the higheſt ſigns of gratitude to the King, for the many favours conferred

(*p*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 386.

' upon his Lordſhip ordered, that this bond of 6000 ' marks, ſhould be aſſigned unto Sir Rowland Egerton, ' and to put the ſame in ſuit in his Lordſhip's name: ' The Biſhop of Llandaff, as a friend to Mr Edward ' Egerton, adviſeth with Randolph Damport, and ' Buttler, (which Buttler is now dead) that they would ' procure a ſtay of decree of that award, and procure ' a new hearing, upon which it was agreed, that the ' ſaid 6000 marks ſhould be given for this, and ſhared ' among them and certain noble perſons: A recogni- ' zance of 10,000 marks was required from Mr Eger- ' ton to the Biſhop for the performance hereof. The ' Biſhop, his ſhare of this 6000 marks was ſo great ' as no courſe of juſtice would allow, to prove this, ' they produce letters of the Biſhop, naming the ſum, ' and ſetting down a courſe how theſe 6000 marks might ' be raiſed; viz. the land in queſtion to be decreed ' for Mr Egerton, and out of that money to be levied, ' and if this were not effected, then the Biſhop, *in ' verbo ſacerdotis*, promiſed to deliver up this re- ' cognizance to be cancelled. The new recognizance ' is ſealed accordingly, and Randolph Damport rides ' to court, and moved the Lord-Admiral for his ' Lordſhip's letter to the Lord-Chancellor herein, ' but his Lordſhip denied to meddle in a cauſe de- ' pending in ſuit; then the ſaid Randolph Damport ' aſſayed to get the King's letter, but failed therein ' alſo; ſo that the good they intended to Mr Egerton ' was not effected, and yet the Biſhop, tho' required, ' refuſed to deliver up the ſaid recognizance, until ' Mr Egerton threatened to complain thereof unto the ' King.

The humble ſubmiſſion and confeſſion of me the Lord-Chancellor.

' Upon adviſed conſideration of the charge de- ' pending into my own conſcience, and calling my ' memory to account, ſo far as I am able, I do plainly ' and ingenuouſly confeſs, that I am guilty of cor- ' ruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myſelf ' upon the grace and mercy of your Lordſhips; the ' particulars I confeſs and declare to be as followeth: ' To the firſt article of the charge, viz. In the cauſe ' between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, ' the Lord-Chancellor received three hundred pounds ' on the part of Sir Rowland Egerton, before he had ' decreed the cauſe. I do confeſs and declare, that ' upon a reference from his Majeſty of all ſuits and ' controverſies between Rowland Egerton and Edward ' Egerton, both parties ſubmitted themſelves to my ' award by recognizances reciprocal in 10,000 marks ' a piece; thereupon after diverſe hearings, I made ' my award with the advice and conſent of my Lord ' Hobart; the award was perfected and publiſhed ' to the parties, which was in February: Then ſome ' days after the three hundred pounds mentioned in ' the charge, were delivered unto me; afterwards ' Mr Edward Egerton flew off from the award: Then ' in Midſummer Term following, a ſuit was begun ' in Chancery by Sir Rowland to have the award ' confirmed, and upon that ſuit was the decree made ' mentioned in the article. The ſecond article in the ' charge, viz. in the ſame cauſe he received from ' Edward Egerton four hundred pounds; I confeſs and ' declare, that ſoon after my coming to the Seal, being ' a time when I was preſented by many, the four ' hundred pounds mentioned in the ſaid charge, was ' delivered unto me in a purſe, and, as I now call to ' mind, by Mr Edward Egerton, but as far I can re- ' member, it was expreſſed by them that brought it, ' to be for favours paſt, and not in reſpect of favours ' to come (95).'

(95) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 383.

It is very evident from his own account of the matter that there was too much ground for this complaint, as indeed there was for moſt of the reſt. The laſt article of the charge was, that he had given way to great exactions by his ſervants, both in reſpect to private ſeals and otherwiſe, for ſealing of injunctions, to which he gave no other anſwer than this, *I confeſs it was a great fault of neglect in me, that I looked no better to my ſervants.* It is very remarkable, that this large and long confeſſion, was ſcarce known to any of our Hiſtorians, who, when they ſpeak of the Chancellor's ſubmiſſion, mean by it that paper, the ſubſtance of which is given in the former note: His Lordſhip concluded all with the following moſt humble and ſubmiſſive prayer.

' This declaration I have made to your Lordſhips ' with a ſincere mind, humbly craving, that if there ' ſhould be any miſtake, your Lordſhips will impute it ' to want of memory, and not to any deſire of mine ' to obſcure truth, or palliate any thing; for I do now ' again confeſs, that in points charged upon me, ' though they ſhould be taken as myſelf have declared ' them, there is a great deal of corruption and neg- ' lect, for which I am heartily ſorry, and ſubmit ' myſelf to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the ' court; for extenuation I will uſe none concerning ' the matters themſelves, only it may pleaſe your ' Lordſhips, out of your nobleneſs, to caſt your eyes ' of compaſſion upon my perſon and eſtate; I was ' never noted for an avaritious man, and the Apoſtle ' ſaith, That covetouſneſs is the root of all evil. I ' hope alſo that your Lordſhips do rather find me ' in the ſtate of grace, for that in all theſe particulars, ' there are few or none that are not almoſt two years ' old, whereas thoſe that have an habit of corruption, ' do commonly wax worſe, ſo that it hath pleaſed ' God to prepare me by precedent degrees of a- ' mendment to my preſent penitency; and for my ' eſtate, it is ſo mean and poor, as my care is now ' chiefly to ſatisfy my debts; and ſo fearing I have ' troubled your Lordſhips too long, I ſhall conclude ' with an humble ſuit unto you, that if your Lordſhips ' proceed to ſentence, your ſentence may not be ' heavy to my ruin, but gracious and mixed with ' mercy, and not only ſo, but that you would be ' noble interceſſors for me to his Majeſty, likewiſe for ' his grace and favour (96).'

(96) Ibid. p. 383, 386.

conferred upon him, and of the utmoſt ſorrow, for his own abuſes of thoſe acts of his Sovereign's kindneſs (*q*). This being reported to the Peers the next day, they reſolved to proceed immediately to ſentence, and thereupon ſent the Gentleman-Uſher, and Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe, to ſummon his Lordſhip before them, from which however he excuſed himſelf on account of ſickneſs, profeſſing that otherwiſe he would willingly have attended them. The Lords reſolved to proceed notwithſtanding, and ſent a meſſage to the Commons to that purpoſe (*r*). Accordingly, on the third of May 1621, the Commons being come to the bar of their Lordſhip's Houſe, their Speaker, Sir Thomas Richardſon, delivered himſelf in the following manner. 'The 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having made 'complaints unto your Lordſhips, of many exorbitant offences of bribery and corruption 'committed by the Lord-Chancellor, underſtand that your Lordſhips are ready to 'give judgment upon him for the ſame; wherefore I, their Speaker, in their name, do 'humbly demand and pray judgment againſt him the ſaid Lord-Chancellor, as the nature 'of his offence and demerits do require.' The Lord-Chief-Juſtice anſwered, 'Mr Speaker, 'Upon complaint of the Commons againſt the Viſcount St Alban's, Lord-Chancellor, 'this high court hath thereby, and by his own confeſſion, found him guilty of the 'crimes and corruptions complained of by the Commons, and of ſundry other crimes 'and corruptions of the like nature. And therefore this high Court having firſt ſum-'moned him to attend, and having his excuſe of not attending by reaſon of infirmity 'and ſickneſs, which he proteſted was not feigned, or elſe he would moſt willingly have 'attended, doth nevertheleſs think fit to proceed to judgment, and therefore this high 'court doth adjudge, That the Lord Viſcount St Albans, Lord-Chancellor of England, 'ſhall undergo fine and ranſom of forty thouſand pounds, that he ſhall be impriſoned 'in the Tower during the King's pleaſure, that he ſhall for ever be incapable of any 'office or employment in the ſtate or commonwealth, that he ſhall never ſit in Par-'liament, or come within the verge of the Court (*s*).' Such was the iſſue of this great affair, and ſuch the ſentence paſſed upon this noble perſon, whereby he had ſcarce any thing left him of his honours except the bare titles, and even theſe he is ſaid to have ſaved by the tenderneſs of the Biſhops. It appears however, that this was entirely owing to a ſtrict and ſteady purſuit of juſtice, though there want not ſome who have refined upon this matter, and attributed the ſeverity of this ſentence to the evil arts of a great Miniſter, the weakneſs of the King, and too great ſubmiſſion in the Viſcount St Albans, in ſupport of which, the opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings (*t*) [*HH*]. After a ſhort confinement in the Tower

(*q*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 296.

(*r*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 383.

(*s*) Ibid. See alſo the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, in Bacon's Works.

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 41.

[*HH*] *The opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings.*] It muſt be allowed, that, conſidering the extraordinary length into which this life has already run, one ought to be tender of entring far into any controverted points; but when I reflect on the importance of ſetting this matter in it's true light, and remember, that hitherto nothing has had a place in theſe memoirs which did not deſerve it, I cannot refrain from ſtating fairly to the reader, and from the beſt authorities, what has been offered in his excuſe. Such as have written critically, or rather politically, of the occurrences of this reign, have endeavoured to repreſent Buckingham, as the great object of the people's hatred, and of the parliament's ill will, one whom at any rate they meant to deſtroy, and to get at whom they were conſtrained to fall upon the Lord Chancellor, who might have delivered himſelf by a prudent and circumſpect defence, if he had not devoted himſelf entirely to the King's commands, and conſequently would inſinuate, that he was reſtrained from this courſe, and abandoned by King James to the fury of the Houſe of Commons, in order to obtain his own ends, and more particularly to ſcreen and ſecure his favourite. The project is far from being ill laid, conſidering the temper of the times, the power of the Miniſter, and the maxims of King James's government; we may add to this, that the Lord Viſcount St Albans himſelf inſinuates in ſome of his letters, that he fell a ſacrifice; that at the beginning of his troubles, as we have ſeen in the text, he at firſt denied things, and after more charges were brought in, deſired that the Lords would not be prejudiced againſt him by the increaſe of complaints, but conſider, that he had ſat in a court, where a multitude of decrees and orders were made in a year, and that it was after all this he made his ſubmiſſion and that particular confeſſion, which has been taken notice of in the preceding note: Yet perhaps this ſtory had never gained ſo much credit, if it had been picked up and pieced together only from caſual expreſſions and phraſes of ambiguous meaning. But the truth is, that we have a long and formal detail of this matter, from one who might certainly be preſumed to know a great deal of it: viz. Mr Buſhel, who was his Lordſhip's ſervant at that time, and who having ruined himſelf by engaging in the working of mines, upon pretence of following his Lord's philoſophical theory on that ſubject, endeavoured, while a priſoner in the Fleet, to apologize for his own conduct, by publiſhing a ſpeech, which he aſſerts his maſter intended to have made to that parliament in which he was undone, upon this ſubject, and for procuring the eſtabliſhment of a Royal Academy of Sciences, on the plan delivered in a work of his, entituled, his New Atlantis, which ſpeech of his, tho' it may contain ſome thoughts of Lord Bacon's, is allowed by the learned Dr Teniſon to be in a great meaſure fictitious, and not only unworthy of that noble perſon, but ſuch as it was impoſſible for him to have drawn. It is at the cloſe of this ſpeech, and in order to acount for it's not being ſpoke, that Mr Buſhel mentions his maſter's fall, which, he ſays, intervened before it could be ſpoken, and thereupon undertakes to give us all the circumſtances of that extraordinary event from his own knowledge, which, if it could be depended upon, muſt be admitted to be a thing extremely worthy our notice; but I at preſent produce it with a view to gratify the inclination of the ingenious reader, of ſeeing whatever has been advanced on this ſubject on either ſide. In this light too, Mr Buſhel's account is a matter of ſome conſequence, ſince it is the fulleſt and moſt circumſtantial that has been hitherto given. Having, as I ſaid, mentioned his Lord's deſign of propoſing ſeveral projects to the Parliament for the publick ſervice, he then proceeeds thus (97). 'Before this could be 'accompliſhed to his own content, there aroſe ſuch 'complaints againſt his Lordſhip, and the then fa-'vourite at court, that for ſome days put the King 'to this Quere, whether he ſhould permit the fa-'vourite of his affection, or the oracle of his coun-'cil, to ſink in his ſervice, whereupon his Lordſhip 'was ſent for by the King, who, after ſome diſcourſe, 'gave him this poſitive advice, to ſubmit himſelf to 'his Houſe of Peers, and that (upon his princely 'word)

(97) Buſhel's Abridgment of Bacon's Philoſophical Theory, in Mineral Proſecutions, Appendix, p. 5.

Tower he was discharged, and in a little time he applied himself to the King and Marquis

'word) he would then restore him again, if they, '(in their honours) should not be sensible of his me-'rits: Now though my Lord saw his approaching 'ruin, and told his Majesty there was little hopes 'of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were 'to give fire, if he did not plead for himself; yet 'such was his obedience to him from whom he had 'his being, that he resolved his Majesty's will should 'be his only law, and so took leave of him with 'these words, Those that will strike at your Chan-'cellor, (it is much to be feared) will strike at your 'crown, and wished, that as he was then the first, 'so he might be the last of sacrifices. Soon after, '(according to his Majesty's commands) he wrote a 'submissive letter to the House, and sent me to my 'Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loth, at 'my return, to acquaint him with, for alas! his Sovereign's 'favour was not in so high a measure, but he, (like 'the phœnix) must be sacrificed in flames of his own 'raising, and so perished (like Icarus) in that his lofty 'design. The great revenue of his office being lost, 'and his titles of honour saved but by the Bishops 'votes, whereto he replied, that *he was only bound* '*to thank his Clergy*; the thunder of which fatal sen-'tence did much perplex my troubled thoughts as 'well as others, to see that famous Lord, who 'procured his Majesty to call this Parliament, must 'be the first subject of their revengeful wrath, and 'that so unparallelled a master should be thus brought 'upon the publick stage, for the foolish miscar-'riage of his own servants, whereof (with grief of 'heart) I confess myself to be one. Yet shortly after, 'the King dissolved the Parliament, but never re-'stored that matchless Lord to his place, which made 'him then to wish, the many years he had spent in 'state policy and Law study, had been solely de-'voted to true Philosophy; for, (said he) the one, 'at the best, doth but comprehend man's frailty, 'in it's greatest splendour; but the other, the 'mysterious knowledge of all things created in the 'six days work.' Mr Stephens in his introduction, having observed, that the last article in the charge against his Lordship was, *that he had given way to great exactions by his servants*, and that he confessed, *it was a great neglect in him that he looked to them no better*, tells us, that he mentions this the rather, because those writers who excuse the master, lay the greatest blame upon his servants, and there is no doubt but that some of them were very guilty, and that their Lord had that opinion of them, which it is reported his Lordship in the time of his troubles signified, in passing through a room where many of his retinue rising up to salute him, he said, *Sit you down, my masters, your rise hath been my fall* (98). We are told likewise by *Rushworth* in the first volume of his Historical Collections: 'That he treasured 'up nothing for himself or family, but was over in-'dulgent to his servants, and connived at their takings, 'and their ways betrayed him to that error; they 'were profuse and expensive, and had at their com-'mand whatever he was master of. The gifts taken 'were for the most part for interlocutory orders, his 'decrees were generally made with so much equity, 'that, though gifts rendered him suspected for in-'justice, yet never any decree made by him was 'reversed as unjust, as it has been observed by some 'who were well skilled in our laws. To this we 'may add, what he alledges by way of excuse, that 'great part of the gifts, &c. were made as presents, 'in cases where no suits were depending, or a good 'while before they were begun, or after they were 'ended (99). Upon this occasion, says Mr Stephens, who can forbear to observe and lament the weakness and infirmity of human nature? To see a man so far exalted above the common level of his fellow creatures, to sink so far below it; to see a man, who, like Seneca, gave admirable rules for the conduct of life, and condemning the avaritious pursuit after riches, and what is unlike Seneca, condemning them in his own person and yet be defiled thereby. To see a man applauding Sir George Villiers, whilst very young, for despising money where it crossed reason of state or virtue, to take money in his mature age, in opposition to both, and to his own destruction: Above all, to see a great master of Reason and Philosophy, who had been a credit and ornament to the Reformed Religion, to abate the lustre of his example, by submitting to a temptation which many of the Heathen Philosophers had the power to resist. But as his Lordship had the misfortune to be made a memorial for the greatest and the wisest *to take heed lest they fall*; so hath he the good fortune, (which he observes attended three famous writers fallen under the like circumstances) to have the remembrance of this calamity looked on by posterity as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works. The same gentleman also tells us, that the Marquis of Buckingham, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Lionel Cranfield, soon after the accusing of the Chancellor, says, That he hoped that God, who had given that great Lord many other gifts, had also preserved him from being guilty of such crimes; yet that he likewise hoped that the House of Commons would wave their application to the Lords, and go their direct way to the King, who both could and would do them justice (100). Dr Heylyn likewise in his life of Archbishop Laud (101), and Mr Elsing, in a MS. discourse concerning Parliaments, considered the giving up of this great Minister to the Parliament, as a false step made by the King, and a leading card to others soon after: Yet the Committee seemed to be of another opinion, when they told the Peers, that they followed antient precedents, which shewed that greater persons had been accused for the like crimes in Parliament, intimating that they not only went in the way, but also trod in the high road of justice (102). Such writers therefore as reflect on the King's conduct in this particular, seem to have a view to that sort of Machiavellian policy, which admits of no constraint from the laws either of God or man, which, to say no more of it, is a policy to be abhorred by a free people; and the truth is, that King James did not suffer either in fame or in peace, by giving up St Albans to the justice of a Parliament, but by screening others from it; and whoever reads our history with discretion will see, that not giving up ministers to legal prosecutions has done ten times more mischief to the crown, than suffering them to fall under sentences rather too severe; which however, generally speaking, the crown has power to correct or mitigate, and that usually with the approbation of the people. But as his Lordship must have known himself best, and was abundantly inclined, as well as every way capable, to say what might best excuse him, let us hear him to Dr Andrews Bishop of Winchester (103), setting forth the thoughts that kept him in best humour with himself: He observes in that letter, that amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamities in others, and as it savours of vanity to make ourselves highly in our own conceit, so on the other side it is a good sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved; that in this consolation he had not been wanting to himself, and as a Christian, he had tasted through God's great goodness of higher remedies: Having therefore, through the variety of his reading, set before him many examples both of antient and latter times, his thoughts, he confessed, had chiefly staid upon three particulars, as the most eminent and the most resembling, all three persons that had held chief place of authority in their countries, all three ruined not by war, or by any other disaster, but by justice and sentence, as delinquents and criminals, all three famous writers, insomuch as the remembrances of their calamity, is now to posterity but a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of their acts and works, and all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of rising again, since they were every one of them restored with great glory, but to their further ruin and destruction ending in a violent death: These men were Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, persons that he durst not claim affinity with, except the similitude had contracted it; that when he cast his eyes on these examples, he was carried on farther to observe how they bore their fortunes, and principally how they employed their times, being banished and disabled for publick business, to the end that he might learn by them, and that they might be as well his counsellors as his comforters.

(98) Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 54.

(99) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 26.

(100) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 55.

(101) Part the first, p. 64.

(102) Journal of the House of Commons.

(103) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 534.

Whereupon

Marquis of Buckingham, for acceſs to his Majeſty, which he obtained, and becauſe his ſentence reſtrained him from coming within the verge of the Court, the King thought fit to diſpenſe therewith for ſome time, that his Lordſhip might have the better opportunity to take care of his health, and to purſue the proper meaſures of putting his debts into ſome courſe of payment (*u*). The Parliament being prorogued in ſome heat, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſult his Lordſhip, as to the propereſt methods of reforming the courts of juſtice, and taking away other grievances which that Parliament had enquired into, and he thereupon drew up a memorial, which is ſtill extant in his works (*w*). On the thirteenth of September, the King ſigned a licence for him to remain for ſix weeks at Sir John Vaughan's houſe at Parſon's-Green, or at London, as his occaſions ſhould require. On the twentieth of the ſame month, his Majeſty ſigned a warrant to Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, for the aſſignment of his fine to ſuch perſons as he ſhould name, in order to make him the more eaſy as to his debts. On the twelfth of October the King ſigned a warrant for his pardon, (his parliamentary ſentence excepted) which however met with ſome ſtay at the Seal, then in the cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper Williams (*x*). His licence being expired, he would willingly have had it renewed, which however he could not obtain; and therefore was obliged to retire to his ſeat at Gorhambury, at which time probably that accident happened, which has been mentioned as

(*u*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 24.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 719.

(*x*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 25. See alſo his Lordſhip's Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 723.

Whereupon he happened to note how differently their fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially in that point at which he moſt aimed, which was the employing of their times and pens, 'In Cicero, ſays he, I ſaw 'that during his baniſhment (which was almoſt two 'years) he was ſo ſoftened and dejected, as he wrote 'nothing but a few womaniſh epiſtles, and yet in 'mine opinion, he had the leaſt reaſon of the three 'to be diſcouraged, for that although it was judged, 'and judged by the higheſt kind of judgment in form 'of ſtatute or law, that he ſhould be baniſhed, and 'his whole eſtate confiſcated and ſeized, and his 'houſes pulled down, and that it ſhould be highly 'penal for any man to propound a repeal, yet his 'caſe even then had no great blot of ignominy, 'for it was thought but a tempeſt of popularity which 'overthrew him. Demoſthenes contrariwiſe, though 'his cauſe was foul, being condemned for bribery, 'and not ſimple bribery, but bribery in the nature 'of treaſon and diſloyalty, yet nevertheleſs took ſo 'little knowledge of his fortune, as during his ba-'niſhment he did much buſy himſelf and intermeddle 'with matters of ſtate, and took upon him to coun-'cil the ſtate (as if he had been ſtill at the helm) 'by Letters, as appears by ſome epiſtles of his which 'are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned 'for many corruptions and crimes, and baniſhed into 'a ſolitary iſland, kept a mean, and though his 'pen did not freeze, yet he abſtained from intruding 'into matters of buſineſs, but ſpent his time in writing 'books of excellent uſe for all ages, though he might 'have made better choice ſometimes of his dedi-'cations. Theſe examples confirmed me much in 'a reſolution, (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined) 'to ſpend my time wholly in writing, and to put 'forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it 'is that God hath given me, not as heretofore, to 'particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of 'perpetuity, which will not break.' Theſe thoughts ſeem to have dwelt much upon his Lordſhip's mind, ſince he repeated them very nearly in the ſame words to the King, in a letter to him while under his misfortunes (104). But to ſum up the whole matter fairly, and to do juſtice to truth, let it be at whoſe expence it will. Bacon was a very ſtrange man, and has told ſo many improbable ſtories of his maſter, and ſo many ſilly ones of himſelf, that what he ſays deſerves no credit, farther than as it agrees with other evidence (105). The Chancellor himſelf never pretended to be abſolutely innocent, but only that he was leſs guilty, than from the charge brought againſt him might be thought. His Lordſhip ſeems to have had a very particular notion of bribery, he thought it muſt be connected with injuſtice, and therefore if his decrees were upright, he perſuaded himſelf that he was not guilty of that offence, notwithſtanding he had taken money, or preſents of great value, and this diſtinction runs through all his writings on this ſubject; ſo that he was willing to own corruption, though he did not think it amounted, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to the taking bribes (106). This accounts for what Mr Ruſhworth ſays, and for the reflections made thereupon by Mr Stephens: As to his being made a ſacrifice by the King, he meant no more by it than this, that his Majeſty had it in his power to ſave him by diſſolving the parliament, but he did not think that his Majeſty did him any injuſtice, otherwiſe he would not have ſaid, as he did when he reſigned the ſeals, *Rex dedit, culpa abſtulit*, that is, *the King gave, and my own faults have taken away*, with many other expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe (107). The moſt candid and the beſt informed of our hiſtorians, ſtate this matter ſo as to acquit the King of any ſeverity, Camden writes thus (108): 'The Chancellor being con-'victed of bribery pretends, as if being weary of 'honour, he would reſign his place, being much loaded 'with calumnies.' Wilſon, ſpeaking of his ſubmiſſion, ſays, 'His great ſpirit was brought low, and 'this humiliation might have raiſed him again, if 'his offences had not been ſo weighty as to keep him 'down (109).' He had ſaid before, 'His crimes were 'bribery and extortion, which were proved and ag-'gravated againſt him with ſo many circumſtances, 'that they fell very fouly upon him (110).' He ſays afterwards, which ſhews that he was not prejudiced againſt the man (111), 'He was a fit jewel to have 'beautified and adorned a flouriſhing kingdom, if his 'flaws had not diſgraced the luſtre that ſhould have 'ſet him off.' Biſhop Hacket, in his life of the Lord Keeper Williams, has given a large, true, and candid account of this matter: We learn from him, that the King, in the beginning of the Parliament, had ſaid before all the members, *Spare none where you find juſt cauſe to puniſh*. This encouraged the Parliament to attack ſuch as were concerned in monopolies and impoſitions, and together with theſe vermin, ſays my author, the Lord-Chancellor was queſtioned without pity to his excellent parts. The conſequence of this was, that ſuch as were afraid of being brought to juſtice, endeavoured to frighten Buckingham and prejudice the King againſt the Parliament, inſinuating, that he had better take as much or more by his prerogative, than to wait for a ſmall exhibition of money from them, which would cauſe the ruin of his moſt loyal and faithful ſervants (112). But Dean Williams having prepared an antidote to this poiſon, the Parliament was ſuffered to ſit and to go on as it had begun; 'Yet, continues our Prelate, 'they were prorogued at Eaſter from the 27th of 'March to the 18th of April, the Marquis having 'his eye therein upon the Lord-Chancellor, to try 'if time could mitigate the diſpleaſure, which in 'both houſes was ſtrong againſt him: But the leiſure 'of three weeks multiplied a pile of new ſuggeſtions, 'and nothing was preſaged more certain than his 'downfall (113).' Thus in a larger, than a note might ſeem to allow, but in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible for me bring it, I have given the reader the beſt teſtimonies on both ſides, and with great pains have ſet that in a true light, which others have laboured to obſcure: As to ſuch faults in this great man as are imputed only in libels, I do not think them worthy of preſerving, but as I believe them begot by malice, ſhall leave them to periſh in oblivion.

(104) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 722.

(105) Teniſon's Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 97.

(106) See his Letter to the King, printed in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 736; where he ſays, that there was as much difference between his corruption and Sir John Bennet's, as between black and aſh-colour.

(107) Life of Sir Simmond's d'Ewes, written by himſelf MS. p. 58.

(108) Annals of King James, March — 1621.

(109) Life and Reign of King James, p. 735.

(110) Ibid. p. 734.

(111) Ibid. p. 736.

(112) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(113) Ibid. p. 51.

[*II*] *So*

as a proof, that his ſpirits did not ſink with his fortunes. The Prince coming to London, ſaw at a diſtance a coach followed by a conſiderable number of people on horſeback, and upon enquiry, was told it was the Lord St Albans attended by his friends, on which his Highneſs ſaid with a ſmile, *Well! do what we can, this man ſcorns to go out like a ſnuff* (*y*). He had indeed very little reaſon to complain of the Court, ſince his misfortunes roſe entirely from himſelf, and he met with nothing under them, that could heighten or increaſe his ſenſe of them. The King was gracious to him, not only as far as his circumſtances would then give him leave, but to a degree that offended many; the Prince willingly undertook whatever he deſired for his ſervice, and Buckingham ſeems to have been as hearty, and more reſpectful in his friendſhip to him after, than before his fall; theſe circumſtances may be collected from their reſpective writings, and thoſe of Lord Bacon to them (*z*). Publick hiſtories may contain misinformations, ſecret hiſtories are frequently full of wilful miſtakes, but facts from private letters can never miſlead us. There was indeed ſome miſunderſtanding between Viſcount St Albans and the Marquis of Buckingham, but it is very plain, that though offence was taken by the former, it was never meant him by the latter. The caſe was this; after his Lordſhip's fall, the Marquis of Buckingham had a mind to York-Houſe, and made ſome overtures to his Lordſhip for his term in it, which he took ill, and expoſtulated upon it very freely, which was ſo far from provoking the Marquis, that he anſwered him not only with great decency, but alſo with all the marks of concern, that could be expected from their long friendſhip (*a*). It is alſo evident, that his kindneſs towards him was not confined to bare expreſſions, for very ſoon after this, he procured for him the diſcharge of that part of his ſentence which afflicted him moſt, *viz.* his being reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court, which he called an impriſonment, nor was he wanting in any thing elſe, that could well be expected from him. Theſe favours had ſo far ſettled the mind, and raiſed the ſpirits of Lord St Albans, that he ſoon applied himſelf again to his ſtudies with equal diligence and vigour, ſo that in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of King HENRY VII*, which he dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales, a work, which though not abſolutely free from faults, is certainly as well performed as any thing of that kind in our language (*b*). It is true, that after this, his troubles bore very hard upon him, as appears clearly from a very long, very humble, and very paſſionate letter written to the King upon that ſubject, which is without date, but this was owing chiefly to his own circumſtances, which would not allow him to ſettle things to his wiſh, and in ſome meaſure alſo to the King's, which would as little permit him to relieve his Lordſhip in proportion to his wants, or to the kindneſs which he ſtill retained for him. Yet however uneaſy his condition might be, he was, or might have been, far enough from neceſſity, ſince he had a penſion from the crown of twelve hundred pounds a year, and retained his grant from the Alienation-Office, worth ſix hundred pounds a year more, beſides his own eſtate, which was worth ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, all which taken together, might certainly have preſerved him from indigence (*c*). He was however greatly in debt, which ſeems to have been the heavieſt part of his load, and towards the ſatisfaction of this, we are told, he paid eight thouſand pounds after his fall. And yet at his death, he died in debt upwards of twenty-two thouſand pounds (*d*). So that at the time of his writing this letter, he might well be ſuppoſed to owe thirty thouſand, a ſufficient cauſe of uneaſineſs to himſelf, and therefore may be juſtly eſteemed that miſery which touched him ſo deeply. His Lordſhip alſo lived at a great expence even after his fall, notwithſtanding what ſome writers, who, as they lived in or near his time, ought to have known better, have reported to the contrary; theſe things therefore taken together, might very well weigh him down, and keep him low, ſo as to occaſion continual applications to his Majeſty, and to his friends at Court (*e*), which though it might ſeem to be attended with great diſturbance and diſtraction of mind, yet of ſuch a ſingular conſtruction was his Lordſhip's temper, and ſo thoroughly were all paſſions wrought to obedience, that though he was very well able to expreſs his ſollicitude about matters that concerned his intereſt, diſcovered his reſentments with becoming freedom, and willingly paid a juſt tribute of thankfulneſs for the benefits he received, he ſuffered none of theſe to hurry his thoughts to the prejudice of his ſtudies, which he always regarded as the principal occupation of his life (*f*). We have an inſtance of this, which will always do honour to his memory, reported by Dr Rawley, whoſe fidelity is unqueſtionable; one day his Lordſhip was dictating to that Doctor, ſome of his experiments in his *Sylva*. The ſame day he had ſent a friend to Court, to receive for him a final anſwer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred, and he was deſirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed one way or other from the ſuſpenſe of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly, that he muſt thenceforth deſpair of that grant, how much ſoever his fortunes needed it. *Be it ſo*, ſaid his Lordſhip, and then he diſmiſſed his friend very chearfully, with thankful acknowledgments for his ſervice. His friend being gone, he came ſtraightway to Dr Rawley, and ſaid thus to him, *Well, Sir, yon buſineſs won't go on, let us go on with this in our power*; and then he dictated to him afreſh for ſome hours, without the leaſt heſitancy of ſpeech, or diſcernible interuption of thought (*g*). The departure of his friend, the Marquis of Bucks, into Spain, in the beginning of the year

(*y*) Aulicus Coquin. p. 174.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 713, & ſeq.

(*a*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 723, 724.

(*b*) This is contained in the third Volume of his Lordſhip's Works, p. 396.

(*c*) See theſe particulars verified in his own will, at the end of the third Volume of his Works.

(*d*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 57. and the computation of his debts, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Bacon's Works.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 721, & ſeq.

(*f*) See his Lordſhip's Letter to King James about the Chancellor's place, in his Works, Vol. IV. p. 617.

(*g*) Account of his Writings by Teniſon, p. 45, 46.

year 1623, was a great prejudice to his affairs, and taught him, by experience, that no body about the Court, had ſo warm and ſo ſincere an inclination to promote his requeſts, which, together with his former difficulties, brought down his hopes to ſuch a degree of humility, that, upon the death of Mr Murray, he ſollicited the King to ſucceed him, as Provoſt of Eaton-college, to which this anſwer was given, That the King could not value his Lordſhip ſo little, or conceive he limited his deſires ſo low, in which however he ſhould have been gratified, if his Majeſty had not been engaged for Sir William Beecher, his agent in France (*b*). While the Marquis of Buckingham was abroad with the Prince of Wales, he was created Duke; and at his return, ſaw himſelf in ſuch plenitude of power, as never any ſubject had enjoyed in this kingdom, being at once the favourite both of the poſſeſſor and heir of the crown, and, which was no leſs ſingular, in as great credit with the people. The Viſcount of St Albans preſented his Grace at his return, with *The Advancement of Learning*, tranſlated into Latin, and ſo much augmented and enriched, that it might with equal juſtice have paſſed for a new performance, which his noble patron not only kindly received, but continued likewiſe to do him very many, and thoſe very important, ſervices, more eſpecially in procuring him conſiderable ſums of money, and from time to time freſh marks of royal favour (*i*). In acknowledgment for theſe, he dedicated to him a Latin tranſlation of his *Eſſays*, which he alſo augmented and poliſhed to the higheſt degree of perfection (*k*). A new Parliament having been called, in which the Houſe of Commons ſhewed great zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, his Lordſhip turned his pen to a new ſubject, and compoſed a treatiſe, intituled, *Conſiderations of a War with Spain* (*l*), which he preſented to the Prince of Wales, and afterwards to the Queen of Bohemia. He likewiſe drew up *Heads of a Speech* (*m*), for his friend Sir Edward Sackville, upon the ſame ſubject, and theſe ſervices were ſo well received, that upon an application to the King for a full pardon, he eaſily obtained it. In the warrant directed for this purpoſe to the Attorney-General, his Majeſty took notice of his Lordſhip's having already ſatisfied juſtice by his ſufferings, and that himſelf being always inclined to temper juſtice with mercy, and likewiſe calling to remembrance his former good ſervices, and how well and profitably he had ſpent his time ſince his troubles, he was graciouſly pleaſed to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remained upon him, of incapacity and diſablement, and to remit to him all penalties whatſoever, inflicted by that ſentence (*n*). This was one of the laſt acts of his government, for he died very ſoon after, and, in conſequence of this pardon, his Lordſhip was ſummoned to the ſecond Parliament in the ſucceeding reign, though his infirmities would not allow him to ſit therein. He received alſo ſome comfort, from the great reſpect ſhewn him by foreigners of diſtinction, particularly by the Marquis D'Effiat, the French Ambaſſador, who cauſed his Eſſays to be tranſlated into his own language, and, upon his firſt viſit, compared his Lordſhip to the *Angels*, of whom he had heard and read much, but had never ſeen them; to which the Viſcount St Alban's very modeſtly and wiſely replied, *That if the charity of others compared him to an Angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man* (*o*). This nobleman contracted ſo cloſe a friendſhip with him, that they correſponded conſtantly ever after, and his Excellency eſteemed it a particular honour, to be ſtiled in thoſe letters his ſon; he likewiſe deſired and obtained his picture, which he carried into France. Theſe honours did not hinder the Viſcount St Albans from thinking of, and preparing for, his end; which he foreſaw was drawing on, though he was ſo happy as to eſcape the great plague, in the ſpring of the year 1625. Having ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the fame of his learning and abilities, by his writings publiſhed by himſelf, he committed by his Will ſeveral of his Latin and Philoſophical compoſitions, to the care of Sir William Boſwel, his Majeſty's agent in Holland, where they were afterwards publiſhed by Gruter. His Orations and Letters he commended to Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the duchy, and the Biſhop of Lincoln (who had been his ſucceſſor in the Court of Chancery, and acknowledged the honour of that truſt) the letters to be preſerved but not to be divulged, as touching too much on perſons and matters of State (*p*). By this judicious care of his, moſt of his papers were preſerved, and the greateſt part of them at different times have been printed and publiſhed, collected into volumes, and ſtand immortal monuments, not to his own honour only, but to that of his age and country, nay, and even of human nature alſo, if the teſtimony of the beſt judges may be allowed; for as his merit deſerved, ſo it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge (*q*) [*II*]. The ſevere winter which followed the infectious ſummer

(*b*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p 26.

(*i*) See the Duke's Letters, in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 733, 734, 735, &c.

(*k*) It is from this Latin tranſlation we have his Eſſays in Engliſh, in his Works, Vol. III. p. 290.

(*l*) See this excellent piece in his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. III. p. 513.

(*m*) See likewiſe theſe heads of a ſpeech, in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*n*) Cabala, p. 249, edit. 1691.

(*o*) Stephens's, Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 29.

(*p*) See that letter printed in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 737.

(*q*) See the proof of this in note [*II*].

[*II*] *So it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge.*] If one ſhould attempt to collect and digeſt into order the various characters beſtowed, and the ample commendations afforded the Viſcount of St Albans by firſt rate writers only, it would demand a volume; and alas! I have ſcarce a page to ſpare; but let me make the beſt uſe of this little room I can; and as Dr Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's amanuenſis, rejected many of the Cambridge verſes on his Lord's death, becauſe he knew that great man conſidered rather *weight* than *number*; ſo let the order and the choice of thoſe names I mention on this occaſion, atone for my mentioning a few only out of a multitude, and that *multitude* too compared with the herd of mankind, deſerving to be ſtiled *the few*. I will begin with his contemporaries, ſuch as knew him beſt, and knew him with all his failings; who yet could not but admire the ſplendor of his parts, and of thoſe great qualities which rendered him ſo truly the glory of his age and nation. Sir Walter Raleigh (114), that true judge of men and things; of ages paſt and preſent; diſcourſing of the great men of his time, ſaid, 'That the Earl of Saliſbury was an excellent 'ſpeaker, but no good penman; that Lord Henry How-'ard was an excellent penman, but no good ſpeaker; 'Sir Francis Bacon, alike eminent in both.' The judicious

(114) Dr Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9.

ſummer of 1625, brought him very low, but the ſpring reviving his ſpirits, he made a little

judicious and penetrating Ben Jonſon thought, that Engliſh eloquence aſcended till the time of the Viſcount Albans, and from thence went backward and declined; he, who was not too apt to praiſe, was profuſe in his praiſes of Bacon, cloſing them with theſe admirable reflections (115): 'My conceit of his perſon was never increaſed toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only proper to himſelf, in that he ſeemed to me ever by his works one of the greateſt men, and moſt worthy of admiration that had been in many ages: In his adverſity, I ever prayed that God would give him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want, neither could I condole in a word or ſyllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifeſt.' Archbiſhop Williams, to whoſe care the Viſcount St Albans committed his Orations and Epiſtles, expreſſed his ſenſe of that confidence repoſed in him in theſe words (116). 'Your Lordſhip doth moſt worthily therefore, in preſerving theſe two pieces amongſt the reſt of thoſe matchleſs monuments you ſhall leave behind you; conſidering, that as one age hath not bred your experience, ſo is it not fit it ſhould be confined to one age, and not imparted to the times to come; for my part therein, I do embrace the honour with all thankfulneſs, and the truſt impoſed upon me with all religion and devotion.' The famous Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving from him the *Novum Organum*, wrote to him thus in return (117). 'Your Lordſhip hath done a great and everlaſting benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herſelf in her utmoſt extent of latitude, who never before had ſo noble nor ſo true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to ſtile your Lordſhip) never ſo inward a Secretary of her cabinet.' But one of the nobleſt, and perhaps the moſt noble teſtimony in honour of his great abilities, was the letter written to him not long after his fall by the Univerſity of Oxford, on their receiving from him his book *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, the firſt paragraph only of which ſhall be here tranſcribed (118). '*Right honourable, and what in nobility is almoſt a miracle; moſt learned Viſcount!* Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the Univerſity could have received nothing more acceptable than the Sciences; and thoſe ſciences which ſhe formerly ſent forth poor, of low ſtature unpoliſhed, ſhe hath received elegant, tall, and by the ſupplies of your wit (by which alone they could have been advanced) moſt rich in dowry. She eſteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a return with uſury made of that by a ſtranger, (if ſo near a relation may be called a ſtranger) which ſhe beſtows as a patrimony upon her children, and ſhe readily acknowledgeth, that though the Muſes are born in Oxford, they grow elſewhere; grown they are and under your pen, who like ſome mighty Hercules in learning, have, by your own hand, further advanced thoſe pillars in the learned world, which, by the reſt of that world, were ſuppoſed immoveable.' Neither were the beſt judges in the ſucceeding age leſs ſenſible of, or leſs inclined to celebrate, his worth. Thus, for inſtance, the famous Mr Francis Oſborn, whoſe talent lay not much in commending, and who in many places of his works ſhews he was under no prepoſſeſſion in favour of our author, allows him to have been the moſt univerſal genius he had ever ſeen, or was ever like to ſee had he lived ever ſo long. He tells us, that he was ſo excellent, ſo agreeable a ſpeaker, that all who heard him were uneaſy if he was interrupted, and ſorry when he concluded; but what he thought, and very juſtly too, moſt remarkable, was his underſtanding all ſubjects to the bottom, for which he endeavours to account in the following manner (119). 'Now this general knowledge he had in all things huſbanded by his wit, and dignified by ſo majeſtical a carriage he was known to own, ſtruck ſuch an awful reverence in thoſe he queſtioned, that they durſt not conceal the moſt intrinſick part of their myſteries from him, for fear of appearing ignorant or ſaucy: All which rendered him no leſs neceſſary than admirable at the Council-table, where, in reference to impoſitions, monoplies, &c. the meaneſt manufactures were an uſual argument, and, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of Middleſex, that was born and bred a Citizen; yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other ſtudies, as is not hard to be imagined, of a quick apprehenſion, in which he was admirable.' Dr Peter Heylyn, who was thought in his time a great judge of men, things, and books, repreſents the Viſcount St Albans as a man of a ſtrong brain, and capable of the higheſt performances, more eſpecially of framing a body of perfect Philoſophy (120). 'Pity it was, ſaid he, he was not entertained with ſome liberal ſalary, abſtracted from all affairs both of court and judicature, and furniſhed with ſufficiency both of means and helps for the going on in his deſign, which, had it been, he might have given us ſuch a body of Natural Philoſophy, and made it ſo ſubſervient to the publick good, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Theophraſtus amongſt the Antients, nor Paracelſus, or the reſt of our later Chymiſts, would have been conſiderable.' Our famous Poet, Abraham Cowley, has juſtly celebrated the mighty diſcoveries of the great Lord Bacon, and in a poem too long to be inſerted here, done him all the juſtice that might be expected from one vaſt genius to another (121). Biſhop Sprat, the moſt elegant writer in our language, beſtows on him the higheſt praiſes when he ſays, that his books contained the beſt arguments in the defence of Experimental Philoſophy, and the beſt directions for promoting it. To ſay the truth, his character is ſo clear, ſo curious, and ſo remarkably worthy of the great man it celebrates, that I cannot help ſetting down a part of it, though it ſhould oblige me to be ſhorter in other citations (122) Thus then he ſpeaks, 'But methinks, in this one man I do at once find enough occaſion to admire the ſtrength of human wit, and to bewail the weakneſs of a mortal condition; for is it not wonderful, that he who had run through all the degrees of that profeſſion, which uſually takes up men's whole time, who had ſtudied, and practiſed, and governed the Common-Law, who had always lived in the crowd, and borne the greateſt burden of civil buſineſs, ſhould yet find leiſure enough for theſe retired ſtudies, to excel all thoſe men who ſeparate themſelves for this very purpoſe? He was a man of ſtrong, clear, and powerful imaginations, his genius was ſearching and inimitable, and of this I need give no other proof than his ſtile itſelf, which as, for the moſt part, it deſcribes men's minds as well as pictures do their bodies, ſo it did his above all men living, the courſe of it vigorous and majeſtic; the wit, bold and familiar; the compariſons, fetched out of the way, and yet the moſt eaſy; in all, expreſſing a ſoul equally ſkilled in men and nature.' The incomparable Mr Boyle * ſpeaks often of our author in his works, and always with honour; he ſtiles him ſometimes an *illuſtrious*, at others, an *admirable* and *excellent* Philoſopher; and, which is a higher commendation than any phraſe could have expreſſed, he often imitates him, and profeſſes a deſire of treading in his paths. Dr Power, one of the moſt active and judicious among the firſt members of the Royal Society, in a learned treatiſe of his†, places at the head of his chapters, the Latin text from the Lord Verulam's work, to ſhew, that all the honour he claimed was to have proſecuted his views. Biſhop Nicholſon, ‡ ſpeaking of the authors who have written concerning the reign of Henry VII, gives this character of his Lordſhip's performance on that ſubject (123). 'But this good work was moſt effectually undertaken and compleated by the incomparable Sir Francis Bacon, who has bravely ſurmounted all thoſe difficulties, and paſſed over thoſe rocks and ſhallows, againſt which he took ſuch pains to caution other leſs experienced hiſtorians, he has perfectly put himſelf into King Henry's own garb and livery, giving as ſprightly a view of the ſecrets of his Council, as if himſelf had been Preſident in it: No trivial paſſages, ſuch as are below the notice of a ſtateſman, are mixed with his ſage remarks; nor is any thing of weight or moment, ſlubbered over with that careleſs haſte and indifferency, which is too common in other writers: No allowances are given to the author's own conjecture or invention, where a little pains and conſideration will

(115) Jonſon's Works, Vol. II. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(116) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 738.

(117) Sir Henry Wotton's Remains, p. 298.

(118) Bacon's Works, Vol. II. p. 405.

(119) Miſcellaneous Works of Francis Oſborn, Eſq; edit. 1722, Vol. I. p. 157, 158.

(120) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, P. i. p. 64.

(121) See his Pindarick on the Royal Society.

(122) Lordſhip's ... ciety, ... -734, 4... 35, 36

(*) Boyle's Works, Vol. I. p. 196, 458. III. p. 154. V. p. 24, 41, 51.

(†) Experimental Philoſophy, in three books, Lond. 1694, 4to.

(123) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 84, 85.

little excurſion into the country, in order to try ſome experiments in Natural Philoſophy, in

'will ſerve to ſet the matter in it's proper and true 'light: No impertinent digreſſions, nor fanciful com-'ments diſtract his readers; but the whole is written 'in ſuch a grave and uniform ſtile, as becomes both 'the ſubject and the artificer.' I ſhall add to theſe authorities but two more from the learned of our own nation, but they are two ſuch as might alone have ſecured immortality to any author they had commended. The firſt of theſe was Mr Addiſon, who in one of the Tatlers, in which he vindicates the Chriſtian religion, by ſhewing that the wiſeſt and ableſt men in all ages have profeſſed themſelves believers, ſpeaks of our author thus (124), 'I ſhall 'in this paper only inſtance Sir Francis Bacon, a man, 'who, for the greatneſs of his genius and compaſs of 'knowledge, did honour to his age and country, I 'could almoſt ſay to human nature itſelf; he poſſeſſed 'at once all thoſe extraordinary talents, which were 'divided amongſt the greateſt authors of antiquity; 'he had the ſound, diſtinct, comprehenſive knowledge 'of Ariſtotle, with all the beautiful lights, graces, 'and embelliſhments of Cicero, one does not know 'which to admire moſt in his writings, the ſtrength 'of reaſon, force of ſtile, or brightneſs of imagi-'nation. This author has remarked in ſeveral 'parts of his works, that a thorough inſight into 'Philoſophy makes a good believer, and that a ſmat-'tering in it naturally produces ſuch a race of 'deſpicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of 'the preſent age, whom, (I muſt confeſs) I have al-'ways accuſed to myſelf, not ſo much for their want 'of faith, as their want of learning. I was infinitely 'pleaſed to find among the works of this extraor-'dinary man, a prayer of his own compoſing, which, 'for the elevation of thought and greatneſs of ex-'preſſion, ſeems rather the devotion of an angel than 'of a man: His principal fault ſeems to have been 'the exceſs of that virtue which covers a multitude 'of faults: This betrayed him to ſo great an indul-'gence towards his ſervants, who made a corrupt uſe 'of it, that it ſtripped him of all thoſe riches and 'honours, which a long ſeries of merits had heaped 'upon him.' The ſecond is that ſhort character of his writings, given us by the pen of the moſt noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamſhire, who aſ-ſerts (125), *That all his works are for expreſſion as well as thought, the glory of our nation and of all latter ages.* This reſpect paid to his extraordinary merit by his countrymen, did not either commence more early, or extend to greater diſtance, or riſe to a higher de-gree at home than abroad. The famous Condé de Gondamar, ſo long Ambaſſador here from his Catho-lick Majeſty, wrote him a very handſome letter upon his misfortune, in which he aſſures him of the King his maſter's interpoſition, if he judged it any way convenient for the reſtoring his condition (126). So well was his character known in Spain and ſo much regarded, though his conduct had been always op-poſite to that of the Spaniſh faction in the court of King James. Dr Rawley tells us, he had ſeen a letter to the then Lord Cavendiſh, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, from Italy, wherein it was ſaid, that my Lord Bacon was more and more known, and his books more and more delighted in; ſo that thoſe men who had more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, eſteemed him one of the moſt capable ſpirits of that age (127). The elegant Mr Voiture gives this character of the Latin works he had ſeen of the Viſ-count St Albans (128): 'I find every thing perfectly 'fine that you have ſent me of Bacon, but do you 'not think that Horace, who ſaid

'Viſum Britannos hoſpitibus feros,

'would be much aſtoniſhed to hear a barbarian talk 'in this manner, and to ſee that there is not perhaps 'at this day a Roman, who ſpeaks ſo good Latin as 'this Engliſhman? And would not Juvenal ſay with 'greater reaſon than ever,

'Nunc totus Grajas noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas?'

The learned Grotius in a private letter to a friend of his (129), highly commends his Lordſhip's life of Henry VII, as a work written with admirable judgment; and in this opinion the no leſs learned Conringius fully agrees. But the character of his writings in general, afforded by ſo exquiſite a judge of all the numerous ſubjects on which they were written, I mean the celebrated Baron Puffendorf, does ſtill greater honour to his memory (129), 'The late 'moſt wiſe Chancellor of England, ſays he, was the 'chief writer of our age, and who carried as it were 'the ſtandard that we might preſs forward, and make 'greater diſcoveries in Philoſophick matters, than any 'of which hitherto our ſchools had rung. So that 'if in our time any great improvements have been 'made in Philoſophy, there has been not a little 'owing to that great man.' The accurate and ju-dicious Francis Buddeus, (that I may mention ſome of the authors of our own time) applauds the Viſcount St Al-bans extremely (130): He ſtiles him a new light in Philoſophy, one who firſt united ſpeculation and prac-tice, and opened a paſſage to thoſe mighty diſcoveries that have been made ſince his time; he indicates alſo the ſeveral parts of his great Body of Science, which have been commented on and explained by the learned Philoſophers of Germany; and thereby ſhews, that the memory of this admirable man, expanded more fragrantly abroad for many years than here in his native country, where foreign approbation too fre-quently teaches us to revere the names of thoſe, who in their lives wanted common reſpect, tho' this was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the caſe of our author; and yet, as himſelf foreſaw, in ſome ſort it was; for tho' there never wanted ſome amongſt the moſt learned in this iſland who underſtood and applauded his writings, yet un-doubtedly it was their being tranſlated into Latin that procured both them and their author the praiſe they deſerved. The laſt authority I ſhall cite on this ſubject ſhall be Mr Voltaire (131), who very juſtly ſtiles him, the father of Experimental Philoſophy, and enters into abundance of very judicious reflections on his diſcoveries and writings, owning at the ſame time, that what ſurprized him moſt was, to find the Doctrine of Attraction, which is looked upon as the foundation of another Philoſophy, expreſsly ſet down in Lord Bacon's, in words not to be controverted or miſtaken. I ſhall not take upon me to decide how far this may be juſt or not, but leave it to the ſearch and deciſion of the learned and ingenious reader; only give me leave to ſay, I have always ſuſpected the *Novum Organum* has been ſo little commended by the Moderns for two reaſons; firſt, that it requires a deep head and a ſtrong attention to become fully maſter of it, and ſo has been thoroughly underſtood by few; ſecondly, that thoſe few who have fully penetrated it, uſed it to raiſe ſtructures of their own, and not to finiſh Bacon's palace of wiſdom. It was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and ſelfiſh in his compoſition; he gave away without concern what-ever he poſſeſſed, and, believing other men of the ſame mould, he received with as little conſideration; nay even as to fame he had the like notion, he was deſirous to enjoy it, but in the ſame way, not from his knowledge, but from his free and liberal com-munication of that knowledge; ſo that it may be truly and without flattery ſaid, his worſt qualities were the exceſſes of the moſt exalted virtues.

To the memory of ſuch a man, of what importance is it, if *James Howell* (132) has ſet down ſome vul-gar tales mixed with many miſtakes? If the foreign dictator in our hiſtory, *Rapin* (133), has treated him harſhly on the credit of *Weldon*, and other libellers, who knew no way of eſcaping oblivion, but by aſ-ſaſſinating great names, condemning thereby their own to immortal infamy? Or if POPE, forgetting at once the diſtance and reſemblance of their characters, ſuf-fers his petulant muſe to ſay,

If parts allure thee, think how *Bacon* ſhin'd,
The wiſeſt, brighteſt, meaneſt of mankind (134).

His glory cannot be blaſted by ſuch envious flaſhes as theſe; his failings hurt only his contemporaries, and were expiated by his ſufferings; but his virtue and knowledge, and, above all, his zeal for mankind, will be felt while there are men; and conſequently, while they have gratitude, the name of Bacon, Verulam, or St Albans, can never be mentioned but with admi-ration!

(124) Tatler, No. 267, in Addiſon's Works, Vol. II. p. 401,

(125) D. Buckingham's Works, Vol. I. p. 264.

(126) See this Letter in Stephens's Collection, p. 517; where from a note it appears, that Count Gondamar really did his Lordſhip ſervice.

(127) Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Inſtauratio*, p. 4.

(128) Ouvres de Voiture, edit. 1650, p. 753.

(129) Epiſt. ad Gulielm. Maurerium, Jul. 26, 1629.

(129) Specimen Controverſ. cap. i. ſect. 5.

(130) Compendium Hiſtoriæ Philoſophicæ, cap. vi. ſect. 13, p. 409, & ſeq.

(131) Letter xii. on the Engliſh Nation.

(132) Howel's Letters, p. 158, 159.

(133) Hiſtory of England, under the years 1616 and 1621.

(134) Eſſay on Man, epiſt. iv. ver. 277, 278.

in which journey he was taken ſo ill, that he was obliged to ſtay at the Earl of Arundel's houſe at Highgate, about a week, and there he expired, on the ninth of April 1626, being Eaſter-day (*r*), and was privately buried in the chapel of St Michael's church, within the precincts of Old Verulam. In the chancel of which church, his faithful friend, and indefatigable ſervant in his troubles, Sir Thomas Meautys, cauſed a neat monument of white marble to be erected, with his Lordſhip's effigies ſitting in a contemplative poſture, with an inſcription written by Sir Henry Wotton (*s*), every way worthy of that excellent writer, and of that admirable man to whoſe honour it is dedicated [*KK*]. The moſt eminent ſcholars of the univerſity of Cambridge ſhewed their concern for his death, and the juſt ſenſe they had of the honour reſulting to that noble ſeminary of learning, from his receiving his education there, by compoſing verſes in ſeveral languages on that occaſion, which were afterwards printed (*t*). The ſame juſtice, poſterity has alſo rendered to his memory, inſomuch that it may be truly ſaid, his own prophecy has been fulfilled, and that after flying through foreign countries for a time, his reputation ſtands now fixed at home, where all admire the ſtrength and beauty of his genius, and, in favour of it's efforts, would willingly forget, a man ſo endowed was not altogether exempt from failings.

(*r*) Dr Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 16, 17.

(*s*) An excellent plate of this monument, etched by the maſterly hand of *W. Hollar*, was prefixed to Rawley's *Reſuſcitatio*; and ſtands alſo before the third Volume of Bacon's Works by way of frontiſpiece.

(*t*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 36.

[*KK*] *To whoſe honour it is dedicated,*] This elegant tomb was erected to the memory of his Lordſhip, by one bound to him by a variety of ties, for Sir Thomas Meautys was not only his Secretary, and moſt faithful ſervant, but his couſin and heir, and had likewiſe married his grand neice (135). His Lordſhip is repreſented ſitting in his chair in a contemplative and his uſual poſture, one hand ſupporting his head, the other hanging over the arm of the chair, and underneath this inſcription, often, but ſometimes very incorrectly, tranſcribed; and therefore added here with a tranſlation expreſſing it's true meaning, and ſo more fully explaining the intention of it's ingenious author, one of the correcteſt writers of his time.

(135) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

FRANCISCUS BACON,
Baro de Verulam, Sancti Albani Vicecomes;
Seu Notioribus Titulis,
Scientiarum Lumen, Facundiæ Lex,
Sic Sedebat.

Qui poſtquam Omnia Naturalis Sapientiæ,
Et Civilis Arcana Evolviſſet,
Naturæ Decretum Explevit,
Compoſita Solvantur;
Anno Domini, M.DC.XXVI.
Ætatis LXVI.

FRANCIS BACON,
Baron of Verulam, Viſcount St Albans;
Or by more conſpicuous titles,
Of Sciences the Light, of Eloquence the Law,
Sat Thus.

Who after all Natural Wiſdom,
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled,
Let Compounds be diſſolved;
In the Year of our Lord, M.DC.XXVI.
Of his Age, LXVI.

Tanti Viri
Mem.
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Superſtitis Cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.

Of ſuch a Man,
That the Memory might remain,
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Living his Attendant,
Dead his Admirer,
Placed this Monument. E

BACON (ANTHONY) elder brother to the Chancellor, and eldeſt ſon to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, by his ſecond wife Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her learning and her piety, and, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times (*a*) [*A*]. At this diſtance, we have not been able to fix the exact time of this gentleman's birth, but it appears from a variety of circumſtances, that he was ſeveral years older than his brother Francis. He received an excellent education at home,

(*a*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

[*A*] *And, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times.*] It was no unuſual things in thoſe days for ladies to apply themſelves to the ſame ſtudies, with the ſame ſtrictneſs, and, conſequently, with the ſame ſucceſs, that the other ſex did. The Lady Jane Grey was excellently learned in Greek; and Queen Elizabeth tranſlated ſeveral pieces both from that language and from the Latin: The moſt remarkable inſtance however, of the ſpirit of learning which prevailed in that age, was in the family to which this lady belonged (1), for all the four daughters of Sir Anthony Cook were perfectly ſkilled in the learned languages, and this his ſecond daughter Anne, wife to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, made both a florid and exact tranſlation of Biſhop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England from Latin into Engliſh, which was eſteemed ſo uſeful in it's nature, as well as ſo correct in it's manner, that in the year 1564 it was publiſhed for common uſe by the ſpecial order of Archbiſhop Parker, with ſome additions of his own at the end (2). There have been many ladies remarkable for their learning and their writings, but very few whoſe works, like the Lady Bacon's, were publiſhed by authority and commended to publick reading; it was this that ſtirred the gall of Father Perſons, commonly called Parſons the Jeſuit, who has reflected bitterly upon this lady (3) for her performance, without reflecting that his ill language redounded more to her reputation than all the praiſes of her friends, as a late ingenious writer has very judiciouſly obſerved (4). It was to the great abilities and tender care of ſo accompliſhed a parent, that her two ſons, Anthony and Francis, owed the early part of their education, and without doing any injuſtice to the genius of either of theſe great men we may ſafely affirm, that they were not a little indebted for the reputation they acquired, to the pains taken with them by this excellent woman in their tender years, when the mind is moſt ſuſceptible of learning, and thereby rendered more capable of retaining the principles of ſcience, than when they are inſtilled in an age farther advanced. It was in gratitude to her memory, and from a juſt ſenſe of the advantages received from her in this way, that her ſon, the Viſcount St Albans, directed by his Will, that his body ſhould be laid near her's in the church of St Michael within the precincts of Old Verulam (5).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 386.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 469.

(3) A Relation of a Conference before Henry IV, of France, &c. p. 197.

(4) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(5) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

[*B*] *Supported*

home, and giving evident ſigns of pregnant parts, his father, the Lord-Keeper, thought fit to ſend him early abroad, to improve his abilities by viſiting foreign countries, in which he ſpent ſome years with great profit to himſelf, though his father did not live to ſee the fruits of his great improvements (*b*). But before his departure, the good old Lord-Keeper, thought proper to convey to him his manour of Gorhambury in Hertfordſhire, which he had purchaſed from Mr Rowlet. In the courſe of his travels, Mr Anthony Bacon was reſident for ſome time at Venice, and having viſited other parts of Italy, received the news of his father's death at Geneva, which very probably haſtened him home. While he remained in the city laſt mentioned, he entered into a very cloſe friendſhip with the famous Beza, who, by his perſuaſion, wrote to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, and preſented to the library of Cambridge, a very antient copy of the Pentateuch in ſix languages, which was eſteemed a great curioſity, and it is from his letter dated in December 1581, that we are able to fix the time of Mr Bacon's return from his travels (*c*). Whether he went abroad again or not, ſeems a little uncertain, but if he did, there is good reaſon to believe, that it was but for a very ſhort time, ſince we find, that as ſoon as his brother began to be taken notice of by the Earl of Eſſex, he made it his buſineſs to draw Mr Anthony Bacon to that nobleman's ſervice (*d*). The two brothers were alike prodigies for parts, but of very different kinds, for whereas the younger ſpoke eloquently and wrote admirably, the elder was reſerved in converſation, had a deep reach in Politicks, and was the beſt verſed in foreign affairs of any man of his time. Mr Francis Bacon did not affect to hide his talents, but gave early proofs of them to the world, both by ſpeaking and writing. Mr Anthony Bacon diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither way, but remained contented with the reputation he acquired among the circle of his private acquaintance, and the intereſt he had with ſome perſons of the firſt quality, who knew how to value as well as to employ his great abilities. We have ſeen in the former article, that Mr Francis Bacon with all his knowledge wanted œconomy, and that to a very high degree, a point in which his brother Anthony chiefly excelled; for though he had a very fair eſtate of his own, yet he knew how to ſet a juſt price on his labours, and did not think it reaſonable to waſte his time in the ſervice of others, without receiving a proper recompence (*e*). He had the misfortune to be very lame, ſo that he was able to ſtir little abroad, and indeed could not ſo much as move about his room, for which reaſon the Earl of Eſſex, who relied much upon his advice, and made uſe of him in all his affairs, and even in thoſe of the greateſt ſecrecy, thought proper to take him into his houſe, and to make him a handſome allowance for his ſervices (*f*). It was by his advice, that the Earl entered into a very early and cloſe correſpondence with the King of Scotland, preſumptive heir to the crown of England, which he carried on, chiefly by the means of Mr Anthony Bacon, who managed it with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that though the Cecils always ſuſpected, and left no means untried to diſcover it, yet they were never able to come at any proofs of it. It was his having this great and dangerous ſecret in his hands, that enabled him to advance his fortune very conſiderably, of which notwithſtanding the ſecrecy that muſt naturally have attended ſuch tranſactions, there are ſtill ſome teſtimonies remaining, ſupported by undeniable authority (*g*) [*B*]. We are not however to ſuppoſe, that though this gentleman took ſo much care of his own affairs, and though he was very nearly related

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

(*c*) Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. III. p. 76.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 430.

(*e*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13.

(*f*) See this fully explained in note [*B*].

(*g*) Wotton's Remains, p. 121.

[*B*] *Supported by undeniable authority.*] Amongſt other curious pieces of hiſtory penned by the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton, one of the moſt judicious as well as ingenious writers of his age, there is one intituled, *A Parallel between* Robert Devereux, *Earl of* Eſſex, *and* George Villiers, *Duke of* Buckingham, *in the times of their favour*, which containing for the moſt part facts, that lay within the compaſs of the author's immediate knowledge, has been always, and very deſervedly, in the moſt general eſteem: It is from this treatiſe, than which certainly better authority cannot be had, that the circumſtances hinted at in the text have been taken, and that the reader may view them in a juſt and natural light, they are here preſented to him in Sir Henry's own words (6): 'The Earl of Eſſex had accommodated Maſter Anthony Bacon in a partition of his houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment: This was a gentleman of impotent feet but a nimble head, and through his hand run all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viſcount St Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous ſecret, would many times cunningly let fall ſome words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great proffers to win him away, which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſigns of apparent diſcontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party and ſtood himſelf in much umbrage with the Queen) that he flies preſently to my Lord of Eſſex (with whom he was commonly *prima admiſſionis* by his bedſide in the morning) and tells him, that unleſs that gentleman was ſatisfied with a round ſum all would be vented; this took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were very low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him Eſſex houſe, which the good old Lady Walſingham did afterward diſengage out of her own ſtore, with two thouſand five hundred pounds, and before he had diſtilled fifteen hundred pounds at another time by the ſame ſkill. So as we rate this one ſecret, as it was finely carried, at four thouſand pounds in preſent money, beſides at leaſt one thouſand pounds of annual penſion, to a private and bed-rid gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?' It may not be amiſs to add here, what ſeems to relate to the ſame ſubject, from another piece which bears the title of *The Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of* George *Duke of* Buckingham, *and* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex: The author of which, ſpeaking of the peculiar advantages and felicities attending the laſt of theſe noblemen, ſays (7), 'In his friendſhips he was ſo fortunate, that though he contracted with antient enemies, and ſuch as he had undeſerved by ſome unkindneſs, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his truſts, or had ever his ſecrets derived unhandſomely to any ears that they were not intended to, and this, if he had not planted himſelf upon ſuch, whoſe zeal to his ſervice was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preſerved him from ſo prodigious a fate.'

(6) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 12.

(7) Ibid. p. 47.

related to thoſe who brought about that noble Earl's ruin, he was in any degree acceſſary thereto, either by diſcovering his ſecrets, or deſerting his ſervice; on the contrary, we are aſſured by a writer of great knowledge and fidelity, that Mr Bacon remained ever true to his noble patron, and indeed the thing ſpeaks itſelf, for when his enemies accompliſhed their deſigns, they were not able to give any thing againſt him in evidence, in reference to his correſpondence with King James, which if they had ever had it in their power, they would moſt certainly have done (*b*). The correſpondence between this great favourite and the ingenious Mr Bacon, though very probably it began in convenience, very ſoon grew up into a ſtricter and more cloſe friendſhip, than, the diſtance of their circumſtances conſidered, could have been well expected; which may perhaps be juſtly attributed to the likeneſs of their tempers. For the Earl was naturally ſtudious and contemplative, with a little leaning towards melancholy, and his uſual recreations were muſick, poetry, and walking, in all which, except the laſt, he found Mr Bacon an agreeable companion. There was another uſe which very probably my Lord Eſſex made of him, which was to examine ſuch as were commended to him for preferment, not in a ſaucy ſupercilious manner, as one who had an entire dominion over his patron's inclinations, but in a gentle and almoſt imperceptible method, that there might be none about his Lordſhip from whom he might not expect a return of credit, in proportion to that degree of favour he beſtowed. At leaſt thus much is certain, that his recommendations had always great weight with the Earl of Eſſex, who made uſe of his power and influence, not in the gratification of the common paſſions of the mind, or enriching himſelf or his family, or to ſatisfy the cravings of ſuch, as by complying with his weakneſſes had gained an aſcendancy over him; but in a way becoming a great man, in relieving and ſupporting men of merit, and thereby attaching them to his intereſts, which induced him to receive whoever was introduced to him in this light, not as a new dependant, but as a real acquiſition (*i*). In this way (as himſelf (*k*) very gratefully rememembers) Richard Boyle, afterwards the Great Earl of Cork in Ireland, was by Mr Anthony Bacon brought to the notice of the Earl of Eſſex, a little before his laſt unfortunate voyage to that iſland, by whom he was very kindly received, and employed in ſeveral things relating to the ſuing out his patents, 'till Mr Boyle's enemies procured him (on very falſe pretences) to be ſeized and impriſoned, in which condition he lay when the Earl went over to Ireland, and which accident, however unexpected or unreliſhed when it happened, very probably preſerved him from being involved in the Earl's misfortunes, and moſt certainly proved the ſource of all his future felicity, in which it is ſome honour to Mr Bacon, that he was ſo far inſtrumental. But in regard to thoſe meaſures and counſels which were ſo fatal to his great friend, neither records, or hiſtory, private memoirs, or the libellous remembrances of thoſe times, which have deſcended in a competent proportion to manifeſt any man's character to ours, ſay ſo much as a ſyllable of this gentleman's interfering. The truth of the matter is, that this Lord had two ſets of Counſellors, one who ſet him upon raſh and violent methods, which proved his undoing; and the other, thoſe who thought to raiſe their own fortunes by ſupporting the Earl's, and who conſtantly laboured to keep him within the bounds of moderation, in hopes of reſtoring him by degrees to the Queen's favour. At the head of the former was his Secretary Cuffe, a man of parts, but of a fierce and violent temper; and the chiefs of the other, were the two Bacons (*l*). We have an inſtance of their ſincere endeavours to ſave, and to reſtore that unfortunate nobleman, even after his raſh exploit in returning from Ireland, and a little before his much raſher exploit, which coſt him his head. They agreed together, but with his Lordſhip's conſent, that Mr Francis Bacon ſhould pen a letter of advice, in the name of, and as if written by, Mr Anthony Bacon, to the Earl, and an anſwer in the Earl's name to him, which Mr Francis Bacon undertook to ſhew the Queen, and which were extremely well calculated to do him ſervice, as appears from the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant (*m*) [C]. It is certain that

(*b*) Diſparity between the Earl of Eſſex, and the Duke of Bucks, (ſuppoſed to be written by the Earl of Clarendon) p. 5.

(*i*) See the article of DEVEREUX, (Robert) Earl of Eſſex.

(*k*) See his own Memoirs preſerved in the Life of Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to the firſt Volume of his Works, p. 2.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 437, 546.

[C] *From the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant.*] Theſe letters have cauſed a great deal of noiſe, and ſome very groſs miſtakes have been made about them. The Earl at his trial provoked at hearing Mr Francis Bacon plead againſt him, delivered himſelf thus, directing his diſcourſe to the Lord-High-Steward (8). 'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I muſt 'produce Mr Bacon for a witneſs, for when the courſe 'of private perſecution was in hand and moſt aſſailed 'me, then Mr Bacon was the man that profered me 'means to the Queen, and drew a letter in my name, 'and in his brother Sir Nicholas Bacon's name, (apparently miſtaken for Mr Anthony Bacon) which 'letter he purpoſed to ſhew the Queen, and Goſnal 'was the man that brought them unto me, wherein 'I did ſee Mr Bacon's hand pleaded as orderly, and 'appointed them out that were my enemies, as directly as might be; which letters I know Mr Secretary 'Cecil hath ſeen, and by them it will appear what 'conceit he held of me, and no otherwiſe than he 'here colloureth and pleadeth the contrary.' To which Mr Francis Bacon gave this anſwer (9): 'My Lord, 'I ſpent more hours to make you a good ſubject, 'than upon any man in the world beſides; but ſince 'you have ſtirred up this point, my Lord, I dare warrant you this letter will not bluſh, for I did but 'perform the part of an honeſt man, and ever laboured to have done you good if it might have 'been, and to no other end, for what I intended for 'your good was wiſhed from the heart without touch 'of any man's honour.' There was nothing more paſſed at this trial concerning this matter but in the apology written by Mr Francis Bacon: The point is ſtated as in the text, and we are aſſured that theſe letters were written at the time the Earl of Eſſex was confined to his own houſe (10). The firſt of them in the name of Mr Anthony Bacon, is by way of advice to his Lordſhip, on the then untoward ſituation of his affairs, in which he very artfully ſets forth, that tho' ſome affected to give out, he had no farther room for hope left at Court, but might very well conſider himſelf as a man doomed to paſs the remainder of his years in privacy, and in the enjoyment of his particular fortune, without any farther thought of the publick; yet in his, the writer's conception, there was no reaſon that his Lordſhip ſhould give into ſuch notions, or ſuffer himſelf to fall into abſolute diſpair, ſo as to frame his mind to ſuch a ſpirit

(8) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 205.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 439.

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that while things were in this ſituation, and before the Earl was hurried into his laſt unadviſed action, the Bacons had in ſome meaſure ſoftened the Queen, who frequently ſpoke to Mr Francis Bacon of the Earl of Eſſex, with an air of concern (*n*). Once when he was ſpeaking to her Majeſty on this ſubject, ſhe took occaſion to aſk him, How the man had ſucceeded, who had undertaken to cure his brother Anthony of the gout? He anſwered, 'That at firſt the medicine he gave him did him good, but after a little 'while it loſt it's efficacy, and at laſt he thought it did him harm.' The Queen replied to this in the following terms, 'I will tell you, Bacon, the error of it; the 'manner of theſe Phyſicians, and eſpecially theſe Empericks, is to continue one kind of 'medicine, which at the firſt is proper to draw out the ill humour, but after, they have 'not the diſcretion to change their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when 'they ſhould rather intend to cure and corroborate the part.' Mr Bacon immediately applied this, 'How wiſely and aptly, Madam, ſaid he, do you ſpeak and diſcern of phyſick 'miniſtered to the body, and conſider not that there is the like occaſion of phyſick mi-'niſtered to the mind? as now in the caſe of my Lord Eſſex; your princely word 'once was, that you intended to reform his mind, and not to ruin his fortune; you can-'not but think you have drawn the humours ſufficiently, and therefore it is more than 'time, for fear of mortifying, that you miniſter ſtrength and comfort unto him, for 'theſe ſame gradations, are fitter to corrupt than to correct any great mind.' But however Mr Francis Bacon might afterwards cool, if he did cool, in his affections to that noble perſon, moſt certain it is, that Mr Anthony Bacon loved him beyond the the grave, as appears by a paper directed to him, which fully vindicates his Lordſhip's character, and ſhews that he was influenced by publick ſpirit, and not by the deſire of revenging his private quarrel on his enemies (*o*). This paper which is ſtill preſerved, remains an inconteſtible proof of Mr Anthony Bacon's having openly eſpouſed his Lord's cauſe, even after it had brought him to the block, and on that account doubly deſerves notice [*D*]. In all probability the death of the Earl of Eſſex affected him very deeply,

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 438, 439.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. p. 960.

a ſpirit of retirement, as this fancy, if he ſhould receive it, would lead him to. The firſt reaſon he aſſigns, is the temper of the Queen, that it was ſteady and conſtant, ſo that whoever ſhe once liked ſhe never abſolutely diſliked; and having preſſed this point very ſtrongly, he then proceeds to another argument, and ſo forward in theſe words: 'If I can ſpell, and ſcho-'lar like put together, the parts of her Majeſty's 'proceedings now againſt your Lordſhip, I cannot 'but make this conſtruction, that her Majeſty, in her 'royal intention, never intended to call your Lord-'ſhip's doings into publick queſtion, but only to 'have uſed a cloud without a ſhower, in cenſuring 'them by ſome temporary reſtraint only of liberty, and 'debarring you from her preſence. For firſt, the 'handling the cauſe in the Star-Chamber, your not 'being called, was enforced by the violence of libel-'ling and rumours, (wherein the Queen thought to 'have ſatisfied the world, and yet ſpared your Lord-'ſhip's appearance) and after, when the means which 'was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits 'turned to kindle them, (becauſe it was ſaid, your 'Lordſhip was condemned unheard, and your Lord-'ſhip's ſiſter wrote that piquant letter) than her Ma-'jeſty ſaw plainly, that theſe winds of rumours could not be commanded down without the handling of the cauſe, by making you a party, and admitting your defence, and to this purpoſe I do aſſure your 'Lordſhip, that my brother, Francis Bacon, who is 'too wiſe (I think) to be abuſed, and too honeſt 'to abuſe, tho' he be more reſerved in all particu-'lars than is needful, yet, in generality, he hath ever 'conſtantly, and with aſſeveration affirmed to me, 'that both thoſe days, that of the Star-Chamber, 'and that at my Lord-Keeper's, were won from the 'Queen merely upon neceſſity and point of honour 'againſt her own inclination. Thirdly, in the laſt 'proceeding, I note three points which are directly ſig-'nificant, that her Majeſty did expreſsly forbear any 'point, which was irreparable, or might make your 'Lordſhip in any degree incapable of the return of 'her favour, or might fix any character indelible of 'diſgrace upon you, for ſhe ſpared the publick place 'of the Star-Chamber which ſpared ignominy, ſhe 'limited the charge preciſely not to touch upon any 'pretence of diſloyalty, and no record remaineth to 'memory of the charge or ſentence. Fourthly, the very 'diſtinction which was made in the ſentence of ſe-'queſtration from the places of ſervice in ſtate, and 'leaving to your Lordſhip the place of Maſter of the 'Horſe, doth to my underſtanding *indicativè* point 'at this, that her Majeſty meant to uſe your Lord-'ſhip's attendance in court, while the exerciſes of 'the other places ſtood ſuſpended. Fifthly, I have 'heard, and your Lordſhip knoweth better than 'I, that now ſince you were in your own cuſtody, 'her Majeſty, in *verbo regio*, and by his mouth to 'whom ſhe committed her royal grants and decrees, 'hath aſſured your Lordſhip ſhe will forbid and not 'ſuffer your ruin.——— I know your Lordſhip 'may juſtly interpret, that this which I perſuade may 'have ſome reference to my particular fortune, but 'I may truly ſay, *te ſtante* (not *virebo*, for I am 'withered in myſelf, but) *manebo* or *tenebo*, and that 'I ſhall in ſome ſort be able to hold out: But though 'your Lordſhip's years and health may expect return 'of grace and fortune, yet your eclipſe for a time 'is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune, and were it not 'that I deſire and hope to ſee my brother eſtabliſhed 'by her Majeſty's favour, (as I think him well worthy 'for what he hath done and ſuffered) it were time 'I did take that courſe from which I diſſuade your 'Lordſhip; but now in the mean time I cannot chuſe 'but perform thoſe honeſt duties unto you, to whom 'I have been ſo deeply bounden (11).' The anſwer to this written in the Earl's name, but by the ſame pen which drew the former, is full of duty and affection to the Queen, but with ſome free and ſharp touches on his enemies, which perhaps were thrown in to give it more the air of his Lordſhip's writing; the concluſion of it as it relates particularly to the two brothers, it is requiſite the reader ſhould ſee in the words of the letter itſelf (12). 'But for her firſt 'love and for her laſt protection, and for all her great 'benefits, I can but pray for her Majeſty, and my 'endeavours are now to make my prayers for her 'Majeſty and myſelf better heard; for, thanks be to 'God, they that can make her Majeſty believe that 'I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe 'that I counterfeit with him; and they which can 'let me from coming near unto her, cannot let me 'from drawing near unto him, as I hope I do daily: 'For your brother, I hold him to be an honeſt gentle-'man, and wiſh him all good, much the rather for 'your ſake; yourſelf I know hath ſuffered more for 'me and with me, than any friend I have; yet I 'cannot but lament freely, as you ſee I do, and 'adviſe you not to do that which I do, which is, 'to deſpair; you know letters what hurt they have 'done me, and therefore make ſure of this, and yet 'I could not (as having no other pledge of my love) 'but communicate freely with you, for the eaſe of 'my heart and your's.'

(11) Ibid. p. 548.

(12) Ibid. p. 549.

[*D*] *And on that account doubly deſerves notice.*] This letter was directed to Mr A. Bacon, and dated from the writer's chamber in London, May the 30th,

deeply, ſince his own followed within leſs than a year. He was, as appears by various paſſages in his brother's writings, a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in polite learning, and in all the arts requiſite to the conduct of human life. How near ſoever he was related to the Cecils, and how great ſoever his intereſt might be with the Lord-Treaſurer, it does not by any means appear, that he had any intercourſe with that family in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but dedicated all his time, except what was employed in the ſervice of his patron, to his ſtudies. It was owing to this reſerved life of his, that his father's fine ſeat fell to decay, and that the water which had been laid to it from ſprings at a conſiderable diſtance, was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it could not afterwards be recovered, but at ſo great an expence, that the Lord Viſcount St Albans choſe rather to build a little neat houſe near the great pond; ſaying merrily (*p*), that *Since the water could not be brought to his houſe, he would bring his houſe to the water.* The friendſhip between theſe two brothers was not only warm and ſincere, but conſtant and laſting, as appears by Francis Bacon's dedicating the firſt work he publiſhed to his brother Anthony, and celebrating his memory in many of thoſe pieces which he publiſhed after his deceaſe (*q*). There is good reaſon to believe, that this gentleman alſo wrote ſeveral things, though none of them have come down to our times, or at leaſt none under his name, but as we ſhall ſhew in another place, it is more than probable, that ſome of thoſe ſonnets and other little pieces of poetry, that are generally aſcribed to his patron the Earl of Eſſex, were, either in the whole or in part, of his compoſition, and were owned by the Earl, not from any affectation of learning which he did not poſſeſs, for his abilities were not of a nature to need any ſuch aſſiſtance, or his ſpirit of that ſort to ſeek or deſire it, but for political reaſons, he adopted what his occaſions required, and what, if he had had leiſure, he could have performed with equal elegance and beauty (*r*). It does not appear whether Mr Anthony Bacon was interred at Verulam or not, but if he had, one might reaſonably ſuppoſe, ſome monument would have been erected there to his memory, conſidering not only the obligations, but the affection of his brother towards him; and yet it is not impoſſible that the circumſtance of time might prevent his erecting ſuch a teſtimony of reſpect to his memory, as not allowing room for celebrating his attachment to the Earl of Eſſex, his fidelity in which muſt have made a principal part of the character afforded him therein. He left behind him, beſides the manour of Gorhambury, which deſcended to his brother Francis, a conſiderable perſonal eſtate, which he likewiſe bequeathed to him, and which it is believed he laid out in the purchaſe of the manour of Kingſbery (*s*), both of which, at the deceaſe of the Viſcount St Albans, came to Sir Thomas Meautys, and paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong [*E*]. As he laid the foundation of his brother the Chancellor's fortunes in one ſenſe, ſo he was very uſeful to them in another likewiſe, I mean that of favour; ſince the firſt marks which Sir Francis Bacon received of King James's kindneſs and good will, are in the very grant expreſſed, to be in conſideration of the many good ſervices rendered him before his acceſſion to the throne of England, by his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, as well as by himſelf (*t*). Such are the few ſcattered memoirs we have been able to collect of this great man, which at the ſame time that they are very curious in themſelves, render them likewiſe a very uſeful Supplement to the foregoing articles.

(*p*) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 273.

(*q*) See his Dedication to the firſt edit. of his Eſſays, and likewiſe the Dedication to the ſecond edition, the former being to this brother, the latter to his brother-in-law, Sir John Conſtable.

(*r*) See the article of DEVEREUX (Robert) Earl of Eſſex.

(*s*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 463.

(*t*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 597.

30th, 1601. In it the writer tells him, that after the Earl of Eſſex was condemned, one Mr Aſhton, a Preacher, was ſent to him by the Lords, with intent to get out of him what he could. This man talked to him in a very high and ſaucy ſtrain, imputing to him ſuch baſe and black deſigns, that at length, the Earl, who profeſſed that he feared ſuch imputations on his memory, more than he did a thouſand deaths, found himſelf obliged, in defence of all that was now left him, his good name, to ſpeak more clearly to the point, than perhaps he ever intended: Thus, being extremely urged, ſays the letter writer, 'He 'made confeſſion, according to the premiſes, namely, 'that he meant to have eſtabliſhed the King of Scots 'his title in ſucceſſion, and that in this intention he 'had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in 'conſent with him, which alſo he had an earneſt 'purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as Aſhton 'and others have confeſſed; but that he was ſo 'mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary, 'as a thing that might tend to the great danger of 'her Majeſty's perſon: Now how little his honour 'is herein touched, and what ſmall reaſon, he had 'then, of all times, to diſſemble, your wiſe and 'religious heart may eaſily judge. Thus having, 'according to my wonted plainneſs, given you a true 'ſatisfaction in your deſire, I muſt humbly recommend you to the protection of God, wiſhing much 'more health and comfort to you, than either your 'weak body hath of late enjoyed, or theſe times 'do afford (13).'

[*E*] *And paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong.*] Sir Thomas Meautys who lived many years with the Viſcount St Albans, and who upon his ſentence in the Houſe of Lords, made over his eſtate to him, was likewiſe his heir, and he marrying Anne, daughter to Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford in the county of Suffolk, Knight of the Bath, left the manour of Gorhambury to her for her life, and the afterwards marrying Sir Harbottle Grimſton, he procured from Hercules Meautys, for a valuable conſideration, an aſſignment of his right to the reverſion of this eſtate, which would have deſcended to him as nephew and heir of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Meautys (14). This Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Knight and Baronet, was the direct anceſtor of the Viſcounts Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland, the preſent owners of this manour and ſeat (15), of which having ſo largely diſcourſed in the foregoing articles, it ſeemed requiſite for the reader's ſatisfaction to add theſe few lines here. E

(13) Camd. Annal. edit. T. Hearne, p. 960, 961.

(14) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(15) See the Iriſh Compend'um, under the title of Viſcount Grimſton.

BACONTHORP (*a*), or BACONDORP (*b*), or ſimply BACON (*c*) (JOHN), ſirnamed the *Reſolute Doctor*, and one of the learnedeſt men of his times, was born, towards the end of the XIIIth century, at Baconthorp, an obſcure village in Norfolk, from which he took his name. In his youth, he was a Monk in the convent of Blackney (*d*), a ſmall town in Norfolk, about five miles from Walſingham. After ſome years dedicated to learning and piety, he removed to Oxford, and from thence to Paris; where he was honoured with the degrees in Divinity and Laws, and acquired a great reputation for learning, being eſteemed the head of the *Averroïſts* [*A*], or followers of the Philoſopher Averroës (*e*). Upon his return into England, he was unanimouſly choſen the twelfth Provincial of the Engliſh Carmelites, in a general aſſembly of that order held at London, in the year 1329. Four years after, he was invited by letters to Rome; where, in ſeveral diſputations on the ſubject of marriage, he gave no little offence, by carrying the Papal authority too high in the caſe of divorces: but he thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion [*B*], and was held in great eſteem at Rome, and other parts of Italy. This learned Doctor wrote ſeveral pieces, mentioned below [*C*]. He was ſmall of ſtature [*D*], but of a great and lofty genius, as is

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 374. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(*b*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. *an.* 1346.

(*c*) Trithemius *and others call him ſo.* Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

(*d*) *Called in Latin* Nigeria.

(*e*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was eſteemed the head of the* Averroïſts.] Averroës, the author of this ſect, was an Arabian Philoſopher, of Corduba, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. He was extremely attached to Ariſtotle, whoſe works he commented on with ſuch ability, that he was ſtyled, by way of eminence, *The Commentator*. He was profeſſor in the univerſity of Morocco, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the theoretical part of Phyſick. He taught that *there is an intelligence, which, without multiplication of itſelf, animates all the individuals of the human ſpecies, in reſpect to their exerciſing the functions of a rational ſoul.* As to religion, he had really none at all: for, according to him, Chriſtianity was abſurd, Judaiſm the religion of Children, and Mahometiſm (which he outwardly profeſſed) the religion of Swine (1). 'Averroës 'of Corduba (ſays another writer) was inſtructed by 'his father in the laws and religion of his country. 'He was extremely fat, though he uſed to eat but 'once a day. He paſſed whole nights in the ſtudy 'of Philoſophy; and when he found himſelf tired, 'he diverted himſelf with reading ſome book of 'poetry or hiſtory. He was never ſeen to play, or 'to ſeek after any amuſement. The errors, of which 'he was accuſed, drew on him a ſentence, whereby 'he was deſpoiled of his goods, and obliged to recant. 'After his condemnation, he went to Fez, and afterwards returned to Corduba; where he ſtayed, till, 'at the earneſt requeſt of the people, he was recalled 'to Morocco, and continued there till his death, 'which happened in 1206 (2).' It was with reſpect to the philoſophical, not the religious, opinions of Averroës, that our Baconthorp was ſaid to be the head or chief of his followers: for he underſtood the writings of Ariſtotle, and maintained his doctrines, in a manner agreeable to the explications or comments of this Philoſopher. Hence his Panegyriſt Baptiſta Mantuanus:

(1) *See* M. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Crit. *Art.* AVERROES.

(2) Journal des Savans, 1 July, 1697, p. 475, *edit. of Holland.*

Nemo magis mentem cognovit *Averroïs*, illum
Si ſequeris, fies alter *Ariſtoteles* (3).

(3) *See the whole paſſage cited in the remark* [*E*], marg. not. (9).

[*B*] *He thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion.*] Bale aſſures us, that Baconthorp not only recanted his former doctrine, but took the other ſide of the queſtion, proving, by the ſtrongeſt arguments fetched from reaſon and Scripture, that, in degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the divine law, the Pope has no diſpenſing power. *Sed erroris a Dei verbo admonitus, vitium agnovit, deteſtabat noxam, ac palinodiam modeſtiſſime cecinit, ſolidiſſimis ſcripturis et rationibus probans, in gradibus conſanguinitatis divina lege prohibitis, Papam diſpenſare non poſſe* (4). It is remarkable, that Pits ſays not one word of Baconthorp's giving offence, and afterwards changing his opinion, but only tells us in general, that he was ſent for to Rome upon ſome important queſtions relating to marriage, and that he was as much eſteemed in Italy, as he had been in France. *Romam vocatus eſt ſuper graviſſimis de matrimonio dubiis. Tum cœpit fama hominis apud Italos, uti prius apud Gallos magis magiſque indies clareſcere* (5).

(4) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(5) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1346.

[*C*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] Among thoſe, which have ſeen the light, the moſt remarkable are the following: I. Commentaria, ſeu Quæſtiones ſuper quatuor libros Sententiarum. i. e. *Commentaries, or Queſtions on the four books of Sentences.* This book was publiſhed at Milan in 1510 and 1611; at Cremona by John Chryſoſtom Maraſce in 1618, in two volumes; twice at Paris, and once at Venice. II. Compendium Legis Chriſti, et Quodlibeta. i. e. *An Abridgment of the Law of Chriſt, and Quodlibets. Venice*, 1527. The *Quodlibeta* were publiſhed, together with the *Commentaries on the Sentences*, at Cremona in 1618 (6). Dr Cave mentions another piece, which he is not ſure was ever publiſhed. It is intitled, Tractatus Duo de Regula Ordinis Carmelitani, et Compendium hiſtoriarum et jurium pro defenſione ejuſdem ordinis. i. e. *Two Treatiſes concerning the Rule of the Order of the Carmelites, and an hiſtorical and juridical Compendium in defence of the ſaid Order.* Leland, Bale, and Pits, give us, as uſual, a very long catalogue of our author's works never yet publiſhed; among which the moſt worthy of notice are theſe: I. *Commentaries on all the books of the Bible*, and *on St Auſtin's Book* De Civitate Dei. II. *Several Treatiſes againſt the Jews.* III. *A Treatiſe againſt Pope John concerning the Viſion of the Bleſſed.* And IV. *Diſcourſes on various Subjects.*

(6) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

[*D*] *He was ſmall of ſtature.*] This circumſtance is pleaſantly aggravated by Pits and Fuller. 'Erat 'quidem, ut alter Zachæus, ſtatura puſillus, ſed 'ingenio magnus, ut mirum ſit in tam exili corpuſculo tantas habitaſſe virtutes, et naturam in tantillo 'homuncione tam ſublime collocaſſe ingenium. Tam 'ingentia ſcripſit volumina, ut corpus non tuliſſet 'quod ingenium protulerat. Nam ſi moles librorum 'ejus, compoſita ſarcina, auctoris humeris impoſita 'fuiſſet, homulum ſine dubio comprimere ſuffeciſſet '(7). *He was, like another Zachæus, a very dwarf 'in ſtature, but of ſo great a genius, that it is ſurprizing ſuch exalted virtues ſhould dwell in ſo ſmall 'a body, and that nature ſhould have placed ſo ſublime a wit, in ſuch an epitome of a man. He wrote 'ſuch large volumes, that his body could not have 'ſuſtained the product of his mind. For if the weight 'of his books, bundled together, had been laid upon 'their author's ſhoulders, the little man muſt undoubtedly 'have ſunk under it.*' In like manner Fuller makes himſelf merry with little Baconthorp. *One remarkable*, ſays he, *firſt for the dwarfiſhneſs of his ſtature:*

(7) Pits, ubi ſupra.

Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libellus,

His pen-knife, pen, ink-horn, one ſheet of paper, and any of his books, would amount to his full height. As for all the books of his own making, put together, their burden were more than his body could bear. Secondly, for his high ſpirit in his low body. Indeed, his ſoul had but a ſmall dioceſe to viſit, and therefore might the better attend the effectual informing thereof. I have heard it delivered by a learned Doctor in Phyſic (at the Anatomy Lecture in London) who a little before had been preſent at the embowling and embalming of Duke Hamilton and the Lord Capel, that the heart of the former was the largeſt, the latter the leaſt he had ever beheld, inferring hence, that contracted ſpirits act with the greateſt vigorouſneſs (8).

(8) *Worthies of England*, Norfolk, p. 255.

is sufficiently testified by writers of other nations [E], as well as our own [F]. John Baconthorp died at London [G], in the nineteenth year of Edward III, A. D. 1346 (f).

(f) Leland, Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

[E] *The greatness of his genius is acknowledged by writers of other nations.*] Baptista Mantuanus celebrates him in the following lines (9).

(9) *Apud* Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 374.

Quis liber in lucem nuper qui venit ab umbris?
Hic est Carmeli gloria magna Bacon.
Nemo magis mentem cognovit Averroïs, istum
Si sequeris, fies alter Aristoteles.
Iste tenebrosi damnat vestigia Scoti,
Et per sacra novis it documenta viis.
Hunc habeat, quibus est sapientia grata; redundat
Istius in sacris fontibus omne Sophos.

Paulus Pansa, a celebrated Orator of Italy, has immortalized the memory of Baconthorp in the following eulogium. 'Si Dei optimi maximi pene-'tralia adire suadeat animus, nemo accurabilius es-'sentiam ejus mandavit literis. Si rerum causas, si 'naturæ effectus, si cæli varios motus, ac elemen-'torum contrarias qualitates discere exoptet quisquam, 'hic se officinam offert. Christianæ religionis arma 'Vulcaniis munitiora contra Judæos, solus hic Re-'solutus Doctor ministranda tradidit: Messiæ adven-'tum dilucidat, Antichristi aperit venturas fallacias, 'Mahumeti sectam prosternit, scripturæ nodos solvit, 'et ænigmata cuncta serenat (10).——*If your incli-'nation leads you to search into the nature of Almighty 'God, no one has written more accurately upon his 'essence. If you would enquire into the causes of 'things, the effects of nature, the various motions 'of the heavens, and the contrary qualities of the 'elements, here you are presented with a magazine. 'This one Resolute Doctor has furnished the Christian 'religion with the strongest arms against the Jews: 'he clears up the coming of the Messiah, detects the 'future fallacies of Antichrist, overthrows the sect 'of Mahomet, and explains all the difficult parts of 'the Scriptures.*' The same author celebrates Baconthorp both as a Philosopher and a Divine in the following distich:

(10) *Apud* Baleum, ubi supra.

Noscere vis rerum causas, ipsumque tonantem,
Et Sophiæ omne genus? sume Baconis opus (11).

(11) *Apud* Leland, ubi supra.

I shall conclude these foreign testimonies with certain barbarous verses, written by Laurence Burell of Dijon, in the person of Baconthorp himself. They relate chiefly to our author's works, and their publication after his death. If the reader has a mind to skip over them as too long, or for any other reason, with all my heart; he has my free leave.

Anglia me genuit, Joannem quisque vocabat,
Et de Bacone nomine notus eram.
Cum cuperem sacros è fonte haurire liquores,
Parisios petii plena fluenta lares.
Illic quod studium potuit, quod cura laborque,
Præteritum ingenio nil volui esse meo.
Nam non sacra fuit tantum mihi pagina curæ,
Pontificum Canones sed placuere mihi.
Quatuor exposui vulgata volumina Petri,
Sed magis in quarto mens mea fixa fuit.
Scripsi et Ephæmerides, quæ vos Quodlibeta vocatis,
Tum vetus atque novum clarius esse dedi.
Ethica nec nostris sine scriptis lentus omisi,
In Metaphysicis stat labor ipse meus.
Inque animæ libros scripsi: tum multa notavi,
Augustine, tua rursus in urbe Dei.
Nec quæ de trino simul uno scripta dedisti,
Sum passus scriptis illa carere meis.
Anselmum exposui, dum scripto quæritat ille,
Cur Deus è Sancta Virgine factus homo?
Et dum describit quo pacto è Virgine verbum
Assumpsit carnem, sedulus exposui.
Pauperiem Christi scripsi, et quis jure tenere
Has possit fluxas pastor ovilis opes.
Historiam breviter tetigi, quæ candidus ordo
Noster, ab excelsa fit genetrice Dei.
Tum mea Judæi senserunt vulnera cæci,
Tum scripsi ut virgo concipit atque parit.
Scripsi alios multos, quos non te, candide lector,
Pœniteat studii, si semel ipse legas.
Et tandem in prima terra post fata quievi,
Dulcius est patrium quod tegit ossa solum.
Post jacui tandem per tempora longa sepultus;
Omnia sic tempus innovat atque fugat.
Franciscus Medicus, sed religionis alumnus,
Vivere me rursus et mea scripta dedit.
Nam mea formari per multa volumina fecit,
Causa fuit doctûm quod legor ore virûm.
Debeo multa viro, tum debeo multa legenti,
Multa et tu debes, dogmata quisquis amas (12).

(12) *Apud* Baleum, ibid.

[F] —— *As well as our own.*] His virtues, according to Leland, were in themselves so illustrious, that they stand in no need of borrowed colours. *Virtutes hominis tam per se illustres erant, ut pigmentis aliunde adscitis jam per se non egeant* (13). Bale assures us, he was the learnedest Monk of the Mendicant order that England ever produced; and that in all his writings, he abhorred sophistry, as heresy, blasphemy, and the bane of the Christian faith. But this historian thinks, he would have performed much greater things, and been the completest writer that ever was, had it not been for the darkness of the age he lived in, under the tyranny of Antichrist; that is, in other words, if he had not been a Papist; however, in the midst of that darkness, he saw many things of which he durst not declare his opinion. The Bishop of Ossory adds, that he had found some sentences in Baconthorp's works more weighty, than in all the other writers of his time; and that he had made a collection of them, as so many instances of the author's piety, but fears he had lost them in Ireland. *Talis ille erat in omni bonarum artium genere, qualem nec ante nec post habebat Anglia, ex omni Mendicantium Monachorum cumulo.—— In omnibus scriptis sophisticen, ut hæresim, blasphemiam, ac perniciossimam fidei pestem aspernabatur.——Si non fuisset hic scriptor ejus ætatis caligine impeditus, sub Antichristi tyrannide, multa et magna præstitisset, nec eo fuisset quicquam absolutius. Multa certe in ipsis tenebris vidit, quæ pronunciare non audebat. Porro inveni sententias aliquot graviores apud illum, quam apud omnes ejus temporis scriptores: et eas, ut fragmenta quædam pietatis ejus, collegi; quæ tamen apud Hybernos periisse timeo* (14). Pits praises him almost in the very words of Paulus Pansa (15). *Nemo doctius confundebat Judæos, nemo nervosior confutabat Turcos, vel quoscunque infideles; nemo felicius expugnabat Hereticos; nemo solidius Christi veritatem dilucidabat; nemo manifestius Antichristi falsitatem et impostoras detegebat, suisque coloribus depingebat; nemo subtilius difficiles nodos solvebat; nemo clarius obscura sacræ Scripturæ loca explanabat, et sensus reconditos et arcana mysteria dilucidius aperiebat* (16).

(13) Leland, ubi supra.

(14) Baleus, ubi supra.

(15) *See the preceding remark*, marg. not. (10).

(16) Pits, ubi supra.

[G] *He died at London.*] It is added, that he was buried in the convent of the Carmelites there; but Leland tells us, he had in vain endeavoured to discover his monument. *Tumulus à me Londini solicite quæsitus at non inventus* (17). Some pretend, he was buried at Blackney, and others assign Norwich as the place of his interment (18). T

(17) Leland, ubi supra.

(18) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 256.

BADEW (RICHARD DE) the first and original founder of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, was descended from a knightly family seated at Great Badew, or Badow, near Chelmsford in the county of Essex (a). From this place of their residence they took their surname; and here, probably, Richard de Badew was born. In 1326, he was Chancellor

(a) T. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, Lond. 1655, p. 37. Magna Britannia by T. Cox, Lond. 1727, 4to, Vol. I. p. 245.

Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge (*b*): and having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet of Nigel Thornton a Phyſician [*A*], he laid there, in the year above-mentioned, the foundation of a building, to which was given the name of Univerſity-Hall. In it he placed a Principal, who was to take care of the penſioners that came to live there at their own expence (*c*), or, as others ſay, at the charges of the univerſity (*d*); for as yet it was not endowed. It continued in this condition for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and then by an accidental fire was burnt down (*e*). Richard de Badew being unable to rebuild it, it lay for a few years in ruins. But one of the late penſioners having a great intereſt with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert de Clare Earl of Glouceſter, and third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford [*B*], he prevailed upon her to undertake what de Badew was not able to perform (*f*). Whereupon this charitable lady, after the reſignation of Walter Thaxtead the Principal, and with the conſent of Richard de Badew, new-built that hall, and endowed it, in the year 1347, with revenues for one Maſter, ten fellows, and ten ſcholars (*g*). At the ſame time ſhe named it Clare-Hall, from her own family-ſurname (*h*). When ſhe founded it, King Edward III, gave licence of mortmain to the Maſter and Scholars, to take lands and tenements, to the value of forty pounds a year (*i*). The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors [*C*], ſo that at preſent it contains one Maſter, eighteen fellows, and ſixty-three ſcholars (*k*). Some conclude (*l*) from the two following verſes of Chaucer (*m*) that it was formerly called Sollere or Scholler-hall,

And namely there was a great college,
Men clepen (*n*) it the Sollere-hall of Cambrege.

(*n*) *i. e.* call.

(*b*) Fuller, ibid. J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebr. Acad. p. 57, edit. 1574, Lond. 4*to*. Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8*vo*, p. 42.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Scot's Tables quoted by T. Fuller, ibid. The Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 4.

(*e*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.

(*f*) Caius, & Fuller, ibid.

(*g*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Stow, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) In the Reve's Tale.

[*A*] *Having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet, &c.*] Stow ſays (1), that it was founded by the Chancellor, R. Badew, and Maſters of the univerſity of Cambridge, upon a ground whereon ſtood two houſes, belonging of old time to the ſaid Chancellor and univerſity, in Miln-ſtreet.

[*B*] *Third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare, the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford.*] Namely of that name and family. She was married three times, 1. To John de Burgh, ſon and heir to the Earl of Ulſter (2), by whom ſhe had William de Burgh laſt Earl of Ulſter. 2. To Theobald of Verdon. And 3. To Sir Roger Damary, or Tamari (3). She had formerly been a benefactreſs to Univerſity-Hall, having beſtowed upon it the perpetual patronage of Litlington, and been otherwiſe very bountiful to that foundation (4).

[*C*] *The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors.*] The chief of them have been, John Thaxton, Editha Green, William Ducket, William Worleigh, William Marſhal, Ralph Scrivener, Thomas Cave, Thomas Stoyle, or Stoite, Edmund Natureſs, Edward Leedes, Robert Scot, Thomas Cecil Earl of Exeter, and his lady Dorothy, who gave 108 pounds a year in rent, William Butler, John Freeman, George Ruggle, Sir Robert Heath, Thomas Binge, Humphrey Hide, Robert Johnſon, Eraſmus Farrar, William Briden, Thomas Croply, &c (5).

(1) In his Account of the Univerſities in England, at the end of his Chronicle.

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. edit. Francof. 1603, fol. p. 106. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 217.

(3) Stow's Ann. ubi ſupra, p. 1058, edit. 1631.

(4) Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, ubi ſupra.

(5) Ibid. and Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

C

BAINBRIDGE (JOHN), an eminent Phyſician and Aſtronomer of the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Robert Bainbridge by Anne his wife, daughter of Richard Everard, of Shenton in Leiceſterſhire, and born, in the year 1582, at Aſhby de la Zouch, in the ſame county. He was educated at the grammar-ſchool in that town, and from thence removed to Emanuel College in Cambridge, under the tuition of his kinſman Dr Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. He took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and ſtudied Phyſic in that univerſity; after which he retired to his own country, where he taught a grammar-ſchool for ſome years, and practiſed Phyſic (*a*). He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, eſpecially Aſtronomy, of which he had been extremely fond from his earlieſt years. By the advice of his friends, he removed to London, where he was admitted a Fellow of the college of Phyſicians (*b*). His *Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 brought him acquainted with Sir Henry Savile, who, without any application or recommendation in favour of Dr Bainbridge, appointed him his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in the year 1619; whereupon he removed thither, and was entered a maſter-commoner of Merton College; of which ſociety he continued a member ſome years. In 1631, he was appointed by the Maſter and Fellows of Merton, Junior-Reader of Linacre's lecture, and in 1635 Superior Reader of the ſame lecture (*c*). Having reſolved to publiſh correct editions of the antient Aſtronomers, agreeably to the ſtatutes of the founder of that profeſſorſhip, in order to acquaint himſelf with the diſcoveries of the Arabian Aſtronomers, he began to ſtudy the Arabic language, being then about forty years of age (*d*). Some time before his death, he removed to an houſe over againſt Merton College church, and died there November the 3d, 1643, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His body was conveyed to the publick ſchools, where it reſted ſome time; and, an oration having been ſpoken in praiſe of the deceaſed by Mr William Strode, the univerſity Orator, it was carried from thence, attended by a great number of members of the univerſity, to Merton College, and there depoſited near the high altar (*e*). An epitaph, ſaid to be written by his ſucceſſor Mr Greaves [*A*], was inſcribed on his monument.

(*a*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 34. and Th. Smith *Commentariolus de vita et ſtudiis Joannis Bainbridgii*, p. 3. publiſhed in his *Vitæ quorundam eruditiſſ. et illuſtriſſ. virorum*, London, 1708, 4*to*.

(*b*) Th. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Th. Smith, ib. p. 10, 11.

(*e*) Wood, ib. & Smith, ib. p. 12.

[*A*] *His epitaph* —— *ſaid to be written by Mr Greaves.*] It is as follows: *Si ſcire cupias, viator, quis et quantus hic jacet, alibi quæras oportet; dicere ſatis nequeo. Britannia tota viri famam non capit. Ne cætera tamen ignores, in rem tuam pauca hæc accipe.* JOANNES BAINBRIDGIUS, *vir famæ integerrimæ, et doctrinæ incomparabilis; Medicinæ profeſſor et Matheſeos, morborum tam felix expugnator novorum,*

quam

monument. We ſhall give an account of Dr Bainbridge's works in the remark [B], and ſhall ſet down an odd ſtory concerning him from Dr Walter Pope [C].

BAKER

quam ſagax indagator ſyderum; Quem primum Aſtronomiæ profeſſorem, et dignum collegam, in mathematicis prælecturis, quas magnificè erexerat, prudens hominum et librorum æſtimator, elegit Savilius; Quem Cantabrigiæ educatum Academia Oxonienſis fovit ut ſuum, defunctum publicè flevit, ut par utriuſque ornamentum; Qui Scaligerum felicius correxit, quam Scaliger tempora; In non levem literarum jacturam, immaturus obiit MDCXLIII. *Abi jam; cætera quære vel ab exteris.*

In Engliſh;

'If, paſſenger, you would know who, and how 'great a man lies here, you muſt enquire elſewhere; 'I cannot ſufficiently inform you; all Britain is too 'little for his fame. But that you may not be ig'norant of the reſt, take the following account for 'your benefit. JOHN BAINBRIDGE, a perſon of the 'moſt unblemiſhed character, and unequalled learn'ing, Profeſſor of Phyſic and Mathematics, as ſuc'ceſsful in removing new diſeaſes, as ſagacious in his 'obſervations on the ſtars; whom Sir Henry Savile, 'that excellent judge of men and books, appointed 'his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and his worthy col'league in the mathematical lectures he had ſo nobly 'founded; who, having been educated at Cambridge, 'was cheriſhed by the univerſity of Oxford as her 'own ſon, and honoured by her with a public oration 'and funeral, as equally an ornament of both; who 'corrected Scaliger with more ſucceſs than Scaliger 'had corrected Chronology; died too early for the 'intereſt of learning, in the year 1643. Go now 'and learn the reſt even from foreigners.'

(1) Comment. de vit. et. ſtud. J. B. p. 13. *apud* Vit. quorund. erudit. et illuſtr. viror. *Lond.* 1708, 4*to*.

Dr Smith, who gives us this epitaph (1), tells us, he is not certain it was written by Mr Greaves, though many aſſert it was; and that he had tranſcribed the following epitaph from a manuſcript of that gentleman's. *Quod ſupereſt clariſſimi viri D. Joannis Bainbridge, in Academia Oxonienſi publici Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris, ſub hoc marmore clauditur. Quod vero amavimus, quod ſuſpeximus, quod mœſti deſideramus, fruſtra hic quæras: illud cælo, cui vivus animo cogitationeque incubuit, receptum eſt. Obiit* A. D. CIↃ. IↃC. XLIII. IX*bris* III. *ætatis ſuæ* LXII. *hora ſexta matutina.*

In Engliſh.

'Under this marble is depoſited, what remains of 'the celebrated Dr John Bainbridge, public Profeſſor 'of Aſtronomy at Oxford: but it is in vain to look 'for, in this place, what we loved, what we ad'mired, and what we now lament the loſs of; that 'part of him is raiſed to Heaven, on which, while 'he lived, his mind and thoughts were earneſtly in'tent. He died the third of November 1643, aged 'ſixty-two, at ſix o' clock in the morning.'

[B] *His works.*] 1. *An Aſtronomical Deſcription of the late Comet from the 18th of November 1618, to the 16th of December following*, London 1619 in 4to (2). This piece was only a ſpecimen of a larger work, which the author intended to publiſh in Latin under the title of *Cometographia*, i. e. 'the doctrine 'of Comets.' He ſeems indeed to have given a little too much into the vulgar notion of comets being preſages of ſome impending calamity; with which perſuaſion he has ſubjoined to this treatiſe, certain *Moral Prognoſtics* (3). 2. *Procli Sphæra* and *Ptolomæi de Hypotheſibus Planetarum liber ſingularis*; to which he added Ptolemy's *Canon regnorum*: both collated with manuſcripts, put into Latin, and publiſhed by our author with figures: Printed in 1620 in 4to. 3. *Canicularia*; being a treatiſe concerning the Dog-ſtar and the Canicular Days; publiſhed at Oxford in 1648 by Mr Greaves, together with a demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of Sirius or the Dog-ſtar for the parallel of Lower Egypt (4). Dr Bainbridge wrote this treatiſe at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Uſher, but left it imperfect, being prevented either by the troubles, which followed upon the breaking out of the civil war, or by death; ſo that he was not able to finiſh his demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of the Dog-ſtar, which, as Mr Greaves ſays, was the only pillar of that diſcourſe (5). Theſe are all our author's writings that have been publiſhed: but there were ſeveral diſſertations of his prepared for the preſs, the year after his death, with the approbation of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though the edition of them was never completed. The titles of them are as follows, 1. *Antiprognoſticon, in quo* μαντικῆς *aſtrologicæ, cæleſtium domorum, et triplicitatum commentis, magniſque Saturni et Jovis (cujuſmodi anno* 1623 *et* 1643 *contigerunt, et viceſimo fere quoque deinceps anno, ratis naturæ legibus, recurrent) conjunctionibus innixæ, vanitas breviter detegitur: i. e.* 'Antiprognoſtics, in which is briefly 'detected the vanity of Aſtrological predictions, 'grounded upon the idle conceits of celeſtial houſes 'and triplicities, and the grand conjunctions of Sa'turn and Jupiter, ſuch as happened in the years '1623 and 1643, and will recur once in almoſt every 'twenty years hereafter, agreeably to the ſtated laws 'of nature.' 2. *De Meridianorum ſive Longitudinum differentiis inveniendis Diſſertatio:* i. e. 'A Diſſer'tation concerning the method of finding the diffe'rences of the Meridians or Longitudes.' 3. *De Stella Veneris Diatriba:* i. e. 'A Diſſertation con'cerning the Planet Venus.' To theſe pieces was added, the oration ſpoken at his funeral by the Univerſity Orator, Mr William Strode. They fell into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith, who promiſed to publiſh them, if the avarice of the Bookſellers, as he terms it, would give him leave (6). Beſides theſe, a ſpecimen of *Celeſtial Obſervations*, made by Dr Bainbridge at Oxford, may be ſeen in Iſmael Bullialdus's *Aſtronomia Philolaica* (7), publiſhed at Paris in 1645. But the pieces hitherto mentioned are very inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe other tracts of our author's, which never were publiſhed, but left by his will to Archbiſhop Uſher; among whoſe manuſcripts they are preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin. Among others, are the following: 1. *A Theory of the Sun.* 2. *A Theory of the Moon.* 3. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Quantity of the Year.* 4. *Two volumes of Aſtronomical Obſervations*; and 5. *Nine or ten volumes of Miſcellaneous Papers relating to the Mathematics* (8). Dr Bainbridge undertook likewiſe, *a Deſcription of the Britiſh Monarchy*, diſtinguiſhed into three columns, in order to ſhew the advantages of the union of England and Scotland under one Monarch; as appears from his dedication of the *the Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 to King James I; but this treatiſe was either ſuppreſſed by him, or is loſt (9).

(5) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Lib. xii. p. 467.

(8) Smith, ib. p. 15.

(9) Id. ib. p. 15, 16.

[C] *An odd ſtory concerning* Dr Bainbridge *related by* Dr Walter Pope.] That writer, in his *Life of Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury* (10), ſpeaking of the Doctor, ſays, 'This was the ſame Dr Bambridge (*), 'who was afterwards Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy 'at Oxford, a learned and good Mathematician; 'yet there goes a ſtory of him, which was in many 'ſcholars mouths, when I was firſt admitted there, 'that he put upon the ſchool-gate an *Affiche*, or writ'ten paper, as the cuſtom is, giving notice, at what 'time, and upon what ſubject, the Profeſſor will 'read, which ended in theſe words, *lecturus de polis 'et axis*, under which was written by an unknown 'hand as follows;

(10) Ch. iii.

(*) Erroneouſly for *Bainbridge*.

'Doctor Bambridge
'Came from Cambridge,
'To read *de polis et axis:*
'Let him go back again,
'Like a dunce as he came,
'And learn a new Syntaxis.

Dr Smith takes notice of this ſtory, and tells us, the Doctor's reputation had ſuffered, upon the moſt trifling account, from the falſe and malicious calumny of ſome perſons, who charged him with an offence againſt Syntax in one of his lectures; which abſurd and ridiculous ſtory he ſhould have omitted, as unworthy of any reply, had not a certain eminent buffoon inſerted that ſtupid epigram in a late book of his

(2) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 34.

(3) Th. Smith, Comment. *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra.

his. *In vindicias illius famæ, quam licet in re levicula, læſit mendaciſſima quorundam obtrectatio, quaſi in prælectione habita contra Grammaticæ Syntaxeos regulas ex ignorantia ſemel peccaſſet; quam utpote ſcomma abſurdum ridiculumque, et quod ſerio refutetur prorſus indignum, penitus omiſiſſem, niſi inſignis quidam Sannio in nupero libello epigramma illud inficetum, rythmis Anglicanis olim conſcribillatum, ad captandum puerorum plauſum, irriſorium planè in modum inſeruiſſet* (11). But by Dr Smith's leave, he had no good reaſon for being ſo very angry with this epigram; which does not, as he pretends, charge Dr Bainbridge with committing an error in Syntax in one of his lectures, but only in the *Affiche* or written paper; and it is nothing more than a pleaſant banter upon the miſtake of *axis* for *axibus*, which might happen through haſte and inadvertency. T

(11) Smith, ib. p. 16.

BAKER (Sir RICHARD) a writer in the XVIIth century, and noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England [*A*], was born at Siſſingherſt in Kent (*a*), about the year 1568 (*b*). His mother was Catherine, daughter of Sir Reynold Scot of Scots-hall in Kent, Knight: and his father, John Baker of London, Gentleman, a younger ſon of Sir John Baker, of Siſſingherſt abovementioned, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy-Council to King Henry VIII (*c*). Our author was entered a Commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in 1584, and matriculated in Michaelmas-term the ſame year, being in the ſixteenth year of his age (*d*). After he had ſpent in this place about three years, in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy [*B*], he went to one of the Inns of Court, and compleated his education by travelling into foreign parts; nothing being omitted by his parents to render him an accompliſhed gentleman. In 1594, after the celebration of a ſolemn Act, he was, with other perſons of quality, created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*e*); and in May 1603 [*C*], he received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds (*f*). At that time he lived at Highgate near London, and was eſteemed a moſt compleat and learned perſon (*g*). In 1620 he was High-Sheriff of Oxfordſhire, being poſſeſſed of the manour of Middle-Aſton, and other eſtates in that county; and was alſo a Juſtice of Peace for the ſame (*h*). He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Manwaring of Ightfield in Shropſhire, Knight; which marriage cauſed him a great deal of trouble, and involved him into inextricable difficulties. For, engaging unwiſely for the payment of ſome of that

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 71. Fuller, by miſtake, ſays, that he was a native of Oxfordſhire, *Worthies of England*, &c. in Oxfordſhire, p. 338, edit. 1662, fol.

(*b*) For in 1584, when he was admitted in Oxford, he was in the 16th year of his age. Wood, ibid. col. 72.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. col. 71.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. & Faſti, Vol. I. col. 149.

(*f*) See his Chronicle, in the beginning of the reign of King James I.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 72.

(*h*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England.*] The whole title of it was as follows, 'A Chronicle of the Kings of England, 'from the time of the Romans Government unto the 'death of King James. Containing all Paſſages of 'State and Church, with all other Obſervations pro-'per for a Chronicle. Faithfully collected out of 'Authors ancient and modern; and digeſted into a 'new method. By Sir Richard Baker, Knight.' The firſt edition of it was publiſhed at London in 1641, fol. the ſecond in 1653, and the third in 1658. To this third edition was added, 'The reign of King 'Charles the Firſt,' with 'A Continuation from his 'death to 1658.' By Edward Phillips, ſometimes a ſtudent of Magdalen-Hall, Oxon, and nephew to the celebrated poet J. Milton. The fourth edition came out in 1665, having a continuation of the Chronicle to the coronation of King Charles the Second: in 'which were many material Affairs of State never 'before publiſhed; and likewiſe the moſt remarkable 'Occurrences relating to his Majeſties Reſtauration, 'by the prudent conduct of General Monck, Duke 'of Albemarle, and Captain-General of all his Ma-'jeſties Armies: as they were extracted out of his Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Me-'morials of thoſe imployed in the moſt important and 'ſecret Tranſactions of that Time.' The account of the Reſtoration was ſaid to be moſtly done by Sir Thomas Clarges, whoſe ſiſter the Duke of Albemarle had married, and put into the hands of Edward Phildips, who attributing more to the Duke's glory than was true, got his ill-will (1). This Chronicle was in great vogue for ſeveral years, being a common piece of furniture in almoſt every country Eſquire's hall. And juſtly indeed, if what the author of it ſaid in it's commendation was true, 'That it was collected with ſo great care 'and diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles ſhould 'be loſt, this only would be ſufficient to inform po-'ſterity of all paſſages memorable or worthy to be 'known (2).' But all perſons have not entertained the ſame favourable opinion of that performance. One ſays (3), 'that it being reduced to method, and 'not according to time, purpoſely to pleaſe gentlemen 'and novices, many chief things to be obſerved 'therein, as name, time, &c. are egregiouſly falſe, 'and conſequently breed a great deal of confuſion in 'the peruſer, eſpecially if he be curious or critical.' Another (5) allows, that 'the author was a perſon 'of thoſe accompliſhments in wit and language, that 'his Chronicle has been the beſt read and liked of 'any hitherto publiſhed; and that his method is new, 'and ſeems to pleaſe the rabble; but, adds he, learned 'men will be of another opinion.' The greateſt adverſary to that book, was Thomas Blount, Eſq (6); who in 1672, publiſhed at Oxford in 12*mo*, 'Ani-'madverſions upon Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, 'and it's Continuation. Wherein many Errors are 'diſcovered, and ſome Truths advanced.' In the preface, he expreſſes his wonder, to ſee that Chronicle twice printed by itſelf, and three times with a Continuation (7), and no perſon ſhould impugn it, being ſtuffed with ſo many contradictions and repetitions, ſo many miſtimings and miſtakings, as of other things of moment, ſo eſpecially of the pedigrees, names, and place of our ancient Nobility, Biſhops, Baronets, Gentry, &c. In the ſame preface, he calls the Continuator 'a perſon of incompetent parts for 'ſo great an undertaking; and obſerves, that many 'paſſages are omitted in the reign of King James, 'which was the time Sir Richard lived in, and had 'been fit for the Continuator to have ſupplied; who 'inſtead thereof, has ſwelled the Continuation into 'ſuch a bulk of indigeſted matter, as is not at all 'ſuitable to the reſt of the Hiſtory.' Notwithſtanding theſe Animadverſions, that Chronicle was reprinted ſince that time, and ſold as well as ever, though no notice was taken of the animadverſions, but all the old faults remained uncorrected, as Mr Nicolſon complained (8). In 1730, a new edition of this Chronicle was printed at London, fol. with E. Phillips's Continuation; and a 'ſecond Continuation, containing 'the Reigns of King Charles II from his Reſtoration, 'King James II, King William and Queen Mary II, 'Queen Anne, and King George I; by an impartial 'Hand' Many miſtakes are ſaid to be corrected in Sir Richard Baker's part; and E. Phillips's Continuation is contracted, many publick pieces, liſts of names, &c. being either omitted, or the ſubſtance of them only given in this edition. But, after all, it is a very mean and jejune performance; and no wiſe to be relied on.

(1) Wood, Athen. Vol. II. col. 72. 73.

(2) Preface to his Chronicle.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 72.

(5) Mr Nicolſon, in his Hiſtorical Library, Part i. p. 196.

(6) See the article BLOUNT (THOMAS).

(7) For there was a fifth edition publiſhed in 1671, and ſeveral ſince.

(8) Hiſt. Library, ubi ſupra, p. 197.

[*B*] *After he had ſpent in Hart-Hall about three years in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy, &c.*] He had there for his chamber-fellow the eminent Henry Wotton, Eſq; who was knighted afterwards, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies (9).

(9) Wood, Athen. Vol. I. col. 623.

(10) Athen. Vol. II. col. 72.

[*C*] *In May* 1603 *he received the honour of knighthood.*] A. Wood ſays (10), it was May 17; which ſeems to be a miſtake, for King James ſtaid no longer at Theobalds than May the 7th, when he removed to London (11).

(11) See Camden's Ann. of King James I, in Compl. Hiſtory, Vol. II. ——— and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 822.

[*D*] *Where*

(i) Ibid. col. 74.

(k) Hiſt. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Oxfordſh. p. 339.

(l) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 74.

(m) Ibid. col. 72.

that family's debts (*i*), he was thereby reduced to poverty; and forced to betake himſelf for ſhelter to the Fleet-priſon, where he compoſed ſeveral books [*D*]; and ſo reaped, in his old age, the benefit of his learning, when his conſiderable eſtate, through ſurety-ſhip, was very much impaired (*k*). At length, after a life full of troubles and cares, he died very poor in the Fleet-priſon in London, February the 18th, 1644-5, and was buried the next day about the middle of the ſouth iſle of St Bride's church in Fleet-ſtreet (*l*). 'He was a perſon tall and comely, of a good diſpoſition and admirable 'diſcourſe, religious, and well read in various faculties, eſpecially in Divinity and 'Hiſtory (*m*).' By his wife Margaret abovementioned, he had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, Anne, Margaret, &c [*E*].

[*D*] *Where he compoſed ſeveral books.*] Namely, I. *Cato Variegatus*, or Cato's Moral Diſtichs varied; in verſe. Lond. 1636. II. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the Lord's Prayer. Lond. 1637, 4*to*. The fourth edition of it was publiſhed in 1640, 4*to*. A copy of this book being ſent to Sir Henry Wotton, formerly his chamber-fellow, before it went to the preſs. he returned this teſtimony of it. 'I much 'admire the very character of your ſtile, which 'ſeemeth unto me to have not a little of the African 'idea of St Auſtin's age, full of ſweet raptures, and 'of reſearching conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing 'vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not 'how) with a certain equal facility.' III. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the three laſt Pſalms of David. Lond. 1639. IV. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the fiftieth Pſalm. Lond. 1639. V. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, which are, the 6. 32. 38. 51. 102. 130. 143. Lond. 1639, 4*to*. VI. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the firſt Pſalm. Lond. 1640, 4*to*. VII. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven conſolatory Pſalms of David, namely, the 23. 27. 30. 34. 84. 103. and 116. Lond. 1640. 4*to*. VIII. Meditations and Prayers upon the ſeven days of the week. Lond. 1640. 16*to*. which is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with his 'Motive of Prayer on the ſeven days of the week.' IX. Apology for Laymens writing in Divinity. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. X. Short Meditations on the fall of Lucifer ——printed with the Apology. XI. A Soliloquy of the Soul, or a Pillar of Thoughts, &c. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. XII. *Theatrum redivivum:* or the Theatre vindicated, in anſwer to Mr Prynne's *Hiſtrio-maſtrix*, &c. Lond. 1662. 8*vo*. XIII. *Theatrum triumphans:* or a Diſcourſe of plays, Lond. 1670. 8*vo*. XIV. He tranſlated from Italian into Engliſh, the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi's 'Diſcourſes on Tacitus,' being 53 in number. Lond. 1642. fol. And from French into Engliſh, the three firſt parts of the 'Letters of Mon-'ſieur Balzac.' Printed at London 1638, 8*vo*. and again in 1654. 4*to*. with additions; and alſo in 8*vo*. The fourth and laſt part ſeems to have been done by another hand; the preface to it being ſubſcribed F. B. Sir Richard wrote alſo his own life, and left it in manuſcript; but it was deſtroyed by one Smith, who married one of his daughters (12).

(12) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 72, 74.

[*E*] *He had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, &c.*] His family being left in very moderate circumſtances, one of his daughters married —— Bury, a Seedſman at the Frying-pan in Newgate-ſtreet, London; and another, to one Smith of Pater-noſter-row (13).

(13) Ibid. col. 71, note (*s*) and col. 74.

C

BAKER (THOMAS) an eminent Mathematician in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of James Baker of Ilton in Somerſetſhire, Steward to the family of the Strangways of Dorſetſhire (*a*). He was born at Ilton about the year 1625 (*b*), and entered in Magdalen-Hall Oxon. in the beginning of the year 1640. On the 27th of April 1645 he was elected ſcholar of Wadham-College; and did ſome little ſervice to King Charles I within the garriſon of Oxford. He was admitted Bachelor of Arts April 10, 1647, but left the univerſity without compleating that degree by determination. Afterwards he became Vicar of Biſhop's-Nymmet in Devonſhire, where he lived many years in a moſt retired and ſtudious condition. What he chiefly applied himſelf to, was the ſtudy of the Mathematics, in which he made a very great progreſs: But in his obſcure neighbourhood, he was neither known, nor ſufficiently valued for his eminent ſkill in that uſeful branch of knowledge, till he publiſhed a book entitled 'The Geometrical 'Key, &c [*A*].' A little before his death, the members of the Royal Society ſent him ſome mathematical queries: to which he returned ſo ſatisfactory an anſwer, that they gave him a medal with an inſcription full of honour and reſpect. He died at Biſhop's-Nymmet aforementioned, on the 5th of June 1690, and was buried in his own church (*c*).

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 850, edit. Lond. 1721.

(b) See Wood, ibid. He was about 15 years old in 1640.

(c) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The Geometrical Key, &c.*] The whole title of the book, is, 'The Geometrical Key; or, the 'Gate of Equations unlocked; or, a new Diſcovery 'of the Conſtruction of all Equations, howſoever af-'fected, not exceeding the fourth degree, viz. of 'Linears, Quadratics, Cubics, Biquadratics, and the 'finding of all their Roots, as well falſe as true, with-'out the uſe of Meſolabe, Triſection of Angles, with-'out Reduction, Depreſſion, or any other previous 'Preparations of Equations, by a Circle, and any '(and that one only) Parabole, &c.' London 1684, 4to in Latin and Engliſh. An account is given of this book in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (1). And it is there obſerved, that the author, in order to free us of the trouble of preparing the equation by taking away the ſecond term, ſhews us how to conſtruct all affected equations not exceeding the fourth power, by the interſection of a circle and Parabola, without omiſſion or change of any terms. And a circle and a parabola being the moſt ſimple, it follows, that the way which our author has choſen is the beſt. In the book (to render it intelligible even to thoſe who have read no conics) the author ſhews, how a parabola ariſes from the ſection of a cone, then how to deſcribe it *in plano*, and from that conſtruction demonſtrates, that the ſquares of the ordinates are one to another, as the correſpondent *ſagittæ* or intercepted diameters; then he ſhews, that if a line be inſcribed in a parabola perpendicular to any diameter, a rectangle made of the ſegments of the inſcript, will be equal to a rectangle made of the intercepted diameter and parameter of the axis. From this laſt propriety our author deduces the univerſality of his central rule for the ſolution of all biquadratic and cubic equations, however affected or varied in terms or ſigns. After the ſyntheſis the author ſhews the analyſis or method, by which he found this rule; which, in the opinion of Dr R. Plot (who was then Secretary to the Royal Society) is ſo good, that nothing can be expected more eaſy, ſimple, or univerſal.

(1) Vol. XIV. No. 157. p. 549, 550.

C

BALDOCK (RALPH DE), Biſhop of London in the reigns of Edward I and II (*a*), was educated at Merton-College in Oxford (*b*), became Archdeacon of Middleſex, and

(a) Henr. Wharton, Hiſtor. de Epiſc. Londinenſ. p. 108, *edit.* 1695. (b) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lond. *an.* 1305.

and, in 1294, Dean of St Paul's (*c*). The See of London being vacant by the death of Richard de Gravesend, Baldock was unanimously chosen, September the 20th 1304 (*d*). But, his election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome [*A*], and, having obtained the Pope's confirmation, was consecrated at Lyons by Peter Hispanus Cardinal of Alba, January the 30th, 1306 (*e*). Being returned into England, he made profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishop in the church of Canterbury, March the 29th, 1306 (*f*), and was inthroned, the 27th of July, in St Paul's church (*g*). The same year, he was appointed by the Pope one of the Commissioners for examination of the articles alledged against the Knights Templars (*h*). The year following, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England: but, Edward I dying soon after, he held that post scarce a year (*i*). December the 2d, 1308, this Prelate, with the approbation of the Chapter, settled a stipend on the Chancellor of St Paul's, for reading lectures in Divinity in that church, according to a constitution of his predecessor Richard de Gravesend (*k*). He contributed two hundred marcs towards building the chapel of St Mary [*B*] on the east side of St Paul's. He founded also a chantry of two priests in the said church, near the altar of St Erkenwald (*l*). He was a person of a very amiable character [*C*] both for morals and learning, and deserved well of his country by his writings, which were; I. *Historia Anglica*, or 'An History of the British Affairs down to his 'own Time.' It is not now extant, though Leland says (*m*) he saw it at London [*D*]: II. A Collection of the *Statutes* and *Constitutions* of the church of St Paul's, extant in the library of that church in 1559 (*n*). Bishop Baldock died at Stepney, July the 24th, 1313, having sat from his consecration a little more than seven years, and was buried under a marble monument in the chapel of St Mary (*o*).

There was about the same time a ROBERT DE BALDOCK, a Canon of London, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who, upon the vacancy of the See of London by the death of Bishop Baldock, was (together with John Colchester, another Canon) presented by the Chapter of London to the Chapter of Canterbury (that See being likewise vacant) for the choice of one of them to be official of the diocese of London (*p*). This Robert Baldock was in great favour with King Edward II, who made him his Chancellor, and nominated him to the bishoprick of Norwich, into which he was elected about the middle of the year 1325, and confirmed by the Archbishop in the month of August. But he could not obtain the See, by reason of a Papal provision in favour of William de Ayremin. Soon after, he lost his liberty and life by the intestine sedition, which deprived King Edward of his crown: for, being seized by the enraged populace, he was dragged to

(*c*) Cave, Hist. Literar. *Sæc. Wicklev.* an. 1304.

(*d*) Wharton, ibid.

(*e*) Epistola Clementis Papæ, in Registr. Cant. *data* Febr. 1, 1306.

(*f*) Registr. Cranborn.

(*g*) Wharton, ubi supra, p. 109.

(*h*) Th. Stubbs, Act. Pontiff. Ebor. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1730.

(*i*) Adam Merimuth. *Continuat.* Matth. Westm. *ap.* Wharton, ib. p. 110.

(*k*) Registr. Baldock.

(*l*) Adam Merim. ubi supra.

(*m*) Comment. de Script. Brit. n. 333.

(*n*) Dugdale's Monast. Angl. T. III. p. 365.

(*o*) Adam Merim. ubi supra, p. 111.

(*p*) Ex Instrum. Autograph.

[*A*] *His election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome.*] During the vacancy of the See, the Archbishop had visited the church of St Paul's, and suspended three of the Canons, one of whom was Peter de Dene. Afterwards, when the Chapter met for the choice of a Bishop, the three deprived Canons demanded their seat among the rest; but being refused it, they protested against the election, and appealed to the Pope. The chapter nevertheless proceeded in their choice; after which Peter de Dene, in the name of the three Canons, appealed a second time against the election and confirmation, and obtained from the Pope a citation to the Bishop elect, to appear on a certain day at Rome, before Landulph Cardinal Deacon of St Angelo, who was appointed to hear and determine the cause. Accordingly the new Bishop set out for Rome the 8th of September (1); but Pope Benedict dying in the interim, Cardinal Landulph referred the cause to his successor Pope Clement. In short, Baldock and Peter appeared on the day assigned; but, Peter renouncing his appeal, and dropping the cause, the Pope ratified Baldock's election and confirmation, and ordered him to be consecrated (2).

(1) Matth. West. Flor. Histor. *ap.* Henr. Wharton, Histor. de Episc. Londinens. &c. p. 108, 109, *edit.* 1695.

(2) Epistola Clementis Papæ *in* Registr. Cant. *data* Lugduni, Febr. 1, 1306.

[*B*] *The chapel of St. Mary.*] It was called *the New Work* *, and in 1312 was paved with marble. Three years after, a great part of the spire, being decayed with age, was taken down, and rebuilt with greater magnificence; and on the top was fixed a very large cross, in which were placed the relics of several saints (3). As the magnificent cathedral of St PAUL's was now finished by the building this chapel, it will not be improper in this place to mention the conjecture of our great Antiquarian Mr Camden, that a temple of *Diana* formerly stood upon the same spot. But take it in his own words, as translated by his learned editor (4). 'Some have fancied that the 'temple of Diana formerly stood here; and there 'are circumstances that strengthen their conjecture; 'as the old adjacent buildings being called in their 'records *Dianæ Camera*, i. e. the chamber of Diana; 'the digging up in the church-yard in Edward the 'first's reign (as we find by our annals) an incredible 'number of ox-heads; which the common people 'at that time, not without great admiration, looked 'upon to have been Gentile-sacrifices; and the learned 'know, that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in ho-'nour of Diana. And when I was a boy, I have seen a 'stag's head fixed upon a spear (agreeable enough to the 'sacrifices of Diana) and carried about in the very church 'with great solemnity and sounding of horns. And 'I have heard, that the stag, which the family of '*Baud* in Essex were bound to pay for certain lands, 'was used to be received at the steps of the choir 'by the members of this church, in their sacerdotal 'robes, and with garlands of flowers about their 'heads. Whether this was a custom before the Bauds 'were obliged to the payment of this stag, I know 'not; but certain it is, this ceremony savours more 'of the worship of Diana and the Gentile errors, 'than of the Christian religion. And it is beyond 'all doubt, that some of these strange rites did creep 'into the Christian religion; which the primitive 'Christians either closed with, out of that natural 'inclination mankind has to superstition, or bore 'with them in the beginning, with design to draw 'over the Gentiles by little and little to the worship 'of the true God.' Whether these arguments are sufficient to support Mr Camden's conjecture, is not our business here to enquire.

(*) Novum Opus.

(3). Adam Merimuth. *apud* Wharton. ubi supra, p. 111.

(4) *See* Camden's *Britannia* by Bishop Gibson, 2d *edit.* Vol. I. col. 377.

[*C*] *He was a person of very amiable character.*] Pits tells us (5), he was a man of a mild and gentle disposition, a wonderful affability, and incredible sweetness of manners; which qualifications of mind, joined with an extraordinary piety, and no less learning, recommended him to the favour of great men and Princes, especially the Kings Edward I and II. *Vir miti placidoque ingenio, mira affabilitate, incredibili morum suavitate. Propter quas animi dotes cum singulari pietate et eruditione pari conjunctas magnatum et principum benevolentiam gratiamque mirifice conciliavit. Imprimis eum magno in pretio habuerunt Reges Edwardus primus, ejusque filius Edwardus secundus.*

(5) De illustr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1313. n. 459.

[*D*] *Leland says, he saw it at London.*] That writer tells us (6), that, carefully perusing John Abbot of Burgh's *Annals of the English Affairs*, and coming to the year 1292, he met with a passage, in which honourable mention was made of Baldock's history. This put our Antiquarian upon enquiring after the book, which at length he found in the library of St Paul's church, and read it through. *Nuper enim*

(6) De Script. Brit. c. 333.

cum

to the priſon of Newgate, where he died in a moſt wretched condition, and was buried, May the 8th, in St Paul's church (*q*).

(*q*) Adam Merim. ubi ſupra.

cum ſtudioſe legerem Joannis, Abbatis Burgenſis, Annales de rebus Anglicis, *et pervenirem ad annum* D. 1292, *incidi in locum, ubi honeſtam mentionem fecit hiſtoriæ* Radulphi Baldochii. *Hinc ego, juſtam nactus occaſionem, quæſivi librum non contemnendum, et tandem Londini in fano Pauli inveni et perlegi.* T

BALDWIN, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, was born of obſcure parents at Exeter, where he received a liberal education, and in his younger years taught ſchool (*a*). Afterwards, entering into Holy Orders, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter. But, ſoon quitting that dignity and the world together, he took the habit of the Ciſtertian order in the monaſtery of Ford in Devonſhire, and in a few years became Abbot thereof (*b*). From thence he was promoted to the See of Worceſter, and conſecrated Auguſt the 10th 1180 (*c*). Upon the death of Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1184 (*d*), he was tranſlated to that See, not without ſome difficulties in the way of his election [*A*], being the firſt of his order in England, that was ever advanced to the archiepiſcopal dignity (*e*). He was inthroned at Canterbury the 19th of May 1185, and the ſame day received the pall from Pope Lucius III (*f*), whoſe ſucceſſor Urban III appointed him his Legate for the dioceſe of Canterbury (*g*). Soon after he was ſettled in his See, he began to build a church and monaſtery at Hackington near Canterbury, in honour of St Thomas Becket, for the reception of ſecular Prieſts: but, being violently oppoſed by the Monks of Canterbury, ſupported by the Pope's authority, he was obliged to deſiſt [*B*]. The 3d of September 1190, he ſolemnly performed the ceremony

(*a*) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. III. n. 27.

(*b*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675.

(*c*) Annal. Eccleſ. Wigorn. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 477.

(*d*) Canon. Lichfield. de ſucceſſ. arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 113.

(*e*) Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. *edit.* S. Drake, 1729, p. 214.

(*f*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1676.

(*g*) Rad. de Diceto, de arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 692.

[*A*] *Some difficulties in the way of his election.*] The See of Canterbury being vacant, the King came to Reading, and ſummoned thither the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury, in order to proceed to an election. And here there happened a conteſt between the Monks and the Biſhops: The Monks pretended to the privilege of voting firſt, and the greateſt intereſt in the election; for which they produced the King's charter. The Biſhops, on the other ſide, argued againſt the authority of the charter; that it was a grant againſt common right, and made in prejudice of the Church of England; inſiſting at the ſame time, that Suffragans ought to have the liberty of chuſing their Metropolitan. The diſpute running high, the aſſembly broke up without effect. But not long after, the King convened the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury at London for the ſame purpoſe. Here the Monks reviving the diſpute, Gilbert, Biſhop of London, who, in right of his See, had the privilege of voting firſt, choſe Baldwin, Biſhop of Worceſter. All the reſt of the Biſhops concurred in this election; but the Monks of Canterbury, refuſing to comply, appealed to the Pope, and went off. The Biſhops preſented their elect of Canterbury to the King, who received him as Archbiſhop; and he was ſaluted as ſuch by Richard, Geoffry, and John, the King's ſons. Soon after, the King came to Canterbury, to ſatisfy the peeviſhneſs of the Monks, and put an end to the conteſt. And, at laſt, giving them the formality of a new choice, he prevailed with them to pitch upon Baldwin. Whereupon Alan, Prior of Chriſt-Church, with a ſelect number of the Chapter, came to London, with letters of deputation from the whole houſe; and meeting in the Chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter, choſe Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And that they might not ſeem to own any thing done already, or aſſent to the Biſhop's election, they ſung *Te Deum*, led the Archbiſhop to the altar, and, ſaluting him on the cheek, preſented him to the King and his ſons, when the ſame ceremony was repeated to him (1).

(1) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675, 1676. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 623, & M. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. *edit.* S. Drake, 1729, p. 214, 215.

[*B*] *He was obliged to deſiſt from building the church and monaſtery of Hackington.*] The circumſtances of this affair merit a particular detail. You are to know then, that the Monks of Canterbury having been troubleſome at the late election, the King and the Archbiſhop projected an expedient to check their influence, and render them leſs offenſive for the future. This was by founding a ſociety of ſecular Canons, and building a college upon St Stephen's church-yard at Hackington, about half a mile from Canterbury. This college was to conſiſt of twenty canonries, one of which was to be endowed by the King, and the reſt by each of the ſuffragans of the province. Theſe benefices, as they became vacant, were to be filled up by the reſpective founders. The Archbiſhop's part was to build the church and the college, for which he had drawn a very magnificent model. The foundation was to be in honour of Archbiſhop Becket, whoſe memory and martyrdom made ſo great a blaze in Chriſtendom; and the King's eſtabliſhing a Prebend was to, be, as it were, a perpetual penance upon the crown for the death of that Prelate. Theſe appearances gave ſo honourable a colour to the undertaking, that the Pope gave Baldwin a commiſſion to purſue his model, and granted him a fourth part of the offerings made from that day forward at Becket's tomb. But, in truth, the ſecret of the project was, to draw the election of the Archbiſhop from the convent of Chriſt's-church to this new foundation; it being reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the canons would prove more manageable upon ſuch occaſions than the Monks, and be influenced by the directions of their reſpective patrons. In ſhort, there were great preparations of materials; the building was begun, and carried on with great diligence; and ſeveral eſtates were ſettled for the maintenance of the Canons. But the Monks at laſt penetrated the deſign, and, perceiving how prejudicial it would be to their convent, made a heavy complaint to the Pope upon that ſubject, ſetting forth, that the Archbiſhop deſigned to ſtrip them of their antient privileges; that his intention in building this collegiate church, was to make the holy Chriſm, and conſecrate Biſhops there, to injure their convent in it's authority and revenues, and to remove the archiepiſcopal ſee to this new foundation. To give this remonſtrance the greater force, they complained, that Baldwin was in a manner forced upon them by the over-bearing influence of the Court; that he had ſhewn himſelf diſaffected to their ſociety; that he had ſeized the cuſtomary preſents made to them, deprived them of their advowſons, expelled ſome of their members, and excommunicated others. The Archbiſhop, it ſeems, had ſent agents to Rome, to complain of the ſtubborn and intractable behaviour of the Monks, and particularly their intolerable pride and perverſeneſs in reſpect to the late election. Theſe commiſſioners repreſented, that Baldwin was both their Metropolitan and Abbot; that the Archbiſhops, in this double character, had all along had the diſpoſal of every thing belonging to the See of Canterbury; that the placing and diſplacing the Prior, Sub-Prior, and all other officers and members of the ſociety, belonged to them; whence they argued *à fortiori*, that, if the Archbiſhop could make and unmake the Prior, other buſineſs of leſs conſequence muſt, of courſe, fall within his juriſdiction. But, to return to the remonſtrance of the Monks. They informed the Pope farther, that the Archbiſhop had ſuſpended their Prior, and ſome others of their members, who were ſent to his Holineſs with their appeal; that he had publiſhed an order to forbid the Monks going out of the cloiſter upon any occaſion whatever; that he had ſent Clercs into all parts of the kingdom, to preach up a contribution for the new church; that he had brought the crown into his intereſts, and was become irreſiſtible in his encroachments; that he endeavoured to make the King and

ceremony of crowning King Richard I at Weſtminſter (*b*). The ſame year, the King having given the See of York to his baſtard brother Geoffry Biſhop of Lincoln, Archbiſhop Baldwin took this occaſion to aſſert the pre-eminence of the See of Canterbury, forbidding the Biſhops of England to receive conſecration from any other than the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*i*). The next year, deſigning to follow King Richard to the Holy Land [*C*], he made a progreſs into Wales [*D*], where he performed maſs pontifically in all the cathedral churches, and induced ſeveral of the Welſh to join the Cruſade (*k*). Afterwards, embarking at Dover, with Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury, he arrived at the King's army in Syria; where being ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, he died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais [*E*], and was buried there (*l*). His character [*F*], and

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

(*k*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de reb. à ſe geſt. c. 17, &c. *apud* Wharton, ib. p. 490.

(*l*) Gervaſ. ibid. col. 1678.

the Biſhops the judges of the controverſy; and that by this means the convent would be brought under this dilemma, either to incur the diſpleaſure of the King and kingdom, or be forced to betray their ſociety, and put a contempt upon his Holineſs. But, notwithſtanding this application to Rome, the Archbiſhop went on with his ſtructure, conſecrated the church, and inſtalled ſeveral Prebendaries. Whereupon the Prior Honorius poſted to Rome with all ſpeed imaginable. The King being willing to put an end to the conteſt, and underſtanding that the Monks refuſed to refer the difference to himſelf and the Biſhops, went down to Canterbury, in hopes to bring the convent off from their obſtinacy. But the Monks rejected the King's mediation, and alledged in excuſe, that the matter lay before the Pope, and could not be referred to any other deciſion. An accommodation being thus impracticable, the King and the Archbiſhop ſent their agents to Rome; who, beſides their inſtructions, were charged with letters to the Pope from each of the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury. The Pope, upon the hearing of both parties, gave judgment in favour of the Prior and Monks, and ordered the Archbiſhop to reſtore the Religious he had diſplaced. Baldwin took little notice of this order, and, inſtead of reſtoring the Monks, gave the convent a new provocation by conſecrating the Chriſm at London. The Monks addreſs his Holineſs for relief, and Baldwin receives a menacing order from the Pope to pull down the new church, and proceed no farther in the undertaking. And thus the King, the Archbiſhop, and his ſuffragans, were over-ruled by the Pope's authority, and ſuffered themſelves to be baffled by the Monks. Not long after, Pope Urban III being dead, and Gregory VIII advanced to the Papal chair, the Archbiſhop, expecting more favourable treatment from this Pope, attempted to carry his point another way. To this end he purchaſed, of the Biſhop and convent of Rocheſter, a manor at Lambeth in Surrey, and ordered all the timber and materials, prepared for the college at Hackington, to be brought thither. And here, where the palace of the Archbiſhops now ſtands, he began to build upon the old plan; but did not live long enough to carry it on (2).

(2) Gervaſ. de Diſcord. inter monach. et Baldw. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1303, &c. Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ibid* col. 1676. M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 216, 217.

[*C*] — *Deſigning to follow the King to the Holy Land.*] The Chriſtians in Paleſtine being hard preſſed by the Mohammedan Prince Saladin, and deſpairing to reſtore their affairs by their own ſtrength, Baldwin king of Jeruſalem ſent Heraclius the Patriarch, and the Maſters of the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, embaſſadors to the King of England, to entreat him to ſend ſpeedy relief to the Holy Land, and to preſent him with a Royal Standard, and the keys of our Saviour's Sepulchre, of the Tower of David, and of the City of Jeruſalem. They had an audience of King Henry at Reading, where they delivered a very preſſing letter from Pope Lucius III. The King promiſed to let them know his intentions upon the firſt ſunday in Lent; at which time the Lords ſpiritual and temporal being convened, the convention came to a reſolution, that Philip King of France ſhould be conſulted, and ſo broke up. As for the King of England, he gave all his ſubjects, both Clergy and Laity, leave to undertake the Cruſade. Upon which permiſſion, a great number of Earls, Barons, and gentlemen of note, and, among the reſt, our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, engaged in the undertaking. The next year, the Kings of England and France had an interview; at which time, my author ſays, the ſign of the croſs was plainly ſeen in the ſky by all the company; which miraculous appearance encouraged great numbers to the expedition; and, the undertaking being reſolved upon, the Kings took leave of each other to prepare for the ſervice (3). But King Henry dying ſoon after, his ſon and heir Richard I took upon him the execution of this deſign, and accordingly tranſported an army into Paleſtine (4).

(3) R. Hoveden, ubi ſupra, p. 628, 629, 630.

(4) Id. ib. p. 664.

[*D*] *He made a progreſs into Wales.*] The Archbiſhop was accompanied in this journey by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who has deſcribed it at large (5), with a plentiful mixture of miracles, prodigies, and other ſuperſtitious accounts, too tedious and ridiculous to be ſet down in this place. After his return, he held a council at Weſtminſter, in which he pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould invade or diſturb the rights of the See of Canterbury, during his abſence (6).

(5) De Reb. à ſe geſtis. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra. Vol. I.

(6) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 119.

[*E*] *He died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais.*] At his arrival in the Holy Land, he found the affairs of the Chriſtians in an ill ſituation, and the army much diſtreſſed by ſickneſs and famine. He was not at all wanting to the cauſe, but endeavoured to encourage the troops both by his preaching and his purſe. Finding himſelf near death, he made Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury his executor, and ordered him to diſtribute his effects among the ſoldiers at his own diſcretion; which office that Prelate faithfully and exactly performed (7).

(7) Rad. de Diceto, Imag. Hiſtoriar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 658. M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

[*F*] *His character.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, who accompanied this Prelate, both in his progreſs thro' Wales, and in his expedition to the Holy Land, tells us (8), he was of a dark complexion, an open and pleaſing aſpect, a middling ſtature, and a ſpare, but healthful, conſtitution of body; modeſt and ſober, of great abſtinence, of few words, and not eaſily provoked to anger. The only fault he charges him with, is, a remiſſneſs in the execution of his paſtoral office, ariſing from an innate lenity of temper; whence Pope Urban III, in a letter addreſſed to our Archbiſhop, began thus, *Urbanus Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, Monacho ferventiſſimo, Abbati calido, Epiſcopo tepido, Archiepiſcopo remiſſo. i. e.* 'Urban, &c. to the moſt 'fervent Monk, warm Abbot, lukewarm Biſhop, and 'and remiſs Archbiſhop;' plainly intimating, that he behaved better as a Monk than as an Abbot, and as a Biſhop than as an Archbiſhop. With reſpect to his temperance, he is ſaid never to have eaten fleſh from the time he became a Monk to his death: concerning which particular, Brompton relates (9), that, once on a journey, he was met by a very lean and ſkinny old woman; who aſking him, if it was true, that he had never eaten fleſh, he anſwered, it was. It is falſe, replied the old woman, for you have eaten my fleſh to the very bones. The Archbiſhop demanding what ſhe meant, ſhe acquainted him, that ſome of his officers had taken from her a cow, which was her only ſupport. The Archbiſhop, not offended at her freedom, promiſed to repair her loſs with as good a cow. I ſhall ſubjoin four verſes by Joſeph of Exeter, (the beſt Poet of that age, whoſe book paſſes under the name of *Cornelius Nepos*) addreſſed to Archbiſhop Baldwin (10).

(8) De Vit. ſex Epiſc. coætan. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 429, 430. Idem, de jure et ſtatu Menev. Eccleſ. *ibid.* p. 523.

(9) Chron. J. Br. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1143.

In numerum jam creſcit honor, te tertia poſcit
Infula, jam meminit *Wigornia, Cantia* diſcit,
Romanus meditatur apex, et naufraga *Petri*
Ductorem in mediis expectat Cymba procellis.

Now thy vaſt honours with thy virtues grow,
Now a third mitre waits thy ſacred brow.
Deſerted Wigorn *mourns that thou are gone,*
And Kent's *glad ſons thy happy conduct own.*
Now Rome *deſires thee;* Peter *wants thy hand,*
To guide his leaky veſſel ſafe to land.

(10) *Apud* Camd. *Britannia*, by Biſhop Gibſon. fol. Vol. I. col. 622.

and works [G], are taken notice of in the remarks.

[G] *His works.*] He wrote several Tracts; particularly, I. *De Sacramento Altaris: i. e.* 'Of the 'Sacrament of the Altar.' II. *De Commendatione Fidei: i. e.* 'Faith recommended.' III. *De Orthodoxis Dogmatibus: i. e.* 'Of Orthodox Opinions.' IV. *De Sectis Hereticorum: i. e.* 'Of Heretical Sects.' V. *De Unitate Charitatis: i. e.* 'Of the Unity of Charity.' VI. *De Amore: i. e.* 'Of Love.' VII. *De Sacerdotio Joannis Hircani: i. e.* 'Of the Priesthood of John 'Hircanus.' VIII. *De Eruditione Giraldi: i. e.* 'Of 'the Learning of Giraldus.' IX. Thirty-three Sermons. X. *De Historiis Regum: i. e.* 'Concerning the 'Histories of Kings.' XI. *Contra Henricum Wintoniensem: i. e.* 'Against Henry Bishop of Winchester.' XII. *De Commendatione Virginitatis: i. e.* 'In Praise 'of Virginity.' XIII. *De Angeli Nuntio: i. e.* 'Concerning the Message of the Angel.' XIV. *De Cruce: i. e.* 'Of the Cross.' XV. *De Mythologia: i. e.* 'Concerning Mythology.' XVI. *Carmen Devotionis: i. e.* 'A Devotionary Poem.' XVII. *Epistolæ: i. e.* 'Letters (11).' Our author's works were collected and published by Bertrand Tissier (12), in 1662.

(11) Bale, *de Script. Brit. Cent.* I. i. c. 27. Pits, *de illustr. Angl. Script. ad an.* 1495, p. 779.

(12) [illegible] *Script. Brit.* [illegible] *Posterior. Tom.* V.

BALE (JOHN), in Latin *Baleus* or *Balæus*, Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, about the middle of the XVIth century, was born the 21st of November 1495, at Cove, a small village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents, whose names were Henry and Margaret, being incumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich (*a*); and from thence was sent to Jesus College in Oxford (*b*). He was educated in the Romish religion; but, afterwards, at the instigation of the Lord Wentworth, turned Protestant [*A*]. This exposed him to the persecution of the Romish clergy, against which he was protected by Lord Cromwell, favourite of King Henry VIII. But, that Lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low-Countries, where he resided eight years; during which time he wrote several pieces in the English tongue (*c*). He was recalled into England by King Edward VI (*d*), and obtained the living of Bishop's Stocke in the county of Southampton (*e*). The 15th of August 1552, he was nominated by King Edward, then at Southampton, to the See of Ossory [*B*]; and, the 25th of March following (*f*), was consecrated, at Dublin, by the Archbishop of Dublin (*g*) [*C*]. He underwent a variety of

(*a*) Baleus, de seipso, *apud* Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. c. ult. *See also* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 502.

(*b*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 60.

(*c*) See the remark [*I*].

(*d*) Baleus, ubi supra, & Abel Rediv. ubi supra, p. 503—506.

(*e*) See an old piece intitled *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bisshoprieke of Ossorie in Irelande, &c.* Rome, 1553, fol. 16.

(*f*) Not the 2d of February, as Jac. Waræus (*de Script. Hibern.* l. ii. c. 5.) says.

(*g*) *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale, &c.* fol. 16—18.

[*A*] *He turned Protestant.*] Let us hear his own account of his conversion. 'In omni literarum barbarie ac mentis cœcitate illic et Cantabrigiæ pervagabar, nullum habens tutorem aut Mecænatem; donec, lucente Dei verbo, ecclesiæ revocari cœpissent ad veræ theologiæ purissimos fontes. In eo autem splendore ortus novi Hierusalem, non à monacho aut sacrificio vocatus, sed ab illustri domino Wenfordo, tanquam a Centurione illo qui Christum Dei filium esse dicebat, serio excitatus, deformitatem meam quam primum vidi et agnovi. Protinusque divina bonitate ab arido monte in floridam ac fœcundum Evangelii vallem transferebar; ubi omnia reperi non in arena, sed supra solidam petram ædificata. Unde sceleſtissimi Antichristi characterem illico abrasi, jugaque ejus omnia à me longe projeci, ut essem in sortem et libertatem datus filiorum Dei. Et ne deinceps in aliquo essem tam execrabilis Bestiæ creatura, uxorem accepi Dorotheam fidelem, divinæ huic voci auscultans, Qui non continet, nubat (1). ——— *I wandered in utter ignorance and blindness of mind both there* (at Norwich) *and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; 'till, the word of God shining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any Monk or Priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that Centurion who declared Christ to be the son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity. And immediately, through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowry and fertile valley of the Gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked Antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the sons of God. And that I might never more serve so execrable a beast, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry.*' Bishop Nicholson would insinuate, that a dislike of celibacy was the grand motive of Bale's conversion. 'He was converted (says he) by 'the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth; tho' '(in truth) his wife Dorothy seems to have had a 'great hand in that happy work (2).'

(1) Baleus, *de seipso*, apud *Script. Brit.* Centur. VIII. c. ult.

(2) Nicholson's *English Historical Library*, Part ii. c. 8.

[*B*] *He was nominated——to the See of Ossory.*] We have a very particular account of our author's advancement to this bishopric, his sufferings in Ireland, and his escape from thence, in a piece written by himself, intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bisshopricke of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecutions in the same, and final delyverance.* Printed at Rome in 1553, in a black letter, 12*mo*. Here we are told (3), that our author, who had lived retired at Bishop's Stocke, waited upon the King, who was then at Southampton, about five miles from his living. His Majesty, who had been informed that he was dead, was surprized to see him, and, the bishopric of Ossory being then vacant, summoned his Privy Council, and appointed him to that See: whereupon the Lords present wrote the following letter to our author.

(3) The Vocacyon, *&c.* fol. 16.

To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After our hartye commendacyons. For as much as the Kinges Majestie is minded in consideracyon of your learninge, wysdome, and other vertuouse qualityes, to bestowe upon yow the bisshopricke of Ossorie in Irelande presently voyde, we have thought mete both to give yow knowledge thereof, and therwithall to lete you understande, that his Majestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte as soon as conveniently ye may, to thende that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his Highnesse may at your comynge give such ordre for the farther procedinge with yow herin, as shall be convenient. And thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton the 16 daye of August 1552. Your lovinge frendes, W. Wincheſtre, J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, J. Cheine, J. Gate, W. Cecill.

Our author tells us (4), he refused this offer at first, alledging his poverty, age, and want of health. But the King not admitting this excuse, Dr Bale went to London about six weeks after, where every thing relating to his election and confirmation were dispatched in a few days, without any manner of charge or expence. On the 19th of December he set out, with his books and other effects, and arrived at Bristol, where he waited 26 days for a passage to Ireland. On the 21st of January, he embarked, with his wife and one servant, and in two days arrived at Waterford; and from thence went by land to Dublin.

(4) Ib. fol. 17.

[*C*] *He was consecrated—by the Archbishop of Dublin.*] The Archbishop was assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Down; and at the same time Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of our author's, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. There was some dispute about the form of consecration. The Dean of the Church, Dr Lockwood (*), desired the Lord Chancellor, that he would not permit the form, in the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth in England by Act of Parliament, to be used on this occasion, alledging that it would cause a tumult, and that it was not as yet consented to by the Parliament of Ireland. The Lord Chancellor proposed the affair to the Archbishop

(*) *Blackbeard he myght well be called*, says our author.

of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland [D]; till at length having intimations given him, that the Romiſh Prieſts were conſpiring his death, he withdrew from his See, and lay concealed in Dublin (*b*). Afterwards, endeavouring to make his eſcape in a ſmall trading veſſel in that port, he was taken priſoner by the Captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel, and effects. This ſhip was drove by ſtreſs of weather into St Ives in Cornwall, where our Prelate was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged (*i*) [E]. From thence, after a cruize of ſeveral days, the ſhip arrived in Dover Road, where the poor Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation [F]. Arriving afterwards in Holland, he was kept a priſoner three weeks, and then obtained his liberty on the payment of thirty pounds (*k*) [G]. From Holland he retired to Baſil in Switzerland; and continued abroad during the ſhort reign of Queen Mary. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his biſhopric in Ireland, contenting himſelf with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*l*), to which he was promoted the 15th of January, 1560 (*m*). This Prelate is author of a celebrated work, containing the *Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great Britain* in Latin [H], beſides ſeveral other pieces mentioned in the remark

(*b*) Ib. fol. 31.

(*i*) Ib. fol. 33—36.

(*k*) Ib. p. 37—41.

(*l*) Paleus & Warræus, ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Abel Redivivus, p. 506, 507.

(*m*) Rymer. Fœd. T. XV. p. 563.

biſhop and the Biſhops, who agreed in opinion with the Dean. Dr Goodacre wiſhed it might be otherwiſe, but was unwilling to diſpute the matter with them. But our author poſitively refuſed being conſecrated according to the old Popiſh form, alledging, that, as England and Ireland were under one King, they were both bound to the obſervance of the ſame laws. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor ordered the ceremony to be performed according to the new book, and afterwards entertained the Biſhops at dinner (5).

(5) Ib. fol. 18, 19.

[D] *He underwent a variety of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland.*] The reader may ſee a full account of them in our author's own narrative (6), which it would be tedious here to tranſcribe. We ſhall only obſerve, that all his endeavours to reform the manners of his dioceſe, to correct the lewd practices and debaucheries of the Prieſts, to aboliſh the Maſs, and to eſtabliſh the uſe of the New Book of Common Prayer ſet forth in England, were not only rendered abortive by the death of King Edward, and acceſſion of Queen Mary, but expoſed him ſo much to the fury of the Papiſts, that his life was frequently endangered thereby. Once in particular (7), they murdered five of his domeſtics, who were making hay in a meadow near his houſe, and would probably have done the ſame by him, if the Sovereign of Kilkenny, hearing of it, had not come to his defence, with an hundred horſemen and three hundred footmen.

(6) Ib. fol. 20.

(7) Ib. fol. 28.

[E] *He was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged.*] The accuſation was brought againſt the Biſhop by one Walter an Iriſhman, who was Pilot of the Dutch ſhip, in hopes of coming in for a ſhare of the Biſhop's money, which was in the Captain's hands. When our author was brought to his examination before one of the Bailiffs of the town, he deſired the Bailiff to aſk Walter, How long he had known him, and what treaſon he (the Biſhop) had committed. Walter replied, he had never heard of, nor ſeen him, till he was brought into that ſhip. Then ſaid the Bailiff, What treaſon have you known by this honeſt gentleman ſince? For I promiſe you he looks like an honeſt man. Marry, ſaid Walter, he would have fled into Scotland (*). Why, ſaid the Bailiff, know you any impediment why he ſhould not have gone into Scotland? If it be treaſon for a man, having buſineſs in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. Walter was ſo confounded by what the Bailiff ſaid, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the Captain and Purſer coming in depoſed in favour of the Biſhop, aſſuring the Bailiff that he was a very honeſt man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, and deſerved no credit. For the Captain, our author obſerves, was afraid leſt the money he had ſtripped him of ſhould be taken out of his hands. Thus he was diſcharged (8).

(*) The veſſel, in which our author embarked in the port of Dublin, was bound for Scotland.

(8) Ib. fol. 34, 35.

[F] *The Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation.*] One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an Engliſh Pirate, perſuaded the Dutch Captain and his crew, that our author had been the principal inſtrument in putting down the maſs in England, and in keeping the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr Gardiner, ſo long in the Tower; and that he had poiſoned the King. With this information the Captain and Purſer went aſhore, carrying with them our author's epiſcopal ſeal, and two letters ſent him from Conrad Geſner, and Alexander Aleſius, with commendations from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philip Melancthon, Joachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, who were deſirous to inform themſelves in the doctrines and antiquities of the Engliſh Church. They had likewiſe taken from him the letter from the Council (9), concerning his appointment to the biſhopric of Oſſory. Theſe things aggravated the charge againſt him. For the epiſcopal ſeal was conſtrued to be a counterfeiting of the King's ſeal, the two letters were heretical, and the Council's letter a conſpiracy againſt the Queen. When the Captain returned to the ſhip, it was propoſed to carry the Biſhop to London; but at length they reſolved to ſend the Purſer and one more, with a meſſage to the Council in relation to the affair. However this reſolution was dropped, upon our author's ſtrong remonſtrances to the Captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ranſom, on his arrival in Holland.

(9) See the remark [B].

[G] *He obtained his liberty, on the payment of thirty pounds.*] He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the houſe of one of the four owners of the ſhip, who treated the Biſhop with great civility and kindneſs. He had but twenty-ſix days allowed him for raiſing the money agreed upon for his ranſom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time he was ſometimes threatened to be thrown into the common goal, ſometimes to be brought before the magiſtrates, ſometimes to be left to the examination of the Clergy, at other times to be ſent to London, or elſe to be delivered to the Queen's embaſſador at Bruſſels. At laſt his kind hoſt interpoſed in his behalf, and deſired the Captain to conſider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commiſſion, in miſuſing a ſubject of England, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the deſired effect, and the Captain was perſuaded to take only thirty pounds for the Biſhop's ranſom, as he ſhould be able to pay it, and ſo to diſcharge him (10).

(10) Ib. fol. 40, 41.

[H] *Author of a celebrated work, containing* the Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great-Britain *in Latin.*] This work was not publiſhed complete at firſt, but came out at three different times. The author publiſhed, firſt, his *Summarium illuſtrium Majoris Brytanniæ Scriptorum, in quarto. Weſel*, 1549. This performance was addreſſed to King Edward VI, and contained only *five centuries* of writers. Afterwards he added to theſe four more, and made ſeveral additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book, thus enlarged, is as follows. *Scriptorum illuſtrium majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus; à Japheto per* 3618 *annos uſque ad annum hunc Domini* 1557, *ex Beroſo, Gennadio, Beda, Honorio, Boſtono Burienſi, Frumentario, Capgravo, Boſtio, Burello, Triſſa, Tritemio, Geſnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et IX Centurias continens: In quo Antiquitates, Origines, Annales, Loca, Succeſſus, celebriora-que cujuſque Scriptoris facta, dicta, conſilia, ſcripta, obitus, et alia ſcitu non indigna recenſentur; recta ubique annorum ſupputatione ſervata, ut inde tam reproborum quam electorum eccleſiæ miniſtrorum facta, myſteriis in S. Joannis Apocalypſi deſcriptis, in ſtellis, angelis, equis, tubis, tonitruis, capitibus, coronis, montibus, phialis, et plagis, per ætates ejuſdem eccleſiæ ſingulas, hiſtoricè et aptè reſpondeant. Autore* JOANNE BALEO *Sudovolgio Anglo, Oſſorienſi apud Hybernos jam pridem epiſcopo, nunc apud Germanos pro Chriſti profeſſione peregrino. Accedunt his Appendices, una cum actis Romanorum*

remark [*I*]. Biſhop Bale died in November 1563, in the 68th year of his age, at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral of that place (*n*). No character has been more variouſly repreſented than our author's, as will be ſeen in the *Teſtimonies* of authors concerning him [*K*].

(*n*) Waræus, Ibid.

BALES

manorum Pontificum, quæ eorum Adulatores Carſulanus, Platina, Stella, et ſimiles omiſerunt. Accedunt et filiorum monachorum ſuorum facta, præcipuè fraterculorum mendicantium, quos in quarta tertiæ claſſis ſectione locuſtæ adumbrant. Atque hæ Appendices adjunctam habent tam piorum patrum, quam Antichriſtorum in eccleſiis quaſi perpetuam ſucceſſionem, cum rariſſimis diverſarum terrarum ac gentium hiſtoriis et exemplis; ex quibus apparebunt eorum adulteria, ſtupra, contentiones, ſeditiones, ſectæ, invidiæ, fallaciæ, veneficia, homicidia, ac principum proditiones, cum innumerabilibus impoſturis. Baſil, apud Joannem Oporinum.—— I have ſet down the title at length, becauſe it is the beſt *Analyſis* of the author's deſign in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whoſe lives are there treated of, are thoſe of the *Greater Britain*, namely, England and Scotland; that the work commences from Japhet, one of the ſons of Noah, and is carried down, thro' a ſeries of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the author was an exile for religion in Germany; that it is collected from a great variety of authors, as Beroſus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boſton of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Boſtius, Burellus, Trithemius, Geſner, and our great Antiquarian John Leland; that it conſiſts of *nine* Centuries, compriſing the antiquity, origin, annals, places, ſucceſſes, the more remarkable actions, ſayings, and writings of each author; in all which a due regard is had to Chronology: the whole with this particular view, *that the actions of the Reprobate as well as the Elect Miniſters of the Church may hiſtorically and aptly correſpond with the myſteries deſcribed in the* Revelation, *the ſtars, angels, horſes, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, thro' every age of the ſame Church.* There are *Appendixes* to many of the articles; alſo an account of ſuch actions of the contemporary Popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carſulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the Monks, particularly thoſe of the mendicant order, who (he pretends) are meant by the *locuſts* in the *Revelation*, ch. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To theſe *Appendixes* is added a perpetual ſucceſſion both of the Holy Fathers and the Antichriſts of the Church, with curious inſtances from the hiſtories of various nations and countries; in order to expoſe their adulteries, debaucheries, ſtrifes, ſeditions, ſects, deceits, poiſonings, murders, treaſons, and innumerable impoſtures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of both the Bavarias, and Elector of the Roman Empire; and the epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Baſil in September, 1557. On the back of the title page is a print of the author, and under it the following diſtich and tetraſtich:

Distichon Ægidii Synegori.
Germani in effigiem Joannis Balei.
Hæc eſt effigies Docti genuina Balei,
Quem ſtudiis natum terra Brytanna dedit.
Ætatis ſuæ 62.

In eandem Tetrastichon.
Cur ſic attentus pictum mirare Baleum?
Οὐκ ἀνθρωπος ὅλος δερκεαι, ἀλλὰ μέρος.
Sculptor non animum finxit, ſed tu cape librum;
Ἐστι γὰρ οὐκ εἰκων σωματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς.

In February 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Chriſt, with a deſcription of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This volume is dedicated to Count Zkradin, and Dr Paul Scalichius of Lika.

[*N*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] Namely, firſt, thoſe he compiled while he was yet a Papiſt: viz. 1. *A Bundle of Things worth knowing.* 2. *The Writers from Elias.* 3. *The Writers from Berthold.* 4. *Additions to Trithemius.* 5. *German Collections* 6. *French Collections.* 7. *Engliſh Collections.* 8. *Divers Writings of divers learned Men.* 9. *A Catalogue of Generals.* 10. *The Spiritual War.* 11. *The Caſtle of Peace.* 12. *Sermons for Children.* 13. *To the Synod at Hull.* 14. *An Anſwer to certain Queſtions.* 15. *An addition to* Palaonydorus. 16. *The Hiſtory of Patronage.* 17. *The Story of Simon the Engliſhman.* 18. *The Story of Francus Senenſis.* 19. *The Story of St Brocard.* 20. *A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Faſti.* Secondly, thoſe he wrote after he had renounced Popery; Firſt, in Latin: viz. 1. *The Heliades of the Engliſh.* 2. *Notes on the three Tomes of Walden.* 3. *On his Bundle of Tares.* 4. *On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus.* 5. *On Textor's Officina.* 6. *On Capgrave's Catalogue.* 7. *On Barnes's Lives of the Popes.* 8. *The Acts of the Popes of Rome.* 9. *A Tranſlation of Thorp's Examination into Latin.* Secondly, in Engliſh: Firſt in Engliſh metre, and divers ſorts of verſe; viz. 1. *The Life of John Baptiſt.* 2. *Of John Baptiſt's Preaching.* 3. *Of Chriſt's Temptation.* 4. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Baptiſm and Temptations.* 5. *A Comedy of Chriſt at twelve Years old.* 6. *A Comedy of the raiſing of Lazarus.* 7. *A Comedy of the High Prieſt's Council.* 8. *A Comedy of Simon the Leper.* 9. *A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Waſhing of the Diſciples Feet.* 10. *Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Chriſt's Paſſion.* 11. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Burial and Reſurrection.* 12. *A Poem of God's Promiſes.* 13. *Againſt thoſe that pervert God's Word.* 14. *Of the corrupting of God's Laws.* 15. *Againſt Carpers and Traducers.* 16. *A Defence of King John.* 17. *Of King Henry's two Marriages.* 18. *Of Popiſh Sects.* 19. *Of Popiſh Treacheries.* 20. *Of Thomas Becket's Impoſtures.* 21. *The Image of Love.* 22. *Pammachius's Tragedies, tranſlated into Engliſh.* 23. *Chriſtian Sonnets.* Secondly, in Engliſh proſe: viz. 1. *A Commentary on St John's Apocalypſe.* 2. *A Locupletation of the Apocalypſe.* 3. *Wickliffe's War with the Papiſts.* 4. *Sir John Oldcaſtle's Trials.* 5. *An Apology for Berwes.* 6. *A Defence of Grey againſt Smith.* 7. *John Lambert's Confeſſion.* 8. *Anne Aſkew's Martyrdom.* 9. *Of Luther's deceaſe.* 10. *The Biſhops Alcoran.* 11. *The Man of Sin.* 12. *The Myſtery of Iniquity.* 13. *Againſt Antichriſts, or falſe Chriſts.* 14. *Againſt Baal's Prieſts, or Baalamites.* 15. *Againſt the Clergy's ſingle Life.* 16. *A Diſpatch of Popiſh Vows and Prieſthood.* 17. *The Acts of Engliſh Votaries, in two parts.* 18. *Of Hereticks indeed.* 19. *Againſt the Popiſh Maſs.* 20. *The Drunkards Maſs.* 21. *Againſt Popiſh Perſuaſions.* 22. *Againſt Standiſh the Impoſtor.* 23. *Againſt Bonner's Articles.* 24. *Certain Dialogues.* 25. *To Elizabeth the King's Daughter.* 26. *Againſt Cuſtomary Swearing.* 27. *On Mantuan of Death.* 28. *A Week before God.* 29. *Of his Calling to the Biſhoprick.* 30. *Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgment of Leland, with Additions.* 31. *A Tranſlation of Sebald Heyden's Apology againſt Salve Regina.* 32. *A Tranſlation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epiſtle before it with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader* (11). In this catalogue of John Bale's works, taken from the author cited in the margin, we have not the titles of each piece at length, but meerly the ſubject, briefly expreſſed. For example, in the laſt claſs, N° 16, the title at length is; *The Apology of Johan Bayle agaynſte a ranke Papiſt, aunſwering both hym and hys Doctours, that neyther their Vowes nor yet their Prieſthode are of the Goſpell, but of Antichriſt.* And N° 29 is intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Biſhoprick of Oſſorie in Irelande, his perſecutions in the ſame, and finall Delyverance.* But, as our author's pieces are very ſcarce, it was impoſſible to ſupply all the titles.

(11) Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 509, 510.

[*K*] *The Teſtimonies of authors concerning him.*] I ſhall throw together the praiſes and cenſures beſtowed on Biſhop Bale, as they ariſe. Geſner, in his *Bibliotheca*, calls him *vir diligentiſſimus*, 'a writer of the 'greateſt diligence;' and Biſhop Godwin, in his treatiſe *of the Converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity*, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into

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the Britiſh antiquities; *Antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentiſſimus perſcrutator.* The reverend Laurence Humphrey, in his *Vaticinium de Roma*, has this diſtich on our author:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Baleus habet.

i. e. *Luther and Platina diſcovered many things, and Vergerius ſome; but Bale detected them all*; viz. *the errors and frauds of the Papiſts.* Valentine Henry Vogler, in his *Introduct. Univerſal. in notit. Scriptor.* c. 22. thinks, 'it will be leſs matter of wonder, that Bale 'inveighs with ſo much aſperity againſt the power of 'the Pope, when it is conſidered, that England was 'more grievouſly oppreſſed, by the tyranny of the 'Holy See, than any other kingdom.' *Quod vehementius in Pontificium Dominatum invehatur Baleus, tanto minus forte quiſpiam mirabitur, quanto gravius præ aliis regnis ſacram tyrannidem Anglia fuit experta.* But he adds, that, notwithſtanding our author had rendered himſelf ſo odious to the Papiſts, yet his very enemies could not help praiſing his Catalogue of Engliſh Writers. *Tametſi vero Baleus adeo inviſus fuerit Pontificiis, tamen ipſimet Catalogum ejus de Anglicis ſcriptoribus coguntur commendare.* Biſhop Montague, in his *Apparat. prim. Sect.* 83, though he cenſures our author for his unjuſtifiable freedom in writing and ſpeaking, yet thinks him of credit and weight in many things. *Impotentis linguæ et calami ſcriptor, ſed in multis non rejectitius.* Valerius Andreas, in his *Pref. Biblioth. Belgic.* calls him an impious wretch and a wicked apoſtate; but at the ſame time allows him his merit as a writer. *Joannes Balæus, homo impius quidem et infamis apoſtata; nominari tamen hoc loco vel ideo potuit, ut quis è ſordibus gemmas legat* (12). Voſſius charges him with diſingenuity in his accounts of antient writers. *Unum ſcio, in priorum ſæculorum ſcriptoribus non raro Balei fidem claudicare* (13). But of all the writers, who have cenſured Bale, no one has fallen upon him with greater ſeverity than his follower John Pits. Here are a few of thoſe invenomed arrows he has ſhot at him. *Hic Lelandi Catalogum non tam prolixè auxit, quam prodigioſè depravavit. Omnia namque fœdiſſimis mendaciis et calumniis replevit, et opus Lelandi polluti ſſimo ſtylo turpiter conſpurcavit. Multa habet ille digna quidem hæretico ſpiritu et ore, ſed ab omni urbanitate et morali honeſtate prorſus aliena, et Chriſtianis auribus nonulla plane indigna.—Ille miſer homuncio, præter calumnias in homines, et blaſphemias in Deum et ſanctos, nihil habet ſuum, quod notatu dignum judico — In illo ſterquilinio ſperabam ſaltem aliquam antiquitatis gemmam me inventurum. Sed Eſopico Gallo infortunatior, ſpe mea fruſtratus ſum* (14) — *i. e.* 'This writer did 'not ſo much enlarge Leland's catalogue, as corrupt it 'in a monſtrous manner. For he has ſtuffed it full of 'lies and calumnies, and ſpoiled Leland's work, by 'his own barbarous ſtile. He ſays many things worthy 'indeed of the mind and mouth of an heretic, but 'abſolutely void of all civility and moral honeſty, 'ſome things plainly unworthy of a Chriſtian ear.— 'If we except his ſlanders againſt men, and his blaſ'phemies againſt God, the poor wretch has nothing 'of his own, which deſerves our notice. — I hoped 'to have found at leaſt ſome gem of antiquity in that 'dunghil: but, more unlucky than Eſop's cock, I was 'diſappointed in my expectation.' He gives us ſome inſtances of the ſeverity and injuſtice, with which Bale treats the moſt famous Doctors of the Church, ſuch as Venerable Bede and St Aldhelm; and of the ſcurrility, which he uſes towards Biſhops, Monks, and Prieſts, whom he accuſes of hypocriſy, ſuperſtition, and the worſt of crimes (15). He brands him with the name of *Bal* or *Baal*, and calls him an apoſtate Carmelite Monk, and a married prieſt. *Idolum apud ſimpliciores Anglos Joannes Bal, qui ſe Latinè Balæum cognominat, fuit hæreticus Anglus, ab ordine Carmelitarum apoſtata Monachus, et Sacerdos (ſalva Lectoris reverentia) maritatus* (16). But it will take off from the edge of this author's ſatire, if we recollect, that he was a zealous Papiſt, and an exile for his religion; and that he is here declaiming againſt a writer, who was a furious enemy to the Papiſts, by whom he had been ill treated, and who never ſpoke of their religion but with peculiar bitterneſs and aſperity. But to go on with our *Teſtimonies*. Dr Fuller ſays: 'One 'may wonder, that being ſo learned a man, who had 'done and ſuffered ſo much for religion, higher pro'motion was not forced upon him; ſeeing about the 'beginning of Queen Elizabeth, biſhopricks went 'about begging able men to receive them. But pro'bably he was a perſon more learned than diſcreet, 'fitter to *write* than to *govern*, as unable to command 'his own paſſion; and *Biliofus Balæus* paſſes for his 'true character (17).' Wharton, in the preface to his *Anglia Sacra* (18), tells us, Bale paid very little regard to truth, provided he could increaſe the number of the enemies of the Romiſh Church. *Veritas Balæo parum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ eccleſiæ numerum augere poſſet.* And again (19): *Clauſis vero plerumque oculis Scriptorum Anglicorum ætates Balæus definivit.* i. e. 'Bale for the moſt part ſettled the Chro'nology of the Engliſh writers with his eyes ſhut.' Biſhop Nicholſon ſays: 'The ground-plot of this 'work (the *Script. Brit.*) was borrowed from Le'land; and the chief of his own ſuperſtructure is ma'licious and bitter invectives againſt the Papiſts.—— 'Some have thought his making of books of ſome 'little Saxon epiſtles excuſable, and what would ad'mit of an apology. But if we mark him well, he 'is continually multiplying the writings of all his au'thors at a very unſufferable and unjuſtifiable rate (20).' Laſtly, Mr Harrington of Chriſt-church in Oxford, in his preface to the firſt volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, paſſes this cenſure on both Bale and Pits: 'All good Antiquaries, men of enlarged ſouls, and 'of an even temper, however of divers profeſſions, 'have always been of the ſame principle: they all 'equally ſacrificed to truth and learning, and ſuffered 'not their private opinions to put a biaſs on their 'hiſtory. And whoever will compare the *Cento's* of 'Bale and Pits with the excellent works of Leland and 'Camden, muſt neceſſarily diſcern, how near an 'alliance there is between zeal and ignorance, and 'between learning and moderation.' And again, in the introduction to the ſecond volume: 'Before this 'age, and ſomewhat within it, Leland, who, by the 'command of King Henry VIII, had undertaken to 'ſurvey and perpetuate books of the antient mona'ſteries, after the diſſolution thereof, hath compleated 'that work with ſo great exactneſs, that Bale and Pits, 'who have ſince attempted the ſame, have only made 'uſe herein of the Gorgon's common eye, and have 'reflected that ſingle light only upon poſterity.' Our author's books are prohibited by the Church of Rome, among thoſe of the firſt claſs of Heretical books; and the *Index Expurgatorius*, publiſhed at Madrid in 1667, calls him a moſt impudent and ſcurrilous writer againſt the See of Rome, the Maſs, and the Euchariſt, and one that is perpetually breathing out poiſon; for which reaſon, it forbids the reading any of his works for ever. *Scriptor impudentiſſimus ac maledicentiſſimus adverſus Romanam Sedem, Miſſam, et Euchariſtiam, virus nunquam non ſpirans; nihil propterea ex ejus operibus unquam permittendum* (21).

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(12) Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, *Cenſura celebriorum Autorum*, Lond. 1690, p. 481, 482.

(13) De Hiſtor. Lat. l. ii. c. 16.

(14) Jo. Pits, Relat. de reb. Angl. edit. Pariſ. 1619. p. 53.

(15) Ibid. p. 58.

(16) Ibid. p. 52.

(17) *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 61.

(18) Vol. I. p. 31.

(19) Ibid. p. 47.

(20) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, ubi ſupra.

(21) *Apud* Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, ubi ſupra.

BALES (PETER) the moſt famous maſter in the art of Penmanſhip, or Fair Writing, and all it's relative branches, of his time, in our country. He was born in 1547, and he is ſtiled by Anthony Wood, 'a moſt dextrous perſon in his profeſſion, 'to the great wonder of ſcholars and others:' who adds, 'That he ſpent ſeveral years 'in ſciences among the Oxonians; particularly, as it ſeems, in Glouceſter-Hall: but 'that ſtudy which he uſed for a diverſion only, proved at length an employment of 'profit (*a*).' Nevertheleſs it ſeems more likely, that he reſided not at that univerſity, ſo much to attain ſciences, as to teach his own art; and that he uſed it rather for profit than diverſion [*A*]. The earlieſt account we have of his perfection therein, takes notice of

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. the laſt edit. Vol. I. col. 289.

[*A*] *For profit rather than diverſion.*] As A. Wood affirms not poſitively, that Bales was a regular ſtudent in any college, but only ſeems to have been in Glouceſter-hall; we may give the greater regard

of a Micrographical performance, in which the writing was ſo wonderful ſmall, yet ſo very legible, that it ſurprized all who ſaw it, and honourably advanced his name into the moſt noted Chronicle of the times (*b*). This delicate ſpecimen of his art, is alſo thus celebrated by Mr Evelyn. 'Adrian Junius ſpeaks of that perſon as a miracle [*B*], 'who wrote the Apoſtles Creed, and beginning of St John's Goſpel, in the compaſs of 'a farthing; what would he have thought of our famous Bales, ſays he, who in 1575, 'wrote the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Decalogue, with two ſhort Latin prayers, his own 'name, motto, day of the month, year of our Lord, and of the Queen's reign, to 'whom he preſented it at Hampton-Court, all within the circle of a ſingle penny; 'enchaſed in a ring and border of gold, and covered with cryſtal! ſo nicely wrote as to 'be plainly legible, to the admiration of her Majeſty, her Privy-Council, and ſeveral 'Ambaſſadors who then ſaw it (*c*).' He was alſo well ſkilled in many other excellencies of the pen, beſides ſuch matters of mere curioſity in miniature, which ſeem to have recommended him to ſome employment, upon certain particular emergencies, under the Secretary of State, about the year 1586, when the conſpiracies of Mary Queen of Scots with the Popiſh faction, were diſcovered. And as Sir Francis Walſingham had other able inſtruments to unveil the diſguiſed correſpondence which paſſed between them; ſuch as Arthur Gregory, who could *unſeal* a letter, and ſo dextrouſly *cloſe* it again, under the ſame impreſſion, that no eye could diſcern it's having ever been opened; and likewiſe Thomas Philips, whoſe buſineſs was to *tranſcribe* and *decypher* ſuch letters as were written in ſecret characters; whereof that Queen had no leſs than threeſcore tables or alphabets (*d*): ſo had the ſaid Secretary alſo, now and then, need of ſome one who was expert in the *imitation* of hands; and could add, according to inſtruction, any poſtſcript, or continuation of one, in the very form and turn of letters wherein the reſt of the epiſtle was written, to draw out ſuch further intelligence as was wanted for a compleat diſcovery, from the traytors themſelves, of their treaſonable intercourſe. And as we ſhall anon obſerve alſo from Camden, that Maſter Bales was famous for this talent, on another extraordinary occaſion, which hereafter happened, ſo it ſeems he was now employed to exerciſe the ſame, ſometimes, for the ſervice of the State, in the dangerous machinations aforeſaid againſt it. For ſome few years after, that is, in 1589, and not long before the death of the ſaid Secretary, Bales, by a friend, got it remonſtrated to Mr Randolph the Ambaſſador, who was intimate with the Secretary, that ſome preferment which Bales had been led in expectation of, had not been ſettled upon him, for what he had heretofore performed in behalf of the government, before the ſaid Queen's death (*e*). And we ſhall further perceive, that he was ſeveral years after in queſt of a place at Court, though we cannot find that he ever obtained it. The death of that Secretary might weaken his intereſt, or make way for other competitors. And it appears alſo, that he had ſome occaſion given him to write or ſpeak ſomething in defence of accurate penmen, or thoſe who were maſters in the art of writing, againſt the unreaſonable and illiberal inſinuations of ſome ſupercilious or malignant courtier, who would have objected his profeſſion againſt his promotion; as if *Writing* was but a mechanic art, and the maſters of it, fitter to guide the hands of boys than the heads of men; and though ſome perſons might have been advanced for the dexterity and readineſs of their pens, to places of eminence and even titles of honour, yet afterwards they uſually affected an inability of exerciſing that inſtrument with any degree of elegance, leſt, as a French author has obſerved, they ſhould

(*b*) Hollinſhead's Chron. anno 1575.

(*c*) Evelyn's Numiſmata, &c. folio, 1697, p. 268.

(*d*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1586, & W. Udall's Hiſt. of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland. Lond. 8vo, 1636, p. 342, 350.

(*e*) Copy of Mr P. Ferriman's Letter to T. Randolph, Eſq; among the MS. collections of Nat. Boothe, Eſq; late of Gray's-Inn.

to a tradition which has paſſed among our old Writing-maſters, that the beſt of their profeſſion were wont, in Queen Elizabeth's days, and afterwards, to repair to the univerſities, and did reſide, or were employed in the colleges and ſchools, to inſtruct the younger ſtudents in the arts of Writing and Arithmetick: In which light, Bales will appear rather a teacher, than a ſcholar at Oxford; not one who ſpent ſeveral years in ſciences there, or practiſed writing for his diverſion only, but only for his profit. Not but there might be a mutuality of inſtruction or improvement, by ſuch his reſidence at that ſeat of the Muſes: And as he improved the hands of ſeveral in the art of fair writing; ſo ſome of them might improve his head with learning, and a taſte of ſome ſciences, and more viſibly that of Poetry; which we find in his works ſo often interſperſed. In the like obſcure manner A. Wood intimates, that John Davies of Hereford was afterwards alſo ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, as if to be a ſtudent there; tho' he knows not in what houſe of learning (1): Whereas it plainly appears, in his own works, that he went for no other end, but to teach the arts of writing and accompts there; and he tells us, that he thrived by it, as one of his brothers named James did alſo after him, in the ſame Univerſity; to whom, and his brother Richard, likewiſe maſter in the ſame faculty, he has addreſſed two of his poems (2).

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 444.

(2) In his *Scourge of Folly*, conſiſting of ſatirical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy perſons of our Land, &c. 8vo, without date, p. 218.

[*B*] ——— *Speaks of that perſon as a miracle.*] This perſon ſeems to have been Francis Alumnus, who wrote the Apoſtles creed, and the firſt fourteen verſes of St John's Goſpel in the compaſs of a penny, and in full words, which he did in the preſence of the Emperor Charles V, and Pope Clement the VIIth, as Geneбrand relates (3), and Simon Mayolus out of him; who had in his own poſſeſſion, ſuch a miracle, as he calls it, or the very ſame; *Nos domi idem miraculum ſervamus*, being his words (4). Such examples render Pliny's account more credible, of the penman who wrote all Homer's Iliad, ſo very ſmall and cloſe, that it was contained in a nut ſhell; which Cicero, and others alſo mention, tho' Lancelotti puts it among his *Farfalloni*, and reckons it one of the popular errors of Pliny; as a learned author has obſerved (5): Which he might not ſo readily have done, had he ſeen the performances in this kind of Micrography, by thoſe two late famous Scots, John Dundaſs the father and the ſon; 'The latter of whom wrote, 'in the compaſs of a guinea, the *Lord's Prayer*, *Creed*, 'Ten Commandments, *Pſalms* 117, 120, 131, *and* '134; *Collect* for the 10th *Sunday* after *Trinity*, *Prevent us, O Lord*; *Prayers* for the Royal Family, 'Clergy, Gentry, and Commonalty, with vacant 'ſpace for much more.' This curioſity, a late eminent Writing-maſter ſays he was poſſeſſed of (6); which we take to be the ſame that we have alſo ſeen afterwards in other hands, and is ſtill to be ſeen; the ſaid writing being preſerved in a locket of gold, covered with chryſtal, and ſet round with pearls; and was deſigned as a preſent to the late Princeſs Sophia.

(3) In *Chron.*

(4) In *Colloq.* 23.

(5) *Human Induſtry*: or, a Hiſtory of moſt *Manual Arts*, &c. 8vo, 1661, p. 49, 50.

(6) See an Eſſay of the Firſt *Invention* of *Writing*, &c. by Mr *Robert More*, before his *Copy Book*, printed in oblong folio, 1716, 1725, p. [illegible]

[*C*] *Their*

ſhould be ſuſpected to owe their advancement to ſuch an ordinary acquiſition (*f*). Bales did, it ſeems, ſufficiently confute theſe ſophiſtical objections in that Defence; though his arguments, as well as his adverſary's, are but lightly touched upon in the letter aforeſaid, and ſo, as rather to deſcribe their way of thinking in general, than to repeat their particular words [*C*]. However, that application for ſome convenient preferment, did not ſlacken his induſtry, or avert him from the purſuit of his buſineſs; for he taught the ſons and daughters of many perſons of diſtinction, ſome at their own houſes, others at his ſchool, ſituated at the upper end of the Old Bailey; where alſo ſome of the beſt citizens ſent their children. Here we find him in the year 1590, and then he ſet forth in print, the firſt fruits of his pen, as he obſerves in his epiſtle, which he communicated to the Publick, his *Writing Schoolmaſter*, in *three parts* [*D*]. From the firſt of which, ſhewing how by the contraction of words into literal abbreviations, the pen of a writer ſhould ſoon learn to keep pace with the tongue of a moderate ſpeaker, Mr Evelyn, as aforeſaid, thinks he was the inventor of thoſe *Short-Hand* cyphers, and other *notæ furtivæ*, ſo much in uſe among us [*E*]. And whereby, as a learned foreigner has obſerved, we Engliſhmen

(*f*) Montaigne's Eſſays.

[*C*] *Their way of thinking in general, than their particular words.*] As for Maſter Bales thoughts in general, they appear to have been, that he conceived, it became every body, who could write, to ſhew their gratitude, rather than detraction, towards an art, of which they were ſo conſtantly in need, and from which, only their own indiſcretion could hinder them of deriving the greateſt advantages; that thoſe who are but meanly accompliſhed with it, would be worſe without it; that a bad hand might be affected by ſome men, more out of policy to conceal bad ſenſe, than ſhame of getting good preferment by a good pen; it being leſs diſgrace to ſuch, that they be not underſtood thro' the badneſs of their hands, than of their heads: He alſo thought, that Fame's higheſt flights were made with thoſe plumes, which have been lent her by good writers; and that the greateſt Miniſters of ſtate have ſprung even out of their own inkhorns. Of which our own hiſtory is not wanting to furniſh, among others, a very conſpicuous example. For there was in the reign of King Henry III, one Manſel, an inferior Clerk, or Prieſt, who beſides fifty promotions, with the cure of ſouls, roſe to expend an annual revenue of four thouſand marks; how much more becoming ſoever, more moderate profits may have been thought, for a penman, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a writing-ſchool (7). Yet ſuch a Penman, whoſe qualifications, perhaps, at this diſtance, ſhould not be ſeverely judged of; ſince he appears to be the ſame Manſel, whoſe merits made him a companion for Kings, Queens, and Nobles; and whoſe, hoſpitality was ſuch, that he once entertained an illuſtrious aſſembly of them, with 700 diſhes of meat, in the year 1256 (8); and ſince he appears to be the ſame perſon with that Sir John Manſell, who is deſcribed to have been about the ſame time a faithful counſellor to the ſaid King (9). In ſhort, after Bales had hinted many inconveniences which have happened, thro' the want of fair, diſtinct, and legible writing, eſpecially to the works of the learned; many having been ſpoiled at the preſs, becauſe they could not be read, or tranſcribed; and more turned to waſte paper, for the ſame reaſon: He concludes with much the ſame way of conſidering this qualification, as another late profeſſor of the art has done; who, in his excellent copy-book, has theſe words: 'To write a good hand is a fine accompliſhment; 'and is as uſeful to the gentleman and ſcholar, as to 'the man of buſineſs: For as a graceful manner of 'ſpeaking, gives a luſtre to good ſenſe; ſo a bad 'hand, like a ſtammering tongue, very often obſcures 'it (10).'

(7) Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Short View of the Long Life and Reign of *Henry* the Third King of *England*, 4*to*, 1627, p. 24.

(8) Dr G. Goodman, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Touching the *Decay* of the *World*; in Dr Hakewill's *Apology*, &c. lib. v. p. 477.

(9) Dr Hakewill, in his Anſwer to the Biſhop, in his *Apology* of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, folio, third edit. Oxon. 1635, l. v. p. 178.

(10) Writing Improved: or, Penmanſhip made Eaſy, in it's Uſeful and Ornamental Parts, &c. by John Clark, fol. 1714, oblong. plate 12.

[*D*] *In three parts.*] 'Tis more particularly intituled, *The Writing School Maſter; containing three Books in One.* The *firſt*, teaching *ſwift writing*; the *ſecond*, *true writing*; the *third*, *fair writing*: The *firſt* book intituled, the *Art* of *Brachygraphy*; that is, to write as faſt as a man ſpeaketh treatably, writing one letter for one word, &c. The *knowledge* whereof may eaſily be attained, by one month's ſtudie; and the *performance*, by one month's practice; the proof alreadie made, by divers ſchollars therein. The *ſecond* book, named the *Order* of *Orthographie*; ſhewing the perfect method to write true *Orthographie* in our *Engliſh* tongue, as it is now generally printed, &c. to be attained by the right uſe of this booke without a ſchool-maſter, in a ſhort time, &c. The *third* book is, the *Key* of *Calligraphie*; opening the ready way to write fair, in a very ſhort time, &c. invented by *Peter Bales*; the firſt of January, 1590; imprinted at London by T. Orwin, &c. in *quarto*. After this title, follows our author's dedication to the Lord Chancellor Hatton: There are Latin verſes before it, by T. Newton, of Cheſhire; alſo in Engliſh and Latin, by P. Hunſdon of Cambridge, and in Engliſh, by Tho. Lodge. His rules in the laſt part, or Key of *Calligraphy*, are written in verſe as well as proſe: And indeed we may obſerve ſeveral of his fraternity ſince, addicted to Poetry; which may be naturally accounted for, from their being ſo converſant with the Poets; by tranſcribing their moral ſentences, ſhort maxims, and diſtichs, to ſet their ſcholars as copies; which is certainly laudable, to ſeaſon their youthful minds with elegant admonitions, at the ſame time that they are forming their hands to buſineſs; beſides the precepts of any art are well known to be moſt ſucceſsfully communicated in verſe; which, beſides the pleaſure of rhime, is alſo even thereby, not to mention other advantages, rendered more engaging to the memory, which rhime ſo knits up, by the affinity of ſounds, that in remembring the laſt word of one line, we often call to mind both verſes; as the criticks have judiciouſly obſerved (11). Our author concludes his whole work with one epigram, from the book to the reader; and another, from himſelf to his country-men: The former is as follows.

(11) *Sidney*'s Defence of Poeſie; and Mr *Dryden*'s Dedic. of his Rival Ladies to the Earl of *Orrery*.

Swift, True, and Fair, good Reader, I preſent;
Art, Pen, and Hand, have played their parts in me:
Mind, Wit, and Eye, do yield their free conſent;
Skill, Rule, and Grace, give all their gains to thee:
Swift Art, true Pen, fair Hand, together meet;
Mind, Wit, and Eye, Skill, Rule, and Grace to greet.

The ſecond edition of this work was publiſhed in twelves, ſeven years after the former. Among the many verſes in our author's praiſe before it, four copies, or more, were compoſed by the ſcholars at Glouceſter-Hall; among whom, Edward Michelbourne, a noted Poet of his time, hath two: And there are three or more copies by the ſtudents of St John's College, as A. Wood has obſerved (12).

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 289.

[*E*] *Inventor of thoſe Short-Hand cyphers, &c. ſo much in uſe among us.*] A learned author, who lived at the time that this art of Short-Hand was firſt invented, or newly revived among us, ſpeaks of it after this manner. 'In this cittie, be taught the arts of 'Calligraphie, or faire writing of divers handes, and 'characters; and of ciphering, and *algoriſme*; and '(which is much to be regarded) the art of *Brachy-*'graphie; which is an art newly diſcovered, or newly 'recovered; and is of very good and neceſſarie 'uſe, being well and honeſtly exerciſed: For by 'the meanes and helpe thereof (they which know 'it) can readily take a ſermon, oration, play, or 'any long ſpeech; as they are ſpoken, dictated, 'acted, and uttered, in the inſtant: It hath a good 'part in the art of *Steganographie*, and is a principall 'member thereof (13).' Maſter Bales may in effect be called the firſt inventor among us, of this art, as Mr Evelyn thought him to be; ſince he was the firſt who made it practicable, the firſt who made it commodious,

(13) Sir *George Buc*'s *Third Univerſitie of England*: or, A Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colleges, Auncient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houſes of Liberall Arts, within and about the City of *London*, fol. 1615, annexed to *E. Howe*'s edit. of *Stowe*'s *Annals*, p. 984.

Engliſhmen have the reputation abroad, of being the moſt expert Short-Hand writers in the world (*g*). In, or not long after the year 1592, he was ſome how employed in writing for, or to, Sir John Puckering, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal; whoſe ſervant, as I remember, he ſome where ſtiles himſelf: but it is certain there were ſeveral petitions, letters, *&c.* about that time, written in the fine ſmall Secretary and Italian hands, by this Bales, among that Lord-Keeper's papers; many of which are ſtill in being (*h*). Among the reſt, there are ſeveral letters written by one Topcliffe, who was much employed

(*g*) Bayle's Hiſt. Dict. in the article of QUINCTILIAN.

(*h*) In the Harleian Library of Manuſcripts.

modious, and comprehenſible even to children; the firſt who publickly taught it, and whoſe method firſt induced others to build improvements upon his foundation. But his ſcheme was not indeed the firſt that appeared in print, by two years; for a learned Phyſician of Cambridge, Dr Timothy Bright, ſet forth, ſo long before him, a little treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject (14), which he dedicated to the Queen; and obſerves to her Majeſty therein, that Cicero accounted it worthy of his pains, and profitable to the publick, to invent a more expeditious kind of *character*, as we may read in Plutarch's life of Cato the younger. His invention, as he alſo informs her, was mere Engliſh; without precept, or imitation: But it has, in the judgment of ingenious men, been thought difficult to be underſtood, much more to be put in practice. The improvement made by Bales in his book aforeſaid, was to write after the Doctor's charactery words, divided into dozens, by the Roman letter, with certain commas, and other periods or ſhort marks, to be ſet about each letter in twelve ſeveral places, for the diſtinction of every word. But the love of variety, or ambition after perfection, would not let the art reſt here; for about the time of the Queen's death, or ſoon after, Mr John Willis, a Divine, publiſhed a new *Art of Stenography, or ſhort Writing, by Spelling Characterie*; and he promoted it to many editions; but that greater ſimplicity from which he had deviated, and the greater multiplicity of which he compounded and perplexed his character, brought it after a courſe of years, into total diſuſe, notwithſtanding his high opinion of it, and the advantages he imagined others drew from it; notwithſtanding that he publiſhed it in Latin (15), as well as Engliſh; and ſet forth a *ſchoolmaſter* beſides, to his own art (16). His ſucceſſor upon this topic, Mr Edmund Willis, a man leſs conceited of his own offspring, and of clearer conceptions for ſuch a work, produced a neater, and more perſpicuous *Abbreviation of Writing by Character* (17); but not without regard to, and ſome directions from, Mr Bales's invention. Yet much more popular became the method of Theophilus Metcalfe, whoſe Eſſay paſſed thirty-five editions, or more (18); notwithſtanding he alſo thought it neceſſary to publiſh another, which he called a *School-Maſter*, to explain it. Thomas Shelton became famous after him for his Tachygraphy; or eaſy, exact, and ſpeedy ſhort writing: And ſome years after, he publiſhed his Zeiglography; or new Art of ſhort Writing; the former was tranſlated into Latin (19), for the benefit of foreigners. The acute and comprehenſive *Jeremiah Rich*, had a diſtinguiſhed genius for this ſort of contractions, and was ſo expert in executing his own rules, that the notorious John Lilburne would have acknowledged under his hand, had it been permitted him, that he had minuted down his trial at the Old-Bailey with the utmoſt exactneſs. We have the *Pſalms* in his ſhort-hand; his *Semigraphy*; or *Arts Rarity* (20), recommended by ſeveral hands; and his *Pen's Dexterity*; approved by both Univerſities. Some have attempted to improve upon him, who ſtill want improvement; and others, by enlarging his *Short hand*, have been thought to prolong it. The chief excellence in him, and his followers, conſiſts in *contracting ſentences*, by points and marks placed about the characters; ſtill preſerving we ſee, ſome traces of Mr Bales's device. But others ſtill found room for alterations, and ſome for amendments. Mr Everard publiſhed a *Short-hand* not long after (21). Mr Noah Bridges ſet forth his *Art of Short-hand Secret Writing* within a twelve month after him (22); and Thomas Heath appeared not long after the Reſtoration (*). But William Maſon's improvements in the art for above twenty years, has advanced his reputation perhaps above them all. He firſt grounded himſelf upon Mr Rich's ſcheme, in his *Pen plucked from an Eagle's Wing*; but built more ſucceſsfully upon a new plan,

(14) Entitled, *Characterie*: An Art of ſhort, ſwift, and ſecret Writing, by *Character*. Printed by J. Windet, *&c.* 12*mo*, 1588.

(15) *Stenographia*: ſ. Ars Compendioſa ſcribendi, 8*vo*, Lond. 1618.

(16) Octavo, 1628.

(17) Octavo, London 1618; and with enlargements, 8*vo*, 1627.

(18) Entit. Radio-Stenography: the moſt eaſy, exact, lineal, and ſpeedy Method that hath ever been attained or taught. 8*vo*, one edit. 1635.

(19) Tachygraphia, ſive exactiſſima & compendioſiſſima breviter ſcribendi Modus, *&c.* Lond. 8*vo*, 1671.

(20) Octavo, Lond. 1654.

(21) Octavo, Lond. 1658.

(22) Octavo, Oxon. 1659.

(*) Stenography: or the Art of Short Writing, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1664.

in his *Art's Advancement; or exact Method of Short-Hand*, and his *Table of natural Contractions, by Perſons, Moods, and Tenſes, &c.* and eſpecially in his laſt treatiſe, intituled *La Plume Volante*; in which he has brought the art nearer to perfection than others who had taken that, or the like path to it. Yet is not Mr *Steel*, a School-maſter of Briſtol to be overlooked, who has ſeveral particulars new and conſiderable in his *Short Writing begun by Nature, compleated by Art*; manifeſting the *irregularity* of placing the *artificial*, before the *natural*, or *ſymbolical* contractions, &c. The book conſiſts of three parts; firſt, the emblems; ſecond, the expreſſion of words conciſely, that are not to be emblematically expreſſed; and third, the contraction of ſentences like words. Mr Eliſha Coles, who was a School-maſter in Ruſſel-ſtreet, near Covent-Garden, and author of two moſt compendious and well known Dictionaries, publiſhed alſo upon this ſubject (23) a book which has been deſervedly well received; for his brief *Account of the Short-Hands extant*; *his method, leſs burthenſome than others to the memory*; and his new *inventions, for contracting of words and ſentences*; with other ingenious devices, pleaſant and profitable: He propoſes by a *variety* of *letters*, in *variety* of *places*, ſuppoſe a threefold ſituation, above, upon, or under a line, real or imaginary, wherein ſomething of Bales is ſtill diſcernible, to comprehend monoſyllables of every ſort; has given us ſome judicious obſervations upon the ſchemes of others, and made ſeveral commendable advancements of the art in his own. After him Mr William Addy publiſhed another Short-Hand with applauſe (24), and choſe rather to improve upon the principles of the ingenious Mr Rich, than to raiſe a fabrick *de novo*. He alſo publiſhed the *Bible*, and, if we miſtake not, the *Teſtament*, in a beautiful little character, engraved by the curious hand of John Sturt, and bound in a ſmall pocket volume. We ſhould be too extenſive upon this ſubject of brevity, were we to mention all who have refined upon it; ſeeing that an author who offered a new character, moſt ſimple and ſuccinct, above thirty years ſince, acknowledged he had conſulted above thirty ſhort-hand writers then in print, to compoſe it (25). We ſhall therefore only mention Mr J. Weſton's book, called *Stenography compleated*, or the Art of *Short-Hand* brought to *Perfection*, which is now in ſome vogue; and Dr Byram's ſcheme, for which we hear he has obtained a patent; tho' he has not made his art yet publick; and conclude with the obſervation of a learned gentleman, who has alſo publiſhed *An Eſſay towards a further Improvement of Short-Hand*; and prefixed to it a diſcourſe, whereby we have been much enabled to deduce the ſhort *Succeſſion* aforeſaid of our Short-Hand writers; and wherein are theſe words: 'I think, that, both 'with reſpect to the cultivation, and practice of ſuch 'a way of writing, no people upon earth can juſtly 'pretend to diſpute the pre-eminence with the Engliſh. 'The neighbouring nations, indeed even the moſt 'celebrated for ſkill in *other* arts, muſt be reckoned 'ſtrangers to *Short Hand*; if not abſolutely, yet in 'compariſon with *us*. Accordingly, Mr *Locke* ſays 'he had been told, that this was an art known *only* in '*England* (26). And the author of the *Eſſay on* '*Literature*, declares, that he ſcarce ever met with 'any who underſtood it in *France* or *Spain* (27): 'Though as to the *French*, I am aſſured, they have 'got a Short-Hand book, which was publiſhed a good 'while ago, and is intituled, *Tachygraphie, ou l'Art* 'd'ecrire auſſi vit qu'on parle, 12*mo*. But not-'withſtanding ſo many of the *Engliſh* have laboured 'and done worthily in cultivating *Short-Hand*; and 'it is now certainly far improved among us, beyond 'what it was at the beginning; I cannot agree that 'this art has been yet *compleated*, much leſs can I 'agree that it has been brought to the *utmoſt per-* 'fection it *is capable of* (38).'

(23) The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt Short-Hand, 8*vo*, 1674.

(24) Stenographia, *&c.* 8*vo*, 1695.

(25) The plaineſt, eaſieſt, and prettieſt Method of writing Short Hand, ever yet publiſhed, by F. T. 1712, 8*vo*. Pref.

(26) Locke's Eſſay on Education, p. 72.

(27) Printed for F. Bowles, 8*vo*, Lond. 1726, p. 108.

(28) An Hiſtorical Account of compendious and ſwift Writing, by Philip Gibbs, 8*vo*. Lond. 1736, p. 56.

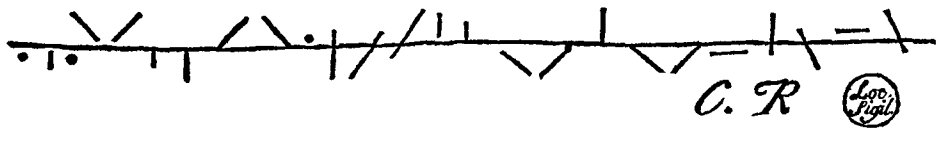
employed about the country, in ferreting out the Popiſh Prieſts and their plots, in thoſe times, and he made ſome diſcoveries, which he wanted to communicate in a ſecret manner; but diſliking the uſe of multiplied alphabets, as a method too tedious, preferred an invention of Bales's, which is called his *Lineal* Alphabet, or Character of *Daſhes*, as the ſhorteſt and ſimpleſt he had heard of; wherein every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtraight ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places [*F*]. We are informed alſo, by ſome

[*F*] *Every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtrait ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places.*] We are left to gueſs at the ſcheme itſelf of this improvement in *Cryptography*, or *Stenography*, or both, from what has deſcended to our ſight, through very eminent hands, of the like nature, or anſwering much to the ſaid deſcription. This invention ſeems to have regarded a double improvement; a ſhort, as well as ſecret way of writing, at once; and more ſpeedy than any ordinary alphabet; however it may not ſeem to have been fully intended to anſwer the deſign of *ſhort-hand*; the uſe of daſhes, or ſingle ſtrait ſtrokes for every letter, as in the deſcription of that cypher, implying an inconnection of them, and no abbreviation of words or ſyllables; no ſuch contraction and concurrence, as we find in thoſe compendious and expeditious characters, which will beſt hold any pace with the voice. The other part of the deſcription, calling it a *lineal* alphabet, might partly intend to deſcribe the *marks* uſed for the letters themſelves, ſtrait ſtrokes being lines of what continuance ſoever; but might chiefly import, that thoſe ſubſtituted marks, which have no diſtinction of ſhape, tho' they may of height and diſpoſition, to anſwer the remainder of the deſcription, as to their poſture and place, ſhould be principally diſtinguiſhed by their vicinity, inclination, and contiguity to, or tranſciſſion of, ſome *one* or *more lines*, running quite *through*, or between them. For example, if you draw an *horizontal line* as far as it will conveniently receive over it half the alphabet, and diſpoſe of four *perpendicular* ſtrokes, or daſhes, each under a letter; ſo as one ſtroke ſhall be ſome ſpace *above* the line; another, come down *near* it; a third, *touch* it; and the fourth, paſs ſomewhat *through* it; they will ſufficiently diſtinguiſh any four of the letters; then the eight remaining, may be as diſtinctly ſignified, by ſo many ſtrait ſtrokes *diagonally* diſpoſed, after the ſame manner; four, ſloping to the right, and four, to the left. Thus half the alphabet is accounted for; and it is but doing the like, *beneath* the line, as you have done *above*, and you have a moſt ſimple, or unperplexed, and compendious ſupply for the whole. This cypher is ſo obvious to the eye, ſo familiar to the hand, and eaſy to the memory, that a child may learn it without a maſter. We cannot ſay poſitively, that this was exactly Mr Bales's ſcheme, tho' it may anſwer the deſcription of it abovementioned in the text; and therefore we do not offer to give any diagram, or figure of it; for he might uſe more horizontal lines than one; or fewer daſhes, and in more varied poſitions; ſo approach nearer the ſcale of Muſick; which alſo, by the way, has been propoſed to perform the offices of any, or all alphabets, with great advantage; ſo that the words of a pſalm, or a ſonnet, might be couched in the notes of it; ſeeing that two of them only, upon the five bars, will expreſs all the neceſſary letters; by the uſe whereof, the inſtruments of muſick, would become the inſtruments of ſpeech; and all practitioners might *parley* with, in *playing* to one another. All lawyers, termagents, and other ſtrife-mongers, might then wrangle and ſcold melodiouſly; and all inſtructions, intelligence, conference, and correſpondence, vocal or inſtrumental, might be carried on to ſome tune. For the learned have preſumed, that muſical *ſounds* and *ſigns*, might not only ſignify and communicate all *letters* and *words*, but all *things* and *notions*; that the uttering of them would ſerve for an *univer al language*, as the writing of them would for an *univerſal character* (29); and ſo the whole globe being turned into an *orcheſtra*, we ſhould all live and die in *univerſal harmony*. But to return, that ſcheme which we have ſeen, as was beforeſaid, ſo much correſponding with the explanation above attempted of that we have not ſeen, we ſhall here produce to the reader's ſight; as what may not only conduce to the better comprehenſion, and perhaps to the recovery of Maſter Bales, but it may be with improvements. We muſt firſt obſerve this more modern ſcheme differs from that, already propoſed to anſwer the foregoing, not only in one point, which is indifferent, the extending of all the alphabet above the line; but in others, which are material; as varying the poſition of the ſignatures, in two inſtances, and augumenting them in two more: The *variations* are in having but one diſtance from the line, and two degrees of perpendiculars that touch it; and the *augmentations* are, of two parallel lines, and two dots, or full points; which is more complex, leſs uniform, and deviates more from the name of a *lineal character*; if the propriety of that expreſſion is to be preſerved in the ſubſtitutes for the letters themſelves, as well as the tranſverſe line which is the rule of direction to them. However, this character has a diſtinct brevity, and beautiful ſimplicity in it: 'Tis moſt eaſily learnt, readily written, and not readily diſcovered. The ſaid cypher, in it's original, with it's alphabetical key over it, is ſtill to be ſeen, under the hand and ſeal of King Charles I, as he incloſed it in one of his letters to Edward Somerſet, Earl of Glamorgan, dated at Oxford, April the 5th, 1646 (30). In which letter, the concluſion is writen in this *character*, interpretable by the ſaid *key*; which are as follow,

(29) Biſhop Wilkins's *Mercury: or Secret and Swift Meſſenger, &c.* edit. 1694. cap. xviii.

(30) And preſerved in the *Collection of Royal Letters* in the *Harleian* Library of Manuſcripts.

ABC DEF GH IKLMNOP Q RS TVWXYZ



Thus, when you read, in this cypher, his Majeſty's aſſurance, to that Earl, in the ſaid letter, of

You will more eaſily decypher it by that key, than by all the rules in Mr Falconer's *Cryptomenyſis Pateſacta* (31). That Earl of Glamorgan, ſoon after Marquis of Worceſter, publiſhed not long after the Reſtoration, an ingenious little book, full of rare improvements in art; and among his ſecret ways of writing, or communication, he has undoubtedly deſcribed this in the following words:—'A cypher 'and character, ſo contrived, that one line, without 'returns, and circumflexes, ſtands for each, and every 'of the twenty four letters; and as ready to be made 'for one, as the other.' And the title he gives it, in his table of contents, is, 'A *one line cypher* (32).'

(31) Or the *Art of Secret Information diſcloſed, without a Key*: containing plain and demonſtrative Rules, for decyphering all Manner of Secret Writing, *&c.* by *John Falconer*, 8*vo*, 1685.

(32) See his *Century of Names*, and *Scantlings of Inventions*, &c. 24*to*, 1663, No. 3. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miſcellany*, Vol. IV. p. 493.

ſome of our beſt Antiquaries in the profeſſion, and thoſe who have been moſt converſant in the works of our ancient *Calligraphers*, that he was one of the earlieſt Writing-Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven upon copper plates [G], and printed off at the rolling-

[G] *He was one of the earlieſt Writing-Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven on copper plates.*] When Jodocus Hondius, who was a fine Penman himſelf, as well as Deſigner, and Engraver, undertook to collect and engrave ſeveral copies from his own writings, and thoſe of the moſt celebrated maſters of the pen in Europe, he ſeems to have invited Maſter Bales, among the reſt, to communicate ſome ſpecimen of his performance, in a ſize propoſed, to make a regular and uniform copy-book; and we are informed by a late famous profeſſor of the art, who was very curious in his enquiries after our ancient improvers of it, that thoſe copies of the ſeveral maſters engraven by Hondius, appeared in 1594 (33). The ſame author, in that Eſſay from which we receive this intelligence, having ranked Mr Bales, as earlieſt in time, at the head of the Engliſh maſters, who publiſhed their works at the rolling-preſs, ſays again, That 'his, with Mr Martyn's, and other pieces, made part of a copy-book 'engraven by Hondius; one of which, with many 'valuable fragments in it, I have, ſays he, in my 'collection (34).' The edition of Hondius his book which we have ſeen, was publiſhed twenty years after that date above (35), and among other copies written by the admired J. Vauden Velde, Hondius himſelf, J. Honthuſius, Solomon Henrix, one of whoſe pieces is dated 1594; beſides Fælix Van Sambix, E. Goos, Il Curione in Roma, J. Beau Cheſne of Paris, and M. Martyn, our countryman; there is alſo one piece ſubſcribed with the name of Peter Bales: It is written in the Latin tongue, and in the Engliſh character; but it is very probable that there were more of his copies engraven and printed in that manner; and we have read, that many ſuch valuable pieces of his writing were publiſhed by Hondius as aforeſaid. Howbeit, when fame had found a channel through his example, for this kind of publication, other artiſts of his own country, by their labours kept it open, for the ſtream to refine in, as it rolled down to us. It has been thought, that the reaſon our countrymen did not appear earlier in publick, with their writings, by this means of letter-graving on copper, was their not having the Rolling-preſs in England, 'till it was introduced from Antwerp, by Mr John Speed, about the year 1610; as a late author has ſurmiſed (36). But we certainly had the cuſtom by ſome engine or other, to print off copper plates, tho' not in Calligraphy, long before that time, and even before Juſtus Lipſius is reported to have invented it; tho' the uſe of it might not be ſo common in England as abroad. Among thoſe who followed the ſteps of Maſter Bales, Mr John Davies of Hereford was not the leaſt conſpicuous, who has been celebrated for his faſt, fair, cloſe, and various writing, of the Secretary, Roman, Court, and Text hands, by Dr Fuller (37), who ſays, he could alſo flouriſh matter, as well as letters; and *with his fancy*, as well as with his pen: Indeed he publiſhed ſeveral books of Poetry, as may be ſeen elſewhere (38); and ſome few of penmanſhip (39); ſomething alſo *In Laudem Artis Scriptoriæ*. The praiſe he ſought as a Poet, obſtructed his acquiring much profit by his practice as a Penman, tho' he had taught his art ſucceſsfully at Oxford; where Magdalen College was his beſt beloved patroneſs; as in one of his poems, addreſſed thereto, he confeſſes (40): He was alſo ſome time tutor in his art to Prince Henry, as he writes before one of his copy-books; and elſewhere, calls the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere his good Lord and Maſter (41). He certainly envied Maſter Bales the credit of that golden pen, we ſhall hereafter mention him to have won from one, or more competitors in the art; but in divulging his malignity, Mr Davies has expoſed his own Diſpoſition, more than the other's Reputation; by not only falſely traducing him in the character of a fair writer, but againſt all laws of humanity, made his inculpable exigencies the ſubject of lampoon; and in many other inſtances, juſtified the epigram that was compoſed by another Poet upon him; wherein it is ſaid, he would make a good author, if he could *pen*, as well as he could *write* (42); as he has recorded himſelf, againſt himſelf; and in his *Scourge of Folly*, ſhewed the ſcourging of his own. He died about the year 1618, and was buried in St Giles's in the Fields. His countryman, J. Gethinge, was a man of more modeſty, and brought the art to greater perfection; ſome of his plates were graved in the year 1615. And Martin Billingſley, another eminent hand, whoſe works were alſo well received (43), is commonly joined with him in the applauſes which were payed to the art, or thoſe who excelled in it, by ſome noted Poets of their time. Not long after, William Comley of Henley, publiſhed his *Copy-Book of the moſt uſeful Engliſh Hands; with an Alphabet of the Capital Text Letters:* To which is joined, *A new Alphabet of the Capital, Roman, Knotted Letters; fit* and *ready* to ſet any manner of *hand* to: And there is further joined, *A Book of the Secretary and Round Hands; with another Alphabet of Capital Antique Letters* (44), as he calls them; being compoſed of human poſtures; afterwards imitated by ſucceeding publiſhers, in a ſmaller ſize; that youth might, with writing, learn drawing at the ſame time. Speedily after, Mr David Browne, an ingenious Scotchman, addreſſed his Examples of Fair Writing to King James (45), whoſe Scribe, he ſtiles himſelf. His work is ſaid to have been printed at the letter-preſs, but more probably was from wooden blocks, like the foregoing author's; whoſe method alſo he ſeems to follow, in leaving blanks for learners to fill up. Afterwards Mr Goodere, Richard Weſton, and Peter Gery (46), kept up the art in it's various excellencies with good commendation; and it was carried on in this flouriſhing ſtate till the death of that great ornament of it, Mr Thomas Fayle, who had a curious felicity in all his performances, but could not be induced to make them publick. Edward Cocker, on the contrary, was thought too general a publiſher; he was the engraver of his own writings; and ſome of them on ſilver plates: He firſt publiſhed in the early part of his life; and before Oliver Cromwell died. We have at leaſt fourteen or fifteen copy-books of his in print (47); for he kept writing and printing himſelf off, 'till the time of his death, which was about the year 1677. Mr Evelyn having mentioned Mr Gethinge, Billingſley, Gery, and Cocker, ſays of them, 'That what they publiſhed of letters and flouriſhes, 'are comparable to any of thoſe maſters whom we 'have ſo much celebrated among the Italians and 'French, for Calligraphy, and fair writing (48).' But then followed ſuch an incontinency of publication and pyracy, that the very preſs groaned under the proſtitution of the art. Paſſing over therefore Mr Watſon, James Seamer, J. Hodder, J. Fiſher, Louis Hughes, M. Johnſon, beſides others; who indulged their pens ſo much in *ſprigging* of capitals, *knotting* of figures, *pencilling* of flouriſhes; in twirling and tangling the heads and tails of letters together, with ſuch extravagance; and in hunting a ſingle line through ſuch unnatural, *perplexing, and tedious labyrinths*, as no eye could follow without pain; we ſhall only mention thoſe who retrieved the art from theſe exorbitant fancies, and attired it in that moſt unaffected and becoming dreſs it now wears. Among the firſt, appears to be Col. John Ayres, who introduced the plain, neat, Baſtard-Italian-hand, and by the aſſiſtance of Mr John Sturt, that excellent letter-graver, carried the glory of Engliſh penmanſhip far beyond thoſe who went before him (49). Then alſo Mr Eleazar Wigan charmed his readers with boldneſs and volubillity in command of hand: Mr John Seddon (50), with the choice variety of his fruitful fancy, and neatneſs in his compoſures: Mr Booting, who excelled moſt, when he copied moſt: Mr Peter Story, an univerſal artiſt, but peculiarly eminent for his maſculine and beautiful diſpoſition of large and elaborate pieces; as were the Dundaſſes, for the marvellous minuteneſs of their writings, before taken notice of. Theſe were followed by the late Mr Charles Snell, George Shelley, John Clarke, and Robert More, to whoſe Eſſay before quoted, we have been much indebted for ſeveral parts of this brief Deſcent of his famous predeceſſors. The former of theſe, Mr Snell, publiſhed ſeveral pieces (51), and ſo rigidly oppoſed all moderate uſe of thoſe decorations, even under due

(33) Mr *Robert More's Eſſay* on the *Invention* of *Writing*, &c. prefixed to his *Copy Book*, entitled, The *General Penman*, in it's laſt edition, fol. oblong, 1725, p. 4.

(34) Ibid. p. 5.

(35) With this title: *Theatrum Artis Scribendi*, varia ſummorum noſtri ſeculi, Artificum Exemplaria complectens Novem diverſis Linguis exarata *Jodoco Honaio* cælatore. Amſt. apud Joan. Janſon. *fol. oblong*, 1614.

(36) *John Bagford*, in his Account of his Collections for an Hiſtory of Printing, publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, anno 1707, No. 310.

(37) Worthies of England, in Herefordſhire.

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 444.

(39) *The Writing Schole-Maſter*: or The Anatomie of Fair Writing; wherein is exactly expreſſed each ſeveral character. Together with other Rules and Documents coincident to the Art of Fair and Speedy Writing. By *John Dawes* of *Hereford*, 4*to*, oblong, the latter editions dated 1663—1669. In the 15th plate the Engraver's name appears to have been *John Ingbeenram*.

(40) Davies his Scourge of Folly, p. 221.

(41) Ibid. p. 184.

(42) By J. Heath, ſidem. p. 120.

(43) His *Pen's Perfection*. And his *Copy-Book*, containing Variety of Examples of all the moſt curious Hands written; with the Breaks of each Letter: With the three uſual and moſt neceſſary Hands of our Nation, &c. 4*to*, oblong.

(44) All printed together in fol. oblong, May 22, 1622, and dedic. to Robert Earl of Suſſex.

(45) Entitled, *Calligraphia*, &c. fol. oblong, 1622.

(46) His Copy Book, containing 42 Copies of all the Hands in Use; performed according to the natural Freeneſs of the pen, ſo.

(47) As his *Introduction to Writing*. His *England's Penmanſhip*. His *Penna Volans. Magnum in Parvo. Multum in Parvo. Youth's Directions. Pen's Facility. London* Writing-Maſter. *Lawyers* Writing-Maſter. Country School-Maſter, &c. &c.

(48) Evelyn's *Sculptura*: or the Hiſtory and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving on Copper, &c. 8*vo*, 1662, p. 99.

(49) See his Book of *Arithmetick and Writing*, fol. &c.

(50) His Penman's Magazine: perfected by Geo. Shelley, and publiſhed by T. Read, fol. 1705, &c.

(51) The *Art of Writing*, in it's Theory and Practice, fol. alſo — The *Standard Rules* of the *Round*, and *Round Text* Hands, &c. *neceſſary* to be *known* by all *Writing-Maſters*, &c. — The *Penman's Treaſury* opened, &c. Done by *Command of Hand*, &c.

rolling-preſs; wherefore he is ranked the foremoſt amongſt thoſe Engliſh maſters of the pen, who have, by ſuch publications, rendered themſelves capable of being marſhalled according to their ſeniority, and judged of according to their merits, by thoſe of their ſucceſſors who have gratefully undertaken to preſerve their memory. On Michaelmas-day in 1595, he being then forty-eight years of age, had a great tryal of ſkill in the Black-Fryars, with one Daniel Johnſon, for a Golden Pen, of twenty pounds value; and won it, though his antagoniſt was a younger man by above eighteen years (*i*), and was therefore expected to have the advantage of a greater ſteadineſs, or other command of hand. We are further told by a contemporary author, that he had alſo the *Arms* of *Calligraphy* given him, which are, *Azure, a Pen, Or*, at a prize, where ſolemn trial was made for maſtery in this art, among the beſt penmen in London (*k*), which being a tryal among more opponents than one, this, wherein the ſaid arms were given to him, ſhould ſeem different from that, wherein he won the golden pen of Daniel Johnſon aforeſaid. That is the firſt contention we meet with for the golden pen, though other memorable ones have ſince occurred [*H*]. In 1597, when he republiſhed his *Writing School-Maſter*, he was in ſuch high reputation for it, that no leſs that eighteen copies of commendatory verſes, compoſed by learned and ingenious men of that time, were printed before it, as A. Wood has obſerved (*l*). He alſo, by other exerciſes of his pen, recommended himſelf to many other perſons of knowledge and diſtinction; particularly by making fair tranſcripts of the learned and ingenious compoſitions of ſome honourable authors, which they deſigned as preſentation-books to the Queen, or others their friends or patrons, of high dignity: ſome of which Manuſcripts have been, for the beauty of them, as well as for their inſtructive contents, preſerved as curioſities to theſe times. We know not very particularly, what other branches of the art he cultivated, more than that we ſhall, in our future obſervation, find him diſtinguiſhed alſo with the title of a Scrivener, as if he had ſometime profeſſed the buſineſs of writing contracts, or drawing deeds, or other inſtruments; unleſs the ſignification of that word was not then ſo confined as it is now, to that particular buſineſs, but was uſed in a general ſenſe, as the word Scribe ſometimes is, to ſignify a practitioner in any branch or degree of penmanſhip. A. Wood was not ſufficiently acquainted with the matter of fact, to repreſent it with due diſtinction, when he ſaid that Bales was engaged in the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons in the year 1600 (*m*), as if he was an adherent to that unfortunate nobleman, or inſtrumental in promoting his tumultuous inſurrection. The truth is, he was innocently engaged, in ſerving the treacherous purpoſes of one of that Earl's mercenary dependants, named John Danyell of Dereſburie

(*i*) An *Account* of this *Tryal* of *Skill*, written by *Bales* himſelf, was preſerved in a MS. Vol. in Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Library, No. 216, as the late Biſhop *Tanner* has remarked in one of his MS. *Note-Books*, now in the Hands of Mr *Joſeph Ames*, Secretary to the *Soc. of Antiquaries*.

(*k*) Sir *George Buc*'s Third Univerſity of England, fol. 1615, at the end of Stowe's Annals, as before, p. 984.

(*l*) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 287.

(52) His Eſſay on the *Invention of Writing*, &c. before his Copy Book, as above, *fol.* Firſt printed before Mr *Shelley*'s Book of *Natural Writing*, afterwards with his own Copy-Book, about 1716, and laſtly in 1725. He alſo publiſhed a *Striking-Book*.

(53) *G. Shelley*'s ſecond Part of *Natural Writing*, &c. fol. 1714, in the Introduction. He alſo publiſhed a new *Striking-Book*, and a new Book of Alphabets for the Uſe of Chriſt's Hoſpital, where he was Maſter, *&c.*

(54) J Clarke's Writing Improved, or Penmanſhip made eaſy in it's Uſeful and Ornamental Parts, *&c*, fol. oblong, 1714, in 31 Plates. He alſo publiſhed The Penman's Diverſion, *&c.*

(55) See *A Poem on Writing*; printed on a Sheet, Broadſide; with the Effigies of *Six* of the moſt celebrated *Writing-Maſters of London*, engraved by G. Bickham, about the year 1714.

(56) The Univerſal Penman: engraved by George Bickham, folio, 1733, *&c.*

due propriety and regulation, in his rules, tho' he retained them in his practice, that the others, his contemporaries, therein oppoſed him; and reſtored the uſe of judicious embelliſhments upon proper occaſions. For Mr More admoniſhes the Ornamentator to be upon his guard, leaſt he merits the character of a fancy-monger; and ſays, he muſt have regard to time, place, and circumſtances; that the *ſportive* faculty muſt be baniſhed the court of *buſineſs*, and he muſt neither *ludere cum ſeriis*, nor *paratragœdiare* in *trifles* (52). Mr Shelley having made a glance at engroſſers of reputation, ſays of ornaments in fine Penmanſhip, as the divine Herbert does of Poetry, with ſome alteration,

A *knot* may take him, who from *letters* flies,
And turn *delight* into an *exerciſe* (53).

Agreeable to whom, Mr Clarke was rather for correcting the falſe taſte of ornament, than aboliſhing a true one; and has given good directions for conduct, in his arguments, as well as good improvements of the more eſſential part, fine writing itſelf, in his own copies of it (54). Under theſe maſters, and one or two more, whoſe works gained them a character of ſupremacy in their profeſſion, in the reigns of Queen Anne, and his late Majeſty (55), the fair *Italian*, and eſpecially, the free *Round-text*, and the *Round hand*, thoſe two genuine parents of the freeſt, moſt commodious, and moſt expeditious hand of buſineſs, which we call a *Running-hand*, prevailed over all others, and were brought to that perfection they are ſtill preſerved, or even improved in, by thoſe maſters who are the ornament of the art at this day; above twenty of whom have permitted many curious pieces of their writing to be ingraved and publiſhed, not many years ſince, in a fair and elegant volume together (56); which being written and printed, from the top of the pages to the bottom, like the generality of other books, and not from end to end of the leaf, or in the oblong form, as the practice of our Writing-Maſters, from the example of the old foreigners, has before been; and there being alſo enough of the leaves in that collection to gain them the preſervation of binding, the impreſſion will not be ſo liable to be loſt, or ſoiled, and torn, as the works of our beſt Penmen uſually in a few years are, thro' the publication of them in the manner aforeſaid, moſt liable to all the caſualties of deſtruction.

[*H*] *Other memorable ones have ſince occurred.*] Among which none was perhaps more remakable than that trial for a golden pen, made within the memory of many living, between one Mr *German*, a Writing-Maſter of note in Queen *Anne*'s reign, and one of the ſix, at that time moſt celebrated for the art; but whether it was Mr *Snell*, or Mr *More*, we cannot now poſitively recollect. It ſeems there was a competition between *German* and *More*; and the former inſiſted, that the latter ſhould ſet the copy, which *More* did in theſe words:

As more and *More* our underſtanding clears,
So more and more our ignorance appears.

German fell ſhort in his art, as well as his wit of this antagoniſt; but in the judgment given for the golden pen, it was ſaid, that the umpires found ſuch an equality of excellence in the two copies, that they could not, for ſome time pronounce a determination, till one of them eſpying in Mr *German*'s piece, the omiſſion of one ſingle point, only the tittle of an *i*, they gave their verdict againſt him, and ſo he loſt the prize. The ſaid Mr More has made ſome ingenious reflexions upon ſuch like vain and impotent oppoſitions, as are made againſt thoſe who have approved themſelves maſters of their Art, upon the occaſion of what was firſt begun by that Daniel Johnſon againſt Bales; where he ſays, 'Art with me is of 'Party. A noble emulation I would cheriſh, while 'it proceeded neither from, nor to malevolence. 'Bales had his Johnſon, Norman his Maſon, Ayres 'his (57) Matlock and his Shelley; yet art the while 'was no ſufferer. The buſy-body, who officiouſly 'employs himſelf in creating miſunderſtandings be-'tween artiſts, may be compared to a turn-ſtile, 'which ſtands in every man's way, yet hinders no-'body; and he is the ſlanderer, that gives ear to 'the ſlander.'

[*I*] *We*

(57) So in the laſt edit. of Mr More's *Eſſay on the Invention of Writing*, &c. p. 5. In the firſt edit. before his friend Mr Shelley's ſecond Part of *Natural Writing*, it is only *A— had his S—*, which ſeems rather to be meant for Mr Snell. *Quære*, How it is in the ſecond edition? when we know Mr More was alive, and whether he died not before the Third?

Dereſburie, Eſq; as he ſtiles himſelf. This man, reſolving out of the diſtreſſes of his Lord, to raiſe a conſiderable addition to his own ſubſtance, already ſufficient, being worth, by his own confeſſion, above twenty thouſand pounds (*n*), contrived, in compaſſing the ſame, through his deceitful procurement of Bales to imitate ſome of that Earl's letters, which he would have ſold to his Lordſhip's enemies, as he did the copies to his friends for a large ſum of money, contrived, I ſay, the abſolute loſs of his own eſtate, liberty, and reputation, the compleat ruin of himſelf and his family; being ſentenced in the Star-Chamber, upon the evidence of Bales, and other witneſſes, in June 1601, to pay a fine of three thouſand pounds, for which his whole effects were extented, alſo to be expoſed on the pillory, and endure perpetual impriſonment beſides, for his ſaid forgery, fraud, and extortion. As this will appear a notable example, how a comfortable and creditable competency may be deſtroyed, by covetous and diſhonourable courſes to augment it, 'twill deſerve a more ample Memorial than has been hitherto divulged in print; not only to deter others from the guilt of any ſuch like impoſition, but to clear Maſter Bales from having any guilty hand in this. He was indeed, for a ſhort time, under ſome confinement, that they might be certain of his evidence at the tryal; and we find alſo, that Bales wrote a large *Declaration* to the Counteſs of Eſſex, and, it ſeems, at her requeſt or command, wherein he ſet forth the whole manner of his engagement, and the juſtification of his conduct in this buſineſs; which narrative would no doubt have laid open this black contrivance (*o*) to our full ſatisfaction. But though we ſhall be chiefly obliged for the particulars thereof, to another *Declaration* alſo in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf [*I*], this cunning contriver of his own ruin; yet were he calmly to have reviſed,

(*n*) *Danyell's Dyſaſters*, 4to, MS. fol. 2. Dedicated to Sir *Thomas Houlcroſte*, and annexed to his *Declaration*, hereafter more particularly cited.

(*o*) An Abſtract whereof, may, or ſhould appear, in the Book of *Star-Chamber Caſes*, which we have not at preſent leiſure to conſult.

[*I*] *We ſhall be obliged for the particulars thereof, to another Declaration in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf*] The ſaid author, John Danyell, was a different perſon from that John Daniel, who was a Maſter of Arts at Oxford, in the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, and a publiſher of ſome muſical compoſitions; alſo different from that John Daniel, who was brother to Samuel Daniel, the noted Poet and Hiſtorian; and publiſher of ſome of his poetical works, after his death, towards the latter end of the ſame reign; nor yet the ſame with that John Daniel contemporary with this laſt, who publiſhed ſeveral ſea-charts, or maps of the coaſts of England, and other countries. But this John Danyell of Dereſbury (58), whereof we are further to ſpeak, having ſerved the Earl of Ormond in Ireland above twenty years, procured to be recommended by him to the Earl of Eſſex, for ſome employment under his Lordſhip, or in the court. He mentions a preferment or two, which he expected thro' the Earl's means, but failed of; and appears to have been very diligent in procuring advantagious leaſes, or purchaſes of ſeveral parſonages in Cheſhire: He cites two letters, he ſays the Earl wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt Church in Oxford, the one in May 1594, to favour him in renewing a leaſe of the rectory of Runcorne in that county, and the other in July following, wherein the Earl appears to recommend his ſervant T. Brook to the ſame, adding, — 'I underſtand that one 'Danyell, pretending a deſire to take a leaſe of certain 'concealed tithes, hath, under that colour, got certain 'hamlets, which were before demiſed in my ſervant's 'leaſe, and now ſeeketh to take advantage againſt 'him, upon ſome words miſtaken; wherein my ſervant is chiefly to be holpen and relieved.' He pretends alſo the Counteſs had written ſeveral letters againſt him to the Lord-Keeper about that leaſe; and that for theſe diſappointments, his expences, and loſs of time, in ſervice and attendance upon them, he looked upon the Earl and his Lady to be greatly indebted to him. The firſt ſtep he took to make himſelf reparation, was to marry the Counteſs's gentlewoman, with whom, as he inſinuates, he received hopes of an handſome portion: He cites the releaſe, which the Counteſs gave his wife for eight thouſand pounds, and all other accounts that had paſſed between them, dated in May 1596. And in 1598 appears to have ſollicited the Earl for a commiſſion, or company of ſoldiers in Ireland, through the mediation of Sir Edward Dyer; who, by his anſwer, ſeemed not very forward to eſpouſe his pretenſions. But through the intereſt of his father-in-law, Sir Guyllyam Merrycke, his Lordſhip was perſuaded to ſtand godfather at the chriſtening of one of his children, which was termed the firſt badge of his Lordſhip's favour or reconciliation. But he never received further countenance or confidence of truſt, in any negotiations of importance; nor recompence for his ſervices, or preferment with his wife, as he ſays, except ſome plate at their marriage, and at the chriſtening of two of his children. But when the fatal impetuoſity in that Earl's diſpoſition, gave way to further inflammations by his paraſites and incendiaries; till at laſt he made that turbulent eruption, in order to remove an oppoſite party at the court, which proved the cauſe of his untimely end; Danyell found an opportunity to throw his angle into the troubled ſtream; reſolved to raiſe himſelf a profit upon the Earl's ruin; and that, out of ſome letters written by his Lordſhip to his Lady, which fell into his hands. Some of thoſe letters, were eight or nine years old; mentioning matters of affection, and perhaps courtſhip; ſome expreſſed his diſlike of divers perſons; others treated of ſome ſollicitations made to, and tranſactions with, or for him; ſome contemning the time he ſpent at court, and ſhewing his deſire of a private life; others deſcribing his loathſome and unpleaſant employments; and in many of them, a continual impatience and diſquiet of mind. Danyell pretends he could not read any of theſe letters, ſtill Bales had copied them; to ſerve a purpoſe which will hereafter appear. Indeed the Earl, like many others who write in great hurry, was apt to make his pen, in ſome ſyllables, or terminations of a word, dwindle away oftentimes into a ſcrawl, or ſtrait line; but nothing ſo illegibly as is here pretended, by a man who had been converſant with him at leaſt ſix years, and could give us the purport of his letters above, and make quotations from two of them, written to his Lady from Ireland, in Auguſt 1599; from the one, as follows, — 'The 'Queene's commandment in her ſervyces may breake 'my necke; but my enymyes practyces ſhall never 'trouble my hearte.' And theſe words from the other, — 'I truſt, (*) or longe, to reduce Ireland to a peace-'able government; if the traytors of England, be not 'confederates with the traytors of Ireland.' And yet there was nothing in theſe letters that the Law took exceptions at, to the Earl's detriment at his trial; tho' Danyell, to terrify his afflicted Lady into a compliance with his barbarous extortions for them, falſely threatened her he could ſell them to his Lordſhip's enemies, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, for three thouſand pounds (59); and the counterfeits he impoſed upon her, for which ſhe gave him more than half that money, might aggravate the Earl's raſhneſs, and conſequently his guilt; therefore the covetous impoſtor eſcaped no kind of reproach when his deeds were detected, and ſuffered the cenſure for them without any compaſſion. Thus much was thought neceſſary to be premiſed of this ſtory, that our readers might not be miſled by his palliated repreſentation of it. They may therefore now behold the juggle in the ſhape and colours he has transformed it into, for want of Maſter Bales's more ingenuous diſcovery; and theſe are Danyell's words. —— 'About the 'zoth of October 1599, I found bie chance, under 'my bed, in my houſe, then at Charing Croſſe, a 'verie fayre caſkett covered with purple velvett and 'laced with gould lace. which I thought ſtrange in 'that

(58) There is a Book in print, entitled, The Birth, Life, and Death, of the Jewiſh Unction, by John Daniel of Dereſbury, Eſq; Lond. 8vo, 1651.

(*) *i. e.* e'er long.

(59) Danyell's Letter to the Counteſs of Eſſex, MS. in the Vol. hereafter quoted.

revised, and at sufficient distance of time had thought maturely on it, he might have perceived

'that place; and fynding the same easye to be opened, 'I satysfyed my dysyre; wherein appeared letters, 'sent from the late Earle to his Ladie, wrytten in 'such *a hand* as *I coulde not reade*. But whyleſt I 'was thus perusing theſe letters, my wyffe, being 'abroade, came sudenlie into the howſe; ſo that I 'tooke onlie one bundle of thoſe letters haſtelie owt 'of the caſkett, and ſett the caſkett under the bed 'agayne, locked with the ffall of the cover, for it 'was a ſpring locke; which bundle of letters I car-'ried into my ſtudie, where yt remayned care-'leſſie above three monethes, before I dyd any thynge 'with them, for I could not underſtand the contents 'of any of them. Beſydes I havinge, as many thouſands 'then had, an abſolute opynyon of the Earle's fidelitie 'and allegeance to her Majeſtie, ſtate, and countrie, 'could not be brought to ymagyne that hys Lordſhip 'had any evell thought to any of theſe, untyll, by 'ſome ſpecyall intelligence, I had notyce that hee 'was very dyſſyrous to accept of any condycions, to 'have friendſhipp with ſome, whom before he termed 'hys enemyes. Which thinge I thought could hard-'lie proceede from hym, unleſſe there were greatter cauſe 'then was generally conceyvid, or I before could 'ymagyne. Thereupon I began to feare the event, 'and a lyttle to looke about me, whether there were 'matter in the letters that myght endanger mee; and 'having taken the ſayde bundle of letters as afore-'ſayd, I revewed the ſame, and ſtyll fynding that I 'could not reade them, was much trobled how to 'underſtand the effect of them. In this tyme of 'delyberacion, the Counteſs ſent for her caſkett; 'which was delyvered to her kynſwoman, and Gentle-'man-Uſher, beinge both ſent for them, to my wyffe, 'in a coache, about the 7 of Januarie, 1599. But 'the next day after, the Counteſſe of Eſſex came to 'my howſe herſelfe, and demanded her letters myſſing, 'which I had poſelie concealed, both from the Coun-'teſſe and from my wyffe; for I was reſoalved to 'underſtand to underſtand the contents of them, be-'fore [illegible] delyvred to the Counteſſe, or to any 'other. But when the Counteſſe pereceyvid that I 'denyed her letters, then ſayd ſhe, I muſt tell my 'Lord of them, if it were my owne mother that 'had them; ffor he hath dyſſyred to have a ſight of 'them, and I tould hym, they were in your wyffe's 'keepynge; therefore, now they are gone, I muſt 'tell hym how the matter ys; otherwyſe, I ſhall be 'condempned, although *I know there ys noe bad mat-'ter in the letters*, neither againſt her Majeſtie, nor 'State; but onlie, becauſe my Lord hath alreadie 'dyſſyred to have a ſyght of them; therefore, I pray, 'make diligent ſearch for them among your ſervants: 'And ſoe departed, not then very much dyſpleaſed, 'as yt ſeemed to me. But the next day, both I and 'my wyffe, were dyverſlie ſolycyted from the Coun-'teſſe; and at the laſt, *in ſome ſortte*, there was *a 'thouſand pounds offred* for the letters myſſyng; which I 'feared to accept, or to be knowen of having any of the 'letters. For bie thys large offer I had cauſe more and 'more to ſuſpect the Earle's doings; whereof, after 'ſome conſyderation had in that behalfe, aboute the 'tenth of *February* then next following, I took four 'or fyve of thoſe letters owt of the bundle, and went 'with them to Mr *Peter Bales*, ye Scryvener; who, 'perceyving that I could not reade them, endevored, 'by all menes, to make me underſtand the contents 'of them. But then, I was to devyce, in what man-'ner I ſhould *remove all ſuſpycyon*, either *how* I came 'bie thoſe letters, or els, to *what purpoſe* I mente 'to converte them. Therefore, to colour the ſame 'from *Bales*; I tould hym, That *thys employment was 'done by the Counteſſe of Eſſex*; and bye that meanes, '*I kept from hym my intent* and purpoſe; which was, 'that yf there hapned matter of ſtate, or fytt mat-'ter to be dyſcovered out of any of the letters, I 'would have manyfeſted the ſame to her Majeſtie. 'But then I was to travell a little further, and to 'devyſe in what manner I ſhould underſtand the reſt 'of the letters, which were aboute twenty ſix in 'number; and thoſe, I was unwilling that *Bales* 'ſhould be acquainted withall; for then hee myght 'have endangered mee, bie makyng the fyrſt dyſ-'covery, and ſo have reaped the fruytes of my 'travell, yf there had chanced any matter of State 'in the reſt of the letters. So that I willed *Bales* to '*ymytate the ſayd Earle's hand-wrytinge* as neare as 'he could, both in the lynes, letters and ſuperſcryp-'tyon; which I did, to *obſcure* my *ſecret determi-'nacion* from hym: And hee willinglie performed all 'my dyſſyre, in wryting thoſe letters dyvers tymes, 'as I appoynted hym; eſpecyallie one letter. But 'lett me here remember the opynyon of [illegible], that '*have condempned mee*, for that I dyd not cauſe *Bales*, 'at the fyrſt, to *wryte* the Earle's letters *playnlie*, 'which they thynke had been better and redyar 'to teach mee to *reade* the letters I brought to hym, 'and that therefore thys my longe dyſcrypcion of 'learnyng to reade the ſayd letters ſhould be idle and 'vayne; whych cannot be denyed, as ſome under-'ſtand yt to bee in the letters which I brought to '*Bales*. But I would gladlie know how you can de-'vyſe to learne the reading of thoſe letters which 'I dyd not bringe to hym, for the cauſes before re-'membred: Therefore, for my parte, I could fynd 'noe better meanes than to have *Bales* ymytate the 'Earles hand-wrytynge, which brought me to thys 'perfectyon, that by takyng the beſt of *Bales* imy-'tations, and uſing them as *carectors* to the reſt of the 'letters, I found theſe benefytts; fyrſt, bie peruſing '*Bales*, in wrytinge the ſayd letters often over, I was 'reaſonable perfect in making the letters knowen to 'me. Then before he left mee, I could reade thoſe 'fyve letters ſoe perfect, that I dyd dyctate ſome 'letters as he wrote them. Thyrdlie, being afterward 'at *Ritchmond*; I uſed the beſt of *Bales* ymytations as 'carectors to the reſt of the letters; whereof *I wrote* 'four or five *copyes*, with ſtoppes (*), which *I ſent to* 'the *Counteſſe*. Fourthlie, and before that tyme, I 'found matter which ſerved my turne, to prove 'Bales meanyng towards mee; in the tyme of his 'wryting thoſe letters; and therebie freed myſelf from 'the *Cunſtable*, bie uſing *theſe words* in one of 'the letters before remembred, *viz. The Quene's 'commandment, &c* which *wordes*, for my remem-'brance, I wrote forth with *my owne hand*, and cauſed '*Bales* to incert thoſe wordes into dyvers of hys 'copyes, becauſe I myght, at one tyme or other, 'take occatyon to prove *Bales* meanyng towards me; 'which I did, not for any doubte I made of *the words* 'to be *matter of State*, but to prove from tyme to 'tyme how *Bales* was diſpoſed towards me; for he 'gave me greate *cauſe to ſuſpecte hym*, in ſpeakyng 'one tyme to me very particularlie, ſaying, That if 'he had found matter of ſtate in the letters, *hee would 'have ſent for a Cunſtable and areſted me*. Then 'he aſked mee what I ment, to have him copy thoſe 'letters? I ſayd, That the *Counteſſe of Eſſex* willed 'mee. But why doe you cauſe mee to wryte *one 'letter ſoe often*, ſaid hee, and ſo lyke *a hand you 'cannot reade?* I anſwered, That I ment to geve 'ſome a *gull*; ffor *I gulled hym*, in that *hee beleeved 'mee*, tuching the Counteſſe *commandment*; which 'fyctyon I made, for feare of a Cunſtable; for at 'that tyme I had all the bundle of letters about 'mee. But when he tould me, that Mr *Wyſeman* 'ſolycyted the Earle of *Eſſex*, to have a Clarke's 'place in the Courte *for hym*; as I take yt, to be '*Clarke* to her Majeſtie, *of her Highnes bills to be 'ſigned*, yf I be not deceyved; for theſe cauſes, I 'had ſome reaſon to doubt his delinge; otherwiſe, 'I had uſed hys help in reading ſome part of the 'letters concealed. But fynding hys affectyon, and 'ſeeing his dyſpoſytion, I had more reaſon to ſeeke 'meanes to eſcape the Cunſtable, then to haſſard my 'eſtate, by engaging myſelfe into the danger of ſoe 'craftie a perſon; which might eaſelie have hapned 'dailie, yf he had found matter of ſtate in any of the 'letters. Nevertheleſs, *yt ys fallen more heavelie 'upon mee*, in another kynd, then I dreamed of; 'not onlie bie *Bales* meanes, but unfortunatly 'wrought by ſundrie devyces, beyond my expec-'tation: I being more carefull, to preſerve the credyt 'and reputations of others, then to preſerve the 'eſtate of mee, my wyffe and chyldren, am taken 'in a ſnare, bie comytting my tonge to ſylence; and 'bie ſuffering one halfe of my determynation to be 'obſcured; much lyke the man that alleadged theſe 'words of the Pſalme, *Non eſt Deus*, but omytting 'the preceding words, *Dixit inſipiens, in corde ſuo*: 'As the Nun did, bie readinge *Omnia probati*, but 'never turned the leaffe.'

(*) Deſigned to intimate, that where he made them, he had reference to the matters of importance.

perceived enough therein, under his own hand, to account for his ſufferings; like that bird

'So that, henceforth, I never uſed *Bales* further, 'in thys buſyneſs; nor, ſythence that tyme, had I 'any dealing with hym; untyll he, and one *Peter* '*Ferriman*, aboute the laſt of March 1600, made 'meanes to borrow twentie pounds of mee for ſix 'monethes; which motyon, at the fyrſt, I enter- 'tayned; but when I heard Ferrimans (60) bond was 'lyttle worth, then I refuſed to deale further with 'them; but yf I had knowen, or ſuſpected myſelfe 'to be in eyther of theyre dangers, yt had been a 'ſmale matter for mee, at that tyme, to have lent 'them 20 pounds, wherbie I had eſcaped theyr con- 'ſpyrycies; which I little eſteemed, becauſe I could 'not ymagyne, that theſe matters would, bie any 'meanes, have growen to ſoe high a poynte; con- 'ſydering that neyther my intent, act, nor any part 'of my meanynge, could, bie any meanes, worke in 'the *Earle* any ſuch cauſe of *dyſcontment*, or any 'ſuch cauſe of *offence* to the *lawes* of this land, as 'is now conceaved and devulged, bie ſome to be 'agaynſt her Highnes lawes, as matter of ſtate, 'and the *cheffe cauſe* of the *Earle's overthrowe*; 'which I will labour to manyfeſt heareafter. But 'when *Bales* was denyed twentie poundes, hee pre- 'ſentlie combined with *Ferriman*, and deviſed a '*Declaration*; conteynyng, and amplyfying the *man- 'ner of my dealing with hym*, about the ſayd letters, 'and delyvered the ſame to her Ladiſhip, about the '2d of *Apryll*; which came not to my knowledge, 'tyll about the Earle's araignment: So that thys '*Declaration* comyng then to the late Earle hys hands, 'was never publyſhed, but kept ſecrett, from the 'ſecond of *Aprill* 1600 tyll the eight of *Febrarie* 'followinge; at which tyme, the Earle, being at '*Eſſex-houſe* the day of hys pretended action, before 'the Lords, and a greate multytude there aſſembled, 'pronounced theſe words (61); viz. *That hys lyffe was 'ſought; that hee ſhould have ben murthered in his 'bedd; that hee had ben perfydyouſlie delte with*; 'that *hys hand had ben* counterfeyted, *and* letters '*wrytten in hys name*; and that *therefore* they were 'there *aſſembled* to defend their *lyves*; with moch other 'ſpeech to the lyke effect: Hereupon the Lord 'Cheyffe Juſtyce ſayd unto the Earle, that yf hee 'had any ſuch matter of greyffe, or yf any ſuch 'matter were attempted, or purpoſed agaynſt hym, 'hee willed the ſayd Earl to declare yt; aſſuring hym 'that yt ſhould be trulie related to her Majeſtie, and 'that yt ſhould be indyfferentlie heard; and juſtyce 'ſhould be done, whoſoever yt concerned. Thys 'offer of the Lord Cheyffe Juſtyce, dyd not then 'agree with hys Lordſhip's purpoſes; for he ment 'to endevour another matter, as hath ben ſpread 'abroade; and knew the truth to bee otherwyſe, as 'hys Devynes have ſett forth, that hymſelfe verie 'honourablie confeſſed at hys laſt breath, in hys 'humbled mynd, which ſhall appeare more at large 'in another place. But to returne to my purpoſe, 'after I had made this end with *Bales*, about the '20th of Februarie 1599, I determined by way 'of *petytion* to have *delyvered the* ſayd bundle of '*letters to the Queene's Majeſtie*, then being at *Rytch- 'mond*; whether I repayred, and ſtayed there ſix 'days together for that purpoſe: But although I had 'greate dyſſyre to performe the ſame, and, for the 'cauſes afforeſayd, was before that tyme, retyred from 'the late Earl, yeat, being ſtyll eſteemed to be one 'of his followers, I was ſtayed from approchinge her 'Majeſties preſence; ſo that yt greeved mee greatlie, 'conſydering I had followed and ſerved in the Court 'ſoe many yeares, and alwayes mayntayned myſelfe 'in ſtate of a gentleman; and then, to be kept from 'preſentinge myſelfe to her Majeſtie, and altogether '*rejected, in delyvering* the *ſayd petytion* and *letters* 'as I would; bie reaſon whereof I was dyſcoraged, 'and alſoe croſſed in performyng my dutie and deter- 'mynation in that behalfe; whereupon enſued, that 'through the ymportant *requeſt*, and pytyfull *mone* 'made bie the Counteſſe, and others at her requeſt, 'at the laſt I yealded to come and ſpeake with her 'honour in *York-houſe*, where the Earl of Eſſex 'was then comytted to the cuſtodie of the Lord- 'Keeper; and her Ladiſhip, at my comyng thether, 'uſed many urgent and vehement *perſwatyons*, viz. 'That ſhe lyttle thoughte I had any ſuch letters, as 'thoſe I ſent her copyes of, from the Court. For, 'ſaid ſhe, I proteſt I thought thoſe letters had been 'burnt longe ſynce; and now I perceyve you have 'them, and meane to delyver them to the Queene, 'to the undowing of my Lord and mee: If you will 'delyver mee my letters, I will procure my Lord 'to bee better to you then hee hath ben, and beſydes, 'you ſhall have full recompence for all your loſſes.' After all this courtſhip, all theſe promiſes, as he pre- tends, and a great deal more, he was ſtruck with compaſſion! and prevailed on to part with the letters, for a ſum of money, agreed upon in the following manner. When he came from *Richmond*, he had a great deal of diſcourſe with the Counteſs, at *York houſe*; who expreſſed abundance of remorſe at the obſtructions that had been made to the improvement of his for- tune, and their neglect of allowing ſome handſome proviſion with his wife, all which ſtopped his return to the Court; expecting the effect of theſe fair words, which, ſays he, ſeemed then as ſweet as *honey*, but in the end as bitter as *gall*. To go on in his own ſtile, 'The next day the Counteſs ſent a Knight, Sir 'Edward Dyer, to my houſe at Charing-Croſs; who 'told mee, that hee had not, as yeat, any warrant 'to deale with me; but ſayd, he hard of ſome matter 'betwene me and the Counteſſe of Eſſex; therefore 'dyſſyred I would come to his lodgings the next 'morning, which I dyd; and then he confeſſed, that 'the Counteſſe had entreated hym to take order with 'mee; and ſoe, wyſhed that I ſhould ſett downe 'the cauſe of my greyffes, and the effect of my 'demand; to which I anſwered, that non knew better 'then hymſelf, what wronge, loſſe, and hynderance, 'I receyved bie followinge the ſaid Earl.' So re- peats his Lordſhip's failing to prefer him to the Queen's ſervice; recommending another to the parſonage of *Runcorne*; and the not having received any fortune with his wife: 'Then the Knight took pen and inke, 'ſaying, he would ſett downe *a thouſand pounds* for 'my *recompence*; and I tould hym, that *three thou- 'ſand pounds* would hardlie anſwere my loſſes. Then 'he offred mee *ſeventeen hundred pounds*; to which 'I anſwered, that I was worthie of a 1000 *l.* with a 'wyffe in marryage, and a 1000 *l.* more, in recom- 'pence of my ſervices, and other loſſes; and then he 'charged me with my promys, becauſe I had before 'referred myſelfe to his judgment, and therefore ſayd, 'that *twentie* pounds more ys all I can geve; which, 'by his perſwaſion, I *yealded* to accept; whereupon 'he willed me to write the cauſe of my demand, 'and ſubſcribe my name under this ſumme of 1720 'pounds; which ſumme he had before written in 'figures upon a whole ſheet of paper; under which 'ſumme, I wrote theſe words; *The ſaid ſumme of '1720 l. I dyſſyre to have, in conſyderation of my 'wyve's marriage, and our ſervyces*; and then ſub- 'ſcribed my name, *John Danyell:* Which he ac- 'cepted on the Counteſſe's behalf; and the next 'day, being the third of *March* 1599; hee, and 'others, brought to my houſe at Charing-Croſſe, '1720 pounds. Thys money being receyvid, the 'letters myſſing, were called for; I went with that 'money to my cloſett, and brought down all the 'bundle of letters; and then, thoſe *four* or *five 'letters* whereof I had ſent *copyes* from *Rytchmond*, 'as afforeſayd, were ſpecyallie dyſſyred; which 'copyes they had brought, to conferre together with 'the orygynalls; for which orygynalls I made ſearech, 'in the bundle of letters; but being ſtyll very un- 'readie in the hand-writing, I was longe in ſeekyng 'for them. Then one of them who was more per- 'fect in reading the Earle's hand-wryting, tooke 'the bundle out of my hands, and *found the orygynals 'preſentlie*; and in examining, began to reade them 'openlie; but the other blamed hym, and bade hym 'reade to hymſelfe; which being donne, the petycyon 'to her Majeſtie, and my letter to the Counteſſe from '*Rytchmond*, were brought forth, and in peruſing 'the ſayd petycyon, one ſhaked hys head, and ſayd, 'thys matter was neare broching: And ſoe they both 'dyſſyred, that the Counteſſe letter to my wyffe, 'the petycyon to her Majeſtie, and my ſaid letter to 'the Counteſſe, with *all the copies* of the ſaid let- 'ters, might be burned; all which was performed 'accordinglie. And after thys, I was demanded, yf

(60) This is the ſame P. Ferriman whoſe Letter is before quoted; and the ſame, to whom *J. Davies* in his *Scourge of Folly*, p. 200, directs an epigram; declaring, that, thro' love, this *Peter* keeps the *Keys* of his Heart's *Heaven*, and yet is *locked* in.

(61) See alſo a Declaration of the Treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex and his Complices, &c. 4*to*, 1601, *Sign.* F. 2. &c.

I had

bird of prey, who ſaw the fatal feathers which had dropped from his own wings, upon the arrow that ſhot him. In 1607, there being one thouſand pounds of the aforeſaid fine paid into the Exchequer, King James granted, by his letters patent, to the relict of the ſaid Earl, then Counteſs of Clanrickard, the remaining two thouſand pounds, to be paid in the ſame annual proportions as the other had been; to reimburſe her loſſes by the ſaid fraudulent extortioner. A true abſtract of that grant is here ſubjoined, for the better intelligence of this affair [*K*]. After the aforeſaid cenſure of John Danyell, and what

'I had made any acquynted with the ſayd letters: 'I tould them, I had the help of one *Bales*, to teache 'me to reade ſome of them. Then they entreated 'mee to ſwere upon a booke, that I had delyvered '*all the letters, and copyes*, which came to my hands. 'I anſwered, that I had either delyvered them, or 'burned them, before their face: And thereupon 'they both departed, very well pleaſed: For within 'two days after, the Counteſſe ſent me word, ſhe 'was ſatysfyed in every reſpect, and then wyſhed me 'as much good of her money, as ſhe had comfort 'in receyving her letters.'

In moſt other parts of his book, whence we have tranſcribed this moſt material circumſtance, he is inceſſantly upon his juſtification; and is for convincing us of his ſincerity, and innocence throughout this tranſaction, by telling us that, 'Yff I had not holden 'myſelfe free from all *danger of law*, I would 'never have reſumed the inherytance of the par'ſonage of *Mynſhull*, in my own name, paying for 'the ſame 520*l.* nor have bought the ſtate of the 'parſonage of *Hackney*; which coſt me above 700*l.* 'with reparations, new buylding, and making the 'aſſurances with other charges. Beſydes, I delyvered 'out plate, to the value of 300*l.* in guylte and 'ſylver; with many oxen, kyne, horſes and geldings; 'together with apparel; which I made, to attend 'in the court, and other goods; for which I had 'bonds, ſtatutes and judgments, with other aſſurances 'from ſeverall perſons, to the value of 1600*l.* in 'good debt, all which parſonages, debtes, and the 'aſſurances for the ſame, I paſſed in my own name, 'after I receyved the the ſayd ſumme of 1720*l.* 'which may ſattisffie every reaſonable man, that *I* '*helde myſelfe* free from all danger of the law; al'though the contrarie hath hapned agaynſt me.' After the Counteſſe of Eſſex had thus finiſhed with Danyell, ſhe cauſed *Bales* to draw up a *Declaration* of his whole engagement in this affair; which he did in the beginning of April 1600, and it appears, that beſides his own name, there were thoſe alſo ſigned to it, of *Peter Ferriman*, and *George Lylle* as parties, or witneſſes to the matter of fact contained therein; which *Danyell* never heard of, tho' he had often been with the Counteſs at *York-houſe*, and at the Lady *Walſingham*'s, at *Barn-Elms*, ſince he received the money aforeſaid; till Bales himſelf told him of it, as they were going together to *Weſtminſter*, the day of the Earl's arraignment; at which, as well as before, at *Eſſex-houſe*, his Lordſhip objected, out of that *Declaration*, the *counterfeiting* his *hand*, and other indirect practices uſed upon his letters. At the Earl's *Trial*, as appears in a manuſcript account of it, Mr Attorney took occaſion of entering into the matter of *counterfeiting* his Lordſhip's *letters*, and declared it was performed by his Lordſhip's direction, that others might be charged with it: But the Earl ſaid, he was ſo far from employing Danyell to procure ſuch copies, that he earneſtly defired his puniſhment; yet the robbery of his Lady's caſket, and extortion from her of ſo much money, was then overlooked; the letters being acknowledged in court, to have nothing of moment in them againſt the ſaid Earl(62). But in little more than a twelvemonth after the writing of the ſaid *Declaration*, both that, and the evidence of it's author, were made uſe of, at the conviction of *John Danyell* in the *Star-Chamber*, for forgery and coſenage; and he was fined, pilloried, and impriſoned, as was before declared. He ſpent his time in the Fleet much upon writing Apologies, Petitions, Letters, and Dedications of them, to King James, Queen Anne, &c. All which may be ſeen in his MS. volume before us (63), from whence we have above recited every paſſage in which he mentions Maſter *Bales*. We find him further by this book, to have been in the Fleet at leaſt four years; where himſelf, his wife, and three or four children, where reduced to the extremity of having nothing to live upon, but the profits of certain artificial flowers; ſome of them froſted, ſome of needle work, and others called ſattin flowers; which ſhe invented and diſpoſed of for three of thoſe years together; as appears by the petition of the ſaid *Jane* his wife, to the King; wherein ſhe prays, that ſhe may have the ſole privilege of vending her ſaid inventions. There is a Tract at the end of this book, alſo of his writing, called *Danyell's Dyſaſters*; in the dedication whereof, to Sir T. Houlcroſte, he tells him, that he here preſents to his diſcreet patience, the firſt fruits of his travail, ſince his liberty. But if he could have borrowed that patience he celebrates in his patron, he would not have turmoiled his brains with ſuch unſatisfying repetitions of his caſe; from whence it were eaſy to fill two or three ſheets more, with the ebullitions of his corroding inquietude; and all to the ſame purpoſe already mentioned, tho' in different words; ſo true it is, that *He who will not take Conſcience for his Conductor, ſhall have her for his Tormentor.* But that no future reader of the extracts above, from this MS, may be perverted by the ſpecious pretences therein, of Danyell's procuring copies of the Earl's letters, only to find offences in them, for which the ſtate might condemn him juſtly, and not to ſell them, as well as the originals; we ſhall conclude, with Mr *Camden*'s account of the matter in theſe words: 'To this cauſe (Eſſex) 'alſo belongeth a *cenſure* given at this time in the 'Star-Chamber; and therefore is not to be paſſed 'over in ſilence. I ſaid before, that the Earl com'plained of his letters being counterfeited; hereof 'a diligent enquiry was made, and a *notable impoſture* 'diſcovered. The Counteſs, his wife, miſdoubting 'ſome miſchief to her huſband and herſelf in this 'troubleſome time, put certain *love-letters*, which 'ſhe had received from him, into a cabinet, and 'intruſted them in the keeping of a *Dutch* woman 'named *Rihove*; this *Dutch* woman hid them at her 'houſe: By chance, *John Danyell* her huſband (64), 'lighted upon them, read them, and obſerving that 'there was ſomewhat in them which might endanger 'the Earl, and incenſe the Queen, cauſed them to be '*tranſcribed by one that was expert in imitating hands* '*very like the original:* And when the fearful Counteſs 'was ready to lie-in, he told her, that he would preſently deliver them into the hands of the Earl's ene'mies, unleſs ſhe would forthwith give him 3000 'pounds. She to avoid the danger, gave him pre'ſently 1720 pounds (65), and yet for that great ſum, '*ſhe received not the original letters, but the copies* 'from the *impoſtor*; who purpoſed to wipe the Earl's 'adverſaries alſo of a great ſumme of money for the '*originals.* For this impoſture he was condemned to '*perpetual impriſonment*, fined *three thouſand pounds*, 'whereof the Counteſs was to have 2000, and to 'ſtand with his *ears nailed to the pillory*, with this 'inſcription, *a wicked Forger and Impoſtor* (66). All that we know further of this *John Danyell*, may be read in the next note.

[*K*] *For the better intelligence of this affair.*] The ſaid letters patent ſet forth: That King James, in the fifth year of his reign, made a grant to the aforeſaid Counteſs, now of Clanrickard; in which it appears, that it having been decreed on the 17th of *June*, in the 43d year of the late Queen's reign, by her counſel in the *Star-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, that *John Daniell* of *Derſburie* in the county of *Cheſter*, Eſq; for divers great offences by him committed, in couſining, and indamaging of the ſaid *Frances*, then Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and now wife to *Richard* Earl of *Clanricard*; and for divers other wrongs, and abuſes offered unto her, ſhould pay to the ſaid late Queen *Elizabeth*, her heirs, &c. the ſum of *three thouſand pounds* for a fine. And it is in the ſaid decree alſo expreſſed, that the meaning of the Lords of the Councell was, to be ſuitors to her Majeſty, that ſhe would allow the ſaid Counteſs *two thouſand pounds* for her damage, and loſs out of the ſaid fine; for the ſatisfaction whereof, an *inquiſition* was taken the 14th day

(62) The *Arraignment* of *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, in the Great Hall of Pleas at *Weſtminſter*, her Majeſty then lying at *Whitehall*, fol. MS.

(63) Which may be entitled, A *Declaration* of the *Suffrings* of *John Danyell* of *Dereſburie*, Eſq; for his Practiſes with the Earl of *Eſſex* his *Letters*. 4*to*, dated from the Fleet, 1602, *&c.*

(64) There muſt be a miſtake here; for *Danyell* himſelf calls the daughter of Sir *Gilly Merrick* his wife, as we before obſerved.

(65) This ſum is erroneouſly printed in the edition before us, which ſhould be corrected as we have done here.

(66) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, fol. 1688, p. 630.

what he has ſaid of Maſter Bales, little more occurs to us of this our famous Penman. Whether he ever hurt himſelf, by any ſuch improvident generoſity, as to be eaſily drawn into ſuretyſhip by his acquaintance, for any conſiderable ſums of money; or it is only a mere alluſion to his name, we are not certain; but we have met with it, uſed in a manner proverbially, in ſome humorous diſplay of characters publiſhed in the beginning of King James's reign, where ſome extravagant ſpendthrifts are deſcribed to have been reduced to ſuch a ſituation, as *To need the friendſhip of Peter Bales*; which may indeed ſignify no more, than that they were, or likely to be, arreſted for debt, and wanted ſome friends who would be their *Bails* (*p*). However that be, an oblique and invidious reflection, that ſeems ſome few years after, to have been publickly made on his circumſtances, repreſenting him obliged to remove from place to place to avoid his creditors, might favour the former conjecture. This reflection we have in an epigram, compoſed with prejudice perceivable enough, by one of his own profeſſion, as we obſerved before; who has therein traduced his abilities, through envy of his ſucceſs by them; and has perhaps therefore as unjuſtly traduced his circumſtances: for writers, and eſpecially poets, the title of which they both claimed, would envy one another, as well as potters, blackſmiths, and even beggars; the brighteſt authors, as well as the dirtieſt artizans, being ſubject to that mean and beggarly paſſion towards one another, ſo long ſince as the days of Heſiod (*q*). The epigram aforeſaid, which we take to have been impoſed upon his character, in his ſeeming decayed, or declining condition, was publiſhed, as we compute, in 1610, and though he therein appears to have been alive when it was written, it is poſſible he might have been not long dead when it was printed: but this is ſubmitted, by a tranſcript here given of it [*L*], to the judgment of our readers.

(*p*) His name is applied to ſuch like ſenſe, as we remember, in a ſcarce old tract, entitled, *The Black Book*, 4*to*, 1604.

(*q*) In *Op. Dies.*

day of *September* in the 43d year of the reign aforeſaid, by *Thomas Aſton*, Sheriffe of *Cheſter*, of ſuch lands, and goods, whereof the ſaid *John Daniell* was then ſeized; and they were extended to the yearly value of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* and the ſaid extent was duely returned. Afterwards the Queen, by her letters patents, under the great ſeal, dated 26th of *January* in the 44th year of her reign, demiſed, granted, and to farm let, unto the ſaid Counteſs, all the lands and hereditaments of the ſaid *John Daniell*, mentioned in that *inquiſition*; to have, and to hold, ſo long as they ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the crown, for payment of that fine. In which ſaid letters patents there is reſerved the rent of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* yearly to be paid into the Exchequer. And whereas, by the payment of that rent, and by the ſale of certain goods of the ſaid *John Daniell*, there has been paid towards the ſaid fine 1024*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* as by a certificate under the hand of *Edward Wardour*, Clerk of the Pells, appears (being 24*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* more than was intended to the crown by that decree). Therefore his ſaid Majeſty, inclining to accord with that intention, grants, by theſe preſents, to *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*, and the ſaid Lady *Frances*, now his wife, the remains of the ſaid ſum, or fine, of 3000 pounds as yet unpaid; and all his intereſt in the ſaid extent, and in the ſaid rent of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* till they ſhall receive the remains of the ſaid fine. And that they may have, hold, and enjoy all the lands, meſſuages, and tenements expreſſed in the ſaid letters patents, and apply to their own uſe, and behoof, all the profits and benefits that may ariſe from the ſaid premiſes, till the fine be fully ſatisfied: and for the better keeping account how the ſame is paid, the ſaid Earl and Counteſs, ſhall, according to the times appointed, pay yearly, into the Exchequer, the ſaid ſum of 68*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* And the officers thereof, are thereupon hereby authorized and commanded forthwith to repay them the ſaid yearly rent. For the doing whereof, theſe letters patents, or the inrollments of them, ſhall be ſufficient warrant and diſcharge to the Treaſurer, Chancellor, &c. and all officers of the Exchequer, &c. *Dat.* Weſtminſter, the third day of November in the fifth year of his reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the one and fortieth.

Clapham.

Per Breve de Privat. Sigillo.

Irrot' in Theſaurar' Recept. Sccii Dm. Regis Jacobi, 28 Die Novembris 1607. An° Regni ſui Angliæ, ac Franc. et Hibnie, quinto, et Scotie 41mo.

Will. Skynner.

Irrot' per Edw. Wardour, Clericum Pellien' } 28° *Die Decembr' Anno Quinto Regis Jacobi* 1607.

Examinat' per me Thomam Martin, &c.

[*L*] *By a tranſcript here given of it.*] Our reaſon that the book wherein the ſaid epigram is printed, was publiſhed in the year 1610, is drawn from the 170th page of it, where there is an epigram addreſſed to Dr *Geo. Abbot* Biſhop of *London*; he being in that ſee but that one year. But the epigram which we take to have been written againſt Maſter Bales, is as follows.

Of a Pen *for a* Running-Hand.

The *Hand*, and *Golden Pen*, *Clophonian*
Sets on his *Sign*; to ſhew, O proud, poor Soul,
Both where he wonnes, and how the ſame he wan,
From Writers fair, though he writ ever foul:
But by that Hand, that Pen ſo borne hath been,
From Place to Place, that for *this laſt half Yeat*,
It ſcarce a ſen'night at a place is ſeen,
That Hand ſo plies that Pen, though neer the neare:
For when men ſeek it, elſe-where it is ſent;
Or there ſhut up, as for the Plague, for Rent:
Without which *ſtay*, it never *ſtill* could *ſtand*,
Becauſe the *Pen* is for *a Running-Hand* (67).

(67) J. Davies his Scourge of Folly, 8*vo*, p. 104.

G

BALEY or BAILEY (WALTER), author of ſome treatiſes mentioned below [*A*], was ſon of Henry Baley of Warnwell in Dorſetſhire, and born at Portſham

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Treatiſes.*] I. *A Diſcourſe of three Kinds of Pepper in common Uſe.* This piece was printed in 1558, in 8*vo*, and dedicated to Sir John Horſey. II. *A brief Treatiſe of the Preſervation of the Eye-ſight*; printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign in 12*mo*, and at Oxford in 1616, and 1654, in 8*vo*. In the edition of 1616 there is added another *Treatiſe of the Eye-ſight*, collected from Fernelius and Riolanus; but by what hand, we are not told. They both paſs under Dr Baley's name. III. *Directions for Health, natural and artificial, with Medicines for all Diſeaſes of the Eye*, 1626, 4*to*. IV. *Explicatio Galeni de potu convaleſcentium*

Portſham in that county. He was educated at Wincheſter-ſchool, and admitted perpetual Fellow of New College in Oxford, in the year 1550, after having ſerved two years of probation. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded upon the Phyſic line, and was admitted to practiſe in that Faculty, in 1558, being at that time Proctor of the univerſity, and Prebendary of Dultingcote or Dulcot in the church of Wells; which preferment he reſigned in 1579. In 1561, he was appointed the Queen's Profeſſor of Phyſic in the univerſity of Oxford. Two years after, he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty, and at laſt was appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to her Majeſty. He was eſteemed to be very ſkilful in his profeſſion, and was much followed for his practice. He died March the 3d 1592, at 63 years of age, and was buried in the Inner Chapel of New College in Oxford. His poſterity, Mr Wood tells us, ſubſiſted at Ducklington near Whitney in Oxfordſhire, and ſome of them had been Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid county (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

convaleſcentium et ſenum, et præcipue de noſtræ alæ et biriæ paratione, &c. i. e. 'An Explication of 'Galen concerning the drink of thoſe who are recovering from a fit of ſickneſs, and the aged; and 'particularly concerning the preparation of Engliſh 'Ale and Beer, *&c.*' This piece was in Manuſcript, in 4*to*, in the library of Robert Earl of Ayleſbury (1).

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 255.

T

BALIOL or BALLIOL (JOHN DE) [*A*] founder of Balliol-College in Oxford, was the ſon of Hugh de Balliol [*B*] of Bernard's-caſtle in the dioceſe of Durham (*a*). He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knights fees [*C*], a conſiderable eſtate in thoſe times. But he received a great addition thereto, by his marriage with Dervorgille [*D*], one of the three daughters and coheireſſes of Alan of Galloway (a great Baron in Scotland) by Margaret the eldeſt ſiſter of John Scot, the laſt Earl of Cheſter, and one of the heirs to David, ſome time Earl of Huntingdon (*b*) From the year 1248 to 1254 he was Sheriff of the county of Cumberland (*c*); and in 1248 was conſtituted Governor of the caſtle of Carliſle (*d*). Upon the marriage of Margaret daughter of King Henry III to Alexander III King of Scotland, the guardianſhip of them both, and of that kingdom, was committed to our Sir John de Balliol (*e*), and to another Lord (*f*); but, about three years after, they were ſo grievouſly accuſed of abuſing their truſt, that the King marched towards Scotland with an army, to chaſtiſe them. However, in conſideration of the many important ſervices performed in the moſt difficult times,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523, 524.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 524. & p. 46. & 609.

(*c*) Rot. Pip. 32 Hen. III. Cumb.

(*d*) Pat. 32. Hen. III. m. 8.

(*e*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1252. p. 350.

(*f*) Robert de Roſs of Wer[illegible].

[*A*] BALLIOL (JOHN DE.] So his name is commonly written (1). But it is found otherwiſe in different authors: As, for inſtance, in M. Paris, *de Bailliol* (2), *de Bailloil* (3), *de Baillol* (4), and *de Baliol* (5). In Matthew of Weſtminſter, *de Baliolo* (6), *de Bailol* (7), and *de Baillol* (8). And in Henry de Knyghton, *de Balliolo* (9). Modern authors commonly write it *Baliol*.

(1) See Ant. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 69, &c.

(2) Page 430.

(3) Page 639, 909.

(4) Page 907.

(5) Page 993.

(6) Edit. Francof. 1601, p. 350.

(7) Page 385.

(8) Page 387.

(9) Inter Decem Scriptores, edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2447.

[*B*] *Was the ſon of* Hugh de Balliol.] *N— de Balliol*, Lord of the Manors or Seigneuries of Baillol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France (10), came in with William the Conqueror. ——His ſon *Guy*, as is ſuppoſed, was made Lord of the Foreſt of Teeſdale and Marwood by William Rufus, who gave him alſo the manors of Middleton and Gainsford in Northumberland (11). —— He was ſucceeded in thoſe eſtates by his ſon *Bernard de Baillol*, who built that ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the river Teeſe, called from him *Bernard-caſtle*. ——— His ſon was named *Euſtace*; ——whoſe ſon *Hugh de Baillol* was father of *John*, who is the ſubject of this article. This is the pedigree of that noble family, as traced by Sir W. Dugdale (12). Dr James Anderſon ſets it down thus (13), *Guy—Guy—Hugh—Bernard—John*. And Dr Henry Savage, in a manner different from both, *viz. Bernard Balliol—John—Edward—Bernard—John* founder of Balliol college (14). Which is the trueſt, we cannot poſſibly determine, at ſo great a diſtance of time.

(10) Hector. Boëthius, Hiſt. Scot.

(11) Royal Genealogies, by Ja. Anderſon, *D. D.* Lond. 1732, fol. p. 759.

(12) Ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Ballio-fergus, or a Commentary upon the Foundation, Founders, and Affairs of Balliol College, *&c.* Oxford, 1668, 4*to*, p. 6.

[*C*] *He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees.*] That he was eminent for power and riches, we learn from Matt. Paris; who calls him —— *magnæ virum potentiæ & auctoritatis* (15), and, —— *Miles dives & potens* (16). ——— And that he was poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees appears from hence: becauſe in the twenty-ninth of King Henry III, he paid thirty pounds upon levying the aid for marrying the King's eldeſt daughter, for the *thirty Knight's fees* he held (17). And again, in the fortieth year of the ſaid King, he paid ſixty pounds for the ſame, upon levying the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon a Knight (18). ——— To ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, we ſhall give a ſhort account of what a *Knight's fee* was. It was then ſo much inheritance in land as was ſufficient to maintain a Knight; and this was *fifteen pounds* a year in the time of King Henry III (19): but by the Statute 1 Edw. II. c. i. a Knight's fee was *twenty pounds* a year. Sir Tho. Smith rates it at *Forty pounds per ann.* (20). According to Sir Edw. Coke, a Knight's fee contained four hundred and eighty acres of land (21): but, according to others (22), ſix hundred and eighty, or eight hundred, acres. So that, allowing for the difference in the preſent value of money from what it was in the reign of King Henry III, a Knight's fee of twenty pounds *per ann.* then, would be now worth near 400*l.* a year.

(15) Hiſt. Angl. edit. ut ſupra, ad ann. 1255. p. 908.

(16) Page 909.

(17) Rot. Pip. 29 Hen. III. Northumb.

(18) Ibid. 40 Hen. III.

(19) See M. Paris, as above, p. 926.

(20) De Republica *Anglorum*, c. xvii.

(21) 2 *Inſtit.* p. 596.

[*D*] *Dervorgille.*] Her name is variouſly written, *Dervorgille, Dervorgulle, Dervorguille, Devorguilla, Devorgoyle*, and *Devorgulla* (23). She was, in her own right, Counteſs of Huntingdon, Lady of Galloway, and alſo coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter. The two former titles, of *Counteſs of Huntingdon*, and *Lady of Galloway*, ſhe obtained, as being one of the three daughters and heirs of *Alan* Baron of Galloway, by his wife Margaret, eldeſt daughter of *David* Earl of Angus, Galloway, and Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland (24). But it is a queſtion, whether this Earldom was ſuffered actually to devolve unto her, inaſmuch as ſhe is in no record whatſoever, ſtiled Counteſs or Lady of Huntingdon, nor her huſband John de Balliol Earl thereof, though they enjoyed the lands and caſtle of Fodringhay in Northamptonſhire thereunto belonging; only ſhe gave the arms of the Earl of Huntingdon in her ſeal (25). She was alſo, as I have ſaid, *coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter*; becauſe her mother, Margaret, was the eldeſt ſiſter of John (ſurnamed Scot) Earl of Cheſter, who died without iſſue in the year 1244. But King Henry would not ſuffer ſo great an honour, as that County-Palatine was, to be divided among women: Therefore he took it into his own hands, and annexed it to the Crown for ever; giving the laſt Earl's ſiſter ſome lordſhips and eſtates by way of compenſation: And to the Lady Dervorgille, in particular, the manors of Luddingland and Torkeſey in Lincolnſhire, and Yarmouth in Norfolk (26) Her two ſiſters were, Helen, married to Robert de Quincy hereditary Conſtable of Scotland; and Chriſtiana wife of William de Fortibus Earl of Albemarle, which dying without iſſue, her eſtates in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln, fell to John de Balliol and his wife (27).

(22) Camden's, Britannia, in *The Degrees of England*, Vol. I. edit. 1722. p. 246.

(23) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(24) Anderſon, ubi ſupra, p. 758.

(25) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(26) Dugdale ubi ſupra, p. 45, 46.

(27) Ibid. p. 524. See alſo Anderſon, p. 758.

times, to K. John the King's father, by Hugh our John Balliol's father; and eſpecially by a ſum of money, of which he had great plenty, he ſoon made his peace (*g*). In the year 1258, he had orders to attend the King at Cheſter, with horſe and arms, to oppoſe the incurſions of Lhewelyn Prince of Wales (*h*). And, two years after, in recompence of his ſervices to King Henry, as well in France as England, he had a grant of two hundred marks; for diſcharging which, the King gave him the wardſhip of William de Waſſingle (*i*). In part of the years 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, and 1264, he was Sheriff for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (*k*): and in 1261, was appointed keeper of the honour of Peverell (*l*). In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of Balliol-College in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow (*m*) [*E*]. During the conteſts and wars between King Henry III and his Barons, he firmly adhered to the King; on which account his lands were ſeized and detained by the Barons, but reſtored again through one of his ſons interpoſition (*n*). In 1264, he attended the King at the battle of Northampton, wherein the Barons were defeated (*o*): but, the year following, he was taken priſoner, with many others, after the King's fatal overthrow at Lewes (*p*). However, it ſeems he ſoon after made his eſcape, and endeavoured to keep the northern parts of England in King Henry's obedience (*q*). Moreover, having obtained authority from Prince Edward, he joined with other of the northern Barons, and raiſed all the force he could to reſcue the King from his confinement (*r*). He died a little before Whitſuntide, in the year 1269 (*s*): leaving three ſons behind him, Hugh, and Alexander, who both died without iſſue: and *John*, afterwards choſen King of Scotland. See the next article.

(*g*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1255. p. 362. et Mat. Paris Hiſt. Angl. Edit. 1640. p. 908, 909.

(*h*) Clauſ. 42 Hen. III. m. 11.

(*i*) Clauſ. 44 Hen. III. m. 5.

(*k*) Rot. Pip. Nott. & Derb.

(*l*) Pat. 46. Hen. III. m. 20.

(*m*) H. Savage's Ballio-fergus, as above p. 6.

(*n*) Clauſ. 47 Hen. III. m. 3.

(*o*) Guliel. Riſhanger Continuat. M. Pariſ. p. 993, &c. and Hen. de Knyghton, ubi ſupra, col. 2447. 2448.

(*p*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1264. p. 387.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 390.

(*r*) Clauſ. 50 Hen. III. in dorſo, m. 9.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

[*E*] *In* 1263 *he began the foundation and endowment of* Balliol-*college in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow.*] I follow Dr Savage (28), in placing this foundation under the year 1263. But Mr A. Wood, without aſſigning any reaſons for it, brings it as low as the year 1267, or 1268: which undoubtedly was done on purpoſe to make it later than that of his college of Merton (29); for which he has been ſeverely animadverted upon by Mr W. Smith, in his Annals of Univerſity-college. ——— All that our founder John de Balliol did, was to ſettle yearly exhibitions upon ſixteen ſcholars (30), till he ſhould provide them a fit houſe and other accommodations. His allowance to them was only *eight pence* a week each, *ad communem eorum menſam* (31); now equal to ten or twelve ſhillings. At his death he recommended this pious deſign to his wife and executors. In purſuance of which, the Lady Dervorgille ſettled thoſe ſcholars in a tenement ſhe hired of the Univerſity, in Horſemongers-ſtreet (32), in St Mary Magdalen's pariſh, now part of the upper end of the preſent quadrangle of the College (33), and preſcribed ſtatutes for their government in the year 1282 (34). Two years after, ſhe purchaſed another tenement near the former, called Mary's-Hall; and when ſhe had repaired it, the ſociety were here ſettled by her charter; confirmed by her ſon Sir John de Balliol, afterward King of Scots, and by Oliver, Biſhop of Lincoln (35). By which confirmation it appears, that this new foundation was ſtiled, *Domus Scolarium de Balliolo*; and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, St Catherine, and the whole court of Heaven (36). Her endowment of the ſame conſiſted in *ſome houſes* in Oxford; which, together with the ſite of the College, coſt her fourſcore marks (37); and lands in *Stamfordham*, and *the Howgh*, in the county of Northumberland; but moſt of theſe were afterwards loſt (38). However, by the ſubſequent benefactions of Sir Philip de Somervyle, Kt. who founded ſix ſcholarſhips; of Peter Blundell, &c. and eſpecially of John Warner, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who gave fourſcore pounds a year, for the maintenance of four ſcholars born in Scotland; the revenues of that College are now able to maintain twelve fellows, and fourteen ſcholars.

(28) Ballio-fergus, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 69, 85.

(30) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(31) Chronica de Melros, inter Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum, Tom. I. Oxon. 1684, fol. p. 241.

(32) Now called Canditch.

(33) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(34) Ibid. p. 15, &c.

(35) Ibid. p. 18, &c. 23, 24, 25.

(36) See p. 18, 23.

(37) Ibid. p. 24.

(38) Ibid. p. 23, 24, 27. See alſo A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. as above, p. 69, 70.

C

BALIOL, BALLIOL, BOILLIOL, BOYLLOL, or BALLOL (JOHN DE) King of Scotland, was deſcended from a moſt illuſtrious family, and was poſſeſſed of very large eſtates in Scotland and France, as well as England, though he chiefly reſided here (*a*). The particulars of his hiſtory, ſo far as they can be with any certainty collected, either from the writings of hiſtorians or records, are of infinite conſequence to the right underſtanding of the Engliſh and Scottiſh hiſtories, during that period in which he flouriſhed, and for want of having a Life of this Prince written with care, and from the authority of original authors, both Engliſh and Scottiſh writers have run into great confuſion, often abuſing each other for involuntary miſtakes, and charging thoſe things on a ſpirit of falſehood and partiality, which were, in reality, owing to miſapprehenſion or want of due intelligence (*b*). As the clearing up thoſe difficulties in our hiſtory, is the great point aimed at by compiling this life, and as it is indeed a point of far greater conſequence, than the aſſembling the ſcattered memoirs of a perſon ſo long deceaſed, would otherwiſe be; it is requiſite for this purpoſe, that we ſhould introduce this article, by giving a diſtinct view both of the ſtate of England and Scotland, at the time to which it relates (*c*). The great point of policy purſued by King Edward the firſt, was attaining the abſolute ſovereignty of this whole iſland, which he began by the conqueſt of Wales, and had well nigh finiſhed by that of Scotland; which indeed, he more than once conquered, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in this article. But firſt we are to obſerve, how things ſtood in that kingdom before the extinction of the male line of the Royal family, which gave occaſion to that controverſy, by which John Balliol mounted the throne of Scotland (*d*). Alexander the third, King of Scots, a Prince equally renowned for his great and good qualities, married, when very young, Margaret, the daughter of Henry the third, King of England, and ſiſter to Edward the firſt, which alliance brought him to have a greater intercourſe with the court of England than moſt of his predeceſſors, and he was ſo happy, as to ſpend his whole life in the ſame intimacy and friendſhip with his father and brother-in-law, notwithſtanding the high dignities they all poſſeſſed, as if they had been private perſons, inſomuch, that he made ſeveral viſits with his Queen to the Engliſh court; and, on the other hand, both her brothers and her nephew Edward,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 524.

(*b*) See for the proof of this, almoſt all the Engliſh and Scots Hiſtorians; but particularly Speed and Tyrrel, among the former, and Abercromby among the latter.

(*c*) Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 336.

(*d*) Fordun Schotichron. edit. T. Hearne, p. 953.

while Prince of Wales, viſited the Queen of Scots in her own kingdom (*e*). In the midſt however, of all this friendſhip and affection, King Alexander was very careful to avoid doing any thing that might prejudice the rights of his crown, or fortify that claim which the Kings of England had ſet up, as Lords Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland: Thus for inſtance, when he went with his Queen to aſſiſt at the coronation of her brother King Edward, who ſucceeded his father King Henry III in 1272, he took a very extraordinary precaution; for he previouſly obtained from that Monarch a ſolemn act, by which he declared, that the preſence of the King of Scots upon this occaſion, ſhould be no way prejudicial to him or to his kingdom (*f*). *A. D.* 1278, we find him again at Weſtminſter, where he was preſent in a Parliament held by King Edward, in which he did homage to that Monarch by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, for his lands in England (*g*). This King Alexander having had long wars and great controverſies with the Monarchs of Norway, at length compromiſed them all, and by a treaty of marriage which is ſtill extant, gave his daughter Margaret, who was alſo niece to King Edward I, to Eric, King of that country. By the ſixteenth article of this treaty which was concluded in 1281, it was ſtipulated, that the iſſue of this marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of Scotland, in caſe the King died without heirs male of whom he had then two hopeful Princes Alexander and David, even tho' the iſſue of that marriage ſhould be daughters only (*h*). This proviſion came very ſoon after to take place, the King loſing firſt his ſon David, and then Alexander Prince of Scotland, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, but died neverthelefs without iſſue (*i*). In this melancholy ſituation of his affairs, King Alexander to provide in the beſt manner poſſible for the ſucceſſion in his own family, and for the peace of his dominions, engaged the nobility of Scotland by a ſolemn act to promiſe allegiance to Margaret the daughter of Eric, King of Norway by Margaret his daughter, which act was dated *A. D.* 1284, in the thirty-fifth year of that Monarch's reign (*k*). But he being at that time a widower married, in hopes of having male iſſue, a French Lady, daughter to the Earl of Dreux, ſoon after which he moſt unhappily broke his neck by a fall from his horſe, on the 19th of March 1286. Upon his demiſe Buchanan tells us, tho' certainly very falſely, that the States of Scotland met at Scoon in order to elect a new King (*l*), which, as we have ſeen, was not in their power to do, neither is it probable, that King Edward of England would have borne with ſuch an attempt as this, to the prejudice of their lawful Sovereign Queen Margaret, the grand-daughter of his own ſiſter. The truth of the matter is, that on the 11th of April, *A. D.* 1286, the nobility of Scotland met at the place before mentioned, in order to provide for the ſecurity of the government and the execution of the laws, which they did by chooſing ſix guardians or regents, accountable to their Queen when ſhe ſhould be at home and of full age (*m*). This however proved a ſlender ſecurity, for in a ſhort time after theſe guardians fell out among themſelves, and inſtead of preſerving the peace of the kingdom, created therein by theſe unſeaſonable diſputes a civil war, which laſted between two and three years to the deſtruction of ſeveral of them, as well as to the endangering of their country (*n*). All this while it ſeems, little notice was taken of the young and abſent Queen Margaret: Her father Eric, King of Norway, at whoſe court ſhe ſtill continued, beheld the growing diſtractions of her ſubjects from afar, but being unable to remedy them by himſelf, had at length recourſe to a friendly mediation of Edward I, King of England, whom, by reaſon of his great power, his neighbourhood to Scotland, the long friendſhip entertained between the two nations, his influence over the guardians, and more particularly, by reaſon of his near relation to the Queen, he thought, and he was in the right, the fitteſt man in the world to ſee that quick juſtice ſhould be done her. In hopes of this, he commiſſioned his Plenipotentiaries at Bergen on the firſt day of April, *A. D.* 1289, to go over to the King of England, and in his preſence, to treat with the Scots about affairs relating to the honour and intereſt of himſelf and his daughter (*o*). Theſe Ambaſſadors were very kindly received, by that great Monarch to whom they were ſent, and who had not as yet, at leaſt ſo far as appears from hiſtory, formed any deſigns to the prejudice of Scotland; but, on the contrary, was very aſſiduous in his endeavours to promote the intereſt of it's inhabitants, as appears by his letter dated at Clarendon, November 6, 1289, directed to the Prelates, Nobility, and other principal perſons in the kingdom of Scotland, by which he very pathetically exhorts them to a peaceable, ſteady, and faithful obedience to their lawful Sovereign, Queen Margaret, and teſtifies his intention to ſend very ſpeedily ſome of his principal Nobility to enquire into the ſtate of things in their country (*p*). He did accordingly ſoon after ſend ſuch Commiſſioners, not barely to look into the affairs of Scotland, but upon an affair of far greater importance, for he had now formed a deſign of uniting the two kingdoms, by a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, Edward of Caernarvan, ſtiled afterwards, Prince of Wales, and the young Queen Margaret, which he was deſirous might be accompliſhed with the conſent of the States of Scotland (*q*). His Ambaſſadors accordingly propoſed it in an aſſembly convened for that purpoſe, and ſet forth all the advantages that would attend this marriage with the utmoſt eloquence. There are very different accounts given, of the reception this propoſition met with from the States of that kingdom, for ſome ſay that, it was univerſally applauded; and others, that it was but very coldly entertained (*r*): The latter ſeems to be the more probable account of the two, becauſe it is certain, that tho' the point was carried and a treaty agreed on, by which the two kingdoms were to be united, yet the very articles themſelves

(*e*) Buchan. in Vit. Alex. III. Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 231.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr Anderſon's Eſſay, No. 26.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 120.

(*h*) Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 232. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 1079.

(*i*) Joan. Major. de Geſtis Scotorum, lib. iv.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 206.

(*l*) Hiſtoria Scotiæ ad init. l. viii.

(*m*) Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*n*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

(*o*) Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*p*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 245.

(*q*) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967.

(*r*) See the Biſhop of St Andrew's Letter to King Edward, in which this point is fully cleared up, in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 1092.

themſelves ſhew, that the Scotch obtained all they could aſk, which makes it plainly appear, that they were not over ready to come into this agreement: As they are certainly very curious in every reſpect, but chiefly as they appear to be the firſt plan that was ever drawn for ſuch a coallition, the reader therefore may very probably be inclined to ſee them [*A*]. That there was a great party formed againſt this meaſure is alſo certained, for Robert Bruce, and ſeveral others, declined taking their ſeats there, tho' afterwards they came to the aſſembly on the report of the young Queen's death (*s*). It muſt be admitted notwithſtanding, that King Edward had a very ſtrong party in Scotland, at the head of which was the Biſhop of St Andrews, whom the King had lately made his Chaplain, and our John Balliol, who had always adhered to the Engliſh intereſt, as indeed moſt of his family had done, and had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves (*t*) [*B*]: Some writers

(*s*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. ad init.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523.

[*A*] *The reader therefore, may, very probably, be inclined to ſee them.*] The Commiſſioners or Ambaſſadors mentioned in the text, were Anthony, Biſhop of Durham, and Ralph, Biſhop of Carliſle, John, Earl of Warren, and Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Sir William de Veſey, Knight, and Henry Newarke, Dean of York: And in the preamble to the articles it is expreſsly ſaid, that they, as procurators, or perſons impowered by their maſter, King Edward of England, negotiated this treaty of marriage with the Guardians of the kingdom, and the reſt of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Clergy, as well with the Nobility, Earls, Barons, and the whole Community of Scotland (1); ſo that nothing was omitted that could render this union ſolemn and binding on all parties; and it fully appears, by the penning of the articles, that it was intended to give all manner of ſatisfaction to the Scots, in doing which, the King ran no ſort of hazard; for if there was iſſue of this marriage, all he granted came to his grand-children, and if there was none, he was left to the meaſures he had before concerted. The ſubſtance of theſe articles were as follows,

(1) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. II. p. 482.

I. That the rights, laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of Scotland, ſhall for ever remain entire and unalterable, and the kingdom continue ſeparated, divided, and free in itſelf from the kingdom of England without any ſubjection, by it's true bounds and limits as it had been before; ſaving the right of the King of England, or of any other perſon whatever, which he or they might have either to the marches or elſewhere, which before this treaty belonged to them, or might juſtly belong to them in time to come.

Mr Abercromby ſuppoſes, that this ſalvo was inſerted for certain dark and ſecret purpoſes, to which I can by no means agree, becauſe I think the words may be very fairly interpreted of the rights, which either he or ſome of his ſubjects might have to lands within the boundaries of the kingdom of Scotland, as aſſigned by this treaty (2).

(2) Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 460.

II. That if Edward and Margaret ſhall die without iſſue of the Body of Margaret, the kingdom ſhall revert entire, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

III. That in caſe of the death of Prince Edward, without iſſue of the body of Margaret, her Majeſty's perſon ſhall be remitted in like manner free and independent to Scotland.

IV. That no perſons either eccleſiaſtick or laick, ſhall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to aſk leave either to elect or to preſent their elects, nor to do their homage, fealty, and ſervices, nor to proſecute law-ſuits, nor, in a word, to perform ought uſual performed in Scotland.

V. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhall have it's Chancellor, officers of ſtate, courts of judicature, &c. as before, and that a new ſeal ſhall be made and kept by the Chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the Queen of Scotland be engraven upon it.

VI. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhall be lodged in ſome ſecure place within the kingdom, at the ſight of the Nobility, whoſe ſeals ſhall be appended to them, and there kept till either the Queen ſhall return to her own kingdom, or ſhall have heirs to ſucceed her.

VII. That Parliaments when called to treat of matter concerning the State or inhabitants of Scotland, ſhall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

VIII. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. ſhall be exacted in Scotland, but ſuch as being uſual in former times ſhall conſiſt with the common intereſt and good of the nation.

IX. That the King of England ſhall oblige himſelf and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable to the Church of Rome, in aid of the Holy-Land, to make reſtitution of the kingdom, in the caſes aforeſaid, and that he ſhall conſent that the Pope reſtrain him and his heirs by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the aforeſaid reſtriction, and payment of the ſaid ſum of money, if he or they do not ſtand to the premiſes. And,

X. Laſtly, that King Edward, at his own charges, ſhall procure the Pope to confirm theſe articles, within a year after the conſummation of the marriage; and that within the ſame time, the Bull of his Holineſs ſhall be delivered to the Community of the kingdom of Scotland.

Theſe articles and conceſſions were ſealed by the Commiſſioners on Tueſday next before the feaſt of St Margaret, that is, on the 18th of July, *A. D.* 1290: And the letters patents for confirmation of this agreement, which was word for word repeated in them, were ſealed with the King's ſeal at Northampton on the 28th of Auguſt following (3); and on the ſame day, the King appointed, by ſpecial commiſſion, the Biſhop of Durham to be Lieutenant to Queen Margaret, and his ſon Prince Edward in Scotland, for preſerving the peace and government of that kingdom, with the advice of the Guardians, Prelates, and great men, according to their own laws and cuſtoms (4); and the Guardians and Nobility of Scotland, with the Governors and Captains of the caſtles and fortreſſes, engaged themſelves by an inſtrument to deliver them up, when their Queen and her huſband ſhould come into that kingdom (5): So that every precaution poſſible was taken, for the mutual ſatisfaction of both nations, in caſe this marriage had taken effect, which, as is ſaid in the text, was defeated by the death of Queen Margaret in the autumn of the year 1291, in the iſland of Orkney, whither ſhe had been conducted by Sir Michael Scott, and Sir David Weems, as Commiſſioners from the States of Scotland to bring her home to her dominions.

(3) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. II. p. 487, 489.

(4) Ibid. p. 487.

(5) Ibid. p. 488.

[*B*] *And had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves.*] It will be proper here to ſhew how this illuſtrious family of Balliol came to have ſuch large eſtates, and ſo great an intereſt, as at this time it plainly appears they had in the kingdom of England. The firſt then of this family whom we find mentioned in the Engliſh hiſtory, is, Guy de Balliol, to whom King William II gave the manor of Biwell in Northumberland (6), his ſon Bernard de Balliol adhered ſteadily to King Stephen, and is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of Bernard caſtle upon the bank of Teiſe (7), his ſon Euſtace flouriſhed in the reign of King John (8), and his ſon Hugh de Balliol did great ſervice againſt the Scots in the ſame reign (9). In the reign of Henry the third we find ſeveral Balliols ſerving with great fidelity in the worſt of times, and always true to the royal family. It was owing to the various branches of this great family, that ſome confuſion appears in their genealogy, but it is very certain, that John Balliol, ſon to Hugh de Balliol, married Dervorguill, or, as ſhe is ſometimes called, Darvorgilla, daughter to Alan of Galway, in whoſe right he was ſeized of Galway or Galloway in Scotland, and of many large eſtates in England (10), ſhe being co-heireſs of John Scott, the laſt Earl of Cheſter. This John de Balliol, upon the marriage of Margaret, daughter of King Henry III, to Alexander the third King of Scotland, was conſtituted one of the Governors of that kingdom, in which office he is ſaid to have miſbehaved, which expoſed him to ſome trouble (11); but however, he recovered the King's favour, and did him great ſervice again

(6) Teſta de Nevil. Northum. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 388, 41, 101.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 523.

(8) Clauſ. 17 Jac. m. 8. Matth. Pariſ. p. 276.

(9) Teſta de Nevil. Northumb.

(10) Matth. Pariſ. p. 433, 11, 30. Clauſ. 22 H. III. m. 22. Pat. 22 H. III. m. 10.

(11) Matth. Pariſ. p. 407, 11, 10. Ibid. p. 909, 11, 10.

writers ſay, that he had great promiſes made him for the ſervice he did the Engliſh court upon this occaſion, which is not at all improbable, and perhaps he might have in view either the ſole government, or a large ſhare in the regency, in caſe this marriage had taken effect; but this was ſoon rendered impracticable by the death of the young Queen Margaret, which happened in her paſſage from Norway, her native country, to her hereditary kingdom of Scotland. This opened a new ſcene of affairs, for the direct line of the royal family being in her extinct, a great diſpute aroſe about the right of ſucceſſion in the collateral branches (*u*). The two chief competitors were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, both claiming under their common anceſtor David, Earl of Huntington, both having fair pretences, but neither, as the law of that kingdom then ſtood, a clear or indiſputable right [*C*]. But beſides theſe, there ſtarted up no leſs than eight other pretenders, whether moved by their own ambition, or ſecretly incited thereto by the arts of King Edward, is a point, which, at this diſtance of time, cannot well be determined; but, however, this is very certain, that none of them could well be ſaid, to have ſo much as a colour of right (*w*) [*D*]. The Barons of Scotland aſſumed to themſelves the quality of Judges, and were afterwards declared to be the only legal and proper judges of a point, in which, except the competitors, none were ſo nearly concerned as themſelves. But conſidering the great and extenſive intereſt of Balliol and Bruce, it was foreſeen, that theſe judges would not eaſily come to a determination, and beſides there very ſoon appeared good grounds to doubt, whether, if they did, the claimants would readily ſubmit to their deciſion (*x*). It was therefore agreed, from a mixture of policy, fear, and irreſolution, that the whole matter ſhould be left to the arbitration of King Edward, who no doubt very readily accepted a truſt, which he had been ſo long endeavouring, by all

(*u*) Major, Leſlæus, Buchan, &c.

(*w*) Thom. Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*x*) Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249.

againſt the rebels, maintaining all the northern parts of the kingdom firm in his intereſt, by the aſſiſtance of the King of Scots (12). He died in the year 1269, but his wife ſurvived him; and from records it ſeems that he left three ſons, Hugh, the eldeſt, was at that time twenty-eight years of age, but he did not long ſurvive him, dying in the year 1272 (13); he was ſucceeded by his brother Alexander Balliol (14), who died in 1278, or thereabouts, and was ſucceeded by the third brother, John Balliol, who is the ſubject of this article, and who ſeems to have been under age at this time, ſince, upon the demiſe of his brother, the cuſtody of his lands was committed to Robert de Evre (15), but in the 10th year of the reign of Edward I, he appears to have had ſcutage of his tenants, being then abroad in the King's ſervice in an expedition into Wales (16); ſo that it is probable, he might be born about the year 1260, or perhaps ſomewhat earlier.

(12) H. Knyghton, p. 2447, 2448.

(13) Rot. Fin. 53 H. III. m. 12.

(14) Ex. 56 H. III. m. 26.

(15) Rot. Fin. 7 E. m. 14.

(16) Rot. Scutag. Wall. 10 E. I. m. 3.

[*C*] *Then ſtood, a clear and indiſputable right.*] In the former note, we have given as clear an account as could be collected from our Records of the family of Balliol in England, which account agrees perfectly well with that, which in this note we are to give of the claim, ſet up by this John Balliol to the crown of Scotland, in default of the direct line of the royal family (17). In the firſt place, however, it will be requiſite to ſhew, when, how, and whence the collateral branches ſprung. In few words then, the fact ſtood thus, Henry, Prince of Scotland, ſon to King David the firſt, who died before his father, left three ſons, Malcolm, ſirnamed the *Maiden*; William, ſirnamed the *Lion*, from his great courage; and David, Earl of Huntington. King William had but one ſon, called Alexander the ſecond, and who was father of Alexander the third, his only ſurviving iſſue, who married Margaret, daughter to King Henry III of England, and ſiſter to Edward I, by her he had two ſons, viz. Alexander, and David, who died without iſſue, and one daughter, named Margaret, married to Eric, King of Norway, by whom ſhe had one only daughter, named alſo Margaret, late Queen of Scotland, who dying without iſſue, the whole line of William the *Lion* failing, the right of the crown remained in one of the deſcendants of the ſaid David, Earl of Huntington, but to which of them it belonged was a difficulty ſomewhat hard to be decided. This David, Earl of Huntington, had three ſons, viz. Henry, Robert, and John, the two firſt died young, the laſt took the ſirname of *Scot*, and was Earl of Cheſter; he dying alſo without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to the heirs female of his father David, who left three daughters, the eldeſt of which was Margaret, who married Allan, Lord of Galloway, by whom ſhe had an only daughter, Dervorgilla, or, as ſome write it, Dergovilla, who married John Balliol, the founder of Balliol college in Oxford, and father to John Balliol of whom we are ſpeaking; and who, in his mother's right, claimed the kingdom of Scotland (18). The ſecond daughter of David Earl of Huntington was Iſabella, who married Robert Bruce, by whom ſhe had Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the other claimant (19). According to this account it is very clear, that Balliol repreſented the eldeſt daughter of David, Earl of Huntington, and Robert Bruce, the ſecond daughter; but then Balliol was one degree more remote, as being the great-grandſon of the ſaid David, Earl of Huntington, whereas Robert Bruce was only his grandſon, ſo that the one was of the elder line, the other, neareſt in degree; which, in few words, expreſſes clearly the point in debate between them.

(17) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 960.

(18) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 578.

(19) Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*D*] *Could well be ſaid to have ſo much as a colour of right.*] We will ſtate, for the ſake of perſpicuity, the claims of the reſt of the pretenders to the crown of Scotland, in the order in which their petitions lie in the great roll of proceedings before King Edward (20), which leads us to ſpeak, 1. Of Florence, Earl of Flanders, who ſet forth, that his great-grandmother was Ada, eldeſt ſiſter of William, King of Scotland, but then it is to be conſidered, that this lady was ſiſter likewiſe to David, Earl of Huntington, who, conſequently, had a prior right to the crown, and the claimants beforementioned derived their right from him. 2. Patrick Dombar, Earl of March, ſet forth a much ſhorter and clearer right, as being deſcended from Ilda, the daughter of King William, but then ſhe was a natural daughter, of which he takes no notice in his petition. 3. William de Veſcy claimed under Margery, another daughter, that is, alſo another natural daughter of King William. 4. William de Ros claimed under Iſabella, the eldeſt natural daughter of King William. 5. Robert de Pynkeney ſet forth that he was deſcended by the mother's ſide from Margery, the ſiſter of William King of Scotland. 6. Nicholas de Soules claimed under Margery, ſiſter to King Alexander III. 7. Patrick Gallythly conceived he had a claim from his father Henry Gallythly, who was a baſtard ſon of King William's. 8. Roger de Mandeville was deſcended from a baſtard daughter of the ſame King. 9. John Cumine had quite another title, for he claimed under King Donald, that is Donald Bane, or, Donald the White, an uſurper about two hundred years before; but he was willing to lay by his pretenſion in favour of John Balliol. He might alſo have added of Robert Bruce and John Haſtings, for to ſay the truth, none but theſe three had colourable pretenſions, nay, that of Haſtings was ſcarcely ſuch, when balanced with that of Bruce. Both were the immediate ſons of the lawful daughters of Earl David, the brother of Malcolm the Maiden, and of King William; but Ada, the mother of Haſtings, was the younger ſiſter, who muſt therefore yield to Iſabella the mother of Bruce; but then both Iſabel and Ada were younger than Margaret, who was the grandmother of John Balliol, ſo that, as we before obſerved, the queſtion was; who repreſented David, Earl of Huntington (21).

(20) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 542—600. It is from this Record our beſt hiſtorians ſpeak; and farther than they agree with this Record, neither Engliſh or Scots Hiſtorians are to be regarded.

(21) See Brady, Tyrrel, and Abercromby.

all the arts a great politician could uſe, to have repoſed in his hands; nor was it long, before he diſcovered to the world, what uſe it was he intended to make of it (*y*). In this however, as well as in every thing elſe, he proceeded with great caution and dexterity. The firſt ſtep taken, was the aſſembling of the States of Scotland at Norham, a town on the borders, at the requeſt of King Edward, to which he repaired in perſon, and on the tenth of May 1291, opened himſelf to that aſſembly in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner, declaring that he looked upon himſelf as the ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, and that he expected in the firſt place, that the States ſhould acknowledge him as ſuch (*z*). They expreſſed a very great ſurprize at ſo ſtrange a demand, but the anſwer they made was very ſenſible and judicious. They ſaid that they were very unhappy in being at preſent without a head, and that this unhappineſs was increaſed, by the demanding of them an acknowledgment of a right, of which, till then, they had never heard; and that they had bound themſelves by an oath, to acknowledge no Prince or Superior, but the perſon who ſhould be declared heir to their late King Alexander III, and this under pain of excommunication (*a*). King Edward having received this anſwer, adjourned the Aſſembly to the next day, when the States met again and deſired further time, that, in a matter of ſuch importance, they might have leiſure to conſult their countrymen. This could not decently be refuſed, and therefore the King very readily granted them a reſpite for three weeks, and this was the end of that aſſembly, and of it's proceeding (*b*) [*E*]. They met again about the appointed time, and on the ſecond of June following, the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, declared to them, that ſince nothing was offered in bar to the right his maſter claimed, the King took his ſovereignty to be acknowledged, and that he expected the competitors, the Guardians of the Kingdom, together with the Prelates and Barons, ſtiling themſelves the Community of Scotland, to recognize him as their Superior and direct Lord, which was accordingly done by ſuch as were preſent, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Bruce, as the record ſtill extant witneſſes, though the Scotch Hiſtorians abſolutely deny it (*c*) [*F*]. John Balliol was not there, and very probable his abſence was premeditated

(*y*) Vide T. Walſingh. H. Knyghton, W. Hemingford, *&c.*

(*z*) Rot. de ſuperioritate Regis in Scotiam 18 E. I, penes Cuſtod. Record. in Turre London. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 525. Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 488, 489.

(*a*) Chron. Abington. Thom. Walſingham, p. 56.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 543. Robert Brunne's Chron. p. 248, 249. Johan. Roſſi Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189.

(*c*) Hect. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. p. 273. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſtor. lib. viii.

[*E*] *And this was the end of that aſſembly, and of it's proceedings.*] Whoever conſults that great record concerning this important tranſaction, which ſtill remains in being, will find that every thing was conducted therein with the greateſt ſhew of juſtice. Yet Mr Tyrrel ſeems to have gone a little too far, in aſſerting this aſſembly at Norham to have been a parliament of Scotland, called by King Edward I, as ſupreme and direct Lord thereof (22), which, to ſpeak truth, neither agrees with the record, with the matter of fact, or indeed, with common ſenſe: Not with the record, for therein it is expreſsly ſaid, that they aſſembled there at the requeſt of King Edward, to hear what he had to ſay to them, which, conſidering their ſubmitting to his arbitration, was very juſt and reaſonable; not reconcileable to fact, for if the King had called them in right of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, they could not have pretended any ſurprize on his aſſuming that title; and laſtly, this is not reconcileable to common ſenſe, ſince if he had ſummoned this aſſembly, as ſuperior Lord of Scotland, he muſt have ſummoned them upon the oddeſt occaſion in the world, ſince all he pretended to on that occaſion, was to get this right of his acknowledged, as will more clearly appear by conſidering the ſteps that were taken. It was not the King himſelf, but the King's Juſtice who opened his Majeſty's claim to the aſſembly in French, who adjourned them to the eleventh of May, to give their anſwer to this claim, and met them for this purpoſe at the pariſh church of Norham, when, as the record tells us, they earneſtly preſſed the King to give them longer time to conſult with ſuch as were abſent, and to anſwer his demands concerning their recognition of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, which he ſaid was his right: Then upon further deliberation, he gave them time until the ſecond of June next coming, and on that day preciſely they were to anſwer his demands, and if they had any evidences, writings, or antiquities, to produce, which might exclude him from the right and exerciſe of his ſaid ſuperiority, or direct dominion, or overthrow his reaſons and arguments for it, they were then to exhibit and ſhew them; proteſting he was ready to allow them what the law permitted, and to do what was juſt; and that they might better underſtand his title, and make their objections againſt it if they pleaſed, the Biſhop of Durham was appointed to ſet it forth to all the Nobles, and Prelates there preſent. It is true, the declaration he then made, and arguments he uſed, were wholly hiſtorical, and had been ſearched for, and taken out of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmſbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, and the Chronicle of St Albans, Matt. Paris, that lay then in ſeveral of the abbies of England, being to this effect: That the Scots had been conquered by ſeveral of our Saxon Kings, that many of their Kings had ſubmitted and ſworn fealty to them, done homage, and received the crown and kingdom from them, and that the Scots had alſo ſubmitted and been governed by ſuch Kings, as the Engliſh Saxon Kings had placed in that kingdom. That after the Conqueſt, the very ſame things had been done, ſubmitted to, and complied with, in the reigns of William I, and II, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, and Henry III (23). Mr Tyrrel's remarks on all this, appears equally juſt and impartial. 'This is the ſubſtance of that declaration, which you may find more at large in the hiſtories of Matth. Weſtminſter, and Tho. Walſingham, and which the King cauſed to be ſet forth, to ſatisfy the clergy and nobility of Scotland: but to ſpeak the truth, though the matters of fact, which are therein cited, are rightly enough ſet down, yet there is no mention made of any homage or fealty done by the Scotiſh Kings; for the whole kingdom of Scotland, properly ſo called, which extended antiently no farther than the bridge of Sterling, which in the time of King Edgar, was the boundary between the Scotiſh and the Northumbrian kingdoms (24).' This clears up the whole matter, and very plainly ſhews, 1ſt, What right King Edward really had to homage from the King of Scots; and 2d, What, laying hold of this opportunity, he had a mind (under colour of this right) to exact from them for the future.

(22) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 62.

(23) This deduction of his rights from old Hiſtories and Abbey Chronicles, is to be found at large, inſerted in the Great Record of theſe tranſactions. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 559.

(24) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 63.

[*F*] *Though the Scotch hiſtorians abſolutely deny it.*] It is a very natural thing, and one may almoſt pronounce it excuſable, for an hiſtorian to have ſome inclination to heighten the honour, and palliate the diſgraces of his country (25). But then this ſhould be done with judgment and addreſs, rather by reconciling than varying of facts, never at the expence of truth. Buchanan, who was not very tender in this point, and whoſe pride made him zealous for the honour of the Scots, tells us, upon this occaſion, a very fine ſtory of Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, for which however he gives us no authority, and, to ſay the truth, there was none to be had; becauſe, as fine as the ſtory is, it is founded on a falſe fact, or rather upon a multitude of falſe facts, which very plainly prove, that Buchanan wanted both that induſtry, and that fidelity, which is neceſſary to a good hiſtorian. But ſince we have accuſed him, let us hear what he ſays. 'There, *that is*, at Norham, Edward, by very fit inſtruments

(25) See Abercromby's remarks on this ſubject.

premeditated, that he might have the example of others to plead in excuſe of his own behaviour; but, however, he came the next day, and ſubmitted to make the ſame acknowledgment (*d*). This great point carried, pleaſed King Edward extreamly, for he was no leſs ſatisfied with acquiring a kingdom by art, than if he had obtained it by conqueſt, and he took care to publiſh this ſufficiently to the world, as a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was [*G*]. The ſeveral claims to the crown came next to be conſidered; and as it was not at all King Edward's intereſt to come to a haſty

(*d*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 549.

'inſtruments, tried by ſoft methods to perſuade the 'Scots to ſubmit to him. as he pretended their an-'ceſtors had often done before: But when they all 'conſtantly refuſed, he practiſed upon the competi-'tors for the crown whom he himſelf had ſet up; and 'by large promiſes drew them to come into his pro-'poſal, perſuading the reſt to transfer the aſſembly 'from Norham to Berwick, as to a more proper 'place. There ſelecting twenty-four judges he ſhut 'them up in a church, with orders to decide this 'controverſy, forbidding any to reſort to them. As 'he found the thing go on very ſlowly, he went how-'ever in to them himſelf, and by conferring with them 'he found, that tho' Balliol had the better right, yet 'Bruce had more friends: He therefore firſt applied to 'him, ſuppoſing, that as his right was but indifferent, 'he would the more readily come into his meaſures; 'he therefore promiſed him the kingdom of Scotland, 'if he would accept it from the King of England, and 'hold it of him as of his ſuperior. Bruce anſwered clear-'ly, that his deſire of reigning was not ſo ſtrong, as 'that, to gratify it, he ſhould in any degree leſſen that 'liberty which the Scotiſh nation derived from their 'anceſtors (26).' Thus has Buchanan raiſed the credit of his country, weakened Bruce's title, and, to make him amends, beſtowed upon him a magnanimity to which he had no claim; to ſhew the falſhood of all this, to place ſo material a point of hiſtory in it's true light, and to avoid as much as poſſible that dryneſs which naturally attends all criticiſm, we will proceed from the record, and reſume the proceedings of the aſſembly on their next meeting, as they are there ſtated. On the ſecond of June, the Biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtick Prelates, together with the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of the community of the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, met right over againſt Norham caſtle, where King Edward then was, in a green, on the other ſide of the river Tweed, as did alſo all the Princes and Noblemen that claimed the kingdom. Then the Biſhop of Bath and Wells was ſent to demand, in the King's name, what they had done ſince their laſt meeting, and whether they would ſhew, propound, or ſay any thing, that could, or ought to, exclude the King of England from the right and exerciſe of his ſuperiority, and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, that they would produce and exhibit it, if they believed it expedient for them; proteſting in the name of the King of England, that he would favourably hear them, and allow what was juſt, and report what they ſaid to him and his council, that upon deliberation they might do what juſtice required; but ſince they had anſwered nothing, neither propounded or exhibited any thing againſt it, therefore the Biſhop recapitulating what had been ſaid and urged for the King's title, and what had been done at theſe ſeveral meetings, in all which they had offered nothing conſiderable againſt it, declared to them, the Biſhops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others of the Community of Scotland, that the King would make uſe of his right of ſuperiority and direct dominion in Scotland, in deciding the controverſy between the ſeveral competitors for that kingdom. Then the Biſhop beginning with Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, being one of the chiefeſt competitors for the kingdom of Scotland, he demanded of him, in the preſence of all the eſtates of the kingdom laſt mentioned, whether, in claiming the ſaid right, he would anſwer and receive juſtice before the King of England, as ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, who openly and expreſsly, in the preſence of all there preſent, anſwered, That he did acknowledge the King of England ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, and that he would before and from him, as ſuperior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, anſwer and receive juſtice. Then all the other competitors there preſent, viz. Florence, Earl of Holland, the Lord John Haſtings, Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, William Veſcy, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeney, and Nicholas de Soules, had the ſame queſtion put to them, and made the ſame anſwer. John Balliol was then abſent, but upon his Proctor's requeſt, the meeting was continued until the next day the third of June, to be in the pariſh church of Norham, when he gave the ſame anſwer to the third queſtion. This was very ſtrong and full, without doubt, and yet it did not abſolutely ſatisfy King Edward, who inſiſted upon having letters patents in the French tongue from all the claimants, expreſſing their full ſatisfaction as to the right he claimed, of being ſuperior Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, promiſing to ſubmit to his deciſion of their title, and that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom, to whom King Edward adjudged it (27). We may add to all this, with reſpect to Robert Bruce, that in the very preamble of his petition, wherein he ſets forth his right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Scotland, he gives King Edward the title of ſuperior and direct Lord (28). So that there can be nothing more contrary to truth, than what is aſſerted by Buchanan, and the only excuſe that can be made for him is, that he has followed Boëthius in general, tho' he has added ſeveral circumſtances of his own invention (29).

(26) Rer. Scoticar. Hiſt. l. viii.

(27) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. P. 579. N. Trivet. Annal. p. 273.

(28) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. P. 544, 545.

(29) Hect. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. p. 273.

[*G*] *As a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was*] There cannot be a ſtronger inſtance given of the folly and danger of an ambitious diſpoſition in a Prince of great abilities, than what is contained in the hiſtory of the conduct of this Monarch, who was ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, in the proſecution of this ſcheme of his to annex a whole kingdom to his dominions, by the exerciſe of his wit rather than his ſword; that the very day after he had obtained the letters patents beforementioned, he took a much ſtronger ſtep, inſiſting, that as they had now granted him a right, they ſhould next give him the land: Yet ſtill he proceeded with a colour of juſtice, and took care that thoſe he practiſed upon ſhould do ſo too; for having inſinuated, that in order to make a King he muſt have a kingdom to give him, he prevailed upon the claimants of the crown to grant him under their hands and ſeals another charter, by which they conſent, that he ſhould have poſſeſſion given him of the kingdom, in truſt for the perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged (30): When he had got this he thought he had got all, and therefore, not only took upon him the title of Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, but endeavoured all he could to eſtabliſh a general opinion of his right in the minds of the Engliſh nation, by which he entailed long wars upon his poſterity, infuſed ſeeds of diſſenſion between the inhabitants of the two kingdoms, and thereby provided, as if he had done it on purpoſe, for the weakening the force of this iſland, and leſſening the power of both nations with reſpect to foreign Princes and States; nay, ſo much was he poſſeſſed with the notion of the right given him by theſe charters, that he ſent authentick copies of them under his privy-ſeal to all the chief monaſteries in England, with orders, that they ſhould be entred in the Chronicles and Leidger-Books of their reſpective houſes, divers of which are ſtill extant in the Cottonian library, where they that doubt the truth of it may conſult them, and our authors have been ſo exact, as to give us a copy of the writs whereby the Abbots and Priors of thoſe religious houſes were enjoyned to perform it (31). It bears date the 9th of July in the 19th year of his reign, *A. D.* 1297, being about ſeven years after the grant of that charter, and ſeems to have been done about the time when the Pope began to queſtion the King's ſuperiority over Scotland, and that none may queſtion the truth of it, the very original of the charter of recognition is ſtill preſerved, with the ſeals of the competitors appendant to it, in the ſame library, that great repoſitory of rarities of this kind (32).

(30) Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. II. P. 573.

(31) Trivet. Chro

(32) T[illegible] ner[illegible]

[*H*] T[illegible]

a haſty deciſion, he conſented to a commiſſion, which was thus compoſed; Robert Bruce was to name forty Commiſſioners, John Balliol, and John Comin, Lord of Badenoch, were to name forty more between them, to whom King Edward, if he thought fit, might add twenty-four (*e*). Theſe Commiſſioners were to meet, and accordingly did meet, at Berwick, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1292. But they fell out about the preliminary Queſtion, *viz.* by what law or rule they would conduct themſelves in the deciſion of this queſtion, and this made an adjournment neceſſary, ſo the King gave them till the fourteenth of October following, for after all they were not to judge in the laſt reſort, but barely to report their opinion, as to the rights of the two principal competitors, to King Edward, and this without prejudice to the other claimants. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that King Edward himſelf was not as yet perfect in the part he was to act, for when they met again, he had quite changed, or at leaſt new modelled, the preliminaries, to which the Commiſſioners, at their next meeting, which was on the fourteenth of October following, tamely agreed (*f*) [*H*]. All this being ſettled, the King ſent for Balliol and Bruce, demanding of them, if they had any farther reaſons to alledge than thoſe which they had ſet forth, in the papers which they had delivered to the Commiſſioners, and they anſwering in the affirmative, thoſe farther allegations were with great formality heard, after which, King Edward took upon himſelf to put the main queſtion upon which the whole affair turned, and which he worded in the following manner, *viz.* 'Whether the more remote by one degree in ſucceſſion, coming from the 'eldeſt ſiſter, ought, according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe kingdoms, to exclude the 'nearer by a degree, coming from the ſecond ſiſter? or, Whether the nearer by one 'degree deſcending from the ſecond ſiſter, ought, by the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe 'kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the elder ſiſter?' to which, when preſſed, they unanimouſly anſwered, That he who deſcended from the elder ſiſter, though in the more remote degree, was to be preferred, which, as the reader will perceive, was a very explicit declaration in favour of Balliol (*g*). There is one circumſtance more in relation to this great proceſs, which deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it is particularly inſiſted upon by the Scotch hiſtorians, which is, that, to keep up a greater ſhew of juſtice and moderation, King Edward cauſed this caſe, under fictitious names, to be propoſed to the ableſt Lawyers abroad, who all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, declared in favour of Balliol, to which it is ſuggeſted they were drawn, by the method uſed in ſtating the caſe (*b*) [*I*]. This great point being fully determined, with reſpect

(*e*) Thom. Walſingham. Matth. Weſtm. &c.

(*f*) Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 36. J. Roſſi, Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189, 190.

(*g*) Nic. Triveti Annal. p. 273.

(*b*) Hect. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſtor. lib. xiv. p. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*H*] *The Commiſſioners tamely agreed.*] The great length into which theſe proceedings were drawn by the art and contrivance of King Edward, joined to ſome other circumſtances, ſuch as that Balliol and Bruce (previous and notwithſtanding their claim to the kingdom of Scotland) were his ſubjects, and had very large eſtates in England, put all things abſolutely in his power, ſo that he was able to direct what he pleaſed, and to provide that whatever he directed ſhould be complied with readily, and without being afterwards called in queſtion (33): Things being thus circumſtanced, he demanded, firſt, by what laws and cuſtoms this queſtion was to be determined; next, if the laws and cuſtoms in the kingdoms of England and Scotland were different, how judgment was to be given, and whether the right to the kingdom of Scotland was to be adjudged, as if the queſtion was of earldoms, baronies, and other ſuch like tenures. The Commiſſioners were very clear and unanimous, that by the laws and cuſtoms of the two kingdoms, in caſe there were any ſuch, the queſtion was to be decided; that in caſe there were no ſuch laws and cuſtoms, then the King, by the advice of his Peers and great men, might, and ought to, eſtabliſh a new law; and they farther ſaid, that the rule with regard to the kingdom, ought to be the ſame that took place in reſpect to the ſucceſſion to earldoms, baronies, and other indiviſible tenures. Theſe anſwers being given, the King heard Bruce and Balliol at large upon their reſpective claims, till ſuch time they themſelves declared that they had not any thing farther to offer, and all this with a view, that no ſtep might be taken, which did not, in appearance, agree with, and none omitted, that it might be thought was required by the ſtricteſt and moſt exact regard to juſtice (34).

(33) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 67.

(34) See the Record before cited.

[*I*] *By the method uſed in ſtating the caſe.*] It is a little ſingular, that the Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians are ſo ſilent about this circumſtance, in a tranſaction which they have affected to examine with ſo much care. Hector Boëthius does indeed tell us the fact in few words, as I have ſtated it in the text, affirming that the greateſt part of the foreign Lawyers gave their opinion in favour of Robert Bruce, in regard to his high birth, and his being the neareſt heir male (35). This I take to be a clear and full authority as to the thing, [redacted] Buchanan relates it very largley and circumſtantially; for he tell us, 'That the King being willing to 'ſhew that he did not act raſhly, in an affair ſo great 'and ſo weighty, reſolved to conſult thoſe men in 'France, who were eſteemed the moſt pious and wiſe, 'and to have the greateſt knowledge in the Law; 'and as theſe ſort of men are never of the ſame 'opinion, he did not doubt but that ſome of them 'would give ſuch an anſwer as would ſuit with his de'ſign. An Engliſhman therefore, who had the whole 'management of this affair in France, propoſed the 'queſtion to the French Civilians in this captious 'manner. "A certain King, who is neither crowned "nor anointed, but only placed in a certain ſeat, and "proclaimed King, and yet is not ſo independent as "not to be under the protection of another King, "whoſe feudatory he acknowledges himſelf to be, "died without children; two relations deſcended "from Sempronius, the late King's great-uncle, claim "the inheritance; namely, Titus, great-grandſon of "Sempronius's eldeſt daughter, and Sejus, grandſon "of the younger daughter, which of them two is "to be preferred to an inheritance which cannot be "divided." The queſtion having been propoſed in 'this manner, moſt of the Civilians anſwered, that 'if there was any law or cuſtom concerning this in 'the kingdom which was claimed, it ought to be ob'ſerved; if not, it was uſual to follow the cuſtom of 'that kingdom of which the other was a fief; that in 'determining queſtions relating to fiefs, the cuſtom 'did not aſcend but deſcend, that is, that the 'cuſtom of the ſuperior ought to be a law to the 'inferior. It would be too long to relate all the opinions 'of the Civilians; but, to ſum up the whole in a word, 'almoſt all of them diſputing concerning the right, 'gave undetermined and contradictory anſwers, agree'ing only in this, that they all allowed Edward a ſo'vereign power to determine the matter, being im'poſed upon by the falſe light in which the queſtion 'had been put to them (36).' It is very evident from hence, that when men of great parts are conſcious to themſelves of deſigns that are not juſt, they take more care to preſerve appearances, and to keep up the forms of juſtice, than men of the greateſt integrity, who, as they deſire to hide nothing from the eye of the world that paſſes in their hearts, are leſs concerned about the circumſtances attending their actions. But beſides

(36) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

reſpect to the preference due to Balliol againſt Bruce, the King, according to his promiſe, proceeded to hear what could be ſaid in favour of the other claimants, among whom there was, by this time, a new one, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, who pretended, that as heir to his daughter Margaret, he ought to ſucceed to the crown of Scotland; but however, neither his nor the reſt of the claimants titles were found to contain any thing that deſerved much conſideration, and it is very likely, that King Edward would then have proceeded to the laſt act in this great affair, if he had not been retarded by two new petitions from Bruce and Haſtings, ſetting forth, that they were deſcended from the daughters of David Earl of Huntington, as well as John Balliol, and therefore praying that each might enjoy his third part of the kingdom, which they alledged, ought to be equally divided among the coheireſſes, which is a dreadful blow to the Scotch hiſtorians, who take ſo much pains to magnify the publick ſpirit of Bruce (*i*). Now although the Engliſh writers concur with them alſo in this opinion, and condemn Bruce for preferring this new petition, yet at the bottom there was nothing foul or unjuſt in his behaviour, but, on the contrary, it was from the very beginning very uniform, and in this particular perfectly juſt, as in it's proper place ſhall be ſhewn. At preſent we will proceed in the very words of the record, and ſhew how this great controverſy was brought to an end. The King, willing to deliberate with his Council upon this new matter, demanded whether the Kingdom of Scotland was partible among females, who all anſwered it was not. Upon which anſwer, the King appointed Monday next after the feaſt of St Martin, as the peremptory day, for all the competitors to hear their judgments in his Parliament at Berwick, intending in the mean time, further to deliberate and examine theſe matters, with knowing men of both kingdoms, beſides the auditors and others of his Council, that ſo he might be fully informed, what in juſtice ought to be done (*k*). On the ſeventeenth of November 1292, which was the Monday after the feaſt aforeſaid, the nobles and prelates of both kingdoms, the auditors, other great men, and a vaſt number of the people, being met in the hall of the caſtle of Berwick, with the Publick Notary, who ſigned the acts of the Court, all the other competitors claiming the kingdom, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, William de Veſcy, Patrick Earl of Marche, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Galightly, though they had ſufficient notice and ſummons to be there, had withdrawn themſelves, becauſe they found they were excluded, by the better titles of the two laſt abovementioned competitors. Whereupon it was then adjudged, and judicially pronounced by the King, with the conſent of the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms, that all theſe laſt competitors ſhould obtain nothing by their petitions: and becauſe John Cumin, and Roger de Mandeville, did not proſecute their petitions, they had the ſame judgment. But as to the laſt petition of Robert de Bruce, whereby he claimed the third part of the kingdom for his ſhare, as of a partible inheritance, becauſe it appeared by his firſt petition before the King, that he demanded the whole kingdom of Scotland, he therefore did by that acknowledge and grant that the kingdom was impartible, and one entire inheritance, which recognition and confeſſion he could not then deny, and for that it had been agreed and adjudged by the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Nobles, great men, and the whole Council of both kingdoms, that the kingdom ought to be poſſeſſed by one heir alone, becauſe of it's own nature it was impartible, as other kingdoms; for theſe reaſons therefore it was adjudged, and judicially declared by the King, that he ſhould gain nothing by what was ſet forth in his petition. The ſame judgment was given againſt John Haſtings, for the ſame reaſons. As to the petition of John Balliol, it was found and agreed by all the noblemen, prelates, *&c.* of both nations, that the kingdom of Scotland was impartible, and ought to remain to one heir; and becauſe the King was judge of the right of his ſubjects, by the laws and cuſtoms of both the kingdoms, which was approved and affirmed by all the noblemen and prelates of both kingdoms, and by the ſame laws and cuſtoms in the caſe before them, it was agreed, and judicially declared in favour of John Balliol, That the more remote by deſcent in the firſt line, was to be preferred to a nearer in the ſecond line, in the ſucceſſion of an impartible inheritance, and ſince none of the competitors denied him to be heir of the firſt line, therefore he was to be preferred before all others, as next heir to the kingdom of Scotland, by hereditary ſucceſſion. Whereupon the King of England, as ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, adjudged, that *The ſaid* John Balliol *ſhould recover and have ſeiſin of that kingdom, with all it's appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he ſhall rightly and juſtly govern the people ſubject to him, that none might have occaſion to complain for want of juſtice, nor the King, as ſuperior Lord of that kingdom, upon the ſuit of the parties, be hindered to interpoſe his authority and direction (l):* a right, which the King of England and his heirs always reſerved in ſuch caſes,

(*i*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 587.

(*k*) Thom. Walſingham. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 588. Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 37. Hen. Knyghton de Event. Angl. col. 2469. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 275.

(*l*) Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250. Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 275. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 598.

beſides ſatisfying the world, or at leaſt, the Engliſh nation, as to the purity of it's intentions, King Edward had viſibly another deſign, in applying as he did to the Lawyers of other nations, for by this means he at all events eſtabliſhed his right of deciding the queſtion, in virtue of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland; and upon this I muſt beg leave to hint an obſervation of my own, that he might firſt engage all the competitors for the crown to acknowledge his ſuperiority, by ſhewing them, that nothing but owning this right in him, could enable him to do juſtice to any of them, though when the ſtep was once taken, he turned the argument againſt the competitor for whom he declared, by profeſſing, that his right to the ſuperiority over Scotland, and Balliol's title to throne, were equally clear, that if he preſumed to queſtion the former, it muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the latter.

caſes, when he would make uſe of it. In purſuance of this judgment, he granted his writ to the Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, to put him in poſſeſſion thereof, as alſo to the Captains and Guardians of the ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes in that country, for the ſame purpoſe. The next day, being the twentieth of November 1292, John Balliol did homage to King Edward, at his caſtle of Norham, and then ſet out for Scotland, where, on St Andrew's day, he was placed on the royal throne by John de St Johnſtown, appointed to that office by King Edward, becauſe Duncan Earl of Fife was at that time under age. He did not remain long at home, or in poſſeſſion of that ſhadow of royalty, which with ſo much difficulty he had gained, for upon St Stephen's day we find him again in England, and at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to King Edward for his kingdom, in the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed (*m*) [*K*]. He had now ſome hopes of being quiet, as having, at leaſt in his own judgment, performed all that the King of England could either deſire or expect. But he was very ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake. For upon the complaint, of no higher perſon than a Burgeſs of Berwick, againſt him, the King thought fit to appoint Judges, by a ſpecial commiſſion, to hear and determine it. This appeared to King John a direct infringement of King Edward's promiſes, and therefore that he might be at a certainty, he preferred a petition to theſe Judges, ſetting forth, that the King of England, Superior Lord of Scotland, had promiſed to the Prelates and Nobility of that kingdom, that he would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms thereof, and that pleas of things done there, might not be drawn out of it; wherefore it was prayed, that he would obſerve this promiſe, and direct his Juſtices accordingly. To this petition, Roger Barbazon, Chief-Juſtice of England, anſwered, 'That if the King of England had made any ſuch temporary promiſes when there was 'no king in Scotland, he had performed them, and that by ſuch promiſes he would not 'now be reſtrained or bound.' King Edward went even farther than this, for in the preſence of the Prelates and Nobility of both kingdoms, he declared, 'That he 'meant, in virtue of his ſuperiority, to receive all complaints touching the kingdom of 'Scotland, and it's inhabitants, and to uſe and exerciſe his ſuperiority and direct dominion, 'and to call the King of Scotland himſelf, if it was neceſſary, and the quality of the 'cauſe required it, to appear before him in his kingdom of England (*n*).' He even puſhed this matter to a much greater length, and not ſatisfied with releaſing himſelf from his promiſes, he inſiſted upon King John's releaſing them alſo, and to this purpoſe he cauſed a releaſe or acquittance to be drawn, ſetting forth all his grants and promiſes, and acknowledging, that they were all performed and fully determined, when he adjudged the kingdom to John Balliol, which releaſe, dated the ſecond day of January 1293, in the twenty-firſt of King Edward, and in the firſt year of King John's reign, was ſealed with the King of Scotland's own ſeal, and with the ſeals of ſuch of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons

(*m*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 273, 274. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 597.

[*K*] *In the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed.*] It is very evident from what is ſaid in the text, that from the very moment John Balliol received the crown of Scotland from the hands of King Edward, it proved to him rather a burthen than an honour (37). In ſome things indeed, Edward acted as if he intended to treat him with kindneſs, but even in theſe there was ſuch a mixture of haughtineſs and ſelf-intereſt, as greatly diminiſhed, if it did not totally deſtroy, thoſe favours. As for example, on the 19th of November 1292, King Edward cauſed the broad ſeal, which had been uſed in the time of the regency, to be brought before the great men of both nations, and there broke in pieces, becauſe the King's broad ſeal was now to be uſed in that country; but at the ſame time he directed the broken pieces of the ſeal to be laid up in his treaſury, as a perpetual monument unto poſterity of his right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland (38). He was ſo fond of this title, and of having a King attend upon him, that he obliged King John to appear on St Stephen's day at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to the King in theſe words: 'My Lord Edward, 'King of England, ſuperior Lord of the kingdom of 'Scotland: I John, King of Scotland, become your 'liege man for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with 'it's appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and 'hold, and ought of right to hold, for me and my 'heirs Kings of Scotland, hereditary of you and your 'heirs, Kings of England, and ſhall bear faith to 'you and your heirs, King of England, of life and 'limb, and terene honour, againſt all men that may 'live and die (39).' It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that upon his doing this homage, King Edward's Chamberlain demanded a fee; but, as is very juſtly obſerved by Rapin (40), this very demand was a very ſtrong proof againſt his maſter's right, becauſe, though peremptorily made, the Chamberlain, whoſe name was Peter de Chaunecent, could not tell what it was to be, for which he had never been at a loſs, if there had been ſo much as a ſingle inſtance of any ſuch homage done before. King Edward, however, did not conſider it in this light, but in his next parliament held at Weſtminſter ſettled the point, and declared, that Balliol ſhould give his Chamberlain twenty pounds for his homage-fee, being double to what was paid by an Earl on the like occaſion (41). To make Balliol ſome amends, in appearance at leaſt, he, by his charter dated the 4th of January 1293, was graciouſly pleaſed to renounce for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all other rights over the kingdom of Scotland, ſave that of homage, and to declare that they pretended not to the wardſhips, or right of giving in marriage the heirs or heireſſes of noble families in Scotland (42). He likewiſe ordered the records of that kingdom to be delivered to King John, and, by theſe ſmall gratifications, endeavoured to ſend him away ſatisfied from this interview at Newcaſtle, which, in all probability, might have taken effect, if he had behaved towards him for the future, with the ſame ſpirit of kindneſs and decency; but, as we have ſhewn in the text, King John was ſcarce got home to Scotland, and begun to take upon him the exerciſe of the government, before he found himſelf treated with as little regard as any other feudatory, of what rank ſoever, which, at the ſame time, that it muſt in other reſpects have made him uneaſy, could not fail of leſſening his reputation and credit among his own ſubjects, of which they gave him immediate proof, by declining his court and preſence, and treating his deciſions, even in parliament, with the utmoſt contempt. Things ſtanding thus, the Lords of his party failed not to inſinuate to him, that, as this was the effects of his dependance on the King of England, the only remedy of which theſe miſchiefs were capable, was his thinking of ſome way to throw it off. His liſtening to their council, inſtead of enabling him to do this, plunged him into a new ſeries of misfortunes, which ended only with his life.

(37) See Abercromby, and the Scotiſh hiſtorians in general.

(38) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 591.

(39) Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 273. Robert Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 593.

(40) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre a la Haye 1724, 4to, Tom. III. p. 50.

(41) Rot. Clauſ. 21 E. I. m. 8. d.

(42) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 5.

[*L*] *And*

Barons of his kingdom, as attended him in this journey (*o*). But whether this act of theirs was performed willingly, or only becauſe ſuch as gave their aſſent to it durſt do no otherwiſe, is a point, as one of our beſt hiſtorians obſerves, very much to be doubted (*p*). If this matter lay heavy on King John's mind, and he began to foreſee on what hard terms he was like to hold his new dignity, he was very ſoon confirmed in that ſenſe of things, by repeated inſtances of King Edward's reſolution, to draw all the affairs of Scotland that were of any importance, before himſelf in England. It was with this view, that ſummons after ſummons was ſent to King John, requiring him to appear and anſwer before the King of England in his Parliament, to complaints exhibited againſt him, for denying, or not doing, juſtice in Scotland, every one of which caſes, as it aggravated his uneaſineſs, ſo it put him under freſh difficulties with reſpect to his own ſubjects, who imputed all theſe unlucky accidents, to his having accepted the crown upon ſuch hard terms, whereas in truth, if Robert Bruce had ſucceeded, he could have held it upon no better (*q*). It is highly probable, that theſe repeated citations, were intended by King Edward to eſtabliſh, beyond all controverſy, his title to the direct dominion over Scotland, and for this reaſon were carefully preſerved upon record [*L*]. There was, however, but one of the complaints againſt King John that was proſecuted with remarkable effect, and that perhaps with a deſign to eſtabliſh it as a precedent. This was the complaint of Macduff, who had been impriſoned by judgment given by the King of Scots in full Parliament, from which he appealed to King Edward, as the Superior Lord, and not without ſome colour of juſtice (*r*) [*M*]. The citation upon this appeal, was delivered to the

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 597—600.

(*p*) Tyrrel's General Hiſtory of England, p. 75.

(*q*) Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. p. 970. Heſtor Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. viii. p. 256.

(*r*) Prynne's Collections, Vol. III. p. 531—551.

[*L*] *And for this reaſon, were carefully preſerved upon record.*] In this note it may contribute extreamly to the perfect underſtanding the ſubject of this article, which, without doubt, is one of the moſt curious and important in reference to Engliſh hiſtory, that will occur in this work; I ſay, it will contribute to render this ſubject perfectly intelligible, if we give a diſtinct account of theſe citations, and of the grounds upon which they were founded, ſince they will make two things abſolutely manifeſt, as to which all our hiſtorians have written very darkly and confuſedly; and yet, they are the only two points upon which all the controverſies, between King Edward and King John conſtantly turned (43). The *firſt* is, what thoſe rights of ſuperiority were, which King Edward claimed, and meant to exerciſe over the kingdom of Scotland? The *next*, what were thoſe hardſhips that King John thought ſo intolerable, as, rather to riſk his life and crown, his family and his kingdom, than ſit down tamely under them; tho' otherwiſe he was far from being a warm man, and farther ſtill, from having a high ſpirit? An account of theſe ſeveral citations, in the order in which they ſtand on our records, will put theſe matters out of all doubt.

(43) Theſe citations are frequently mentioned by Tyrrel and Abercromby in their Hiſtories, but are ſet forth by neither.

The firſt citation is dated the 8th of March 1293, and it ſets forth, That Alexander III, late King of Scotland, ſtood indebted to John Maſon, a Merchant of Gaſcony, in the ſum of two thouſand one hundred and ninety ſeven pounds, eight ſhillings, which ſum, though often requeſted, John King of Scots, had denied to pay; for which delay and refuſal of juſtice, the ſaid John Maſon found himſelf obliged to apply for remedy to the moſt gracious Prince Edward, King of England, and Superior Lord of Scotland; whereupon, he commands King John to be and appear before him in his parliament held at Weſtminſter, on the morrow of the Aſcenſion, there to anſwer this complaint, for delaying or denying juſtice (44).

(44) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 7.

The ſecond citation was dated the 25th of March in the ſame year, from Canterbury, at the ſuit of Macduff, for cauſes that will be ſet forth more largely in the ſucceeding note, but amounting in the whole, as in the former caſe, to a delay or denial of juſtice, for which, King John is required to anſwer before King Edward, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, wherever he ſhould then be in his kingdom of England; and the Sheriff of Northumberland is commanded to deliver the ſaid writ to King John in his proper perſon, which he accordingly did, and made a return thereof, upon which all the ſubſequent proceedings were founded, as will be ſhewn hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of this ſuit (45).

(45) Ryley Placit. Parliam. fol. 154, 155. Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

The third citation was dated at Weſtminſter, the 15th of June in the ſame year; the occaſion this. While both the Kings were at Newcaſtle, King Edward had directed his letters to Walter de Huntercomb, his Governor of the iſland of Man, to give poſſeſſion thereof to King John, which was accordingly done: After this, comes a Lady whoſe name was Auſtrica, ſetting herſelf forth to be the couſin and heireſs of Magnus, formerly King of Man, and demands of King John to be put in poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſland, offering to make out her juſt claim thereto; to which, little or no regard being had by that Prince, ſhe appeals to King Edward, as the Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, who, for this delay and denial of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him, within fourteen days next after the feaſt of St Michael, wherever he ſhould then be in England. Theſe letters, as well as the former, are directed to the Sheriff of Northumberland, with this particular inſtruction, that he ſhould deliver them to the King in perſon, before ſufficient witneſſes, and ſhould likewiſe certify this ſervice to King Edward, on the day and at the place beforementioned, on the return of the writ (46).

(46) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 608.

The fourth is dated the ſecond of September in the ſame year, and therein it is ſet forth, That David, late King of Scotland, had heretofore beſtowed on the Royal Abbey of Reading in England, a priory dependant on the Biſhop of St Andrews: This priory was afterwards alienated by the Abbot of Reading, in favour of the Biſhop of St Andrews. The ſucceſſor of that Abbot being willing to recover the priory, ſet forth, that this alienation was contrary to the will of the major part of the Monks, in a petition to King John. The Biſhop of St Andrews appeals from that King to the Pope, and this appeal the King received and admitted. The Abbot, upon this, appeals himſelf to King Edward, as Superior Lord of Scotland; who, upon this ſuggeſtion of denial and delay of juſtice, requires the ſaid King to appear before him, to anſwer the ſame within fifteen days next after the feaſt of St Martin, wherever he ſhould then be in England (47).

(47) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 3.

The fifth citation is dated the 20th of April 1294, and recites, That the reverend Father Anthony, Lord Biſhop of Durham, had claimed before King John, his right of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction over the towns of Berwick and Haddington, as belonging to his biſhoprick of Durham, but without effect; of which, having complained to King Edward, as the Superior Lord of Scotland, he, for this denial, and delay of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him, on the morrow of St John the Baptiſt, wherever he might then be in England. The Sheriff of Northumberland had the ſame directions in reſpect to this as in regard to the third citation (48).

(48) Rot. Scot. 22 E. I. m. 3.

[*M*] *Not without ſome juſtice.*] This remark is made to ſhew the wiſdom of King Edward, who, very prudently inforced his proceſs on that appeal, which being beſt grounded gave ſome degree of credit, even to that warmth and rigour with which it was purſued (49). The caſe then of Macduff (who by a very groſs miſtake, our hiſtorians ſtile Earl of Fife) was this: He was ſon of Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and by his grant, had a title to the lands of Bereys and Crey, but was turned out of the poſſeſſion, by William Biſhop of St Andrews, as guardian of the county of Fife, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland, upon which he applied himſelf to King Edward, who by his writ directed the Guardians of Scotland to do him

(49) See Abercromby, &c.

the King of Scots at Sterling, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1293, requiring him to appear before the King of England in his Parliament, to be held after Michaelmas in the ſame year, where accordingly he was preſent, and being urged to anſwer the matter of that complaint, he replied, That he was a King, and that he could not anſwer without the advice of his ſubjects (*s*). He was told that this was altogether inſufficient, that he had done homage to the King of England for his crown, and was therefore bound to anſwer. He perſiſted however in adhering to his former declaration, adding, that it was a matter which concerned his kingdom, and therefore he would do nothing without the aſſent of his people. Upon this Macduff demanded judgment, which the Parliament was ready to give with reſpect to the contempt, and it was, That three of King John's principal caſtles ſhould be ſeized till he made ſatisfaction, upon which he ſubmitted, which being all King Edward wanted, was received, and he had farther time given him (*t*) [*N*]. There happened about this time ſome diſputes between the Kings of France and England, which afforded ſome hopes to Balliol, of being delivered from that uneaſy ſituation he had been in ever ſince he attained the kingdom. Some of our old hiſtorians ſay, that he quitted England privately, which ſo enraged King Edward, that he ſeized all his eſtates there, and they likewiſe add, that the reaſon he gave ſuch an anſwer, and avoided pleading directly to Macduff's complaint, was becauſe the Scots had already appointed twelve Commiſſioners, *viz.* four of the Clergy, four Earls, and four Barons, to whom he was to account for his actions after his return home (*u*). I cannot help thinking, however, that they are miſtaken in this, or rather, that they confound the times in which theſe events happened, ſince it is evident enough from our records, that King John did not break with King Edward either this year or the next, but, on the contrary, appeared again in the Engliſh Parliament, when the plea between him and Macduff was continued, and King John at the ſame time granted an aid out of his Engliſh eſtates, for the recovery of Gaſcony, which King Philip of France had ſeized into his own hands (*w*). It is however certain, that King John was privately taking the beſt methods he could, to put himſelf into a condition to throw off his dependance upon England. But he was ſo far from having thrown it off already, that when King Edward was determined to recover Gaſcony by force of arms, he not only directed his letters to King John, which were dated from Portſmouth, the twenty-ninth of June 1294, but alſo to the principal nobility of Scotland, requiring him to ſend men, and then to come in perſon, with military ſupplies to London, ſo as to be ready to paſs with him on the firſt of September into France, for the recovery of Gaſcony (*x*), and a little before this, he had required the King of Scots to lay an embargo on all the ſhipping of his ſubjects, for the ſame reaſon (*y*). How far he complied with any of theſe demands does not appear, but it is very certain, that at this time, and a little after, King John was treating with Philip the Fair, King of France, about an alliance againſt England, and this he did not only with the privity, but with the abſolute conſent of his ſubjects, and things being now far advanced, he granted full powers, by virtue of an inſtrument, dated at Sterling the fifth of July 1295, to his Ambaſſadors, William, Biſhop of St Andrews; Matthew, Biſhop of Dunkel; Sir John Soules, and Sir Ingeram Umfraville, to negociate and conclude a treaty

(*s*) Ryley Placit. Parliam. f. 159.

(*t*) Rot. de Super. Scotiæ.

(*u*) Chron. Abingd. MS.

(*w*) Rot. de ſuperior. Scotiæ.

(*x*) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 11. d.

(*y*) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 13. d.

him juſtice (50). In conſequence of this, he was again put into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, and held them till after King John was in poſſeſſion of the crown of Scotland, when in a parliament held at Scoone, in the Octave of the Purification of our Lady, he was attached to anſwer for his entering into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of the late King Alexander III at the time of his deceaſe, on account of the nonage of Coalbanus, Earl of Fife, who dying, left his ſon Duncan a minor, and he dying likewiſe ſeized of the ſame lands, left his ſon Duncan a minor and the King's ward. To this Macduff pleaded, that theſe lands were granted to him by his father Malcolm, Earl of Fife, which grant was confirmed by the late King Alexander III, whoſe charter he produced. Notwithſtanding this he was impriſoned, and judgment given againſt him, ſaving to him however, his right of ſuit againſt Duncan the ſon of Duncan, when he ſhould come to full age (51). After he was diſcharged from this impriſonment, which it was ſurmiſed he underwent, for having addreſſed himſelf during the vacancy of the throne to King Edward; he applied again to that Prince, who, thereupon directed his writ, or letter miſſive, as we have ſhewn in the former note; but King John not appearing, another writ was directed to the Sheriff, returnable fifteen days after Michaelmas, upon which he did attend, and not being allowed an Attorney, was obliged to plead in perſon, as is ſhewn above in the text (52).

(50) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 604.

(51) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 606.

(52) Ryley Placit. Parliam. p. 154, 155.

[*N*] *Was received, and he had time given him.*] The King of Scots was under very uneaſy circumſtances in this affair, for what he had done in the caſe of Macduff was in full parliament, and very probably it was on this account he preſſed ſo ſtrongly his not anſwering, until he had conſulted his ſubjects. But this would not ſerve King Edward's turn, who clearly ſhewed him what he wanted, and what he was reſolved to have from him, which was a new acknowledgment of his ſuperiority, in default of which, he was to ſeize three of his beſt caſtles in Scotland. But before the pronouncing of the ſentence, he came before the King and his Council, and made ſupplication to the King with his own mouth, and delivered it unto him with his own hand in writing to this effect: 'SIR, I 'am your liege-man for the realm of Scotland, and 'pray you as to what I am come hither, and for which 'concerns the people of my kingdom as well as my-'ſelf, that you will forbear while I ſpeak with them, 'that I may not be ſurprized for want of advice; for 'that thoſe that are with me will not, nor ought to 'adviſe me without others of the realm; and when 'I have advice from them, I will anſwer at your 'firſt parliament after Eaſter, and will behave myſelf 'towards you as I ought to do (53).' The King adviſing hereupon, at the inſtance of the great men of his Council, and with the conſent of Macduff himſelf, granted his petition, and gave him a longer day, until his next parliament after Eaſter, that ſhould be holden on the morrow of the Holy Trinity. He appeared accordingly in that parliament, and the cauſe was again adjourned at his requeſt, but he ſtill continued to feel in his heart, the deep wound that had been given to his honour, by the uſage he had met with in the former parliament at Weſtminſter, which, it ſeems, he could not either forget or forgive (54): Beſides the time ſeemed favourable, and the quarrel lately broke out between the Kings of France and England, gave him a proſpect of ſhaking off that yoke, which he could no longer bear.

(53) Rot. Scot.

(54) Walter. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edward I. p. 43.

[*O*] *Signed*

treaty with the crown of France, which was accordingly ſigned and ſealed, on the twenty-third of October following (z) [O]. It was not long that a tranſaction of this nature could be concealed from a Prince of ſo great penetration as King Edward, and yet he diſſembled his diſcovery of it for ſeveral reaſons, and continued to treat King John as formerly, or rather with greater civility; but in the mean time, he laboured two points with equal vigour and ſecrecy, the one was to ſettle the terms of a foreign alliance, that might enable him to oblige the French to do him juſtice; the other to engage the court of France to conſent to a truce which he propoſed, till the former had taken effect, in both of which he fully ſucceeded (a). He then directed his letters to the King of Scots, demanding the caſtle and town of Berwick upon Tweed, the caſtle and town of Roxburgh, and the caſtle and town of Jedburgh, to be put into his hands, until ſuch time as the war with France was over, promiſing then to reſtore them. Theſe letters were dated at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of October 1295 (b), but they met with a very cool reception from King John, who thought himſelf by this time in a condition to defend his own cauſe, and therefore inſtead of appearing as formerly in the Engliſh Parliament, he ſent the Abbot of Aberbrothock to excuſe him, which King Edward ſeemingly took patiently enough, but in the mean time he was preparing to reduce him by force, reſolving while the truce beforementioned laſted, to employ that army which he had levied againſt the French, in conquering the Scots (c). King John gave him fair opportunity to do it, by taking a very extraordinary ſtep, which was baniſhing all Engliſhmen out of his dominions, for he now thought himſelf under no obligation to temporize longer with this monarch, ſince he was ſure of the aſſiſtance of France, and had been abſolved from his oaths by the Pope (d). In the ſpring of the year 1296, King Edward began to move northwards, and coming to Newcaſtle, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, requiring King John to appear there on the firſt of March, to which he neither paid obedience, nor ſent, as he had done before, any perſon to excuſe him (e). While King Edward was at Newcaſtle, the war begun both by ſea and land, for the Engliſh fleet having orders to block up Berwick, the Scots, who were not then it ſeems totally deſtitute of a naval force, attacked that fleet with ſo much ſucceſs, as that eighteen ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt diſperſed. About the ſame time, Sir Robert de Roſs, Captain of the caſtle of Werk, for the love of a Scots lady baſely betrayed his truſt, and deſerted to King John. His brother William gave notice of this to King Edward, and deſired that a body of troops might be ſent him, with which he undertook to ſecure the caſtle. Accordingly one thouſand men were detached for that ſervice, who when they were come to a place called Preſtſen, were ſurprized by the traitor Sir Robert, and the Scots under his command, by whom they were totally cut off (f). King Edward, when he heard this, ſaid no more, than that he was glad that hoſtilities were begun by the Scots. Soon after this, the Earls of Monteith, Strathern, Athol, and Mar, with a body of five thouſand men, entered the county of Cumberland, and advanced as far as Carliſle, the ſuburbs of which city they burnt, but were not able to take the place. It was not long before King Edward ſeverely revenged theſe loſſes, for coming before Berwick on the twenty-ninth of March, and finding a ſtrong garriſon therein, capable and reſolved to make a long defence, he put in practice a ſtratagem extreamly well contrived, and attended with all the ſucceſs he could deſire or expect. For pretending to raiſe the ſiege, and withdrawing his forces ſome diſtance from the town, he cauſed it to be reported, that King John with a numerous army was come to their relief, and was advanced within a mile of the place. The townſmen, and many of the officers running out to meet theſe ſuppoſed ſuccours, were

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 680, 681, 695. Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, Recueil des Roys de France, &c. P. ii. p. 195.

(a) Nic. Trivet. T. Walſingh. W. Hemingford, &c.

(b) Rot. Scotiæ 23 E. I. m. 2.

(c) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 287, 288. Fordun. Boëth. Buchan.

(d) Rapin Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III. p. 56.

(e) Walt. Hemingford Hiſtor. Edward. I, Vol. I. p. 84.

(f) Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 288.

[O] *Signed and ſealed on the twenty-third of October following.*] It is very remarkable, that we find the full powers granted by John Balliol to his Ambaſſadors, and the treaty or alliance concluded by them with the crown of France, entered on the Engliſh records, and tranſcribed from thence by ſome of the old monkiſh hiſtorians, which plainly ſhews, that they were more careful in thoſe days as to penning their Chronicles, than has been commonly imagined. As this alliance was the ſource of thoſe wars, of which we are to give ſome account in this, as well as in ſeveral ſucceeding articles, it will be requiſite to give the reader, a ſhort ſketch of the principal points which were ſettled in that treaty, and which may be reduced to the following ſeven (55).

(55) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 695, & ſeq. Prynne's Collect. Tom. III. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, P. ii. p. 195.

I. That Edward, King John's ſon, ſhall marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, Earl of Anjou, the King of France's brother; that Prince Edward ſhall receive with the ſaid Lady, twenty-five thouſand livres de Tournois current money, and that ſhe ſhall be aſſigned a dowry of one thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling of yearly rent, of which, one thouſand pounds to be paid out of King John's lands of Balliol, Dampeir, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of thoſe of Lanerk, Cadiou, Cunningham, Haddington, and the Caſtellany of Dundee in Scotland.

II. That King John and his ſucceſſors, ſhall with all their power, by ſea and land, be aſſiſting to King Philip and his ſucceſſors, in the proſecution of the preſent war, againſt the King of England and his Allies, as well the King of Almaign as others.

III. That he ſhould, at his own charge, make war againſt the King of England, when he was employed in, or diverted by war in other places.

IV. That King John ſhall prevail with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Noblemen, and the Communities of all the cities in Scotland, ſo far as of right they may, to teſtify their aſſent to this agreement, by tranſmitting their letters patents under their ſeals to France.

V. That in like manner, if the King of England ſhall invade Scotland, the King of France ſhall make war upon him in other parts by way of diverſion, and, if required, ſhall ſend auxiliary forces at his own charges, till they come thither.

VI. That if the King of England went out of his kingdom, or ſent many forces abroad, the Commiſſioners promiſed, that the King of Scotland ſhould enter England with his whole power as far as he could, making war in the field, beſieging towns, waſting the countries, and by all poſſible ways deſtroying England.

VII. That they ſhould not make peace on either ſide without the conſent of the other.

were ſurprized by part of the Engliſh army, who on that occaſion had Scots enſigns, the better to deceive them, and who purſuing them cloſely, entered the town with them, ſeized the gates, and let in all the reſt of the troops, by whom the whole Scots garriſon was totally cut off, to the number of ſeven thouſand (*g*), as their writers report, or of about ten thouſand (*h*), as the Engliſh Hiſtorians agree. Upon receiving an account of two ſuch loſſes, as that of this important fortreſs, and the flower of his army that was in it, King John, who was not a very warm man, was ſo much provoked, that he drew up a ſolemn inſtrument, renouncing his homage and fealty to King Edward, and breathing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, defiance, which he ſent, by one of the Fryar-Minors of Roxburgh, to the King, then at Berwick, who according to his uſual cuſtom, in regard to every thing relating to the affairs of Scotland, cauſed it to be recorded, and as it is a very ſingular and extraordinary piece, we thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes (*i*) [*P*]. King John followed this declaration of his, with as great an army as he could raiſe, for at that time his ſubjects were much divided, the Bruces and their party, with the Earls of March and Angus, and others of the noblity, adhering to King Edward, and beſides this, part of his forces were then in Northumberland, ſo that it was a kind of infatuation in him, to place all as he did upon the event of a battle, in which he ſhewed as much raſhneſs now, as he had done weakneſs and timidity in his former conduct. King Edward having laid ſiege to Dunbar, and King John marching to it's relief, the armies ſoon met, and came to a deciſive action near that place, ſome time in the month of April, in which the Scots were totally defeated, with the loſs, ſome ſay of ten, others of twenty thouſand men (*k*). But the former account is the more likely to be true, ſince only Sir Patrick Graham of the King's Council or perſons of diſtinction, fell there. We are indebted to one of our old hiſtorians for ſome particulars of this action, which are not mentioned in any of the reſt. He ſays, that King John's army conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe, and forty thouſand foot, that they had the advantage of ground, and that after their defeat, they fled to the foreſt of Selkirk (*l*). But ſeveral of the principal nobility took ſhelter in the caſtle of Dunbar, where, however, they found themſelves preſently beſieged by the Engliſh army, and either through the treachery of the Governor, or for want of proviſions, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The chief perſons taken there were William Earl of Roſs, William Earl of Athol, Alexander Earl of Monteith, four Barons, thirty-one Knights, an hundred Eſquires, and about three hundred private men. The Scotch hiſtorians ſay, that King Edward treated the perſons of rank that fell into his hands here, with great ſeverity; but I find, that he only ſent them priſoners into England, and cauſed them to be kept in different caſtles, twelve or fifteen in a place; but all writers agree, that as to the private men, they were uſed with all poſſible tenderneſs, the King cauſing them to be ſet at liberty, on their taking an oath that they would not take up arms againſt him any more (*m*). Upon the loſs of the battle, and the taking the caſtle of Dunbar, King John and his army retired beyond the Frith of the Forth, and for any thing that appears, made no farther reſiſtance, which ſome of their own writers, not without great appearance of truth, attribute to the diviſions in their Councils, occaſioned by the Bruces, father and ſon, that is, ſon and grandſon to the competitor, adhering to King Edward, and as they had made many friends in King John's army, they doubtleſs did him a great deal of miſchief, both by giving him bad advice, and by betraying to the King of England, what better advice he received from other hands (*n*). King Edward with his victorious army, marched on to Roxburgh, where the Steward of Scotland lay with a conſiderable body

(*g*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 972, 973. Hector. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 294. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. viii. p. 258.

(*h*) Walt. Hemingford. p. 91. Chron. Cotton. Chron. S. Alban.

(*i*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

(*k*) H. Knyghton. Tho. Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*l*) Walt. Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 95.

(*m*) Rob. Brunne's Chron. Knyghton, Walſingham.

(*n*) Hector. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Buchan. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*P*] *It might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes.*] We are told by Buchanan, that the perſon who brought this extraordinary piece, very narrowly eſcaped with his life (56); which, conſidering the ſtrangeneſs of the contents of it, is not at all wonderful. One of our antient hiſtorians, who ſays nothing of the ill uſage of this man, informs us of many circumſtances that ſeem not have been known to Buchanan, indeed to any of the Scotiſh hiſtorians; ſuch as that the name of the perſon who brought it, was Adam Blunt, that he was Guardian or Warden of the Friers Minors at Roxburgh, that he brought with him three of his Monks, that he delivered it to the King, April 5, 1296; and that his Majeſty directly ordered it to be enrolled in Chancery, intending no doubt to juſtify thereby his own proceedings, and the deſign he had then formed of acquiring the poſſeſſion of, as well as the ſuperiority over, the kingdom of Scotland, by conquering and annexing it to his own kingdom of England, as appears by the whole of his conduct afterwards (57). At preſent, let us peruſe the letters of King John, thus then they ran, 'To the magnificent Prince Edward, 'by the grace of God, King of England; John, by 'the ſame grace, King of Scotland. Whereas, you, 'and others of your kingdom, have purpoſely and 'knowingly, by your violent power, notoriouſly, and 'frequently, done grievous and intolerable injuries, 'contempts, grievances, and enormous damages a-'gainſt us, the liberties of our kingdom, and alſo 'againſt God and juſtice, citing us at your pleaſure, 'upon every ſlight occaſion, out of our kingdom, un-'duly vexing us, ſeizing our caſtles, lands, and poſ-'ſeſſions in our kingdom, unjuſtly, and for no fault 'of our's, taking the goods of our ſubjects, as well 'by ſea as by land, and carrying them into your 'kingdom, killing our merchants and other traders 'with you, and taking away our ſubjects and impri-'ſoning them. For the reformation of which things, 'tho' we ſent our meſſengers unto you, yet they re-'main not only unredreſſed, but there is every day an 'addition of worſe, for now you are come with a 'great army upon our borders, to diſinherit us and 'the inhabitants of our kingdom, and proceeding 'forwards, have inhumanly committed many ſlaughters, 'burnings, and violent invaſions, as well by ſea as 'by land: We therefore not being able to ſuſ-'tain the ſaid injuries, grievances, and damages 'any longer, nor to remain in your fealty or homage, 'extorted by your violent oppreſſion, do hereby re-'turn them to you, for ourſelf and all the inhabitants 'of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of 'you in your kingdom, as for your pretended go-'vernment over us (58).'

(56) Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(57) Walt. de Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 92.

(58) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

body of men, with whom he might certainly have defended the caſtle. But he choſe rather to make terms for himſelf and his adherents, and as the circumſtances of the times were favourable, and King Edward was deſirous of doing a great deal in a ſhort ſpace, he obtained as much as he could expect, which induced him not only to ſubmit, but to take an oath of fealty to that Monarch (o). King Edward then marched to Edinburgh, and had both city and caſtle ſurrendered to him. He proceeded thence to Sterling, which, though a place of ſome ſtrength, fell into his hands without any defence, the garriſon having deſerted it before he appeared in it's neighbourhood (p). All this very clearly ſhews, how ill King John was ſerved, and how little reaſon he had to hope any thing from a diſpirited army, and a divided nation, which induced him to liſten to ſuch reaſons as were offered, to perſuade him in ſuch wretched circumſtances, to think rather of preſerving his perſon, than of protecting a people, who wanted virtue and loyalty enough, to make him or themſelves free (q). It was certainly a bad choice he made, but then we ought to conſider, neceſſity compelled him to it. In ſhort, he determined to throw himſelf upon the mercy of King Edward, and having intimated this reſolution of his to that Prince, he ſent Anthony Biſhop of Durham to encourage him to perſiſt in that deſign, and to make him certain promiſes to keep him ſteady to it. This Biſhop was very well received by the unfortunate Prince to whom he was ſent, and thoſe mean ſpirited counſellors he had about him, with whom having agreed upon the terms of their ſubmiſſion, he brought the King of Scots along with him to King Edward, being then at a place called Stroutharrack, without any ſtate, only mounted upon a little nag, with a white rod in his hand (r). There being admitted into the King's preſence, he made his acknowledgment of his offence, and begged pardon by word of mouth, and went thence with the King to the caſtle of Brechin, where he not only made another ſolemn acknowledgment of the errors which he had committed, in breach of his oath and duty to King Edward, but likewiſe abſolutely ſurrendered himſelf, with the whole kingdom of Scotland, and his royal dignity, and in ſhort, whatever belonged to him, either in a private or publick capacity, into the hands of Anthony Biſhop of Durham, who received them in the place and in the name of King Edward (s). He likewiſe thought fit to ſeal and ſubſcribe a certain inſtrument in writing, expreſſing this to be his free will and act, in the preſence of ſome of his, and many of the Engliſh nobility, which as it is in itſelf one of the moſt extraordinary pieces that is any where extant, and as it very nearly concerns the ſubject of this article, we ſhall inſert in the notes (t) [Q]. As

(o) Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 97.

(p) Major, Boëthius, Buchan.

(q) See Brady, Tyrrel, Abercromby.

(r) Rot. Sot. 24 E. I. p. 8. Hector. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(s) Rob. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Hen. Knyghton. Chron. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 99.

(t) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718.

[Q] *We ſhall inſert in the notes.*] There are ſeveral circumſtances in relation to this matter, which ſeem to be wanting in our hiſtories, in order to render it clearly and fully underſtood; and indeed, this is no wonder, becauſe in this chaſm lies the whole ſecret contrivance of King Edward to make himſelf maſter of this country. It appears clearly enough both from the Scotch and Engliſh hiſtorians, that John Balliol was all along moſt ſcandalouſly betrayed, and it was his misfortune to meet with no one author ſo much concerned for his character, as to endeavour doing him common juſtice. With the Engliſh writers of Chronicles, he is a falſe, perjured traitor; with the Scotch authors, he is a weak, mean-ſpirited, and cowardly Prince (59). Perhaps, after all, the unfortunate John Balliol might be a very worthy, good man, and we may really preſume he was ſo, ſince the Pope, and many foreign Princes, notwithſtanding all the evils that befel him, never left ſtruggling for his liberty till they obtained it. In reſpect to this very tranſaction, a ſmall degree of attention will enable us to diſcern, that he was deceived and abuſed; for laying things together, the truth appears to be this: King Edward, in the management of the whole affair of getting the kingdom of Scotland into his hands, made uſe of Dr Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham; he it was, who, in the aſſembly at Norham, undertook to eſtabliſh the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, he was employed to bring King John, in the ſubmiſſive manner mentioned in the text, to King Edward, which he did on the ſeventh of July 1296, at which time, as we find it entered on record, he, by word of mouth, acknowledged himſelf heartily ſorry for the unlawful confederacies he had made with Philip, King of France, againſt the King of England; he alſo then renounced all ſuch confederacies and unlawful contracts, made in the name of himſelf, his ſon Edward, and the inhabitants of Scotland, againſt his due homage and fealty done to the King of England (60). This he performed in the preſence of the Biſhops of Durham and Hereford, and of other perſons of quality, whoſe names are mentioned in the record; and we may fairly preſume, that he thought this was all that would be expected from him; but being now a priſoner, together with his ſon, he was required to go much farther, nay, as far as it was poſſible for him to go, and before a Publick Notary, to ſurrender his kingdom and royal dignity, which accordingly he did, and afterwards confirmed it by the following charter, which we promiſed to produce (61). It is found in many of our antient hiſtorians, in ſome of them we have it in Latin, in others in French, but in Engliſh it ran thus.

(59) See Holinſhead's Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 208. Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 494. Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 602, 603.

(60) Rot. Scot. 24 E. I. p. 8.

'John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, 'To all that ſhall hear or ſee theſe preſent letters, 'greeting, Whereas we, by evil and falſe council, and 'our own ſimplicity, have greatly offended and provoked our Lord Edward, by the grace of God, King 'of England, &c. to wit, for that being in his faith 'and homage, we have allied our ſelf to the King of 'France, who then was, and is now his enemy, offering a marriage between our ſon and the daughter 'of his brother, the Lord Charles, and aſſiſting him 'by war and other ways with all our power, and 'furthermore, by our evil counſel aforeſaid, we defied our Lord the King of England, and put ourſelf 'out of his faith and homage, and ſent our people 'into the kingdom of England, to burn, ſpoil, plunder, kill, and commit other miſchiefs, fortifying the 'kingdom, (of Scotland) that is, his fee, (or ſeigniory) againſt him, putting garriſons into the towns, 'caſtles, and other places; for which tranſgreſſions, 'our Lord the King of England, having entered Scotland by force, conquered and took it, notwithſtanding all we could do againſt him, as of right he 'might, as Lord of the fee, ſeeing after we did homage 'to him, we rebelled againſt him: We being therefore yet free, and in our own power, do hereby ſurrender unto him the land of Scotland, and the whole 'nation with all it's homages. In witneſs whereof, 'we have cauſed to be made theſe our letters patents, 'dated at Brechin the tenth day of July, in the fourth 'year of our reign (62).

(61) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. fol. 74. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. l. vi. Hect. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. l. xiv. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(62) Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 647. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 292, 223.

I cannot help mentioning a very ſingular circumſtance upon this occaſion, that has not been taken notice of before, and it is this, that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid upon this ſubject, by our antient and modern hiſtorians, we find a very great variation in the copy of this inſtrument given us by Mr Rymer. He firſt exhibits it in French, which, he ſays, was taken from the very original, ſealed with the great ſeal on white wax, hanging thereto by a parchment label,

As ſoon as the Great-Seal of Scotland had been affixed to this ſtrange charter, by which the King of Scots quitted his dignity, it was immediately broke to pieces, as a thing no longer of any uſe or conſequence, King Edward being determined to take that kingdom into his own hands, and to govern it as he did the reſt of his dominions. In order to perfect this deſign, the King reſolved to march into the heart of Scotland, that he might ſee whether any of the people meant to diſpute his authority, or pretend to adhere to a Prince who had quitted his dignity, and therewith all right to their allegiance. He moved on accordingly as far as Elgin in the ſhire of Murray, and finding every thing perfectly quiet, thought it needleſs to advance farther north (*u*). In his return he came to the abbey of Scone near Perth, from whence he thought fit to remove the famous ſtone, upon which the Kings of Scotland ſat when they were crowned, as a monument of his conqueſt, and a mark of his having totally ſubverted that monarchy. This ſtone he cauſed to be conveyed to the abbey of Weſtminſter, and directed it to be placed in a chair there, where it has ever ſince remained (*w*) [*R*]. He is charged by ſome of the hiſtorians of that kingdom, with having committed various acts of ſeverity in this progreſs, ſuch as burning their records, aboliſhing their old laws, altering the form of divine ſervice, and obliging ſuch amongſt them as were diſtinguiſhed for their learning, to remove out of their own country, in order to go and ſettle at Oxford, which facts, however, if they are not totally forged, may be very truly ſaid to have been much exaggerated (*x*). From the abbey of Scone the King returned to Berwick, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, where he held a Parliament for the kingdom of Scotland, to which moſt of the clergy, nobility, and freeholders repaired, and there did homage for their lands and poſſeſſions, and ſwore fealty to King Edward, as appears by four large rolls, ſtill preſerved amongſt our records in the Tower, and which are intituled, *The Rolls, or the Oaths of Homage and Fealty made to Edward King of England, by every individual Freeholder of the Kingdom of Scotland* (*y*). At the ſame time he appointed a new Treaſurer, a new Chancellor, and a new Chief-Juſtice for the realm of Scotland, into whoſe cuſtody he delivered a new Great-Seal, which he had cauſed to be made for that kingdom, and having thus taken away all marks of a ſeparate and independent

(*u*) T. Walſingham, Knyghton, Hemingford. Fordun. Major. Leſl. Boëth. Buchan.

(*w*) T. Walſingham, Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(*x*) Fordun, Major. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 723.

(63) Fœd. Tom. II. p. 718.

label (63). He gives us next a Latin tranſlation, but both are dated not on the tenth, but on the ſecond of July, not at Brechin but at Kyncardyn. This is very ſtrange, and though it is hard to argue againſt records, yet undoubtedly theſe facts are not reconcileable to the current of our hiſtory; for firſt, with reſpect to the date; King Edward held the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt at Perth, from thence he went to Montroſe and the caſtle of Brechin in his way to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 15th of July of Mr Rymer's own ſhewing (64). It was after the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt that the King began to treat with Balliol, and he gave him a fortnight's time to come in and make his ſubmiſſion. It is out of doubt, that the ceremony of appearing with a white wand in his hand, and renouncing his alliance with France, was different from, and prior to his reſignation, and yet, according to this date, the whole muſt have been tranſacted in leſs than a week (65). Next we ought to conſider, that the authors in which this charter is preſerved, wrote ſome of them in, and all of them near, the time of Edward I, and that they agree in the date of the 10th of July, which makes the whole tranſaction of a piece, and ſuits exactly with the King's motions (66). But, ſecondly, as to the place, Kyncardyn lies in the ſouth, and at a great diſtance from Brechin and Aberdeen, which makes it very improbable, that King John ſhould be carried thither, or that, when the King was marching north, he ſhould leave him behind him. But if, after all, the original is ſtill extant, and dated as we find it in Rymer, then it muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Biſhop of Durham, was left there to tranſact theſe matters in the King's name, and that all the hiſtorians who have mentioned theſe facts are moſt groſsly miſtaken (67).

(64) Ibid. p. 719.

(65) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Walt. de Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 98. Nicol. Trivet. Annal. p. 292.

(66) R. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 292. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angl. col. 2481.

(67) All our hiſtorians agree, that Balliol was at the caſtle of Forfar, when the Biſhop went to treat with him, that he came from that caſtle to Montroſe, to make his ſubmiſſion, and was ſent by ſea from thence to England.

[*R*] *Where it has ever ſince remained.*] It is very manifeſt, that King Edward was now intent upon removing whatever might hinder his deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of Scotland, and as he was reſolved, that it ſhould be no longer a ſeparate monarchy, he was deſirous of taking out of the way and ſight of the Scots, whatever might put them in mind of their former conditions, and thereby excite them to inſurrections and rebellions. In the caſtle of Edinburgh he found the crown and ſceptre, and the reſt of the Regalia, which he carried away; and knowing the Scots were very ſuperſtitious and had various *Palladia*, which they flattered themſelves would contribute to the preſervation of their government, he reſolved to take theſe with him alſo, in order to convince them, that Scotland was to be no more a diſtinct kingdom. Amongſt theſe were two croſſes kept in ſeveral monaſteries which were very famous, the one called the Black-rood of Scotland, the other the Croſs-Neytte, both which he transferred into England (68). But that which of all their antiquities they valued moſt, was the marble ſtone upon which their Kings ſat at the time they were crowned, and of which we find a ſhort deſcription in Walter of Hemingford (69), this, as is ſaid in the text, he cauſed to be removed to Weſtminſter, where, by the King's direction, it was fixed under the bottom of a large wooden chair for the uſe of the Prieſt who officiated at divine ſervice, but it has been ſince employed here, as formerly in Scotland, for the inauguration chair of our monarchs. Upon this ſtone there are engraved the following Latin verſes.

(68) Abercromby, Vol. I. p. 496.

(69) Hiſt. Ed. I. p. 37.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem (70).

(70) Tho. Walſingham, Ypodigm. Neuſtria, A. D. 1296.

In Engliſh thus.

If truth there be, in what old prophets lay;
Where 'ere this ſtone is found, the Scots ſhall ſway.

It may not be amiſs to remark here, that there might be as much ſuperſtition in removing theſe antient monuments by the Engliſh, as the Scots had ſhewn in preſerving them; for if the reader will conſult the old rhiming Chronicle of Robert of Brunne, publiſhed by Mr Hearne, he will find that this whole expedition of King Edward's was in thoſe days thought to have been predicted by the famous Merlin, and that by aſſuming to himſelf the dominion of Scotland as well as Wales, King Edward was believed to have fulfilled his prophecy (71), neither will it appear at all improbable, to ſuch as ſhall peruſe King Edward's letter to Pope Boniface, in ſupport of his title to the kingdom of Scotland, if we ſhould ſuggeſt, that he was not altogether ignorant himſelf of this prophecy, or unwilling that it ſhould be applied to him, ſince therein he goes as high as Brute, aſſerts him to have been ſole Monarch of Albion, and that he gave that part of the iſland called Scotland, to his ſon Albanact, whence he infers the conſtant dependance of that kingdom upon the imperial crown of England (72).

(71) Chron. p. 272.

(72) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 863.

[*S*] *Nothing*

independent ſtate, he cauſed King John and his ſon Edward Balliol, to be transferred under a ſtrong guard from Berwick to the Tower of London, to which they were committed priſoners, but were treated there with all imaginable decency and reſpect, and allowed as much liberty, as was conſiſtent with King Edward's deſign of keeping them in ſafe cuſtody (z). The King likewiſe thought proper, the better to prevent any new inſurrections or diſturbances in Scotland, to forbid any of the nobility, then priſoners in England, to paſs the river Trent upon pain of death. And thus in the ſpace of a few months, and with a very inconſiderable loſs, the King made a total conqueſt of that country, and thereby compleated, for the preſent, the great deſign he had in view (a). But how wiſe and prudent ſoever his meaſures might be in themſelves, and notwithſtanding that ſucceſs which ſeemed to attend them, yet it very ſoon appeared, that tho' the Scots had ſubmitted, they were not ſubdued, ſeveral inſurrections breaking out the year following, under different leaders, which prevented them from coming to any great head, though it ſhewed that there ſtill remained ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent, as could not fail of rendering his government uneaſy (b). It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn reſignation of John Balliol, his title to the crown of Scotland was ſtill owned by all that kingdom, who refuſed to ſubmit to King Edward, as it likewiſe was by the Pope, the King of France, and other foreign Princes. But whether he kept any private correſpondence in Scotland or elſewhere, does not very clearly appear, tho' the Scotiſh hiſtorians very poſitively affirm, that Sir William Wallace acted under his commiſſion, which may be ſo far true, that as he owned him for his Sovereign, he might be ſaid to act for him, and the ſame might be likewiſe ſaid of Robert Bruce the elder, who, when in arms at firſt againſt King Edward, expreſsly owned King John, and in his name concluded ſeveral truces, or temporary ceſſations of arms with King Edward's officers, who were employed againſt him. But tho' they thus acknowledged King John, when in truth they had no other King to acknowledge, yet this is far enough from being a direct evidence, that King John acknowledged them, or authorized them to act by his commiſſion. To ſay the truth, the contrary of this is more than probable, from the manner in which King Edward treated him, for though the war continued againſt his ſubjects, yet King Edward does not ſeem to have been at all apprehenſive of King John, neither did he abridge him of any part of that liberty which he had granted him, though at the ſame time, he confiſcated the eſtates of many of the nobility in Scotland, for being, as he ſtiled it, in a rebellion againſt him. And indeed, conſidering the ſubmiſſions they had made, and the engagements they had entered into towards King Edward, it might very well be ſtiled ſo, tho' they themſelves ſtill maintained their independency, and when the French had conſented to a truce, and afterwards to a peace, no pains were ſpared to include the Scots therein (c). This treaty was a long time in negociating, under the ſpecial mediation of the Pope, who omitted no opportunity of interceding for John Balliol, or of endeavouring to diſpoſe King Edward to grant him his liberty, for which King John was likewiſe ſolliciting, and that by a more effectual method, which was making a ſolemn declaration, that he neither deſired to recover the kingdom of Scotland, nor to interfere in, or have any thing to do with, the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more (d) [S]. This it was, in all probability, that determined the King the next year

(z) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 208. ſays, he had liberty to go any where within twenty miles of London.

(a) Rob. Brunne. Walſingham, Hemingford, &c.

(b) Fordun. Boëth. Buchan.

(c) Thom. Walſingham, Walt. Hemingford, Robert Brunne's Chron. Abingd. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(d) Appendix to the third Volume of Brady's Hiſtory, No. 37.

[S] *Nothing to do with the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more.*] Whoever conſiders the manner in which our antient hiſtories were written, will very eaſily conceive, that there is little or nothing to be found in them, concerning the tranſactions of John Balliol, after he was brought over priſoner into England. Some indeed tell us, that he went to reſide at Oxford, and Rapin very gravely and magiſterially aſſures us, that he built a college there, and liberally endowed it (73). There is no wonder that he made this miſtake who was a ſtranger, and who deſerves to be commended, not only for his accuracy and diligence in writing the hiſtory of King Edward's wars in Scotland, but alſo for his candour and impartiality in recording the diſputes between the two nations. But we may juſtly be ſurprized, that one of the beſt writers of the hiſtory of Scotland ſhould lead him into this miſtake, by affirming the very ſame thing (74), which ſhews how little credit is due to General Hiſtories in matters of this nature, and of how great uſe works of this kind are, in detecting ſuch errors and clearing up the truth. It has been obſerved in the text, that ſome writers have affirmed, King John was allowed the liberty of going abroad, which appears to be a matter of fact, though probably not without a keeper (75). We likewiſe find, that he ſtill kept up a cloſe correſpondence with Dr Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham, and that he made uſe of him chiefly to negociate with King Edward, the terms upon which he was to obtain his liberty, all which we are able to prove, from a very extraordinary piece that remains ſtill upon record, which we find often cited by our Engliſh hiſtorians, but which, for any thing I know, has never yet appeared in Engliſh, and therefore I hope it will be very acceptable (as it is certainly one of the moſt curious papers relating to this article) if we produce it here.

(73) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. III p. 58.

(74) Leſlæus de Geſtis Scotor. lib. vi. p. 253.

(75) Hector. Boëth. lib. xiv.

'In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, 'on the firſt of April, in the houſe of the reverend 'Father Anthony Biſhop of Durham, without London. 'The ſaid Biſhop diſcourſing of the ſtate and condition 'of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants 'of the ſaid kingdom, before the noble Lord John 'Balliol, the ſaid John of his own proper motion, 'in the preſence of me, the Notary, and the ſubſcribing witneſſes, amongſt other things, ſaid and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, that is to 'ſay, that while he the ſaid realm of Scotland, as 'King and Lord thereof, held and governed, he had 'found in the people of the ſaid kingdom, ſo much 'malice, fraud, treaſon, and deceit, that for their 'malignity, wickedneſs, treachery, and other deteſtable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly underſtood, they had, while their Prince, contrived to 'poiſon him, it was his intention, never to go or 'enter into the ſaid kingdom of Scotland for the future, 'or with the ſaid kingdom, or it's concerns, either by 'himſelf or others, to intermeddle, nor for the reaſons 'aforeſaid, and many others, to have any thing to do 'with the Scots. At the ſame time, the ſaid John 'deſired the ſaid Biſhop of Durham, that he would 'acquaint the Moſt Magnificent Prince, and his Lord, 'Edward, the Moſt Illuſtrious King of England, with 'his intention, will, and firm reſolution in this reſpect,

year to releaſe him as he did, on the freſh inſtances made by the Biſhop of Vicenza, the Pope's Legate then in France, to whom he was delivered at Whitſand, by Robert de Bourgherſh, Knt. Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, the King's proxy, upon Saturday before St Mary Magdalen's day, or the twentieth of July, upon condition that the Pope might direct and order what he pleaſed as to his perſon, and the eſtate he had in England, as King Edward might have done, if he had been perſonally with him in England; ſaving to him and his heirs Kings of England, the kingdom of Scotland, the people and inhabitants, with all the appurtenances to that kingdom. It being alſo there read, and rehearſed before his delivery, and in his own preſence, and in that of the Biſhop of Vicenza, that he had committed many inhuman treſpaſſes and treaſons againſt his ſovereign Prince King Edward, contrary to his homage and fealty, &c. and that the Pope ſhould not ordain or direct any thing in the kingdom of Scotland, concerning the people or inhabitants, or any thing appertaining to the ſame kingdom, on behalf of John Balliol, or his heirs, &c. And upon theſe terms the Biſhop, in the name of, and as the Pope's Proxy, received him from the King's Commiſſioner, on the ſaid Saturday abovementioned, A. D. 1299, and 27 Edw. I (e). But notwithſtanding this ſolemn act, by which in the fulleſt and plaineſt manner in the world, he diveſted himſelf of his regal character, and relinquiſhed both his kingdom and the allegiance of his ſubjects; yet they continued to own him for their Sovereign, as appears by a very authentick act of the Lords Juſtices, or Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, who were William Biſhop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the Younger, who by their letter to King Edward, dated from Torwood, November 13, 1299, owned themſelves ſubjects to King John, and deſire, in very ſubmiſſive terms, a ceſſation of hoſtilities (f), which however, at that time, was not granted. Yet after all this, when King Edward in a better temper conſented to ſuch a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to hear what they had to offer, they propoſed the reſtoring of King John and his ſon, and offered to live under them as good ſubjects, which becauſe of his reſignation King Edward would not allow, but rejected thoſe terms as unjuſt and unreaſonable (g). After all this the Pope interpoſed, and, by his letters admonitory, undertook to ſhew King Edward, that he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland (b) [T]. This Bull had no effect upon the King, who was determined to maintain his title, and to continue the war againſt Scotland, which he did with various ſucceſs, till in the year 1303, he made an abſolute conqueſt of that kingdom, and in the ſucceeding year, he ſettled the affairs of it entirely, deſigning for the future, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be repreſented by Commiſſioners ſent to the Parliament of England (i). The next year the Scots took up arms again, under Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and then it was they threw off all regard to John Balliol, and placed the crown of their kingdom on the head of the nobleman beforementioned.

(e) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II. p. 848, 849. Prynne's Collect. Vol. III. fol. 779. Brady's Appendix as before. No. 36.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 859.

(g) Vid. Hemingf. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(i) Thom. Walſingham, Rob. Brunne. Walt. Hemingford. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

'ſpect, &c. This act was ſigned and ſealed by the Publick 'Notary, in the preſence of the Biſhop of Durham 'aforeſaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, Conſtable of 'the Tower of London, and others, who heard this 'diſcourſe (75).'

(76) Prynne's Collections, Tom. III. p. 665.

[T] *That he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland.*] It is very extraordinary, that this Pope, Boniface VIII, ſhould be able to enter ſo clearly and ſo fully into this diſpute, and urge ſuch cogent reaſons againſt the pretenſions of King Edward to a ſuperiority over that kingdom, as in this monitory epiſtle we find he did, and therefore it may be reaſonably preſumed, that he was furniſhed with proper hints by ſome of the Prelates of Scotland, as the reader will readily judge, from the ſeveral heads upon which he inſiſts. In the firſt place he obſerves, that Henry, the King's father, at the time he was diſtreſſed by his rebels, applied himſelf for aſſiſtance to Alexander King of Scotland, his ſon-in-law; granted him letters patents, declaring, that he did not demand this as due to him of right, but as an act of grace and favour. He takes notice next, that when the ſame King Alexander aſſiſted at his the King of England's coronation, he demanded and obtained letters patents for the ſame purpoſe. He in the third place obſerves, that when King Alexander did homage to him for the lands of Tindale and Penrith, he publickly declared, that he did not either pay or owe him any homage as King of Scotland. His next remark is, that upon the death of the ſaid Alexander, the cuſtody of his grand-daughter and heireſs Margaret, did not devolve to him, as it muſt have done had he been ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, but to ſuch as, by the Nobility of that kingdom, were appointed to that office. He goes on to obſerve, that when the King applied to the Holy See for a diſpenſation, in order to the marriage of his eldeſt ſon Edward, to the ſaid Margaret, he ſet forth the conſent of the Nobility of Scotland, that he had acknowledged it to be a free and independent kingdom, and had engaged it ſhould remain ſo, in caſe there was no iſſue of this marriage. To this he adds, that after the death of Margaret, when the diſpute about the ſucceſſion began, the Nobility of that kingdom apprehending their going beyond their own frontiers at his requeſt, might prove detrimental to their right, he, by his own charter, ſecured them from that inconveniency, and from theſe premiſes he infers, that whatever had happened ſince was the effects of force and violence, and could not therefore confer any right whatever. To all theſe he ſubjoins an argument of another nature, that the Legates of the See of Rome to the Kings of England, could not enter Scotland in virtue of that commiſſion, but were obliged to have ſpecial letters to the Kings of Scotland, as to all other Princes. But after all, there is one thing exceſſively wild and extravagant in this Bull, which is, that at the ſame time the Pope inſiſts, that the crown of Scotland is not a fee of England, he inſiſts no leſs poſitively, that the kingdom depended upon the See of Rome. This writing is dated the twenty-ſeventh of June, in the year 1299 (77). To this epiſtle two ſolemn anſwers were given, the firſt by the Nobility of England, in a great council aſſembled at Lincoln, dated the twelfth of February, 1301 (78). In which they aſſert, not only the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, but alſo the independency of his crown, and declare that they cannot allow any cauſe of this nature to be canvaſſed before, much leſs determined by, his Holineſs. The other is by the King himſelf, dated at Kemeſeye the ſame year, in which he enters into a long detail of his rights over the kingdom of Scotland, and abſolutely denies many of the facts inſiſted upon in the Pope's letter; concluding with an abſolute declaration, that he would maintain his title to, and poſſeſſion of, the kingdom of Scotland, as a right deſcended to him from his anceſtors, Kings of England, which, whatever that Pope thought of it, was tacitly acknowledged by his ſucceſſors (79).

(77) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. II. p. 844.

(78) Walt. de Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 186. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 873.

(79) Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 177. Rymer's Fœder. Tom. II. p. 863.

[U] *And*

beforementioned (*k*). All this time John Balliol lived quietly as a private man, on his own eſtates, which were very conſiderable in France (*l*). His ſon Edward remaining ſome years a priſoner, as ſome ſay, as others will have it, a hoſtage here, but at length he was ſent over to his father, nor does it appear, that either of them interfered at all with the affairs of Scotland, but contented themſelves with the enjoyment of what was left of their private fortunes. Some writers ſay, that John Balliol lived till he was blind, which, if true, muſt have been the effect of ſome diſeaſe, or of ſome accident, ſince it is certain that he died A. D. 1314, when he could not be above fifty-five at moſt (*m*). His ſon Edward Balliol afterwards ſet up a title to the kingdom of Scotland, invaded and recovered it, but held it not long, and dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed (*n*) [*U*]. Thus, with much labour and difficulty, we have in a great meaſure cleared one of the moſt perplexed periods of our hiſtory, and ſet a multitude of material facts in a clear light, from the compariſon of our antient hiſtorians, and correcting their relations by our records, which was one of the principal points propoſed in the compiling this work.

(*k*) Fordun. Major. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(*l*) De Serres, Mazerai, Daniel, &c.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. III. p. 506. We have before ſhewn he was born about 1260.

(*n*) Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. III. p. 505.

[*U*] *And dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed.*] In order to render this article as compleat as poſſible, and to ſhew the end, as we have already explained the beginning of the conteſt, between the houſes of Balliol and Bruce, for the crown of Scotland, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the fortunes of this Edward Balliol. At the time of his father's deceaſe, which was in the year 1314, he was in England, and King Edward II, wrote to the King of France, to deſire that he might have poſſeſſion given him of his father's eſtates in that country (80), which it ſeems was done, and he lived there quietly as a private perſon for many years, and without thinking, as far as from his ſtory we can learn, of renewing the pretenſions of his family to the crown of Scotland. But in the year 1331, an Engliſh ſervant of his having killed a Frenchman, and he taking pains to ſend this ſervant out of the reach of juſtice, he was himſelf impriſoned, and his eſtates ſeized, till on the Lord Beaumont's coming from England, he was, at his interceſſion, releaſed, and this Lord Beaumont it was, that adviſed him to come over to England, and ſet up his claim to the crown of Scotland (81). King Robert Bruce being dead, and David his ſon having ſucceeded him in the kingdom, he had married the ſiſter of Edward III King of England, who for that reaſon would not aſſiſt Balliol openly and directly againſt his brother-in-law, though he ſuffered him to raiſe men privately in Yorkſhire, with which he invaded that kingdom in 1332, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he got himſelf declared King, but not long after was driven out again, when King Edward reſolved to aſſiſt him, having firſt quarelled with the Scots for not delivering up Berwick. This war was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that Balliol was again fixed upon the throne, and King David was forced to fly to France. Balliol by his charter acknowledged himſelf homager to King Edward III, as his father had done to King Edward I, for that kingdom, and beſides this, in conſideration of his expence in reſtoring him, he gave and granted to King Edward of England, Berwick, Roxbourgh, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns, and the countries depending upon them (82), which ſo alienated the hearts of the Scots, that he never had any quiet in that kingdom afterwards, though, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he kept up the war for many years, till at laſt in the year 1356, being quite tired out with the oppoſition given him by that nation, he ſurrendered his title to King Edward of England, in conſideration of a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to be paid him quarterly (83), which he enjoyed to the year 1363, when he died at Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, without iſſue. Yet upon the death of King David Bruce, William Earl of Douglas is ſaid to have ſet up a title to the crown of Scotland, which he is alſo ſaid to have founded upon that of the Balliols, but this title of his is very obſcure, at leaſt as it is ſet forth by one who ought to have underſtood it (84). He ſays that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, Dornagilla or Dervorgilla, who married John Balliol father to King John, and Mary, who married John Comin, from whom William Earl of Douglas was deſcended. It is true indeed, though moſt of our hiſtorians ſay otherwiſe, that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, *viz.* Chriſtina and Dervorgilla, ſo that this laſt was not the elder but the younger daughter, however ſhe was ſole heireſs to her father, her elder ſiſter dying unmarried (85). By this means therefore no title could accrue to the Earl of Douglas, but however a title he had, and a title from the Balliols, which aroſe thus, John Comin married Margery (86), daughter to John Balliol by Dervorgilla his wife, ſiſter to King John Balliol, by whom he had that John Comin who was killed by Robert Bruce, who left a daughter Dornagilla, who was married to Archibald Douglas, father to William Earl of Douglas (87), who claimed the crown, but the States of Scotland declared Robert Stuart, ſon of Margery Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce, and ſiſter to King David, the lawful heir of the crown (88). To this William Earl of Douglas aſſented, and the new King Robert gave his eldeſt daughter Euphamia, to James Douglas the Earl's ſon, and thus this conteſt ended (89). If the judicious and inquiſitive reader is diſpleaſed with the conciſeneſs of this note, which ſtands in the place of another article, once intended of Edward Balliol, he may have recourſe to other articles in this work, in which this hiſtory is purſued (90); and he is alſo deſired to obſerve, that the reaſon we choſe to omit that of Edward Balliol, and confine theſe circumſtances relating to him within ſuch narrow bounds, was to avoid repetitions, and thereby keep ourſelves within the ſmalleſt compaſs, that a due regard to accuracy, and the importance of the ſubjects of which we treat, will poſſibly allow. X

(80) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. III. p. 506.

(81) Caxton's Chronicle, A. D. 1231.

(82) Tyrrel's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 381.

(83) Rot. Scotiæ 29 E. III. m. 12. Rob. de Aveſbur. Hiſt. Ed. III. p. 229.

(84) Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 84.

(85) This appears from John Baliol's petition ſetting forth his claim to the crown.

(86) Liber Cœnob. de Balmerinoch. penes dom. de Balmerinoch.

(87) Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 54.

(88) Joan. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. lib. vi. p. 113. b.

(89) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. p. 316.

(90) See BRUCE (ROBERT) and BRUCE (DAVID).

BALL (JOHN), a Puritanical Divine in the XVIIth century (*a*), was born, in the year 1585, of an obſcure family, at Caſſington or Cherſington, near Woodſtock in in Oxfordſhire. He was educated in grammar learning at a private ſchool, under the Vicar of Yarnton, a mile diſtant from Caſſington; and was admitted a ſtudent of Brazennoſe college in Oxford, in 1602. He continued there about five years, in the condition of a ſervitor, and under the diſcipline of a ſevere Tutor; and from thence he removed to St Mary's Hall, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1608. Soon after, he was invited into Cheſhire, to be Tutor to the Lady Cholmondeley's children; and here he became acquainted with ſome rigid Puritans, who gained ſo far upon his affections, that he went over to their party. About this time, having got a ſum of money, he came up to London, and procured himſelf to be ordained by an Iriſh Biſhop, without Subſcription. Soon after, he removed into Staffordſhire, and became curate of Whitmore, a chapel of eaſe to Stoke. Here he lived in a mean condition, upon a ſalary of about twenty pounds a year, and the profits of a little ſchool. Mr Baxter tells us (*b*), *he deſerved as high eſteem and honour, as the beſt Biſhop in England; yet looking after no higher things,*

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxonienſ. Vol. I. col. 636, 637.

(*b*) Rich. Baxter's *Unſavoury Volume of* Mr John Crandon's *anatomixed.* Lond. 1654. Sect. i. p. 6.

things, but living comfortably and proſperouſly with theſe. He has, among the Puritan writers, the character of an excellent School-Divine, a painful preacher, and a learned and ingenious author; and, though he was not well affected to ceremonies and Church diſcipline, yet he wrote againſt thoſe, who thought theſe matters a ſufficient ground for ſeparation. His works are mentioned in the remark [*A*]. He died the 20th of October 1640, aged about fifty-five, and was buried in the church of Whitmore.

[*A*] *His works.*] I. *A ſhort Treatiſe concerning all the principal grounds of the Chriſtian Religion*, &c. Fourteen times printed before the year 1632, and tranſlated into the Turkiſh language by William Seaman, an Engliſh traveller. II. *A Treatiſe of Faith, in two parts; the firſt ſhewing the Nature, the ſecond the Life of Faith.* London, 1631 and 1637, 4to. There is a commendatory preface to it, written by Richard Sibbes. III. *Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modeſt Diſpute touching the Unlawfulneſs of ſtinted Liturgy and ſet Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Aſſemblies, and the primitive Subject and firſt Receptacle of the Power of the Keys*, &c. Cambridge, 1640, 4to. A rude and imperfect draught of this book was firſt made for the ſatisfaction of Mr Richard Knightly, and afterwards, at the requeſt of ſeveral Miniſters and others, enlarged into this treatiſe. IV. *An Anſwer to two Treatiſes of Mr John Cau, the firſt intitled*, A neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformiſt's Principles; *the other*, A Stay againſt Straying; *wherein, in Oppoſition to Mr John Robinſon, he undertakes to prove the Unlawfulneſs of hearing the Miniſters of the Church of England.* London, 1642, 4to. Publiſhed by Simeon Aſh. The epiſtle to the reader is ſubſcribed by Thomas Langley, William Rathband, Simeon Aſh, Francis Woodcock, and George Croft, Preſbyterians. After our author had finiſhed this laſt book, he undertook a large eccleſiaſtical treatiſe, in which he propoſed to lay open the nature of Schiſm, and to handle the principal controverſies relating to the eſſence and government of the viſible Church. He left fifty ſheets of this work finiſhed. 'Notwithſtanding all this (ſays Anthony 'Wood) yet, by what our author hath written in his 'anſwer to John Can, and in his *Friendly Tryal*, ſome 'dividing ſpirits of his own party cenſured him, as 'in ſome degree declining from his former profeſſed 'inconformity, in deſerting the Nonconformiſt's cauſe 'and grounds, being too much inclined (eſpecially in 'the laſt of theſe two) to favour the times in cere-'monies and the ſervice-book: Yet, if you will give 'credit to what theſe men deliver, they will tell you 'that he lived and died a ſtrict forbearer, and conſtant 'oppoſer of all thoſe pretended corruptions, which 'the Nonconformiſts had commonly in their public 'writings diſallowed in the Church of England. So 'that they of his own perſuaſion would willingly have 'it believed, that, altho' he was in theſe his pieces 'againſt aggravating and multiplying conceived cor-'ruptions, and that theſe were not of ſo great weight, 'as to enforce the unlawfulneſs of our ſet forms, or 'warrant a ſeparation from our churches and public 'worſhip in regard thereof, yet he acknowledged 'ſome things blame-worthy in the Engliſh Liturgy, 'which he deſigned to have evidenced (as theſe men 'tell us) in ſome public treatiſe, had he lived but a 'little longer. For all this he died abundantly ſatis-'fied in the juſtneſs of that cauſe, which he ſo well 'defended againſt Separation.' V. *Trial of the new Church-way in New-England and Old*, &c. London, 1644, 4to. VI. *A Treatiſe of the Covenant of Grace.* London, 1645, 4to. Publiſhed by his great admirer Simeon Aſh. VII. *Of the power of Godlineſs, both doctrinally and practically handled*, &c. To which are annexed ſeveral treatiſes, as 1. *Of the Affections.* 2. *Of the Spiritual Combat.* 3. *Of the Government of the Tongue.* 4. *Of Prayer, with an Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer*, &c. London, 1657, *fol.* Publiſhed by the aforeſaid Simeon Aſh. This Aſh, it ſeems, had been of the univerſity of Cambridge, Chaplain to the Lord Brook, and afterwards to the Earl of Mancheſter. In 1644, he became Miniſter of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, and afterwards of St Auſtin's, in London, and died the 20th of Auguſt 1662. VIII. *A Treatiſe of Divine Meditation.* London, 1660, 12o. publiſhed alſo by the ſaid Aſh (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxonienſ. Vol. I. col. 637, 638.

T

BALLENDEN or BELLENDEN (Sir JOHN), an elegant Scotiſh writer of the XVIth century. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in that kingdom, and his father, Mr Thomas Ballenden of Auchinoul, was Director to the Chancery, A. D. 1540, and Clerk-Regiſter in 1541 (*a*). It does not appear when our author was born, or where educated, but from his writings, (frequently intermixed with words of Gallick derivation) I am inclined to believe in France (*b*). In his youth he ſerved in the Court, and was in great favour with King James V, as himſelf informs us, which he might very probably owe to his fine vein in poetry, that Prince being a great admirer, as he was alſo a great proficient in that kind of learning (*c*). Having ſo good intereſt with his Prince, he attained extraordinary preferment in the Church, being made Canon of Roſs, and Archdeacon of Murray, to which laſt dignity perhaps he opened his paſſage, by taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne (*d*). He likewiſe obtained his father's employment of Clerk-Regiſter, which was very conſiderable, in the minority of the King beforementioned, but was afterwards turned out by the ſtruggle of factions, in the ſame reign (*e*). We have no direct authority, to prove that he had any ſhare in the education of King James V, but from ſome paſſages in his poems, and from his addreſſing many of them to that King, one would conceive he was in ſome meaſure particularly attached to his perſon, and from one of them more eſpecially, that he had an intereſt beyond that of bare duty, in forming a right diſpoſition, and giving wholſome inſtructions to that Prince (*f*) [*A*]. But the work which gave him higheſt

(*a*) Mackenzy's Hiſt. of Scots Writers, Vol. II. P. 595.

(*b*) See this more fully explained in note [*C*].

(*c*) See his Proëm to his Coſmography.

(*d*) Dempſter, lib. ii. p. 107.

(*e*) See his Proëm to his Coſmography.

(*f*) See the account of his Works in note [*C*].

[*A*] *Giving wholeſome inſtructions to that Prince.*] It is always requiſite in writing the lives of men diſtinguiſhed by their writings, to read them carefully, and not to take upon the credit of others, what may with more certainty be learned from themſelves. I have taken ſome pains to procure, and have enjoyed a great deal of pleaſure in reading, ſome of our author's works, and from them I clearly diſcern, that he was put about King James V in his nonage, which is a circumſtance worth regarding, ſince he was one of the beſt bred Princes of that age, and a great encourager of learning and learned men, which reflects much honour on thoſe who had the care of his education, of whom, I conceive, our author to have been one, and to have merited his church preferments that way (1). His genius was truly poetick, and he uſually wrote in the Lyrick way, in Stanza's much after the manner of Spencer, and chiefly too, like him, on allegorical ſubjects. It is a great misfortune to us, that his epiſtles to King James are not extant, for if they were, they would propably inform us, as to many points of which we are now totally ignorant. As it is, we know, that he was thrown out of his employment, and driven from court, by the miſchievous effects of envious ſlanders (2), but

(1) There are many curious collections of pieces of this age in the hands of gentlemen of this country, and in all of them ſome of our author's, which ſhews how much his writings were eſteemed.

(2) Vertue and Vyce, Stanz. iv.

I

higheſt reputation, and has tranſmitted the name of our author to poſterity, is his tranſlation of Hector Boëthius, or, as his countrymen call him, Hector Boeis's Hiſtory, out of Latin into the Scotiſh tongue, which he performed at the command of his royal maſter admirably, but with a good deal of freedom, departing often from his author, but generally for the ſake of truth, and ſometimes alſo adding circumſtances, which perhaps might not be known to Hector Boeis (*g*). However, his verſion, as he called it, was very well received both in Scotland and England, and ſoon became the ſtandard of that Hiſtory [*B*]. It does not appear either from his own writings or otherwiſe, how he came to loſe his office of Clerk-Regiſter, but he certainly recovered it in the ſucceeding reign, was likewiſe made one of the Lords of Seſſion, and had credit then at Court, perhaps from his zeal in reſpect to his religion, for he was a very warm and inflexible Romaniſt, and not ſatisfied with perſiſting in his own ſentiments, laboured aſſiduouſly, in conjunction with Dr Laing, to hinder the progreſs of the Reformation (*h*). It may with great probability be conjectured, that the diſputes into which he plunged himſelf on this ſubject, made him ſo uneaſy, that he choſe to quit his native country, to go and reſide in a place, where that diſpoſition, inſtead of being an hindrance, would infallibly recommend him. This (as it is ſuppoſed) carried him to Rome, where, as Demſter tells us, he died, A. D. 1550 (*i*). He was unqueſtionably a man of great parts, and one of the fineſt Poets his country had to boaſt. It is true, the language is now ſo altered, that to attempt giving (as ſome have done) ſpecimens, would be ridiculous; it is ſufficient to ſay, that ſo many of his works remain, as fully prove this, inaſmuch as they are diſtinguiſhed by that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy (*k*) [*C*]. It is a great misfortune, that

(*g*) Nicholſon's Scotiſh Library, p. 10.

(*h*) Coan, de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 167.

(*i*) Lib. ii. p. 107.

(*k*) See the account of his Works in note [C].

but receiving the King's command, to put the Latin hiſtory of Boëthius, into the common language of Scotland, this afforded him ſome hope, and that he might riſe the ſooner in the King's favour, he compoſed a Poem intituled, VERTUE *and* VYCE, *addreſſed to the Monarch of the* Scots, JAMES V. This we find the title in MSS, but Dr Mackenzy tell us very poſitively, it is prefixed by way of Proëm to his Coſmography: So very poſſibly it may be, though the Poem has nothing in it, that has the leaſt relation to that ſubject; but the Doctor is abſolutley in the wrong, for ſuppoſing them to be miſtaken who ſtiled it a dream, ſince certainly it is ſo (3): Our author very ingeniouſly feigns, that walking in a garden to amuſe himſelf after the labour of tranſlating, and muſing on the diſgrace he had ſuffered at Court, which to prevent any offence to the King, he ſuggeſts might be owing to the pernicious influence of his ill ſtars, oppreſſed by melancholy, and not able to ſolve theſe doubts to his ſatisfaction, his cares at length wearied him into a deep ſleep, in which he beheld a very handſome young Prince on a throne, to whom two ladies, lovely in their perſons, and ſplendid in their equipage, applied themſelves, contending for his love. He makes DELIGHT ſpeak firſt, and place all pleaſure in the company of women: VIRTUE ſpeaks next, and maintains, that ſhe only beſtows real and laſting pleaſure, and leads men to the acquiſition of immortality. Having thus ſet both before the King, he tells us, he awoke, that he might not be conſtrained to violate truth, in deſcribing the King's choice.

(3) Mackenzy's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 596.

[*B*] *And ſoon became the ſtandard of that hiſtory.*] This great work of our author appeared in folio at Edinburgh, *A. D.* 1536, under this title (4), viz. *The Hiſtory and Chronicles of* Scotland, *compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the reverend and noble Clerk Mr* Hector Boeis, *Chanon of Aberdene, tranſlated lately be Mr* John Ballenden, *Archdene of* Murray, *and Chanon of* Roſſe, *at command of* James *the fyfte, King of Scottis, imprintet in* Edenburgh *be* Thomas Davidſon, *dwelling fornens the Fryere-Wynde.* This tranſlation, as has been obſerved in the text, was very far from being cloſe, our author taking to himſelf the liberty of augmenting and amending the hiſtory he publiſhed as he thought proper. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed it into chapters as well as books, which was the only diſtinction employed by Boëthius, which plainly proves, that it was this tranſlation and not the original, that Richard Grafton made uſe of in penning his Chronicle, which Buchanan could not but know, though he never miſſes any opportunity of falling upon Grafton, as if he had corrupted and falſified this author, in order to ſerve his own purpoſes and abuſe the people of Scotland (5); which however has been ſhewn to be, as in fact it is, a barbarous and groundleſs charge (6). Our author's work was afterwards taken into the largeſt of our Britiſh hiſtories, of which the Biſhop of Carliſle (7) has given us the following account. 'R. Holl-'inſhed publiſhed it in Engliſh, but was not the tran-'ſlator of it himſelf, his friend began the work and 'had gone a good way in it, but did not, it ſeems, 'live to finiſh it. In this there are ſeveral large in-'terpolations and additions out of Major, Leſley, and 'Buchanan, by Fr. Thinne, who is alſo the chief 'author of the whole ſtory after the death of King 'James the firſt, and the only penman of it from 1571 'to 1586; towards the latter end, this learned Anti-'quary occaſionally intermixes cataloges of the Chan-'cellors, Archbiſhops, and Writers, of that kingdom.' We learn from the very induſtrious John Bale (8), that our author, whom he calls John Balantyne, not only tranſlated it but continued it alſo down to 1536, that his countrymen might have their hiſtory as compleat, as it was in his power to give it in their own language; and the pains he took in this reſpect, appears to have been very well beſtowed, ſince almoſt all who had written after him upon this ſubject, have, in a manner, tranſcribed his labours. He tranſlated alſo Hector Boëthius's deſcription of Scotland; and beſides that, wrote a deſcription of his own, under the title of a Deſcription of Albany, which Bale had ſeen, and of which he gives us the beginning (9): In all probability he was moved to every one of theſe works, either by the command of King James (10), or with a view to recommend himſelf to that Prince's favour. As to the Epiſtles directed by him to that Monarch, which are now loſt, they were certainly publiſhed, ſince Bale had ſeen them likewiſe (11), and perhaps, they may be ſome time or other recovered. Since it is certain, that many of his writings are in the hands of perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, who are careful preſervers of ſuch kind of curioſities.

(4) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 463.

(5) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 258.

(6) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 298.

(7) Scotiſh Library, p. 38.

(8) Scriptor. Britan. Cent. xiv. p. 65.

(9) I ſuſpect however, that there is ſome miſtake about theſe two books, which cannot be corrected without ſeeing thoſe pieces.

(10) See the notes [*A*] and [*C*].

(11) He gives us the beginning of one of them.

[*C*] *By that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy.*] He wrote, as both Demſter and Bale inform us, many other pieces which are now buried in oblivion, ſuch as Viſions, Miſcellanies, Proëms to his proſe works, and, as I conceive, an explanation of the Pythagorick Y. Dr Mackenzy indeed, is for correcting his principal author Demſter (12), and reading *de vita Pythagoræ*, or, of the life of Pythagoras, inſtead of *de litera Pythagoræ*, or, of Pythagoras's letter; but as it ſtands ſo likewiſe in Bale, and is to the full as good ſenſe this way as the other, I ſee no cauſe to make this alteration. In the large collection of Scotiſh poems made by Mr Carmichael, there were ſome of our author's on various ſubjects, and Mr Lawrence Dundaſs had alſo ſeveral, whether in MS or printed I cannot ſay. The mode of that age was chiefly allegory and fable, after the manner of the Italians, whom all the Engliſh and Scotiſh writers followed, as the great ſtandards of elegance and politeneſs: This appears not only by our author's poems, but from thoſe of his contemporaries, ſuch as Dunbar, who wrote *the Thiſtle and the Roſe*, in honour of the marriage of James IV. with Margaret, daughter to King Henry VII of England, and the *Golden Target*, was written, if I miſtake not, by the ſame author. This laſt, beyond controverſy, is one of the fineſt poems in the Scotiſh

(12) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 597.

that the Hiſtory of the learned men of this part of our iſland, has not exerciſed the pen of ſome writer equal to the taſk, and who would have patience to enquire after, and peruſe the works of thoſe he celebrates, and thereby furniſh us with facts and dates, inſtead of publiſhing his own thoughts under the ſanction of their names.

Scotiſh language, a beautiful moral allegory, well conducted, and the verſe ſo far, as at this diſtance of time we can judge, numerous, and full of harmony. I the rather mention this, becauſe we find therein moſt ample commendations of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, which ſhews that their works were exceedingly admired in Scotland. But the great Poet of this age and country, to whom very probably King James himſelf, and our author likewiſe ſtood indebted for their proficiency in verſe, was Sir David Lindſey of the Mount, Lord Lyon King at Arms, who we are ſure had the care of James V, in his nonage, and who in his writings boaſts of this Prince's early reſpect for the Muſes. He wrote, amongſt other excellent poems, one called *the Teſtament and the Complaint of King James's* PAPINGO, and in the preface to this performance, he gives a pleaſant account of all the Scots Poets to his own time, in the cloſe of which, he gives this encomium of our author, the brightneſs of the character ſtill ſhining, even through the ruſt and obſcurity of the language.

> But now of late, has ſtart up heaſtily,
> A cunning Clerk, which writeth craftily,
> A plant of Poets, called *Ballantin*,
> Whoſe ornat writs, my wit cannot defyne;
> Get he into the court authority,
> He will precel *Quintin* and *Kenedy* (13).

(13) Preface to the Complaint of the Papingo.

This poetical elogy of Ballenden brings me back to my ſubject, and enables me to ſay ſomewhat in excuſe for this digreſſion. We have already ſeen this article appear more than once in our literary hiſtories, but never ſo as to be read with any tolerable ſatisfaction, for want of ſhewing the ſtate of literature at that time in Scotland, ſo that all the particulars of his life were concealed, that could poſſibly intereſt an Engliſh reader in his favour. But now when it is obſerved, that after the marriage of Queen Margaret to King James IV, there was a conſtant intercourſe between the two courts, and more eſpecially between the wits of the two courts, who wrote then very nearly in the ſame language; the caſe alters, and Arch-deacon Ballenden does not appear ſo much a ſtranger. Beſides, Grafton and Harriſon, having already naturalized his book, and incorporated his hiſtory with that of England, there is the more reaſon for knowing ſomething about him. It is true, that with all our pains we can learn but very little of him; ſtill however, it is a little more than others have diſcovered upon this ſubject, it is enough to prove, he has a right to a place here, and makes what is ſaid of him both pleaſant and uſeful. There are indeed, many that ſlight all memorials of ſuch as lived in theſe times, as an eminent Poet of the laſt age could never be brought to reliſh Chaucer, but this is mere lazineſs, or want of taſte; lazineſs, if we will not take the pains of acquiring the language of our anceſtors, for the ſake of underſtanding what they have left us worth the reading; and want of true taſte, if while we account it laudable to be well acquainted with the writings of Petrarch and Ronſard, becauſe their fame is eſtabliſhed, we deſpiſe the application to our own old Claſſicks, that have equal merit, though, from the negligence of their countrymen, their worth is leſs known. We do not often find points of this kind ſo freely treated, or truths of this nature, ſtated with ſo little reſerve: The memoirs of men who have made ſome figure in the world, are tranſcribed by one author from another, with very little improvement; whereas, a due acquaintance with antiquity, and the ſubjects we have treated, will always afford a man of tolerable application, the means of making any article agreeable.

X

BALSHAM (HUGH DE) or de Bedeſale, or Beleſale, the tenth Biſhop of Ely, and founder of St Peter's college, otherwiſe Peter-Houſe, in Cambridge (*a*), was in all probability born at Balſham in Cambridgeſhire (from whence he took his ſurname) towards the beginning of the XIIIth century [*A*]. He was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Sub-prior of the Benedictine monaſtery at Ely (*b*). In 1247, November 13, he was choſen, by his convent, Biſhop of Ely, in the room of William de Kilkenny, deceaſed. But King Henry III, who had recommended his Chancellor Henry de Wengham (*c*), being extremely angry at the diſobedience of the Monks, refuſed to confirm the election; and, moreover, he felled the woods, ſpoiled the ponds, and otherwiſe waſted the manors and eſtates belonging to the Biſhoprick. He endeavoured at laſt to perſuade the Monks to proceed to a new election; alledging, that it was not fit, ſo ſtrong a place as Ely [*B*] ſhould be intruſted with a man, that had ſcarce ever been out of his cloiſter, and who was utterly unacquainted with political affairs. Balſham finding he was not likely to ſucceed at home; went to Rome, in order to be confirmed by the Pope (*d*), who, through the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments in Chriſtendom [*C*]. In the mean time, Boniface, Archbiſhop

(*a*) Hiſtoria Cantebrigienſis Academiæ A. J. Caio. Lond. 1574. 4*to*, p. 54. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, Lond. 1655. fol. p. 12.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Major. edit. 1640, p. 936.

(*d*) Fr. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 314.

[*A*] *Was born ——— towards the beginning of the XIIIth century.*] This I infer from the time when he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, which was in 1257, and from his death, which happened in 1286, as will be ſhewn preſently. So that in all likelihood he was born about the year 1210 or 1215. —— And that it was very cuſtomary, in former times, for people to take their ſurnames from the place of their birth, is ſo very certain as not to need any proof.

[*B*] *So ſtrong a place as Ely*] It is a place of very great natural ſtrength, as being an iſle, and all the country round covered with water in the winter-time. And therefore, ſeveral perſons revolting againſt King William I. in 1070, they retired to Ely, as a place of the greateſt ſafety, *in eadem pro caſtro & loco tuto morantes*, and there endured a long ſiege or blockade (1).

(1) Sim. Dunelmenſis, apud X Scriptores, Lond. 1652, col. 203. Chron. J. Bromton, ibid. col. 969.

[*C*] *Pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments.*] The Pope taking an advantage of the frequent appeals made to him, upon any controverted elections, came by degrees to render himſelf maſter of moſt preferments; and to maintain, that he had an inconteſtable right to diſpoſe of them as he thought convenient. Accordingly, he uſurped the collation of almoſt all the church-preferments, not excepting the biſhopricks and archbiſhopricks, contrary to the rights of the King, the Chapters, and the Patrons. This encroachment grew at length to that height, that there was not a benefice, great or ſmall, in England, but what the Popes diſpoſed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be maſters of all the collations. Sometimes, pretending not to like, or finding an objection againſt, the perſon recommended to them for confirmation, they ſet him aſide and nominated another. One while, by the plenitude of the apoſtolick power, they reſerved to themſelves all the Benefices which ſhould become void by tranſlation. Another while, ſuch as ſhould be vacant by death, or any other way whatever. And finally, they beſtowed the biſhopricks, and other benefices, even before they were vacant, by way of Proviſion (2).

(2) See M. Paris in many places. Ryley's Placita Parliam. p. 376. and Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. II. fol. p. 476, 477.

[*D*] *They*,

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, uſed his utmoſt intereſt at Rome to obſtruct Hugh de Balſham's confirmation, tho' he could alledge no one fault againſt him; and recommended Adam de Maris, a learned Minorite Frier, as a fit perſon to be promoted to the biſhoprick: but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful. As to Wengham, having been recommended by the King without his own deſire and knowledge, he did not ſtir in the leaſt to get himſelf elected by the Monks; but rather, out of an uncommon exceſs of modeſty, declined the honour, alledging that the two others (Balſham and Maris) were more worthy of it, and more deſerving than himſelf. This matter remained in ſuſpence for above ten years, and was at length determined in favour of Hugh de Balſham. For Wengham being promoted to the biſhoprick of London, upon Fulk de Baſſet's deceaſe; the Pope confirmed Hugh de Balſham's election, on the 10th of March 1257, and he was conſecrated the 14th of October following. Being thus fixed in his See, he applied himſelf to works of charity, and particularly, in the year 1257 (*e*), or 1259 according to ſome (*f*), put in execution what he had deſigned, if not begun, before; that is, he laid the foundation of St Peter's college, the firſt college in the univerſity of Cambridge. He built it without Trumpington gate, near the church of St Peter, (ſince demoliſhed) from whence it took it's name; and on the place where ſtood Jeſus Hoſtel, or *de pœnitentia Jeſu Chriſti*, and St John's hoſpital (*g*), which he purchaſed and united. At firſt, he only provided lodgings for the ſcholars, who were before obliged to hire chambers of the townſmen at an extravagant rate (*h*); and they, and the ſecular brethren of St John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year 1280 [*D*]. Then the Monks paſſing over to him their right to the hoſpital abovementioned, he endowed his college, on the 30th of March of the ſame year (*i*), with maintenance for one Maſter, fourteen Fellows, two Bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars, whoſe number might be increaſed or diminiſhed, according to the improvement or abatement of their revenues. And he appointed his ſucceſſors, the Biſhops of Ely, to be honorary Patrons and Viſitors of that college (*k*). The revenues of it have ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors [*E*]. The munificent founder had not the ſatisfaction to ſee all things finiſhed before his deceaſe (*l*). He died at Dodington June 16, 1286, and was buried in the cathedral church of Ely, before the high altar (*m*).

(*e*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 12.

(*f*) J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebrig. Acad. p. 54.

(*g*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

(*h*) Idem. p. 30.

(*i*) J. Caii Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 54. Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8*vo*, p. 34.

(*k*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(*l*) The Foundation of the Univerſitie of Cambridge. &c. Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 3.

(*m*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 315. J. Caius ſays he died June 15, ubi ſupra, p. 54.

[*D*] *They, and the ſecular brethren of St John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year* 1280.] I follow J. Caius in fixing the endowment of this college at the year 1280, tho' he ſeems to imply afterwards, that it was not done till 1282 (3). T. Fuller places it in the ſame year (4), and others ſay, the founder ſettled not the endowment till the year 1284 (5). Perhaps, the whole difference between them conſiſts in this, that there might be a ſpace of ſome few years between his beginning to endow, and his finally ſettling the endowment. He removed the ſecular brethren mentioned above, to his new college; having before ſeparated them from the regulars, whoſe monaſtery ſtood near All-ſaints church, and tranſlated them to the place where he founded his college. St Peter's church, which ſtood near it, falling down, the church of St Mary's *de Gratia*, or of Grace, was built where it now ſtands, from whence the college came to be commonly ſtiled for an hundred years together, the college of St Mary's of Grace (6).

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 54.

(4) Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(5) The Foundation of the Univ. of Cambridge, with a Catalogue of the Founders, &c. Lond. 1651, 4*to*.

(6) Ibid.

[*E*] *The revenues of it have ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors*] The chief of them have been Simon de Montacute, Simon Langham, and John Fordham, Biſhops of Ely. Thomas de Caſtro, John Holbroke, Thomas Lane, John Warkworth, Thomas Denman, Henry Hornby, William Burgoyne, John Edmunds, Andrew Perne, Maſters of that houſe. And William Martin, Ralph Walpool, Biſhop of Norwich, ——— Lownde, John Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Robert Shorton, Edmund Hanſon, Robert Gilbert, ——— Skelton, Mrs Elizab. Wolfe, Edward Lord North, Thomas Smith, Henry Wilſhaw, Lady Mary Ramſey, Robert Warden, Thomas Warren, Mrs Margaret Dean, William Herne, Robert Slade, John Blith, &c. This college conſiſts at preſent of twenty two fellows, thirty four bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars.

C

BAMBRIDGE or BAINBRIDGE (CHRISTOPHER) Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was born at Hilton near Appleby in Weſtmorland, and educated at Queen's college in Oxford. Having taken holy orders, he became Rector of Aller in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells. He enjoyed three Prebends ſucceſſively in the cathedral church of Saliſbury; that of South-Grantham in 1485, that of Chardſtock the ſame year, and that of Horton in 1486. He was elected Provoſt of Queen's college in 1495, and about the ſame time created Doctor of Laws. On September the 28th 1503, he was admitted Prebendary of Strenſhall in the cathedral church of York, void by the conſecration of Jeoffrey Blyth to the See of Lichfield and Coventry; and on the 21ſt of December following, he was inſtalled in the deanery of that church, in the room of the ſaid Blyth. In 1505 he was made Dean of Windſor, and the ſame year Maſter of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy-Council. In 1507, he was advanced to the See of Durham, and received the temporalities the 17th of November. The next year he was tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick of York, and received the temporalities the 12th of December (*a*). Pits aſſures us, that Bambridge had been very intimate with Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſhared in that Prelate's ſufferings during the uſurpation of Richard III: after whoſe death, his affairs took a more proſperous turn; for he was appointed Almoner to King Henry VII, and employed by that Prince on ſeveral embaſſies to the Emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII King of France, and other potentates of Europe (*b*). But he diſtinguiſhed himſelf chiefly by his embaſſy from King Henry VIII to Pope Julius II, who created him a Cardinal [*A*], with the title

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I, col. 651, 652.

(*b*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

[*A*] *He was ſent Embaſſador from King Henry* VIII *to Pope Julius* II, *who created him a Cardinal.*] The occaſion of this embaſſy, according to M. Aubery (1), was as follows. Henry VIII, King of England, being jealous

(1) Hiſtoire Genetale des Carnaux. edit. Pariſ. 1645, T. III. p. 264.

title of *St Praxede*, in March 1511 (*c*), and, eight days after, appointed him Legate of the eccleſiaſtical army, which had been ſent into the Ferrareſe, and were then beſieging the fort of Baſtia (*d*). In return for which marks of honour, our new Cardinal and Legate prevailed with the King his maſter, to take part with his Holineſs againſt the King of France [*B*]. Nor was he leſs zealous in the ſervice of that Pontiff during his life, than in honouring and defending his memory after his death (*e*). There are extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (*f*) two letters; one from Cardinal Bambridge, during his reſidence at Rome, to King Henry VIII [*C*], concerning the Pope's Bull giving him the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*; and another from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King [*D*], acquainting his Highneſs that he had delivered that inſtrument to Cardinal Bambridge. This Prelate died at Rome, the 14th of July 1514, being poiſoned by one of his domeſtics, in revenge for ſome blows he had given him [*E*]; and was buried there in the Engliſh church of St Thomas (*g*) [*F*]. Pits commends him (*h*) for his great learning, and tells us, he wrote many things in the Civil Law, and ſome accounts of his own embaſſies, nothing

(*c*) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hiſt. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651, l. xxvii. p. 4. *and* Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris, 1645. T. III. p. 164.

(*d*) Aubery, ib. p. 165.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 166.

(*f*) Vol. XIII, p. 376, 379.

(*g*) Aubery, ib. p. 166, 167.

(*h*) Ubi ſupra.

jealous of the honour, which the King of France, his neighbour, was acquiring in Italy, and the conſiderable advantages his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty every day gained over the Venetians, againſt whom a league of the moſt powerful princes of Europe had been lately formed at Cambray; diſpatched the new Archbiſhop of York, Embaſſador to Rome, with expreſs orders to favour as much as poſſible the party of the Venetians, and to endeavour, by all means, to reconcile them to the Pope: An employment (adds our author) truly worthy of ſo great a Prelate, and an embaſſy highly becoming an Archbiſhop, if Chriſtian charity alone, and a deſire of promoting the general peace of Europe, had been the motive of this illuſtrious mediation, and not rather a ſecret paſſion in the Engliſh King to extinguiſh the war in Italy, in hopes of ſeeing it break out again in France. To effect which, our Embaſſador, who mingled his own intereſts with thoſe of his Prince, and had his eye upon the red hat, carried on his negotiations at firſt with ſo much artifice and diſguiſe, that the real intentions of his maſter were not preſently diſcovered. But the league againſt the Venetians being broken, and the Pope having picked a quarrel with the King of France, his Holineſs, in order to gain over the King of England to his ſide, careſſed his Embaſſador more than ever, and not only created him a Cardinal, but gave him likewiſe the precedency, which belonged of right to the Archbiſhop of Siponto, as being the eldeſt Prelate of the eight or nine, who were promoted in the ſame creation. An hiſtorian of our own (2) tells us, the Pope ſollicited King Henry VIII, by putting him in mind of the glory of his anceſtors, and offering him the honour to be, *Caput Fœderis Italici*, head of the Italian league; whereupon our King ſent Chriſtopher Bambridge, Archbiſhop of York, to reſide at Rome, and treat of theſe matters. In his epitaph (3), it is ſaid, he was created a Cardinal for his eminent ſervices done to the Holy See; but, if *M.* Aubery has ſet the affair in a true light, the red hat was rather the motive to, than the conſequence of, his merit; rather the bribe, than the reward, of his ſervices.

(2) Lord Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII, ap. *Complete Hiſtory of England*, Vol. II. p. 6.

(3) *See below the remark* [*F*].

[*B*] *He prevailed with his maſter to take part with the Pope againſt the King of France.*] The obſervation in the cloſe of the laſt remark is farther confirmed by what Polydore Vergil tells us, that Cardinal Bambridge ſent diſpatches to the King, to acquaint him, that the Pope expected aſſiſtance from England; and as he was ſenſible of the great obligations he lay under to that Pontiff, for the honour of the Cardinalate conferred upon him, he was the more urgent with the King to undertake his Holineſs's cauſe, and not to ſuffer a Pope, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the liberties of Chriſtendom, to fall a ſacrifice to his enemies. The Cardinal's zeal upon this occaſion influenced the King to lay the affair before his Council; in which, after long debates, it was reſolved to undertake the war. *Legatus interea Anglus Chriſtophorus Cardinalis literis et nuntiis ſignificabat Henrico Regi, Julium Pontificem auxilia ab Anglia expectare, et quo magis ſciebat ſe Pontifici ob delatum ſibi Cardinalatus honorem debere, hoc impenſius obteſtabatur, rogabatque regem, ut ejus ſalutis rationem haberet, ac neutiquam Pontificem, de reipublicæ Chriſtianæ libertate optimè meritum, pateretur ab improbis hominibus oppreſſum iri —— Chriſtophori ſtudium ita Henricum permovit, ut res ad Concilium delata ſit. Multæ et variæ ſententiæ in utramque partem dictæ ſunt. —— —— Ita bellum eſſe ſuſcipiendum, decretum eſt* (4).

(4) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hiſtor. lib. xxvii. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 676.

[*C*] *A Letter from Cardinal Bambriage to King Henry* VIII.] In this letter there is mention of a certain brief of Julius II, committed to the keeping of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, in order to be delivered to King Henry, after he had vanquiſhed the enemies of the Church. In all probability, this was a brief, by which Julius transferred to Henry, the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*. Cardinal Bambridge having demanded it of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, after the battle of Guinegaſte, and the taking of Terouane, the latter anſwered, That he could not deliver it without an expreſs order ſigned by the King's own hand. It appears by this letter, that there was ſome formality wanting in the Pope's brief, and that it was apprehended, there would be a difficulty in getting it confirmed by Leo X, who ſucceeded Julius. Cardinal Bambridge's letter is dated at *Rome, Sept.* 12, 1513 (5).

(5) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Vol. XIII. p. 376.

[*D*] *A letter from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King.*] It is dated at *Rome, Oct.* 14, 1513 (6). He therein gives the King the title of *His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*; which is a confirmation of the conjecture in the laſt remark. To which may be added, that Lord Herbert, who had ſeen the original contract of the capitulation of Tournay, dated *Sept.* 23, 1513, expreſsly tells us (7), That the citizens therein gave King Henry the title of *Roy très Chrétien*, that is, the *Moſt Chriſtian King*.

(6) Ib. p. 379.

(7) *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII, ubi ſupra, p. 17.

[*E*] *He was poiſoned by one of his domeſticks.*] M. Aubery informs us (8), that the Cardinal, being one day in a violent paſſion, to which he was naturally ſubject, fell upon his *Major-Domo*, one Renaud of Modena, and beat him exceſſively; and that the enraged domeſtic revenged the beating with a doſe of a poiſon, which he found means to adminiſter to his maſter; for which being apprehended and impriſoned, he prevented the execution of publick juſtice by hanging himſelf. That whimſical author Dr Fuller ſays upon this occaſion: *Herein ſomething may be pleaded for this Cardinal out of the* Old, *ſure I am, more muſt be pleaded againſt him out of the* New Teſtament, *if the places be parallelled:*

(8) Ubi ſupra, p. 166, 167.

PROV. xxix. 19.	1 TIM. iii. 3.
A ſervant will not be corrected by words, &c.	*A Biſhop muſt be no ſtriker, &c.*

But grant him greatly faulty, it were uncharitable in us to beat his memory with more ſtripes, who did then ſuffer ſo much for his own indiſcretion (9).

(9) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Weſtmorland, p. 136.

[*F*] *He was buried in the Engliſh church of St Thomas.*] On his tomb was the following epitaph (10).

(10) Aubery, ib.

CHRISTOPHORO. ARCHIEPISCOPO. EBORACENSI. S. PRAXEDIS. PRESBYTERO. CARDINALI. ANGLIÆ. AC JULIO. II. PONTIFICE. MAXIMO. OB. EGREGIAM. OPERAM. S. R. ECCLESIÆ. PRÆSTITAM. DUM. SUI. REGNI. LEGATUS. ESSET. ASSUMPTO. QUAM. MOX. DOMI. ET. FORIS. CASTRIS. PONTIFICIIS. PRÆFECTUS. TUTATUS. EST.

In Engliſh.

In memory of Chriſtopher, Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal Prieſt of St Praxede; created by Pope Julius II, for the eminent ſervices done by him to the Holy Roman Church, during his embaſſy from his own nation, and afterwards defending the ſame, both at home and abroad, as Legate of the Papal army.

[*G*] *A*

nothing of which has come down to us. But a foreign author has given us a very different idea of this Cardinal's abilities [G]. The abovementioned writer (i) is miſtaken in giving him the name of *Chriſtopher Urſwic* [H].

(i) Pits, ibid.

[G] *A foreign author gives us a very different idea of the Cardinal's abilities.*] This author is Paris de Graſſi, who relates (11), that Bambridge, before his advancement to the purple, being one day to return thanks to the Pope and the Sacred College, for the honour done to the King his maſter in ſending him the *Golden Roſe*, was forced to break off his ſpeech, and to quit the Conſiſtory in great confuſion. And the like diſgrace befel him when Cardinal, a few days after his promotion; for it being his lot to thank the Dean of the Sacred College, in the name of all the new Cardinals, he was again at a loſs, and, what was ſtill worſe, ſpoke directly contrary to the inſtructions given him by the Maſter of the Ceremonies; which were, to divide his ſpeech into four points, to magnify, under the firſt, the dignity of the Cardinalate; to to leſſen, in the ſecond, the merit of himſelf and his aſſociates; in the third, to extol the goodneſs and condeſcenſion of the Pope; and to end with compliments of thanks, and offers of their moſt humble ſervice.

(11) *In* Vit. Jul. II. *apud* Aubery, ubi ſupra.

[H] Pits *is miſtaken in giving him the name of* Chriſtopher Urſwic.] *Chriſtophorus Urſwiccus*, ſays he (12), *quem alii Bambriggum, alii Branbridge, cognominant, &c.* But Anthony Wood aſſures us (13), that Chriſtopher Urſwic was the Cardinal's predeceſſor in the deanery of Windſor. T

(12) De illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 652.

BANCROFT (RICHARD), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King James I, was ſon of John Bancroft, Gentleman, and Mary daughter of Mr John Curwyn, brother of Dr Hugh Curwyn, Archbiſhop of Dublin (*a*); and was born at Farnworth in Lancaſhire in September 1544. After being ſeverely trained up in grammatical learning, he was entered a ſtudent of Chriſt-college in Cambridge, where, in 1566-7, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); and from thence he removed to Jeſus-college, where, in 1570, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*c*). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to Dr Cox Biſhop of Ely, who, in 1575, gave him the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire (*d*). The year following, he was licenſed one of the univerſity Preachers (*e*); and, in 1580, was admitted Bachelor of Divinity (*f*). September the 14th, 1584, he was inſtituted to the rectory of St Andrew, Holbourn, at the preſentation of the executors of Henry Earl of Southampton (*g*). In 1585, he commenced Doctor in Divinity; and the ſame year, was made Treaſurer of St Paul's cathedral in London (*h*). The year following, he became Rector of Cottingham in Northamptonſhire, at the preſentation of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Lord-Chancellor, whoſe Chaplain he then was (*i*). February the 25th 1589, he was made a Prebendary of St Paul's (*k*); in 1592, advanced to the ſame dignity in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter (*l*); and, in 1594, promoted to a ſtall in the cathedral of Canterbury (*m*). Not long before, he had diſtinguiſhed his zeal for the Church of England by a learned and ſignificant Sermon, preached * againſt the Puritans at St Paul's Croſs [A]. In

(a) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 173.

(b) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, &c. Vol. I. p. 28.

(c) Le Neve's *Lives and Characters*, &c. *of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 21.

(d) Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, p. 48.

(e) Regiſtr. Acad.

(f) Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

(g) Id. ib. p. 275.

(h) Ib. p. 107.

(i) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(k) Newcourt, ib. p. 119.

(l) Ib. p. 927.

(m) Le Neve, ib. p. 74.

* Febr. 9. 1588-9.

1597.

[A] *He preached a ſermon againſt the Puritans at St Paul's croſs.*] We will give the reader an extract of this diſcourſe, as it is made by one of our hiſtorians. The Sermon itſelf is prefixed to the Archbiſhop's *Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline* ——— His text was: *Dearly beloved, believe not every ſpirit; but try the ſpirits, whether they be of God; for many falſe prophets are gone out into the world:* 1 John iv. 1. In proſecuting this text, he gave a ſtrong image of the Puritans, and painted them in glowing colours. He ſet forth their intemperate language againſt Biſhops, deſcribed their ambition, and ſuch other indirect motives, that puſhed them to mutiny and publick diſturbance. Among other things, he charges the party with covetouſneſs; he laments that *filthy lucre* was frequently made the pretence of *Reformation*; and that the proſpect many perſons had of plundering Biſhopricks, ſeizing the endowments of cathedrals, and ſcrambling for the remainder of the church revenues, was the principal cauſe of nonconformity and ſchiſm in this Church. He adds, that had not clear evidence drove him to this cenſure, he ſhould have forborn the imputation. To explain himſelf farther upon this head, he divides the *Nonconformiſts* into Clergy and Laity, and conſiders their pretenſions apart. Their Clergy make a warm demand of all the livings ſettled upon the eſtabliſhed Church. Theſe eſtates, they pretend, ought to be conveyed to their *Preſbyteries*. And, for fear of being underfurniſhed, they put in a claim to the abbey-lands. To this purpoſe, in a petition to the parliament exhibited in the name of the Commonalty, they lay it down for a maxim in Divinity, that things once dedicated to religious uſes, are unalienable from their original intendment: When they are thus encloſed by vows, and ſolemn conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the world. The Lay-Nonconformiſts were of a quite different ſentiment, and ran boldly to a ſcandalous extream. For this he quotes a pamphlet, called, *An Admonition to the people of England*. Our preachers, ſay theſe *Lay-Puritans*, ought to live by the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Now no one was more unprovided with conveniencies than their maſter: *He had no place where to lay his head: Luke* ix. And as for the Apoſtles, their predeceſſors, *Silver and gold they had none: Acts* iii. Now why ſhould theſe men, whoſe induſtry and merit are leſs, be better accommodated? Why ſhould thoſe, who are ſo much inferior to the Apoſtles in their qualifications, exceed them in figure and preferment? There is no coarſeneſs in eating or dreſs, which men of their profeſſion ought to repine at. Alas! their dignities and promotions do but hinder them in their buſineſs, and differve their character. And, to turn theſe men's artillery upon themſelves, and ruin them by their own reaſoning, he borrows ſome of the principles of the German Anabaptiſts. And here he directs his diſcourſe to the poorer ſort of the audience in this manner: 'My brethren, ſays he, theſe gentlemen of the 'laity uſe you extremely ill. The children of God, 'you know, are heirs of the world: *The earth is the 'Lord's, and the Saints are to inherit it.* The wicked 'therefore do but uſurp the bleſſings of Providence, 'and hold their eſtates by a wrong title. You have 'an equal ſhare with thoſe of the beſt diſtinction in 'the kingdom of heaven: Why then will you ſuffer 'yourſelves to be thrown out of your property upon '*earth*, and acquieſce under ſo unequal a diſtribution? 'In the Apoſtles times, the faithful had all things 'common. Then thoſe who had eſtates ſold them, 'and laid the purchaſe money at the Apoſtles feet, 'and every one had his ſhare in proportion to his ne'ceſſity. And ſince the Chriſtian religion is ſtill the 'ſame, why is the uſage ſo very different? But, alas! 'ſo it is; you are but little better than beaſts of 'burthen to the wealthier ſort. Your landlords make 'no ſcruple to rack your rents, to *grind your faces*, 'and exhauſt your bodies. And to what end is 'all this oppreſſion in liberty and livelihood? 'Tis to 'maintain an unneceſſary equipage, to humour their 'pride, and feed their luxury: 'Tis to ſupply their 'pockets for gaming, and furniſh their diverſions of 'hawking and hunting. And are theſe warrantable

1597, Dr Bancroft, being then Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Whitgift, was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Dr Richard Fletcher, and conſecrated at Lambeth the 8th of May (*n*). From this time he had, in effect, the archiepiſcopal power; for the Archbiſhop, being declined in years, and unfit for buſineſs, committed the ſole management of eccleſiaſtical affairs to Biſhop Bancroft (*o*). Soon after his being made Biſhop, he expended 1000 marks in the repair of his houſe in London (*p*). In the year 1600, he, with others, was ſent by Queen Elizabeth to Embden, to put an end to a difference between the Engliſh and Danes: but the embaſſy had no effect (*q*). This Prelate interpoſed in the diſputes between the Secular Prieſts and the Jeſuits, and furniſhed ſome of the former with materials to write againſt their adverſaries [*B*]. In the beginning of King James's reign, Biſhop Bancroft was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court [*C*], between the Biſhops and the Preſbyterian Miniſters (*r*). The

(*n*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*o*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Lancaſhire, p. 112.

(*p*) Strype, ib. p. 518.

(*q*) Camden's *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 625, 648.

(*r*) Fuller's *Ch. Hiſtory*, Cent. xvii. lib. ix. p. 7—21.

'motives to keep the greateſt part of the world low 'and uneaſy? To make them wear out their lives in 'labour and poverty? Why don't you puſh for redreſs 'of theſe grievances, and revive the practice of the 'Apoſtles times? To attempt ſomething of this kind 'would be charity to your wealthy neighbours, no 'leſs than yourſelves. For theſe bulky eſtates of 'theirs do but pamper their pride, abate their zeal, 'and check their progreſs in virtue. Indeed, unleſs 'you make them primitive Chriſtians in their fortunes, 'they will never be ſo in their lives; unleſs you re'duce them to evangelical poverty, and reſcue them 'from their riches, they muſt be undone.' Dr Bancroft here puts the queſtion to the wealthier part of the audience, how they like this doctrine? And, if they are unwilling to have it practiſed upon themſelves, they ſhould take care not to urge it againſt the Clergy: Thus much for covetouſneſs. To make the text bear upon the *Diſſenters* in other reſpects, he ſhews on what a weak foundation they erected their diſcipline: That there were no traces of this ſcheme from the Apoſtles time down to Calvin: That the parity theſe men are ſo earneſt to bring into the Church, was made a mark of infamy in the *Aërian* heretics. Farther, he repreſented the great danger, which muſt inevitably follow, if private men ſhould conteſt the conſtitutions of the Church, and preſume to over-rule that which had been ſettled by ſo conſiderable an authority. And, as to their complaint of the rigour of forcing them upon ſubſcription of articles, he endeavours to juſtify this impoſition by the precedent of Geneva, and ſome other Reformed Churches in Germany. The Doctor proceeds to inſiſt upon the excellency and unexceptionableneſs of the *Common-Prayer-Book*; ſhews what commendation had been given it by foreign Divines; how it was approved by Bucer, Aleſius, and Fox, and by the Parliaments and Convocations of this realm; how Archbiſhop Cranmer had defended it againſt the Papiſts, and Biſhop Ridley againſt Knox, and others. And here he argues from the abſurdity of extemporary prayers, and how often ſuch unpremeditated devotions ſlide into indecency and irreverence. Next, he maintains the ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters, argues for the civil ſupremacy, and alarms the audience with the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the practice and principles of the Diſciplinarians (1). This ſermon was managed with great learning and ſtrength of argument, and in all likelihood made an impreſſion. And of this the *Act of Grace*, at the breaking up of the parliament, ſeems ſomething of a proof. For thoſe, who did not come to church, hear divine ſervice, and conform to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, were excepted from the benefit of this act (2).

(1) Collier's *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 609, 610.

(2) 31 Eliz. c. 16.

[*B*] *He furniſhed ſome of the Secular Prieſts with materials to write againſt the Jeſuits.*] The reader is to know, that there were great miſunderſtandings at that time between the Secular Prieſts of the Romiſh Clergy and the Jeſuits. And it is probable, the aſſiſtance Biſhop Bancroft lent the former, was, partly to keep up the diviſion, and partly to encourage the honeſter ſide. For, that the Seculars, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, were men of loyal principles, appears by a paper ſigned by ſeveral of them about that time, and by themſelves delivered into Bancroft's hands: A copy of it may be ſeen in the above-cited hiſtorian (3).

(3) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 664, 665. *Ex.* Bibl. R. Harley, Armig.

[*C*] *He was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court.*] The reader may ſee an account of this famous conference, which was held in the King's preſence, in a piece entituled; *The Sum and Subſtance of the Conference held at Hampton-Court. By* William Barlow, *Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of* Cheſter. *Printed in* 1604. We ſhall only take notice here of what particularly relates to the Biſhop of London's behaviour upon this occaſion. In the firſt day's conference, the King having deſired the Biſhops to ſatisfy him in three things, namely, about *Confirmation*, *Abſolution*, and *Private Baptiſm*, as practiſed in the Church of England, Biſhop Bancroft ſeconded Archbiſhop Whitgift in giving his Majeſty the ſatisfaction he required. With reſpect to *Confirmation*, he alledged, that it had not only the practice of the Primitive Church, and the teſtimony of the Fathers, in it's defence, but that it was likewiſe an Apoſtolical inſtitution, and a part of the doctrines expreſsly mentioned in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, *ch.* vi. *ver.* 2. He added, that Calvin expounded that paſſage in this ſenſe; and earneſtly wiſhed the cuſtom might be revived in thoſe Churches, which had ſuppreſſed it. As to the point of *Abſolution*, the Archbiſhop having cleared the practice of the Church of England from all abuſe and ſuperſtition, and appealed for this to the *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* in the beginning of the Communion-Book; the Biſhop of London, ſtepping forward, told the King, that in the Communion-Book there was another particular and perſonal form of abſolution, preſcribed in the *Viſitation of the Sick*; adding withal, that not only the *Confeſſions* of Augſburgh, Bohemia, and Saxony, retained it; but that Calvin approved ſuch a general *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* as is uſed in the Church of England. The form being read, the King liked it extremely, and called it an *Apoſtolical Ordinance*. In regard to *Private Baptiſm*, the Archbiſhop having endeavoured to ſatisfy his Majeſty, that the adminiſtration of baptiſm by women and lay-perſons was not allowed by the Church of England; and the Biſhop of Worceſter having allowed that the words of the office were ambiguous, and might be conſtrued ſo as to permit ſuch a practice; the Biſhop of London, not ſatisfied with this diſcourſe, replied, that the learned and reverend compilers of the Common-Prayer had no intention to miſlead the people by perplexed and double-meaning expreſſions, but really deſigned a permiſſion to private perſons for baptizing in caſes of neceſſity; and for this he appealed to their letters, ſome paſſages of which were read. He proceeded to prove, that this permiſſion was agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church; and to this purpoſe he urged the text in the ſecond of the *Acts*, where three thouſand are ſaid to have been baptized in one day; alledging, that it was impoſſible, or at leaſt improbable, that the Apoſtles could adminiſter that ſacrament to ſuch numbers in ſo ſhort a time; and that, in thoſe early days of Chriſtianity, there were no Biſhops or Prieſts beſides the Apoſtles. He likewiſe cited the authorities of Tertullian and St Ambroſe. And here he laid open the abſurdity and impiety of ſuppoſing no neceſſity of baptiſm. In the ſecond day's conference, the Biſhop of London, perceiving, that the deſign of the Preſbyterians was entirely to overthrow the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, humbly moved the King, firſt, that the ancient canon, *Schiſmatici contra Epiſcopos non ſunt audiendi*, might be remembered: Secondly, that, if any of the Agents for the Nonconformiſts had ſubſcribed the Communion-Book, and yet exhibited a remonſtrance againſt it, they might be ſet aſide, purſuant to an antient Council, in which it is decreed, that no man ſhall plead againſt his own act and ſubſcription. But the King interpoſing, ordered the Biſhop to reply to the exceptions made by Dr Reynolds, one of the Nonconformiſt Delegates. This gave the Biſhop occaſion to declare his opinion,

The ſame year, 1603, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for regulating the affairs of the Church, and for peruſing and ſuppreſſing books, printed in England, or brought into the realm without publick authority (*s*). A Convocation being ſummoned to meet March 20, 1603-4, and Archbiſhop Whitgift dying in the mean time, Biſhop Bancroft was, by the King's writ, appointed Preſident of that aſſembly (*t*). October 9th 1604, he was nominated to ſucceed the Archbiſhop in that high dignity, to which he was elected by the Dean and Chapter *Nov.* 17, and confirmed in Lambeth chapel *Dec.* 10 (*u*). Sept. 5, 1605, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council (*w*). This year, in Michaelmas-term, Archbiſhop Bancroft exhibited certain articles, to the Lords of the Council, againſt the Judges [*D*]. In 1608 he was declared Chancellor

(*s*) Strype, ib. p. 577.

(*t*) Id. ib. p. 583

(*u*) Regiſtr. Bancroft.

(*w*) Ibid.

opinion, firſt, with reſpect to *Predeſtination:* This propoſition, *If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved,* he called a deſperate doctrine. He alledged, that it was a contradiction to orthodox belief; that in the points of Predeſtination, we ſhould rather infer *aſcendendo* than *deſcendendo,* that is, we ſhould conclude our *Election* from the regularity of our lives, rather than reſt our happineſs upon any abſolute irreſpective decree; and that if God has ordained us to happineſs, no habits or degrees of wickedneſs can make us miſcarry. From hence the Biſhop went on to acquaint his Majeſty with the doctrine of the Church of England touching Predeſtination. Secondly, Reynolds having objected the inconvenience of reſerving *Confirmation* to the Biſhop alone, it being impracticable for the Dioceſan to examine all who came to be confirmed; Bancroft replied, that it was the cuſtom of the Biſhops, in their viſitations, to appoint either their Chaplains, or ſome other Miniſters, to examine thoſe who came to be confirmed; and that they ſeldom confirmed any, unleſs their qualifications were certified by their own Parſons or Curates. To the opinion, his anſwer was, that none of the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm, under the order of Biſhops; and that even St Jerome (tho' otherwiſe no friend to the epiſcopal ſuperiority) confeſſes, the executing this function was ſolely lodged with the Biſhops; tho' with this qualifying expreſſion, *ad honorem potius ſacerdotii, quam ad legis neceſſitatem.* However, this Father owns, the Biſhops ought to have a power paramount to the reſt of the Clergy; and that, without this prerogative, the unity and well-being of the Church could not ſubſiſt. In this conference, Reynolds having moved for ſeveral alterations in doctrine and diſcipline, Biſhop Bancroft addreſſed the King kneeling, and humbly deſired, that ſince it was a time for moving petitions, he might have leave to put up two or three. Firſt, he requeſted, that care might be taken for a *Praying Clergy:* For notwithſtanding there are many ſerviceable branches in the ſacerdotal function, ſuch as abſolving penitents, praying for the people, pronouncing the bleſſing, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, it is now (ſaid he) come to that paſs, that ſome men conceive the duty of a pariſh Prieſt is wholly confined to the *Pulpit*; where, God knows, they ſometimes manage with a very ſlender ſhare either of learning or diſcretion; that preaching has ſuch an aſcendant in their fancy, that the celebrating divine ſervice is ſcandalouſly neglected; that ſome Miniſters choſe rather to walk in the church-yard 'till ſermon time, than join in publick prayer. He confeſſed, that for miſſionaries in unconverted countries, where a Church was planting, preaching was moſt neceſſary; but, where Chriſtianity had been a long time ſettled, he thought pulpit-harangues were not the only buſineſs of a Paſtor, and that this exerciſe ought not to be followed to the neglect of other parts of his office. This motion was highly approved by the King. The Biſhop's ſecond requeſt was, that, 'till men of learning and ſufficiency might be procured for every congregation, godly *Homilies* might be read, and their number increaſed; and that thoſe men, who had decried theſe inſtructions, would retract their cenſures, and endeavour to bring them into credit. The Biſhop's reaſon for recommending the homilies was, becauſe every clergyman that could pronounce well had not a talent of compoſing. Both the King and the Agents thought this requeſt very reaſonable. The Lord Chancellor taking occaſion here to argue againſt pluralities, and expreſſing his wiſhes, that ſome Clergymen might have *ſingle coats* before others had *doublets,* adding that himſelf had managed in this manner in beſtowing the benefices in the King's gift; the Biſhop of London replied, *I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is neceſſary in cold weather.* The Biſhop of London's laſt motion was, that pulpits might not be turned into batteries, and every malecontent allowed to play his ſpleen againſt his ſuperiors from thence. The King received this complaint very graciouſly, and adviſed, in caſe of any miſconduct in Church-officers, not to let fly perſonal reflexions from the pulpit, but to appeal in the firſt place to the Ordinary, then to the Archbiſhop, from thence to the Lords of the Council; and if all theſe applications fell ſhort of a Remedy, then to bring the grievance before his Majeſty himſelf. The King chalked out this method, upon the Biſhop of London's ſuggeſting, that in caſe he left himſelf open to receive all complaints at the firſt inſtance, neither his Majeſty would be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded; for the criminal, when preſſed with diſcipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his complaint before the King. ——— Thus much it was thought proper to ſet down of the conference at Hampton-Court, in which Biſhop Bancroft bore ſo conſiderable a ſhare.

[*D*] *He exhibited articles to the Lords of the Council againſt the Judges.*] They were entituled, *Certain Articles of Abuſes, which are deſired to be reformed, in granting Prohibitions.* To this remonſtrance, in Eaſter-term following, all the Judges in England gave in their anſwers ſigned to the Council-Board; which unanimous reſolution, Sir Edward Coke calls the *Higheſt Authority in Law* (4). Upon which Mr Collier has the following remark: 'This caſe being a complaint of encroachment, and a conteſt for juriſdiction between the temporal and eccleſiaſtical Judges, by the principles of equity the controverſy ought to be decided by neither ſide. That this learned Gentleman (Sir Edward Coke) was clearly of this opinion, when competition and conqueſt was not in his view, appears from his report of Dr Bonham's caſe. *Coke's Rep. lib.* 8. *fol.* 117, *&c.* The Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians had impriſoned this Dr Bonham for practiſing in London without their licence. Bonham brings an action of falſe impriſonment againſt the College. In reporting this, Coke cites the judgment of Warberton, Chief-Juſtice, and Daniel, another of the Juſtices, that the Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians could not to be judges and parties, *Quia aliquis non debet eſſe Judex in propriâ cauſa;* and that no body can be Judge and Attorney for any party. *Dyer* 3. *Ed. VI. fol.* 65. 38 *Ed. III.* 15. 8 *Hen. VI.* 19, 20, 21. *Ed. IV.* 47, &c. This in the opinion of theſe reverend Judges is ſo fundamental a maxim of reaſon and common-law, that even an act of parliament ſhall be over-ruled by it. Thus for the purpoſe: If a ſtatute impowers any perſon to have cognizance of all manner of pleas, ariſing within his manor, notwithſtanding ſuch an act, he ſhall hold no plea of any matter where himſelf is a party: The reaſon aſſigned is, *iniquum eſſe aliquem ſuæ rei eſſe Judicem.* In the cloſe of the argument, Coke, then Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, where the cauſe was tried, declares the College no Judge in the preſent diſpute: And, in ſhort, judgment was given for the plaintiff. By this *Report* 'tis plain the Judges reſolution upon *Bancroft's Articles* are ſo far from being the *Higheſt Authority in Law,* that they are no authority at all. What they deliver is in favour of their own juriſdiction and intereſt: And thus, by being deeply parties, they are by this *Report* diſabled from pronouncing in the cauſe (5).' The reader may ſee the articles exhibited by Bancroft, together with the anſwers given in by the Judges, tranſcribed at length from the *Record,* in the hiſtorian juſt cited (6).

(4) Coke's Inſtitut. Part ii. fol. 601.

(5) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 638.

(6) Vol. I. p. 510 *to* 523.

[*E*] *He*

Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford [*E*], in the room of the Earl of Dorſet deceaſed (*x*). In 1610, this Archbiſhop offered to the Parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the clergy [*F*], but without ſucceſs. One of our hiſtorians (*y*) pretends, that Archbiſhop Bancroft ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea [*G*], for the reception of Students, who ſhould anſwer all Popiſh and other controverſial

(*x*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 433.

(*y*) A. Wilſon, in his *Life and Reign of King James* I, apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. II. p. 685.

[*E*] *He was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford.*] In the time of his chancellorſhip, a diſpute was determined between the Univerſity and New College. By a compoſition entered into between William of Wickham, founder of that college, and the Univerſity, it was agreed, that the fellows thereof ſhould be admitted to all degrees in the Univerſity, without aſking any grace of the congregation of maſters, or undergoing any examination for them in the publick ſchools, provided they were examined in the college according to the form of the Univerſity, and had their graces given them in like manner by the government of the houſe. But in proceſs of time, the other ſtudents of the Univerſity envying this privilege, it began to be diſputed by the Regent-Maſters in 1607; and the affair was brought before the Chancellor, who adjudged the controverſy in favour of the college (7).

(7) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 433.

[*F*] *He offered to the parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the Clergy.*] The heads of the ſcheme are as follows (8). I. *That all Predial Tythes of Benefices with Cure may be paid in kind hereafter.* II. *That Perſonal Tythes may be urged upon Oath, being confeſſed to be due by Law.* III. *That as Oblations are due by Law to Parſons and Vicars that have Cure of Souls, they may accordingly be paid unto them as heretofore hath been accuſtomed*; viz. *at Marriages, Burials, and upon ſolemn Feaſt-days, as* Chriſtmas-day, Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, Allhallows-day, *and at the Times of receiving the Holy Communion,* &c. IV. *That all Abbey-Lands now exempted may pay Tythes in kind to the Parſons and Vicars, in whoſe Pariſhes they lye.* V. *That all lands altered within theſe ſixty years paſt from tillage may pay Tythes according to the value they formerly paid.* VI. *That all Parks and Warrens, made within theſe ſixty years laſt paſt, may pay Tythes, either according to their former value when they were in Tillage, or according to ſome reaſonable rate by the Acre.* VII. *That Parks diſparked within theſe ſixty years may pay Tythes in kind.* VIII. *That the Occupiers of Lands of ſuch pariſhes that have been within theſe ſixty years paſt utterly depopulated, and do now pay no Tythes at all, may hereafter pay all their Tythes in kind to the next poor Parſons adjoining.* IX. *That ſmall benefices near adjoining may be ſo united, as they may be holden by one man.* X. *That Parſons and Vicars may have right and freedom of Common with the reſt of the Pariſhioners.* XI. *That the antient eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in England for paying of Tythe-Lambs, and Wool, may be renewed and eſtabliſhed.* Lindewood de Decimis. § Quoniam. XII. *That all penſions may hereafter be diſcharged, which are not paid to eccleſiaſtical Perſons.* XIII. *That Miniſters in cities and towns incorporate, and other great towns, may have their tythes according to the Rents of Houſes, after the rate of London.* XIV. *That the Landlords of ſuch houſes in every city incorporate, and great towns, may be chargeable with ſuch payments to their Miniſters, and not their Undertenants.* XV. *That Parſons and Vicars may have Tythe-wood duly paid to them, according to the Conſtitution of John Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* Lindewood, de verborum ſignificatione. XVI. *That an order may be taken for the ſettling of Glebe-Lands, which are by ſtrong hand detained from divers Parſons and Vicars, by ſome Commiſſions for ſurvey upon oaths; and that it may be provided, that no Patron, or Lord of any Manor in any pariſh, may hereafter have the Glebe in farm.* XVII. *That in Chapels of eaſe the Cure may be maintained hereafter by them that have eaſe thereby, without diminiſhing the Parſon's or Vicar's tythes.* XVIII. *That it may be lawful hereafter for any well-diſpoſed man or woman to give, purchaſe, or lay Tenements, Rents, Lands, or Annuities in fee, to the Glebe of the Church, notwithſtanding the Statute of* Mortmain. XIX. *That all Lay Patrons, when they preſent any Miniſter to an eccleſiaſtical Living, may take the like oath againſt Simony that Miniſters do; or elſe that they may forfeit their Patronage for ever to the King, when it ſhall be proved, that they have committed Simony upon any ſuch preſentation.* XX. *That it may be held Simony to ſell Advowſons as well as Preſentations; or that all Advowſons to be made hereafter may be utterly void.* XXI. *That the Tythes of Oade, Hops, Roots, Coals, and other Minerals, and likewiſe of Lime Kilns and Brick-kilns, may be truly paid to the Parſon or Vicar that hath Cure of Souls.* XXII. *That it may be lawful for ſpiritual perſons to purchaſe and take leaſes for Lives or Years, as other of his Majeſty's ſubjects may do, notwithſtanding any Statutes made to the contrary.* XXIII. *That all Lands, that have been either won from the Sea, or otherwiſe drained and recovered from ſurrounding, may be laid to ſome Pariſhes adjoining; and that the Owners or Occupiers, and all others that have any benefit of ſuch Lands, may pay their tythes in kind to the Parſons or Vicars of thoſe pariſhes, whereunto the ſaid Lands are laid.* XXIV. *That a Subſidy may be granted for the redeeming of Impropriations, and that the ſame redeemed may be of the Biſhop's patronage, in whoſe Dioceſe they lye.* XXV. *That if the laſt motion may not now be entertained, then there may be a free paſſage given to the Law yet in force, (as it is ſuppoſed) that all Impropriations may be declared void, and become Preſentatives, which have no endowment for Vicars.* XXVI. *That where there are Vicaridges endowed, which do belong to Impropriations, but yet are no competent Living for a ſufficient Miniſter, Biſhops may have authority in their Dioceſes, where ſuch Vicaridges are, to allot ſome farther portions for their better maintenance out of the ſaid Impropriations.* XXVII. *That ſome Order may be ſet down for the repairing of Chancels of Churches impropriate, which are every where in wonderful decay.* XXVIII. *That Mortuaries may be reſtored.* Here Bancroft's project ſeems to have ended, though the ſubject is continued upon a break with theſe initial letters,

(8) *From the* Paper-Office.

The *L. S.*

By this ſcheme (tho' the attempt failed of ſucceſs) the Archbiſhop's care for the intereſt of the Clergy, and his capacity in ſuggeſting meaſures, are ſufficiently diſcovered.

[*G*] *It is ſaid, he ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea.*] Let us hear what Wilſon ſays of this affair: 'It was he *(the Archbiſhop)* that firſt brought 'the King to begin a new college by Chelſea, where-'in the choice and ableſt ſcholars of the kingdom, 'and the moſt pregnant wits in matters of contro-'verſies were to be aſſociated under a Provoſt, with a 'fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thou-'ſand pounds a year, whoſe deſign was to anſwer all 'Popiſh books, or others, that vented their malignant 'ſpirits againſt the Proteſtant religion, either the he-'reſies of the Papiſts, or the errors of thoſe that 'ſtruck at Hierarchy; ſo that they ſhould be two-'edged fellows, that would make old cutting and 'ſlaſhing; and this he forwarded with all induſtry 'during his time; and there is yet a formal act of 'parliament in being for the eſtabliſhment of it: But 'after his death, the King wiſely conſidered, that no-'thing begets more contention than oppoſition, and 'ſuch fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than 'quench the heat that would ariſe from thoſe embers: 'For controverſies are often (or for the moſt part) the 'exuberancies of paſſion; and the Philoſopher ſaith, 'men are drunk with diſputes, and in that inordinate-'neſs take the next thing that comes to hand to throw 'at one another's faces: So that the deſign fell to 'the ground with him; and there is only ſo much 'building ſtanding by the Thames ſide, as to ſhew, 'that what he intended to plant, he meant ſhould 'be well watered; and yet it withered in the bud (9).' The Editor of the *Complete Hiſtory of England* tells us, Wilſon is miſtaken about the original of this intended college at Chelſea. He ſays, *It was one Sutcliffe*, Doctor in Divinity, that procured a patent from King James for erecting this College, to conſiſt of a Provoſt and twenty Fellows, to be choſen by the Archbiſhop*

(9) Life and Reign of King James I. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England. Vol. II. p. 685.

* *He was* Dean *of* Exeter.

controverſial writings againſt the Church of England. This Prelate died, *Nov.* 2, 1610, of the ſtone, in his palace at Lambeth (*z*). By his will he ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church [*H*]; and, beſides other legacies, left all the books in his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever [*I*]. Archbiſhop Bancroft was a rigid diſciplinarian, a learned controverſialiſt (*a a*), an excellent preacher, a great ſtateſman, and a vigilant governor of the Church; and filled the See of Canterbury with great reputation [*K*].

(*z*) Reg. Bancr.

(*a a*) *See the remark* [*K*].

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two univerſities for the time being; which college he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own money, and the free contributions of others. He was the firſt Provoſt himſelf, and died either after Archbiſhop Bancroft, or about the ſame time; for there were three Provoſts after him ſucceſſively, whereof the learned Dr Featly was one. Now (adds he) *how far Archbiſhop Bancroft might encourage Sutcliffe's deſign, I know not: But if it had been originally Bancroft's own, it is not probable King James would have diſcouraged it afterwards as he did; or that his next ſucceſſor but one, Archbiſhop Laud, would have utterly neglected a foundation laid by a Prelate, whoſe memory he held in the higheſt veneration, and whoſe maxims and character he made it his buſineſs to imitate* (10).

(10) Ibid. *Note.*

[*H*] *He ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church.*] He likewiſe ordered, that his body ſhould not be opened, but be buried within forty or fifty hours after his deceaſe; that all needleſs expences ſhould be avoided; and that, upon ſome Sunday within a month after his death, the then Biſhop of London (*Abbot*), or the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*Harſnet*), or one of his Chaplains, ſhould be deſired to preach in Lambeth church, and to make ſuch mention of him, as might tend to God's glory (11). On a flat ſtone over his grave, is the following inſcription (12).

(11) In Cur. Prærog. Wingfield 96.

(12) Stowe's *Survey*, &c. p. 790.

Volente Deo,
Hic jacet Richardus Bancroft, S. Theologiæ
Profeſſor, Epiſcopus Londinenſis primo,
Deinde Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, et
Regi Jacobo a ſecretioribus Conſiliis. Obiit
Secundo Novembris An. Dom. 1610. Ætatis ſuæ 67.
Volente Deo.

[*I*] *He left his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever.*] He left it conditionally, that his ſucceſſor ſhould give ſecurity, that he would leave it entire and without embezzlement; but upon refuſal of ſuch ſecurity, he bequeathed it to Chelſea college, then building, on condition it ſhould be finiſhed in a certain term of years after his deceaſe; but if not, he gave it to the Univerſity of Cambridge (13). Whether his ſucceſſors, Abbot and Laud, gave the ſecurity demanded, appears not; however, the books continued at Lambeth till the approach of the troubleſome times, when (Chelſea college having failed, and the Order of Biſhops being voted down) Mr Selden ſuggeſted to the Univerſity of Cambridge their right to the ſaid books; and accordingly, by order of parliament, not only Bancroft's books, but thoſe likewiſe of his ſucceſſor Abbot, were delivered into the poſſeſſion of the univerſity, and by them kept till after the Reſtoration, when Archbiſhop Juxon demanded them back; and he dying in a ſhort time, his ſucceſſor Sheldon purſued the ſame demand ſo effectually, that to him they were reſtored (14).

(13) In Cur. Prærog. *ib.*

(14) Le Neve, *Lives and Characters, &c. of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 87.

[*K*] *He filled the ſee of Canterbury with great commendation.*] Camden gives Archbiſhop Bancroft the character of *a perſon of ſingular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the diſcipline and eſtabliſhment of the Church* (15). Lord Clarendon, in his character of Archbiſhop Abbot (16), tells us, he was 'promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough 'lamented death of Dr *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, 'who underſtood the Church excellently, and had 'almoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the Calvinian 'party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of 'the Nonconformiſts, by, and after the conference at 'Hampton-Court; countenanced men of the greateſt 'parts in learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more 'ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had been accuſtomed 'to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have ex'tinguiſhed all that fire in England, which had been 'kindled at Geneva; or if he had been ſucceeded by 'Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Overall, or any man, who 'underſtood, and loved the Church, that infection 'would eaſily have been kept out, which could not 'afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.' Wilſon (17) does not ſpeak ſo favourably of him; he calls him *a perſon ſevere enough, whoſe roughneſs gained little upon thoſe who deſerted the ceremonies.* Dr Fuller (18) treats him as *a great Stateſman, and Grand Champion of Church diſcipline*, and tells us, he met with much oppoſition. And 'No wonder (adds this author) if thoſe who were '*ſilenced* by him in the Church, were *loud* againſt 'him in other places. David ſpeaketh of *poiſon under* '*men's lips.* This Biſhop taſted plentifully thereof 'from the mouths of his enemies, 'till at laſt (as 'Mithridates) he was ſo *habited* to poiſons, they be'came food unto him.' Hereupon Fuller tells us this ſtory: 'Once a Gentleman coming to viſit him, pre'ſented him with a libel, which he found paſted 'on his door; who nothing moved thereat, *Caſt it* '(ſaid he) *to an hundred more, which lye here on a* '*heap in my chamber.*' His enemies accuſed him of covetouſneſs; but this aſperſion (the ſame author lets us know) was 'confuted by the eſtate which he left, 'ſmall in proportion to his great preferment.' He cancelled his firſt *will*, in which he had bequeathed much to the Church, which occaſioned the following invidious diſtich on him;

(15) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon. Vol. I. col. 242.

(16) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. Oxford 1721. Vol. I. P. i. p. 88.

(17) *Life of King James*, ubi ſupra.

(18) Ubi ſupra.

He who never repented of doing Ill,
Repented that once he made a good Will.

'whereas indeed (ſays the Doctor) ſuſpecting an *im*'*preſſion* of *popular violence* on *cathedrals*, and fear'ing an *alienation* of what was bequeathed unto them, 'he thought fit to *cancel* his own, to prevent *others* 'cancelling his *teſtament*.' This Prelate governed with great vigour, and preſſed a ſtrict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without the leaſt allowance for latitude and different perſuaſion. This conduct was cenſured as too rigorous by thoſe, who favoured the Nonconformiſts. The author of the *Altar of Damaſcus* reports, that three hundred preaching Miniſters were either ſilenced or deprived for refuſing to paſs this teſt. But this narrative ſwells the number to a romantick bulk; for by the rolls delivered in by Bancroft not long before his death, it is evident there were but forty nine deprived upon any account whatever: Now this, in a kingdom of about nine thouſand pariſhes, was no very tragical number. However by animadverting upon ſome few of the principals, he ſtruck a terror into the reſt, and made their ſcruples give way. In ſhort, Bancroft's unrelenting ſtrictneſs gave a new face to religion: The ſervice of the Church was more ſolemnly performed; the faſts and feſtivals were better obſerved; the uſe of copes was revived; the ſurplice generally worn; and all things in a manner reſtored according to their firſt eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth. Some, who had formerly ſubſcribed in a looſe reſerved ſenſe, were now called upon to ſign their conformity in more cloſe, unevaſive, terms. For now the 36th canon obliged them to declare, that they did *willingly and* ex animo *ſubſcribe the three arcicles, and all things contained in the ſame.* So that now there was no room left for ſcruples and different perſuaſion (19). Whether our Archbiſhop did not carry the point of Church diſcipline too far, muſt be left to the reader's own judgment. T

(19) *See* Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 687.

BANCROFT (JOHN), Biſhop of Oxford in the reign of King Charles I, and nephew of the preceding Dr Richard Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*a*), was

(*a*) *For he was ſon of* Chriſtopher Bancroft, *eldeſt ſon of* John Bancroft *of* Farnworth *in* Lancaſhire. See the preceding article.

born at Aſtell or Eſtwell, a ſmall village between Whitney and Burford in Oxfordſhire, and admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1592, being then about eighteen years of age. Having taken the degrees in Arts, and entered into holy orders, he became a preacher for ſome years in and near Oxford. In 1609, being newly admitted to proceed in Divinity, he was, through the intereſt and endeavours of his uncle, elected Head of Univerſity-college, in which ſtation he continued above twenty years; during which time, he was at great pains and expence, in recovering and ſettling the antient lands belonging to that foundation. In 1632, he was advanced to the See of Oxford, upon the tranſlation of Dr Corbet to that of Norwich, and conſecrated about the 6th of June. This Prelate died in 1640 [*A*], and was buried at Cudeſden in Oxfordſhire, the 12th of February, leaving behind him, among the Puritans or Preſbyterians then prevailing, the character of a *corrupt*, *unpreaching*, *Popiſh Prelate* (*b*). This Biſhop Bancroft built a houſe or palace, for the reſidence of his ſucceſſors, at Cudeſden aforeſaid [*B*].

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 739, 740.

[*A*] *He died in* 1640.] Anthony Wood aſcribes his death to the effects of fear. *In* 1640, ſays he (1), *when the* Long Parliament *began, and proceeded with great vigour againſt the Biſhops, he was poſſeſſed ſo much with fear, (having always been an enemy to the* Puritans) *that with little or no ſickneſs he ſurrendered up his laſt breath in his lodgings at Weſtminſter.*

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 739.

[*B*] *He built a palace at Cudeſden, for the reſidence of the Biſhops of Oxford.*] Our Antiquarian informs us (2), that, before Bancroft's time, the Biſhops of Oxford had no houſe left belonging to their ſee, either in city or country, but dwelt at their parſonage-houſes, which they held *in commendam*; tho' Dr John Bridges, who had no *commendam* in his dioceſe, lived for the moſt part in hired houſes in the city. For though at the foundation of the biſhoprick of Oxford, in the abbey of Oſney, Glouceſter college was appointed for the Biſhop's palace, yet, when that foundation was inſpected into by King Edward VI, that place was left out of the charter, as being then deſigned for another uſe. So that from thence forward the Biſhops of Oxford had no ſettled houſe or palace, till Bancroft came to the ſee; who, at the inſtigation of Archbiſhop Laud, reſolved to build one. In the firſt place, therefore, in order to improve the ſlender revenues of the biſhopric, he ſuffered the leaſe of the impropriate parſonage of Cudeſden aforeſaid, five miles diſtant from Oxford (which belonged to the Biſhop in right of his ſee) to run out, without any more renewing. In the mean time, the vicarage of his own donation, becoming vacant, he procured himſelf to be legally inſtituted and inducted thereunto; and afterwards, thro' the Archbiſhop's favour, obtained an annexation of it to the epiſcopal ſee, the deſign of the impropriation's falling in ſtill going on. Soon after, with the help of a large quantity of timber from the foreſt of Shotover, given him by the King, he began to build a fine palace, which, with a chapel in it, was completely finiſhed in 1634. The ſummer, after it was viſited out of curioſity by Archbiſhop Laud, who ſpeaks of it in his *Diary* thus: *September the ſecond*, An. 1635, *I was in attendance with the King at* Woodſtock, *and went thence* Cudſden, *to ſee the houſe, which* Dr John Bancroft, *then Lord Biſhop of* Oxford, *had there built, to be a houſe for the Biſhops of that ſee for ever; he having built that houſe at my perſuaſion.* But this houſe or palace (which coſt 3500 *l.*) proved almoſt as ſhort-lived as the founder. For, in the latter end of 1644, it was burnt down by Colonel William Legg, then Governor of the garriſon of Oxford, to prevent it's being garriſoned by the Parliament forces. It lay in ruins till 1679, when Dr John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, at his own expence, and with the help of timber laid in for that purpoſe by Dr William Paul, one of his predeceſſors, rebuilt it upon the old foundation, with a chapel in it, as at firſt.

(2) Ibid. col. 740.

T

BANISTER (JOHN) a Phyſician of good repute in the XVIth century, was born of honeſt and wealthy parents (*a*). He ſtudied for a time in the univerſity of Oxford; but without taking a degree in Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic line, and applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of that faculty, and to Chirurgery. In July 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic; and was admitted to practiſe (*b*). Being ſettled about that time at Nottingham, he lived there many years in great eſteem, and was very much followed by all ſorts of people, for his ſucceſsful practice in Phyſic and Chirurgery (*c*). He was author of ſeveral books [*A*]. The time of his death is unknown: But there was a long Memorial of him, in the church of St Olave, Silver-ſtreet, London (*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 243, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Idem Faſti. Vol. I. col. 109.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra. His Hiſtorie of Man, &c. is dated from Nottingham.

(*) Stowe's Survey of Lond. with Strype's Addit. Vol. I. book iii. p. 99.

There was another Phyſician, named *Richard* BANISTER, who writ, 'A Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids;' commonly called Baniſter's Breviary of the Eyes. And, 'An Appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred 'and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids, called *Cerviſia Medicata*, Purging Ale, with 'divers Aphoriſms and Principles [*B*]. From this book it appears (*d*), that the author was living in 1617, and 1619, and probably in 1622, when the ſecond edition was publiſhed.

(*d*) Chap. ix. and vi.

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral books.*] I. A needful, new, and neceſſary Treatiſe Chirurgery, briefly comprehending the general and particular curation of Ulcers. Lond. 1575, 8vo. II. Certain Experiments of his own Invention, &c. III. The Hiſtorie of Man, ſucked from the Sappe of the moſt approved Anathomiſtes, &c. (1) in 9 books. Lond. 1578. in a thin folio. IV. Compendious Chirurgery, gathered and tranſlated eſpecially out of Wecker, &c. Lond. 1585, 12mo. V. Antidotary Chirurgical, containing Variety of all ſorts of Medicines, &c. Lond. 1589, 8vo. Several years after his death, his works were collected into ſix books, and publiſhed in this order.

(1) It is a book of Anatomy, compiled chiefly from the Writings of Galen, Veſalius, Columbus, Fuchſius, Fernelius, &c.

1. Of Tumours
2. Of Wounds
3. Of Ulcers

} in general and particular.

4. Of Fractures and Luxations. 5. Of the Curation of Ulcers. 6. The Antidotary before-mentioned. Lond. 1633, 4to.

[*B*] *An appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen diſeaſes of the eyes and eye-lids*, &c.] When it was firſt publiſhed, cannot be found. But the ſecond edition was printed at London in 1622, 12mo. And the ſame year, 'The Treatiſe of the one hun-'dred and thirteen Diſeaſes, &c.' was reprinted. ——— In Chapter IV. of the 'Appendant part, '&c.' he ſays, 'In my Treatiſe of the Eyes I have 'named the beſt Oculiſts that have been in this land 'for fifty or ſixty years, who were no Graduates either 'in Cambridge or Oxon (2)."

(2) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 243.

C

BANKES (Sir JOHN) Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of King Charles I. He was deſcended from a good family ſeated at Keſwick in Cumberland, where he was born in A. D. 1589 (*a*). The firſt part of his education he received at a grammar-ſchool in his own county, whence, in 1604, he removed to Queen's-college in Oxford, being then about fifteen, and there for ſome time purſued his ſtudies. He left the univerſity without a degree (*b*), and taking chambers in Gray's-Inn, he applied himſelf to the Law, in which ſcience he quickly became eminent (*c*). His extraordinary diligence in his profeſſion, his grave appearance, and excellent reputation, recommended him early to his Sovereign Charles I, by whom he was firſt made Attorney to the Prince (*d*). He was next year, 1630, Lent-Reader at Gray's-Inn, and in 1631, Treaſurer of that ſociety (*e*). In Auguſt 1634, he was knighted, and made Attorney-General, in the place of Mr Noy deceaſed (*f*). He diſcharged this arduous employment, in thoſe perilous times, with great reputation, till in Hillary term 1640, he was made Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas (*g*), in the room of Sir Edward Littleton, made Lord-Keeper. In this high ſtation he acted alſo with univerſal approbation, remaining at London after the King was compelled to leave it, in order to diſcharge the duties of his office (*h*). But when he once underſtood that his continuance amongſt them was looked on by ſome, as owning the cauſe of the Parliamentarians, he retired to York (*i*). So juſt an idea the King had of this act of loyalty, that when he had thoughts of removing the Lord-Keeper, he at the ſame time was inclined to deliver the Great-Seal to the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes, whoſe integrity was generally confeſſed, but was by ſome ſuſpected (tho' wrongfully as it afterwards appeared) in point of courage (*k*). He ſubſcribed the declaration made June 15, 1642, by the Lords and Gentlemen then with his Majeſty at York (*l*), and yet his conduct was ſo free from aſperſions, that even the Parliament in their propoſals to the King, in January 1643, deſired he might be continued in his office (*m*). Before this, *viz.* January 31, 1642, the univerſity of Oxford, to manifeſt their high reſpect for him, created him Doctor of Laws (*n*). His Majeſty alſo cauſed him to be ſworn of his Privy Council, and always teſtified a great regard for his advice (*o*). In the ſummer circuit he loſt all his credit at Weſtminſter, for having declared from the bench at Saliſbury, that the actions of Eſſex, Mancheſter, and Waller, were treaſonable, the Commons voted him and the reſt of the Judges in that ſentiment traytors (*p*). In the mean time, Lady Bankes with her family being at Sir John's ſeat, Corffe-caſtle in the Iſle of Purbeck in Dorſetſhire, the friends of the Parliament, who had already reduced all the ſea-coaſts but that place, reſolved to reduce it likewiſe. The courageous Lady Bankes, though ſhe had about her only her children, a few ſervants and tenants, and little hopes of relief, yet refuſed to render the fortreſs, (*q*). Upon this Sir W. Earl, and Thomas Trenchard, Eſq; who commanded the Parliament forces, had recourſe to very rough meaſures. Thrice they attempting the place by ſurprize, and as often were repulſed with loſs, though the firſt time Lady Bankes had but five men in the place, and during the whole time her garriſon never exceeded forty. Then they interdicted her the markets, and at length formally beſieged the houſe with a very conſiderable force, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition. This forced the little town dependant on the caſtle to ſurrender, which inclined the beſiegers to think the buſineſs done; but Lady Bankes taking advantage of their remiſſneſs, procured a ſupply of proviſion and ammunition, which enabled her ſtill to hold out. At laſt the gallant Earl of Carnarvon, having with a conſiderable body of horſe and dragoons, cleared a great part of the Weſt, came into the neighbourhood of Purbeck, whereupon Sir W. Earl raiſed his ſiege, Auguſt 4, 1643, ſo precipitately, that he left his tents ſtanding, together with his ammunition and artillery, all which fell into the hands of Lady Bankes's houſhold (*r*). There is no queſtion but her action was very pleaſing to the King at Oxford, where Sir John continued in the diſcharge of his duty, as a Privy-Counſellor, till the laſt day of his life, *viz.* December 28, 1644 (*s*). But that he ever had any other preferment, much leſs was Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, as ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe [*A*]. He was interred with great ſolemnity in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church, and a monument erected to his memory, the inſcription on which we have preſerved in the notes, becauſe, though more than once printed before, yet it has never appeared correctly, or with it's dates, the moſt material part

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

(*b*) Wood's Faſt Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(*c*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers for Charles I, p. 586.

(*d*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(*h*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 211.

(*k*) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 571.

(*l*) Id. ibid. p. 655.

(*m*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 205.

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 54.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*r*) Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 335.

(*s*) See note [*B*].

[*A*] *As ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe.*] The author of this article in the General Dictionary ſays, "In 1640, he, *i. e.* Sir John Bankes, was made "Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and ſoon "after following his Majeſty, when he was obliged "to leave Weſtminſter, he was choſen one of his "Privy Council at Oxford, and Lord Chief Juſtice "of the Common-Pleas." Of all which facts not one is true, Sir John Bankes never was Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench. He did not follow the King to Oxford but to York, where he was of the Council, and he was Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas before the King left London. It is true, all theſe errors are religiouſly copied by this Gentleman from Anthony Wood (1), who cites Dugdale as his authority (2), but ſtill they are errors, and palpable errors, which ſhews the danger of truſting to Wood entirely. Could any man living ſuppoſe, that Sir John Bankes being ſolemnly interred in the cathedral of Chriſt-church, and having a monument erected there to perpetuate his loyalty, no notice ſhould be taken of his chief dignity in the inſcription placed thereon? But then, as to Sir William Dugdale there is no fault to be found with him: His accounts of Sir John Bankes's preferments are very juſt and accurate, as appears by comparing them with the Regiſters at Grays-Inn. In his *Origines Juridiciales* (3), he has given us a ſeries of the Judges of the court of Common-Pleas, and therein we find Sir John

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 20.

(2) Chron. Ser. A. D. 1640.

(3) Second edit. p. 49.

parts of ſuch pieces [*B*]. He left behind him a numerous poſterity, both males and females, of whom his eldeſt ſon, Sir —— Bankes, paid 1974 pounds; his eldeſt daughter's huſband, Sir John Bulace, 3500 pounds; and his widow for herſelf and ſeven younger children, 1400 pounds (*t*). By his will, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes gave various ſums to pious uſes, particularly thirty pounds *per annum*, to the town of Keſwick in Cumberland, for the ſupport of a manufacture of coarſe cottons, then lately ſet up in this town (*u*), and which had been loſt but for that ſupply.

(*t*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland.

John Bankes promoted to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, 16 Car. I. xv Hill. and that he continued ſo till xv Mart. 20 Car. I. which is the laſt return in the Michaelmas term preceding his death. Again in the Chronica Series, A. D. 1640, cited by Wood, there is no miſtake but the entry is *Joh. Bankes Miles, conſtit. Capit. Juſtic.* 29 *Jan.* in the column of Judges of the Common-Pleas. Farther ſtill, his arms with this inſcription, are in one of the windows in the hall at Grays-Inn (4). How Mr Wood fell into this error of ſuppoſing him to have been Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, or how it came to paſs, this error has never been corrected till now, I am not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bound to inquire: But as I have ſome reaſon to believe I can give a fair account of both, I preſume the reader will gladly hear what I have to offer. I conceive, Anthony Wood muſt have truſted ſome body to make theſe collections relating to the Judges from Sir William Dugdale's book, becauſe they are all falſe, as well as that relating to Sir John Bankes. For example, it is there ſaid (5), Sir Robert Forſter, Knt. after the King's Reſtoration, was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, 31 May 1660; and Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas in October following, and for this Dugdale is alſo cited. But he ſays (6), 31 May 1660, Sir Robert was reſtored to his place of Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, from which he had been expelled by the parliament, and on the 22 Octob. 1660, he was made Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſo he never was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, any more than Sir John Bankes of the King's-Bench. Theſe miſtakes are within ten lines of each other in the ſame column. Now that they have not been corrected, I imagine is owing, 1. To their want of knowledge in the hiſtory of the Law, who reviſed Wood's book, and 2. To the reſpect, paid to the Dugdale's authority.

(4) Dugdale's Origin. Juridic. p. 303.

(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. c. 26.

(6) Chr. Ser. A. D. 1660.

[*B*] *The moſt material parts of ſuch pieces.*] In Lloyd's Memoirs (7), we have a very imperfect copy of the following inſcription without it's dates; and in the General Dictionary another, not altogether free from omiſſions (8). This is copied exactly from the monument, by a Gentleman curious in ſuch ſtudies as relate to Britiſh antiquities (9).

(7) Page 587.

(8) In the note to this article.

(9) MS. from J. F.

P. M. S.
Hoc Loco in Spem
Futuri Sæculi depoſitum jacet
JOHANNIS BANKES.
Qui Reginal' Collegii in hac Academia
Alumnus,
Eques Auratus ornatiſſimus,
Attornatus Generalis,
De Communi Banco Cap. Juſticiarius,
A ſecretioribus Conſiliis Regi CAROLO,
Peritiam, integritatem, fidem
Egregiè præſtitit.
Ex Æde Chriſti, in Ædes Chriſti
Tranſiit menſe Decembris die 28
Anno Domini 1644.
Ætatis ſuæ 55.

Non Nobis Domine, Non Nobis, Sed Nomine tuo ſit gloria.*

On a ſmall ſtone underneath the Monument.

Hic Situs eſt
J. B.
1644.

In Engliſh thus.

Here lies interred in hopes of a future Reſurrection, the Remains of John Bankes; who was a Student in Queen's College in this Univerſity, a worthy Knight, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and a Privy Counſellor to King CHARLES, diſtinguiſhed by his Knowledge, Integrity, and Fidelity. He paſſed from Chriſt's Church to the Church (triumphant) of Chriſt, December 28, *A. D.* 1644. *Of his age* 55.

* All the epitaph he deſired was,

Not unto us, LORD, not unto us: but unto thy name be Glory. E

BARCLAY, BARCLEY, BARKLAY, or de BARKLAY (ALEXANDER) an elegant writer in the XVIth century. It is a point ſtrongly diſputed, whether he was Engliſh or Scotch by birth (*a*), nor is there any clear proof on either ſide [*A*]. The moſt probable opinion however ſeems to be, that he was born in Somerſetſhire, where there is both a village called Barcley, and an antient family of the ſame name (*b*) [*B*]. But of whatever country he was, we know nothing of his family or fortune,

(*a*) Bal. Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Cent. ix. num. 66, p. 723. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

[*A*] *Any clear proof on either ſide.*] This was the judgment of Bale, who was his contemporary. *Some*, ſays he, *reckon him a Scot, while others believe him to have been born in England* (1). Pits is poſitive that he was an Engliſhman, and ſays, *that it is probable he was born in Devonſhire* (2), but he is not ſo kind as to tell us why. On the other ſide, Dr Mackenzy is as poſitive that he was a Scot; and in order to prove it, enters into the genealogical hiſtory of the ancient family of Berkley in Scotland, which, at the moſt, only tends to ſhew, that he might be of that country (3). From all therefore that has been ſaid, either by theſe writers or by Wood (4), there is nothing that can incline us to decide in favour of either opinion, or ſo much as abſolutely to determine, which has the greateſt appearance of truth; a queſtion however that ſhall be handled in the next note.

(1) Baleus de Script. p. 723.

(2) Relat. Hiſtor. de Reb. Anglic. p. 745.

(3) Lives and Characters of Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 86.

[*B*] *An ancient family of the ſame name.*] I muſt confeſs, it ſeems to me a little ſtrange, that in thoſe days, a Scot ſhould obtain ſo great reputation in England, eſpecially if it be conſidered from whence our author's roſe, viz. from his enriching and improving the Engliſh tongue. Had he written in Latin or on the ſciences, the thing had been probable enough, but in the light in which it now ſtands, I think it very far from being likely. In the next place, it is pretty extraordinary, that Barclay himſelf, in his ſeveral addreſſes to his patrons, ſhould never take notice of his being a ſtranger, which would have made their kindneſs to him the more remarkable; whereas the reader will quickly ſee, that in his addreſs to the young Gentlemen of England, he treats them as his countrymen (5). Farther ſtill it makes ſtrongly againſt this opinion, that the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Kent were Barclay's principal patrons, who are known to have been the fierceſt enemies to the Scots. Theſe, I ſay, are probable reaſons why we ſhould not believe him of that country. On the other hand, his patrons and preferments both ſprung from the Weſt, which would ſeem to ſhew him of that part of the iſland, and inaſmuch as there is a village in the hundred of Frome in Somerſetſhire, of the

(5) It was very cuſtomary for the writers of that age to mention their countries, eſpecially if they wrote out of their own.

fortune, before his coming to Oriel-college in Oxford, which might be about the year 1495, when Thomas Corniſh was Provoſt of that houſe (*c*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, by the quickneſs of his parts, and his great affection for learning, he went over into Holland, and travelled thence into Germany, Italy, and France, where he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the learning the languages ſpoken in thoſe countries, and to the ſtudy of the beſt authors in them, wherein he made a wonderful proficiency, as appeared after his return home, by many excellent tranſlations which he publiſhed (*d*). His patron was now become Biſhop of Tyne, and Suffragan under the Biſhop of Wells, who firſt made him his Chaplain, and afterwards appointed him one of the Prieſts of St Mary, at Ottery in Devonſhire, a college founded by John Grandiſon, Biſhop of Exeter (*e*). After the death of this patron of his, he became a Monk of the order of St Benedict, and afterwards, as ſome ſay, a Franciſcan (*f*). Theſe are circumſtances of his life commonly known, but that he was a Monk of Ely, is a point, as to which, all our Biographers are ſilent, and yet it is more certain, than almoſt any thing they have told us about him (*g*) [*C*]. Upon the diſſolution of the monaſtery at Ely, which happened A. D. 1539, he was left to be provided for by his patrons, of which his works had gained him many. He ſeems to have had, firſt, the vicarage of St Matthew at Wokey, in Somerſetſhire, beſtowed upon him, on the death of Thomas Eryngton, and afterwards was removed from that ſmall living to a better, if indeed he received not both at the ſame time. However, certain it is, that on the ſeventh of February 1546, being then Doctor of Divinity, he was preſented to the vicarage of Much-Badew, or, as it is commonly called, Baddow-Magna, in the county of Eſſex and dioceſe of London, by Mr John Paſcal, on the death of Mr John Clowes (*b*); neither were theſe, as Wood imagines, his laſt preferments, for the Dean and Chapter of London upon the reſignation of William Jennings, Rector of Alhallows Lombard-ſtreet, on the thirtieth of April 1552, preſented him to the ſaid living (*i*), which he did not however enjoy above the ſpace of ſix weeks at moſt. He was admired in his life-time for his wit and eloquence, and for a particular fluency of writing, unattained by any author of that age. This recommended him to many noble patrons, though it does not appear that he was any great gainer by their favour, otherwiſe than in his reputation. He lived to a very advanced age, and died at Croydon in Surrey, in the month of June 1552, and was interred in the church there (*k*). Bale has treated his memory with great indignity, he ſays, he remained a ſcandalous adulterer under colour of leading a ſingle life (*l*). Pits again aſſures us, that he employed all his ſtudy in favour of religion, and in reading and writing the lives of the Saints (*m*). There is probably a ſtrong tincture of partiality in both theſe characters, but that he was a polite writer, a great refiner of the Engliſh tongue, and left behind him many teſtimonies of his wit and learning [*D*], cannot be denied

(*c*) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 105.

(*d*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 106.

(*e*) Pits, Relation. Hiſtor. de Reb. Angl. num. 989. p. 745.

(*f*) Mackenzy's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Scots Writers, Vol. II. p. 287.

(*g*) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX, p. 179.

(*b*) Willis's Hiſt. of Mitred Abbies, Vol. I. p. 276. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 25. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 86.

(*i*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 254.

(*k*) Bal. ubi ſupra. Dempſter, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) His Words are, *cœlibatus fuco fœdus Adulter perpetuò manſit.*

(*m*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(6) Remarks on the Lives of eminent Men, by ſome reputed Engliſh, by others Scots, a MS. formerly communicated by Dr Knipe of Chriſt-Church, p. 195.

the name of Barcley, and not one, but ſeveral families of the ſame name in that neighbourhood, it ſeems to me pretty evident, that he was a native of this ſhire (6), at leaſt, I think this opinion more probable than either of the other two; for that a Scot ſhould have ſo general an acquaintance in the Weſt of England, eſpecially conſidering he was ſome years abroad, is not eaſy to be accounted for; and then, as to his preferments in Devonſhire, we know very well to whoſe favour he owed them, and therefore they conclude nothing as to his birth in that county, where, I think, it cannot be proved there ever was any conſiderable family of this name.

[*C*] *They have told us about him.*] This appears from a ſmall folio of his publiſhing, which was long in the cuſtody of the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; the title, prologue, and colophon of which, as they are great curioſities in their kind, deſerve the intelligent reader's notice. The title runs thus, *Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyſe, intituled the Mirrour of good Manners, conteyning the IV Vertues called Cardynall, compyled in Latyn by Domynike Mancyn; and tranſlate into Englyſhe at the deſyre of Sir Gyles Alyngton, Knyght, by Alexander Bercley, Preſt and Monke of Ely.* A wooden cut of a nobleman ſitting in a chair, and a Monk kneeling before him, preſenting him a book, and two ſtanding by, one ſeems to be a Lay-Brother, the other a ſervant beſide his Lord. Afterwards follows, *The Prologue of Alexander Barclay*, &c. *to his ryght honorable Mayſter Gyles Alyngton, Knight*, &c. In the end thus: *Rede this lyttell treatyce, O juvent of Englande, as Myrrour of good Maners; ye chefely of London ſtande, and whan ye it redyng ſhall perfyte underſtande, gyve ye laude and thankes to Gyles Alyngton, Knight, at whoſe precept this treatyſe was begon. If this do you profyte that ſhall my mynde excyte of mo frutefull matters after this to wryte.* Finis. *Thus endeth the ryght frutefull matter of the foure Vertues Cardynall: Imprynted by Rychard Pynſon, Prynter unto the Kynge's noble Grace; with his gracyous pryvylege, the which boke I have prynted at the inſtance and requeſt of the ryght noble, Richard, Yerle of Kent* (7).

(7) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. LXXX. p. 179.

[*D*] *Many teſtimonies of his wit and learning.*] His books were very numerous, inſomuch that we have no perfect catalogue of them any where, and what contributes much to this, is the tranſlating his Engliſh titles into Latin, to mention however a few. I. *His Eclogues on the Miſeries of Courtiers* (8). It appears that all the Writers who have mentioned theſe, did it without conſulting them, and have fallen into many errors about this performance. They were printed at London by Richard Pynſon, in quarto, without date under this title: 'Here begynneth the Egloges of 'Iexander Barclay, Preſt, whereof the firſt three con'tayneth the Myſeryes of Courters and Courtes of all 'Princes in generall. The matter whereof was tranſ'lated into Englyſhe, by the ſaid Alexander, in fourme 'of dialoges, out of a book in Latin, named Miſerie Cu'rialium, compiled by Eneas Silvius, Poete and O'ratour, which after was Pope of Rome and named 'Pius.' Theſe on the Miſeries of Courtiers make three, the whole number of eclogues in this volume making five. The fourth eclogue is, 'Of the Beha'viour of riche Men anenſt Poetes.' At the end of this there is an elegy, intituled, 'The diſcrypcion of 'the Towre of Vertue and Honour, into whiche the 'noble Hawarde (9) contended to entre by worthy 'actes of Chivalry.' The fifth is, 'Of the Citizen 'and Uplandiſhman.' In his poetical preface the author mentions ten eclogues, perhaps the other five were thoſe he tranſlated from Mantuan, of which hereafter; it may not however be amiſs, before we quit this part of his writings, to obſerve the pages of his book are not marked, or his verſes numbered. II. *A Treatiſe againſt Skelton*, he was Poet Laureat, and a great enemy to Prieſts, which we may preſume, turned our author's pen againſt him. *The Life of St George* from Baptiſt Mantuan. *The Life of St Catherine. The Life of St Margaret. The Life of St Ethelreda* (10). III. *Five Eclogues* from the Latin of

(8) Bale, Pits.

(9) Henry Earl of Surrey, one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time, beheaded, Jan. 19, 1546-7.

(10) Dempſter Bale, Pits.

denied, but what ought moſt to be lamented is, that we are able to ſay ſo very little of one, in his own time ſo famous, and whoſe works ought to have tranſmitted him to poſterity, with much greater honour.

(11) Bale, Pits.

(12) Bale, Pits.

(13) Dempſter, Bale, Pits.

(14) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood.

(15) Mackenzy, Wood.

(16) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood Mackenzy.

of Mantuan (11). IV. *Of the French Pronunciation* (12). V. *The Bucolic of Codrus* (13). VI. *The Caſtle of Labour* (14), tranſlated from the French into Engliſh. VII. *A Treatiſe of Virtues* written originally by D. Mancini, of which we have given an account in the preceding note. VIII. *The Figure of our Mother Holy Church oppreſſed by the French King* (15), printed at London in quarto by Richard Pynſon. IX. *Navis Stultifera, or the Ship of Fools* (16), the moſt celebrated of all our author's writings. It conſiſts partly of verſes of his own compoſition, and in part of tranſlations from the Latin, French, and Dutch. It is indeed a kind of verſion of a book written under the ſame title by Sebaſtian Brantius, but then it is tranſlated with great freedom and with conſiderable additions. It is adorned with a great variety of pictures, printed from wooden cuts; we may judge of the high eſteem this book was in not only from it's being often cited, but alſo from it's various editions. It was firſt printed at London by Richard Pynſon in 1509 in ſmall folio, again in the ſame ſize in 1519, and in quarto in 1570, it was dedicated by our author to his patron, Dr Thomas Corniſh, Biſhop of Tyne. X. *The Hiſtory of the Jugurthine War*, tranſlated from the Latin of Salluſt. This was printed in quarto in 1557, five years after the author's death, and at the end of the book there is this note. *Thus endeth the famouſe Cronicle of the warre whyche the Romaynes had againſt Jugurth, Uſurper of the kyngedome of Numydie, whyche Chronicle is compyled in Latin by the renowned Romayne Saluſt; and tranſlated into Engliſh by Syr Alexander Barkeley Prieſte, at Commaundemente of the ryght, hyghe, and mighty Prince, Thomas Duke of Northfolke, and imprinted at London in Forſter-lane, by John Waley* (17).

(17) Hearne's Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 705, 706.

C & E

BARCLAY (ROBERT) juſtly eſteemed the beſt writer among the Quakers, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons of his time. He was deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Scotland by his father's ſide, who was Colonel David Barclay of Mathers, a man univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and by his mother Mrs Katharine Gordon, daughter to Sir W. Gordon, from the noble houſe of Huntley, ſo that if his principles had not led him to ſlight the advantages of birth, few gentlemen could in that particular have gone beyond him (*a*). He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1648, and as he grew up, the troubles of his country, in which alſo his family had a ſhare, induced his father, Colonel Barclay, to ſend him, while a youth, to Paris, where his brother was at that time Principal of the Scots college, who taking advantage of the tender age of his nephew Robert, drew him over to the Romiſh religion (*b*). His father being informed of this, thought fit to ſend for him home, and accordingly he returned to Scotland in the year 1664, as accompliſhed, as at his age, which was ſcarce ſixteen, the moſt ſanguine of his relations could expect. He had a competent knowledge of the ſciences, underſtood the French and Latin tongues perfectly, for the latter he wrote and ſpoke with wonderful facility and correctneſs, and afterwards attained Greek and Hebrew. The principal authors that have attempted to give the world the hiſtory of the people called Quakers, aſſure us, that our author's father had embraced their doctrine, before the return of his ſon from France (*c*): but againſt this we have the expreſs teſtimony of our author himſelf, who fixes the time of his father's joining himſelf to the Quakers, to the year 1666 (*d*), which we are told by others, was chiefly owing to the perſuaſions of one Mr Swinton, a man of great credit among thoſe people, and who had for ſome time after the Reſtoration, been confined with Colonel David Barclay, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where by long and frequent converſations, he drew him over to his opinions [*A*]. It was not long

(a) See his article in Collier's Dictionary, Vol. I.

(b) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 76.

(c) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, London, 1722, fol. p. 472. Croeſe's Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 151.

(d) See his Teſtimony concerning his father, at the end of his Works.

[*A*] *Frequent converſations to draw him over to his opinions.*] It may not be amiſs to give ſome account here, of the firſt preaching thoſe doctrines maintained by the people called Quakers in Scotland, and of the manner in which they were ſo wonderfully propagated in ſo ſhort a ſpace, as between their firſt appearance and their being embraced by Colonel David Barclay. George Fox, the elder, who is looked upon as the author and founder of this ſect, began to preach publickly about the time of our author Robert Barclay's birth, and was ſoon followed by great numbers who adhered to the opinions he taught them, in ſpite of the moſt violent perſecutions; to which, notwithſtanding the regularity of their lives, they ſtood expoſed, while the Preſbyterians eſpecially were at the helm, who were zealous from principle for church-power, which the Quakers little regarded (1). In 1657, George Fox went himſelf a kind of pilgrimage into the north, and being informed that the number of Friends (which is the name uſed by theſe people when ſpeaking of their ſect) was greatly increaſed in Scotland, he went thither to viſit them; which proved a means of enlarging their Church, eſpecially in the Northern parts of the kingdom about Aberdeen and Elgin; and ſoon drew a heavy perſecution upon them from the Clergy (2). But it was not here that this gentleman, who converted Colonel Barclay, received theſe opinions. There is ſomething ſo ſingular in his hiſtory, that tho' we have not particulars enough to form an article, yet the circumſtances of his converſion may very well juſtify their appearing in a note. John Swinton of Swinton, Eſq; was of a very good family, and had as good education as almoſt any man in Scotland, which, joined to very ſtrong natural parts, rendered him a moſt accompliſhed perſon. He ſhewed himſelf very ill affected to King Charles II when in Scotland, laboured to ſerve the Engliſh and neglected their intereſt, which at laſt, rendered it neceſſary to ſend for a party of Cromwell's ſoldiers to carry him away priſoner into England; notwithſtanding which ingenious artifice, practiſed at his own houſe near the borders, the Scots parliament held at Stirling in 1651, attainted him of high-treaſon (3). At this time the act affected him little, the King's affairs growing ſoon after deſperate, but ſo ſoon as the Reſtoration was brought about, Mr Swinton was ſeized in London, and ſent down, as the Marquis of Argyle had been, to be tried in Scotland, or rather called to his former judgment (4). It was univerſally believed that his death was inevitable, as it was notorious that Oliver Cromwell had truſted him more than any body, and that almoſt every thing had been done in Scotland by his advice: Yet Mr Swinton lived chearfully in the caſtle of Edinburgh where he was priſoner, and ſeemed much more concerned to ſpread the principles of Quakeriſm than to defend his own life. He had embraced theſe opinions in England, went into them ſincerely, and being a perſon of learning, very taking in his behaviour, and naturally eloquent, he not only defended his notions vigorouſly when attacked, but brought over many to his ſentiments while in confinement (5). He was at length brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, to which the Earl of Middleton was Commiſſioner in 1661, and there called upon to ſhew cauſe, why he ſhould

(1) General Hiſt. of the Quakers, by Gerard Croeſe, London, 1696, 8vo, p. 29, 98, 99.

(2) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 170, 171, 172.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 127. Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

(4) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 127.

(5) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

long before Robert Barclay likewiſe joined himſelf to the Quakers, not ſo much moved thereto, either by the ſollicitations or example of his father, as by the dictates of his own mind, for though he was but eighteen years of age when he took this ſtep, yet he had conſidered it very attentively, and having a genius wonderfully ſolid, he appears to have made as clear a judgment, even at that early ſeaſon, of the cauſe in which he engaged, as at any time during his whole life (*e*). He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in the cauſe of the Quakers, in which, from the beginning, he diſcovered that ſtrength and power of reaſoning, that perſpicuity and accuracy of language, for which his writings have been, and in all probability ever will be, admired. His firſt treatiſe in defence of the principles he profeſſed, appeared at Aberdeen in the year 1670, and, as occaſion required, he ſupported what he had delivered by his ſubſequent writings, which very ſoon ſhewed him much an over-match for his antagoniſt (*f*) [*B*]. In theſe diſcourſes of his, our author chiefly

(*e*) Sewell and Croeſe, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See the Preface to our author's Works, printed at London, A. D. 1692.

ſhould not receive ſentence upon his former attainder. It is certain, that he might have avoided the force of that law by two pleas, either of which would have ſaved him: For, *firſt*, he might have denied that any ſuch act had paſſed, and the contrary could not have been proved, as the record of his attainder, with all that paſſed in that parliament at Stirling, had been loſt. His *ſecond* plea might have been ſtill ſtronger in point of law; for all the proceedings in that parliament having been reſcinded and annulled by the parliament, before which he was now called in queſtion, they were no longer of any authority. So that the record of his attainder could not be found, or if found, could not be urged againſt him (6), and yet he took advantage of neither of theſe pleas; but anſwered entirely conſonant to his religious principles, that he was at the time theſe crimes were imputed to him in the gall of bitterneſs and bond of iniquity, but that, God having ſince called him to the light, he ſaw and acknowledged his paſt errors, and did not refuſe to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this ſhould extend to his life. His ſpeech was, tho' modeſt, ſo majeſtick, and, tho' expreſſive of the moſt perfect patience, ſo pathetick; that, notwithſtanding he had neither intereſt nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impreſſion made by his diſcourſe on that illuſtrious aſſembly was ſuch, that they recommended him to the King as a fit object for mercy, at the very time they were in an extreme degree ſevere, againſt ſome who were not at all more obnoxious than he (7). This ſtrange eſcape of Swinton's was aſcribed by thoſe of his own perſuaſion (very naturally) to the ſpecial interpoſition of Providence; by men of another turn, to the irreſiſtible force of true eloquence, and by the refined politicians, to the ſcheme of the King's Lord Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton, who, knowing the Earl of Lauderdale had begged his eſtate, reſolved to ſave both that and his life, to ſpite a man he hated, as well as to raiſe his own character (8). Such was the perſon who is ſaid to have drawn to his principles the father of our author, and indeed it is probable, that he might have ſome hand therein, though about 1663 there were many perſons of good ſenſe and unſpotted integrity, who joined themſelves to the Quakers; and it was in 1666 that Colonel David Barclay declared himſelf, as his ſon informs us (9). He found himſelf very ſoon expoſed to perſecutions and ſufferings on the ſcore of his religion, for tho' there was no expreſs law againſt the Quakers, yet the Council found them within the conſtruction of an act againſt conventicles, and thence aſſumed a power of calling them to anſwer, impriſoning and fining them, and all, but chiefly the laſt, Colonel David Barclay, ſuffered more than once. Yet a Church hiſtorian, who is continually clamouring againſt the perſecution of the Preſbyterians by the Biſhops, ſeems to be diſpleaſed that the ſame rigour, or a greater, was not exerted againſt the Quakers; by which (he ſays) they grew as well as took root, he is particularly chagrined that the Laird of Swinton (as he calls him) was neglected; which is a proof that the government was not very ſevere againſt them at this time (10). But after the battle of Pentland hills, when Scotland was in ſome confuſion, Colonel Barclay was confined for ſome time, though no juſt reaſon was aſſigned for it; his principles binding him to be a good ſubject. On his humble petition, however, he was firſt ſuffered to return home, on giving ſecurity for his appearance, and ſoon after he was diſcharged entirely (11). He was a man, venerable in his appearance, juſt in all his actions, had ſhewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude, in bearing with all the hard uſage he met with in Scotland with chearfulneſs as well as patience (12). The acquiſition of ſo conſiderable and ſo reſpected a perſon, was of no ſmall uſe to thoſe of his perſuaſion, as appeared plainly by the daily additions to their ſect in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, more eſpecially after his ſon Robert began to appear, and to diſplay ſuch a ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſuch an extent of learning in ſupport of this cauſe, as placed the controverſy with the Quakers on a new foot, and ſhewed they were far enough from being frantick, half-witted enthuſiaſts, who had little or nothing to ſay for themſelves (13). In this manner, with great comfort to himſelf, Colonel Barclay ſpent the laſt twenty years of his life, being all along bleſſed with ſound health and a vigorous conſtitution. He died on the 12th of October 1686, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, at his own houſe not far from Aberdeen; and though he gave expreſs directions (agreeable to his principles) that none but perſons of his own perſuaſion ſhould be invited to his funeral, yet the time being known, many gentlemen, and thoſe too of great diſtinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and publick ſpirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties. His ſon (according to the cuſtom of thoſe of his ſect) has left us an ample teſtimony, in his works, to his father's dying as well as living in hopes of ſalvation through *JESUS CHRIST*.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 127.

(12) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 144.

(13) See the account of Robert Barclay's firſt Writings in note [*B*].

(7) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 143. Burnet, ubi ſupra. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 97.

(8) Idem, ibid.

(9) See Rob. Barclay's Teſtimony concerning the death of his father, at the end of his Works.

(10) Woodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 226, 227.

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 313. But he calls him, by a miſtake, Col. Rob. Barclay.

[*B*] *Which very ſoon ſhewed him to be much an over-match for his antagoniſt.*] It very rarely happens that an author's firſt performance, is written with as much correctneſs as vigour, which however may be affirmed of this book of Robert Barclay's, the title of which runs thus: *Truth cleared of Calumnies, wherein a book intituled, a Dialogue between a Quaker and a ſtable Chriſtian (printed at Aberdeen, and upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchel, a Preacher near by it, or at leaſt, that he had the chief hand in it) is examined, and the Diſ-ingenuity of the Author in his repreſenting the Quakers is diſcovered; here is alſo their Caſe truly ſtated, cleared, demonſtrated, and the objections of their Oppoſers anſwered according to Truth, Scripture, and right Reaſon.* The preface to this treatiſe is dated from our author's houſe at Ury, the 19th of the ſecond month 1670, and therein he give us a very clear account of the controverſies that had been for ſome time carried on between the Clergy and the Quakers; in which he complains of great diſ-ingenuity, and of their taking pains, firſt, to make themſelves maſters of the true principles and opinions of the Quakers, and afterwards ſtudying to miſrepreſent, that they might find it the more eaſy to anſwer them, which he affirms to be the caſe of the author in this work which he had choſen to refute; and therefore, the buſineſs of this book is to ſhew, that they had been extravagantly abuſed by their adverſaries, who ſometimes would have them paſs for people diſtracted, and at other times, for men poſſeſſed by the devil, and practiſing abominations, under pretence of being led to them by the ſpirit, as denying the exiſtence of Chriſt, the reality of a heaven and a hell, the being of angels, the reſurrection of the body, and the day of judgment. He ſhews upon what ſlight pretences theſe notions were taken up, how conſiſtent all the doctrines of the Quakers were with the goſpel in reſpect to theſe points, and how unjuſt the perſecution they had ſuſtained for maintaining what the Apoſtles maintained, *the light of* CHRIST JESUS *ſhining in the mind of man* (14).

(14) Barclay's Works, p. 1.

His

chiefly laboured to remove the prejudices againſt, and throw ſuch light on the real ſentiments of the people whom he eſpouſed, as might ſilence the calumnies thrown out againſt them, and which he was ſatisfied, were the true grounds of that hatred which was borne them. He ſucceeded ſo thoroughly therein, as to procure for them a fair hearing from the more ſenſible part of the nation, and very ſoon raiſed both their credit and his own ſo high, that they were much better treated by the government than before that time they had been. But with all this coolneſs and moderation, which might tempt one to think, he rather attempted to frame a new ſyſtem of religion, than to ſupport that which had been preached by the Quakers, he was as obedient to the ſpirit as any of his party, inſomuch, that he tells us himſelf, that feeling an impreſſion from God, to paſs through the ſtreets of Aberdeen in ſackcloth and aſhes, and to preach the neceſſity of faith and repentance to the inhabitants, he accordingly performed it; his mind ſuffering the greateſt agonies, till ſuch time as he had fulfilled this command (g). This demonſtrated his ſincerity and ſimplicity of heart, for without being thoroughly ſatisfied in his own conſcience, it is impoſſible to conceive, how ſo wiſe and good a man, as it is univerſally agreed he was, ſhould bring himſelf to do ſuch an action. To propagate the doctrines, as well as to maintain the credit he had gained for thoſe of his way of thinking, he, in 1675, publiſhed a regular and accurate diſcourſe, in order to explain and defend the ſyſtem of the people called Quakers, which as it appeared abſolutely a new kind of writing, and was ſo excellently compiled, to ſhew clearly the good ſenſe and great learning of it's author, was univerſally well received [C]. He was very ſenſible, that ſuch as diſliked thoſe of his profeſſion, often took occaſion to confound them with, or at leaſt impute to them as Quakers, the opinions maintained by another ſort of people, who held indeed ſome of the tenets of the Quakers, but were, in other reſpects, of a very contrary ſpirit; to remove this ſcandal effectually, and to manifeſt the difference between thoſe of his perſuaſion, and this other ſect who were ſtiled *RANTERS*, he wrote a very curious and inſtructive work, in which, he, with much ſolidity and perſpicuity, laid open the cauſes,

(g) Barclay's Works. p. 105, 106.

His ſecond treatiſe had this title, *Some things of weighty Concernment, propoſed in Meekneſs and Love by way of Queries, to the ſerious Conſideration of the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, which alſo may be of Uſe to ſuch as are in the ſame mind with them elſewhere in this Nation.* This was added by way of appendix to the former treatiſe, and contains twenty queſtions, relating chiefly to the perſons who had taken ſo much pains to repreſent the Quakers in ridiculous lights, when if that kind of language had been allowed among this ſort of people, they might themſelves have been rendered far more ridiculous. Theſe writings made Mr W. Mitchell ſo uneaſy, and rendred it ſo apparent, that either he was in the wrong, or wanted abilities neceſſary to prove himſelf in the right; that he immediately had recourſe again to the preſs, in order to return an anſwer to Robert Barclay, which produced our author's third book upon this ſubject, in which he effectually ſilenced that angry and impatient writer (15).

(15) See an Account of this matter in the Preface before Barclay's Works, p. xi.

The title of this third treatiſe was, *W. Mitchell unmaſked, or the ſtaggering Inſtability of the pretended ſtable Chriſtians diſcovered, his Omiſſions obſerved, and Weakneſs unveiled, in his late faint and feeble Animadverſions by way of Reply to a Book intituled, Truth cleared of Calumnies; wherein the integrity of the Quakers Doctrine is the ſecond time juſtified and cleared from the re-iterate Clamours, but cauſeleſs Calumnies of this cavilling Catechiſt.* The preface to this diſcourſe is likewiſe dated from Ury, the 24th of December 1671. In this treatiſe, our author diſcovers an amazing variety of learning, which ſhews how good uſe he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a maſter he was of the Scriptures, Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and with how much ſkill and judgment he applied them, ſo that we need not wonder he was much too hard for a country Clergyman in that part of the world, who, very probably, had not the ſame advantages of education, and was evidently a man of much leſs temper. The author of the preface before our author's works, has given a very fair account of this performance, and therefore we will make uſe of his words: 'In this rejoinder, *ſays he*, the diſpute 'riſes high, and the conteſt ſeems ſharp and cloſe, 'but to every impartial reader, the advantage evi- 'dently runs upon our author's ſide, who appears 'rather zealous than heated, and ſharper on his enemy's 'matter than perſon; for he rather pities his enemy 'than triumphs over his weakneſs and envy; here, as 'in an exact draught, the reader has an account of the 'fabulous principles given under our names, and 'thoſe that we really profeſs; and the pleaſure even 'men pretending to religion take to render a poor, 'ſelf-denying people that which they are not; as if 'they feared we ſhould be in the right, or hold prin- 'ciples nearer to what they profeſs themſelves to be- 'lieve, than is convenient for their intereſt with the 'people to allow; leaſt that, together with the ſo- 'briety, their worſt enemies confeſs to be ſo conſpi- 'cuous among them, ſhould give them too great a 'credit with their hearers (16).

(16) See the Preface before cited, p. xi.

[C] *Was univerſally well received.*] The writings of our author had been hitherto only controverſial, but now he judged it expedient to publiſh ſomewhat (17) See this in the Preface before mentioned. ſyſtematical, that their opinions might appear with more regularity and connection than they had hitherto done, and that it might be ſeen they held nothing inconſiſtent with the Scriptures: The title of this book was, *A Catechiſm and Confeſſion of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the General Aſſembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf chief Speaker in and among them, which containeth a true and faithfull Account of the Principles and Doctrines which are moſt ſurely believed by the Churches of Chriſt in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the Name of* Quakers, *yet are found in one Faith with the Primitive Church and Saints, as is moſt clearly demonſtrated by ſome plain Scripture Teſtimonies (without Conſequences or Commentaries) which are here collected and inſerted by way of Anſwer to a few weighty, yet eaſy and familiar, Queſtions, fitted as well for the wiſeſt and largeſt, as for the weakeſt and loweſt Capacities. To which is added, an Expoſtulation with an Appeal to all other Profeſſors by R. B. a Servant of the Church of Chriſt.* The author in his Preface dated from Ury, the eleventh of the ſixth month (Auguſt) 1673, endeavours to prove, that Quakeriſm is the very perfection of the Reformed Religion, and that other Proteſtant Churches, ſo far as they differ from the Quakers, were inconſiſtent with themſelves, and returned in part at leaſt, to thoſe ſuperſtitions for which they held it neceſſary to ſeparate from the Church of Rome. According to him, the ſcripture only ought to be regarded as the foundation of truth, and no doctrines ought to be received as Chriſtian, which cannot be proved by the expreſs words of ſcripture, which, he aſſerts, might be alledged in maintainance and ſupport of all things delivered by the Quakers, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of their enemies, that the Quakers vilified and denied the ſcriptures, in order to ſet up their own imaginations inſtead of them: 'To diſprove which, *ſays he, ad-* 'dreſſing himſelf to the reader, this Catechiſm and 'Confeſſion of Faith is compiled and preſented to thy 'ſerious and impartial view; if thou loveſt the ſcripture 'indeed,

cauſes, and diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers from both [*D*]. Theſe endeavours of his, to vindicate and bring

' indeed, and deſireſt to hold the plain doctrine there ' delivered, and not thoſe ſtrained and far-fetched conſequences which men have invented, thou ſhalt eaſily ' obſerve the whole principles of the people called ' Quakers, plainly couched in ſcripture words without ' addition or commentary, eſpecially in thoſe things ' their adverſaries oppoſe them in, where the ſcripture plainly decideth the controverſy for them without niceties and ſchool diſtinctions, which have been ' the wiſdom by which the world has not known God, ' and the words which have been multiplied without ' knowledge, by which counſel hath been darkened. ' In anſwer to the queſtions, there is not one word, ' that I know of, placed, but the expreſs words of ' ſcripture; and if in ſome of the queſtions there be ' ſomewhat ſubſumed of what in my judgment is the ' plain and naked import of the words, it is not to ' impoſe my ſenſe upon the reader, but to make way ' for the next queſtion for the dependance of the matter's ſake. I ſhall leave it to the reaſon of any underſtanding and judicious man, who is not biaſſed by ' ſelf-intereſt (that great enemy to true equity) and ' who, in the leaſt meaſure, is willing to give way to ' the light of Chriſt in his conſcience, if the ſcriptures do not pertinently and aptly anſwer to the queſtions. As I have, upon ſerious grounds, ſeparated ' from moſt of the confeſſions and catechiſms heretofore publiſhed, ſo, not without cauſe, I have now ' taken another method. They uſually place their ' confeſſion of faith before the catechiſm, I judge it ' ought to be otherwiſe; in regard, that which is ' eaſieſt, and is compoſed for children, or ſuch as are ' weak, in my judgment, ought to be placed firſt; ' it being moſt regular to begin with things that are ' eaſy and familiar, and lead on to things that are more ' hard and intricate. Beſides, that things be more ' largely opened in the catechiſm, and diverſe objections anſwered which are propoſed in the queſtions, ' the reader having paſſed through that firſt, will more ' perfectly underſtand the confeſſion, which conſiſteth ' mainly in poſitive aſſertions. Not long after I had ' received and believed the teſtimony I now bear, I ' had in my view both the poſſibility and facility of ' ſuch a work, and now, after a more large and perfect acquaintance with the holy ſcripture, I found ' acceſs to allow ſome time to ſet about it, and have ' alſo been helped to accompliſh the ſame (17).'

(17) See this in the Preface before-mentioned.

[*D*] *Diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers of both.*] This learned and excellent treatiſe, which contains as much ſound reaſoning as any book of it's ſize in our's, or perhaps in any modern language, is called, *The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romaniſts, and other pretended Churches equally refuſed and refuted, in a two-fold Apology for the Church and People of* GOD *called in deriſion* Quakers, *wherein they are vindicated from Thoſe, who accuſe them of diſorder and confuſion on the one hand, and from ſuch as calumniate them with tyranny and impoſition on the other; ſhewing, that as the true and pure principles of the goſpel are reſtored by their teſtimony, ſo is alſo the antient apoſtolick order of the Church of Chriſt, re-eſtabliſhed among them, and ſettled upon its right baſis and foundation.* He obſerves in his preface to this work, that the people to whom he had joined himſelf had been abuſed in a moſt barbarous manner, and charged with very different offences; ſome treating them as fooliſh, mad creatures, while others reputed them as deep, and ſubtile politicians, in many of the books written againſt them, they are ſtiled illiterate, ignorant fellows, yet in others, they are affirmed to be learned, cunning Jeſuits, and penſioners of the Pope, while the Papiſts themſelves abhorred and perſecuted them, as the worſt kind of Hereticks. But, he ſays, that theſe people have laboured all they could to follow the example of the primitive Church in all things, and he obſerves, that the two following points, did, in thoſe times, contribute much towards the edification of the Church. Viz.

I. The power and authority which the Apoſtles had given them by Chriſt, for gathering, building up, and governing of his Church, by virtue of which power and authority they alſo wrote the holy ſcriptures.

II. That privilege given to every Chriſtian under the goſpel, to be led and guided by the ſpirit of Chriſt, and to be taught thereof in all things.

But he farther remarks, that ſince that time the harmony of theſe two principles has been deſtroyed, and the authority and power which reſided in the Apoſtles, is annexed and entailed on an outward ordination, and ſucceſſion is made uſe of to cover all manner of abuſes, even the height of idolatry and ſuperſtition. For by virtue of this ſucceſſion, theſe men, claiming the like infallibility that was in the Apoſtles, will oblige others to agree to their concluſions, however different from, or contrary to, the truths of the goſpel, and in reſpect of the Clergy's arrogating to themſelves ſo great a power in this, and in declaring the ſenſe of the ſcripture, he profeſſes, that he thinks both Proteſtants and Papiſts have gone aſide from the right way. As to the ſecond point, which more immediately concerns his ſubject, he ſpeaks thus, ' On the other hand, ſome are ' ſo great pretenders to inward motions and revelations ' of the Spirit, that there are no extravagancies ſo wild ' which they will not cloak with it, and ſo much are ' they for every one's following their own mind, as ' can admit of no Chriſtian fellowſhip and community, ' nor of that good order and diſcipline, which the ' Church of Chriſt never was, nor can be, without. ' This gives an open door to all libertiniſm, and brings ' great reproach to the Chriſtian faith, and on this ' hand have foully fallen the German Anabaptiſts, ſo ' called, John of Leyden, Knipperdoling, &c. (In ' caſe theſe monſtrous things committed by them be ' ſuch as they are related.) And ſome more moderate ' of that kind have been found among the people in ' England, called Ranters, as it is true, the people ' called Quakers have been branded with both of ' theſe extremes. It is as true, it hath been, and is, ' their work to avoid them, and to be found in that ' even and good path of the primitive Church, where all ' were (no doubt) led, and actuated by the holy Spirit, ' and might all have propheſied one by one, and yet ' there was a ſubjection of the prophets to the ſpirits ' of the prophets. There was an authority ſome had in ' the Church, yet it was for edification, and not for deſtruction; there was an obedience in the Lord to ' ſuch as were ſet over, and a being taught by ſuch, ' and yet a knowing of the inward anointing, by which ' each individual was to be led into all truth; the ' work and teſtimony the Lord hath given us, is to ' reſtore this again, and to ſet both theſe in their ' right place, without cauſing them to deſtroy one ' another; to manifeſt how this is accompliſhed, and ' accompliſhing among us is the buſineſs of this treatiſe, which, I hope, will give ſome ſatisfaction to ' men of ſober judgments and impartial and unprejudicate ſpirits, and may be made uſeful in the good ' hand of the Lord, to confirm and eſtabliſh friends ' againſt their preſent oppreſſors (18)."

(18) See his Preface to that Treatiſe in the Collection of his Works.

This treatiſe expoſed him to a great many inconveniencies, for we find him obliged to write *a Vindication* of it in the beginning of the year 1679, when, it ſeems, that he was in priſon at Aberdeen; and indeed, at that time, the perſecution of the Quakers in Scotland was very warm, and therefore conſidering the figure he made, it is no wonder that he had a ſhare in it (19): But without queſtion, his ſufferings of this ſort did not give him near ſo much concern, as the diſputes in which he was involved, by the publication of this treatiſe, with his brethren; chiefly thro' the obſtinacy of one William Rogers, who wrote againſt him, and ſpread his objections privately, notwithſtanding the author had taken pains to ſatisfy him in a conference. The account which the author of the preface before his works gives of this matter, is worth reading: ' This diſcourſe, ſays he, touching the tender place ' both of thoſe that exerciſe a coercive authority over ' conſcience on the one hand, and of thoſe that, to ' avoid that extreme, run into an abſolute perſonal independancy in point of order and government on ' the other hand, both ſorts were not a little diſguſted; ' but the latter more eſpecially, that thought themſelves

(19) This appears from the date of this Treatiſe, which runs thus: Aberdeen Priſon, 6th of the firſt month 1679. We are in this note, in order to connect like things, obliged to treſpaſs a little upon time, otherwiſe this vindication muſt have been ſpoke of afterwards.

bring the Quakers into reputation with people of ſenſe, moderation, and learning, brought various diſputes upon his hands, and one particularly, with ſome conſiderable members of the univerſity of Aberdeen, an account of which was afterwards made publick (*b*). But though it might be conceived, that ſo many undertakings within ſo narrow a compaſs of time, muſt have wholly taken him up, and left him not ſo much as a moment to ſpare; yet it is certain, that at this very time he was meditating his great work, which he intituled, *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached, by the People called in ſcorn Quakers*; ſince the epiſtle prefixed thereto, and addreſſed to King Charles II, is dated the twenty-fifth of November 1675 (*i*). This was indeed a painful and laborious performance, and therefore our author took, with great prudence and ſagacity, ſuch precautions as he thought neceſſary, with reſpect to it's publication. It was with this view, that the *Theſes Theologicæ* (*k*), which were the ground-work of this elaborate treatiſe, were ſent abroad ſome time before the book itſelf, in Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, and Engliſh, addreſſed to the clergy of what ſort ſoever, and that his candour, impartiality, and ſincere love of truth, might be ſtill more manifeſt, he ſent them to the Doctors, Profeſſors, and Students in Divinity, both Popiſh and Proteſtant, in every country throughout Europe, deſiring they would ſeriouſly examine them, and ſend him their anſwers. As ſoon as the *Apology* was finiſhed, he ſent two copies of it, to each of the publick Miniſters then at the famous Congreſs of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and reſpect, and the knowledge, charity, and diſintereſted probity of it's author juſtly applauded (*l*). In 1676 it was printed in Latin at Amſterdam, and two years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of it, which made it more generally known and read here, by which the end of it was effectually anſwered, ſince it was univerſally allowed to ſurpaſs every thing of it's kind, and to ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible [*E*]. It was quickly

(*b*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers. See alſo note [*G*].

(*i*) See that Epiſtle in both the Latin and Engliſh editions of the Apology.

(*k*) See a further account of this in note [*E*].

(*l*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 257.

(20) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. xiv.

(21) The ſame Preface, p. xxi.

'ſelves chiefly concerned in the author's intention and 'labour, and indeed the riſe and ground of the diſ-'courſe, was the diſſatisfaction of ſome that pro-'feſſed to be of the ſame ſociety, about the methods 'of proceeding as a chriſtian community, for the 'honour of our holy profeſſion. Some miſtook him, 'others too deſignedly inveighed againſt him; the 'animoſity roſe ſo high in ſome few leading perſons 'of that diſſent, as to queſtion his ſincerity to the 'profeſſion he made of religion in general, whiſper-'ing him to be popiſhly affected, if not a Papiſt, 'and perhaps a graduated one too: And why? Firſt, 'becauſe he was bred in France at ſchool, under an 'uncle who was a Papiſt, if not a Prieſt. Secondly, 'becauſe he maintained Church authority, at as high 'a rate, at leaſt upon the ſame principles: But for 'the firſt, his father who was always a zealous Pro-'teſtant, coming heartily to embrace the communion 'of the deſpiſed Quakers, and ſhewing himſelf an 'exemplary member of their ſociety, commanded his 'ſon over, being yet a child, and only ſent thither 'for the advantage of a relation, and of learning 'French and Latin together, and that upon the 'preſſing importunity of his father's own brother, 'that was Preſident of the Scotch college, where the 'learning common at our ſchools, as well as at the 'univerſities, is daily taught (20).' After having ſet this matter in it's proper light, he proceeds to re-fute the ſecond argument uſed by the objectors, in which he defends the author's uſe of Popiſh reaſoning in ſupport of his own cauſe, with the greateſt ſtrength and clearneſs, and as to Robert Barclay's own vindication before-mentioned, he tells us, that it was drawn from him to clear his former diſcourſe from the miſtakes and ſcruples of ſuch as did not underſtand it, or ſeemed however offended both with him and it, and that it is dedicated to the communion in general he was of; written with a ſerious and clear mind, and hearty love to thoſe that were his oppoſers.

[*E*] *To ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible.*] The title of this famous book in the Engliſh edition of it runs thus: *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached by the people called in ſcorn Quakers, being a full Explanation and Vindication for their Principles and Doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right Reaſon, and the Teſtimonies of famous authors both antient and modern, with a full anſwer to the ſtrongeſt Objections uſually made againſt them: Preſented to the King. Written and publiſhed in Latin for the information of Strangers, by* Robert Barclay, *and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his Countrymen.* The account given us, by the author of the preface to Barclay's works, of the nature of this work, and the reaſons upon which he publiſhed it, is ſo candid, and withal ſo clear and ſo conciſe, that I believe, it would be very hard to give a better (21): 'It was, ſays he, the moſt comprehenſive of 'all his pieces, publiſhed in Latin, Dutch, and Eng-'liſh: It came out at the cloſe of a long and ſharp 'engagement between us of this kingdom, and a con-'federacy of adverſaries, of almoſt all perſuaſions: 'It was his happineſs both to live in a more retired 'corner, and to enjoy at that time a ſpace of quiet 'above his brethren, which, with the conſideration 'of their three or four years toil, and a ſenſe of ſer-'vice in himſelf, put him upon undertaking and pub-'liſhing this diſcourſe, as an eſſay towards the pre-'vention of future controverſy: It firſt lays down our 'avowed principles of belief and practice, diſtin-'guiſhed from what our enemies are pleaſed to ſay in 'our names, who, by making us erroneous, give them-'ſelves the eaſier taſks to confute us, and then tri-'umph: After he has ſtated our principles, he has 'put the objections which he had collected out of our 'adverſaries books, or that he did apprehend might 'be made to theſe principles, and anſwers them; and 'laſtly, cites divers authors both antient and modern, 'eſpecially ſome of the primitive Ages, for further illu-'ſtration and confirmation of our ſaid belief and prac-'tice.' The addreſs of this book is as material as curious, and as extraordinary as any part of it, and has been juſtly admired both by our own countrymen and ſtrangers, it runs thus: *Unto Charles II. King of Great-Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging,* Robert Barclay, *a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called of God to the diſpenſation of the goſpel now again revealed, and after a long and dark night of apoſtacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wiſheth health and ſalvation.* After having opened his diſcourſe with a very becoming obſervation, that the lives of Kings are more obſerved than thoſe of other men, and what relates to them, or paſſes under their obſervation, more regarded, he goes on with great freedom and yet with much decency in the following manner: 'But among 'all theſe tranſactions, which it hath pleaſed God to 'permit, for the glory of his power and the mani-'feſtation of his wiſdom and providence, no age 'furniſheth us with things ſo ſtrange and marvellous, 'whether with reſpect to matters civil or religious, 'as theſe that have fallen out within the compaſs of 'thy time, who, tho' thou be not yet arrived at the 'fiftieth year of thy age, haſt yet been a witneſs of 'ſtranger things than many ages before produced; 'ſo that, whether we reſpect theſe various troubles 'wherein thou foundeſt thyſelf engaged, while ſcarce 'got out of thy infancy; the many different af-'flictions wherewith men of thy circumſtances are 'often unacquainted, the ſtrange and unparallelled 'fortune that befel thy father, thy own narrow eſ-

quickly tranſlated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spaniſh (*m*). It might be

(*m*) Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, and the preface before Barclay's Works, p. xxi.

'cape and baniſhment following thereupon, with the 'great improbability of thy ever returning, (at leaſt, 'without very much pains and tedious combatings) 'or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accom-'pliſh ſuch a deſign, conſidering the ſtrength of thoſe 'that had poſſeſſed themſelves of thy throne, and the 'terror they had inflicted upon foreign ſtates, or the 'contrivance and work of human policy; all theſe 'ſo ſufficiently declare, that it is the Lord's doing, 'which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, ſo it will 'juſtly be a matter of wonder and aſtoniſhment to 'generations to come, and may ſufficiently ſerve, if 'rightly obſerved, to confute and confound that 'atheiſm wherewith this age doth ſo much abound: 'As the vindication of the liberty of conſcience '(which thy father, by giving way to the importunate 'clamours of the Clergy, the anſwering and fulfil-'ling of thoſe unrighteous wills has often proved hurt-'ful and pernicious to Princes, ſought in ſome part 'to reſtrain) was a great occaſion of the troubles and 'revolutions, ſo the pretence of conſcience, was that 'which carried it on and brought it to the pitch it 'came to; and tho' (no doubt) ſome that were en-'gaged in that work deſigned good things, at leaſt in 'the beginning, (albeit, always wrong in the manner 'they took to accompliſh it; viz. by carnal weapons) 'yet ſo ſoon as they had taſted that ſweet of the poſ-'ſeſſions of them they had turned out, they quickly 'began to do thoſe things themſelves for which they 'had accuſed others; for their hands were found full 'of oppreſſion, and they hated the reproof of in-'ſtruction, which is the way of life; and they evilly 'intreated the meſſengers of the Lord, and cauſed to 'beat and impriſon his prophets, and perſecuted his 'people, whom he had called and gathered out from 'among them, whom he had made to beat their 'ſwords into plowſhares, and their ſpears into pruning 'hooks, and not to learn carnal war any more; 'but he raiſed them up and armed them with ſpiritual 'weapons, even with his own ſpirit and power, where-'by they teſtified in the ſtreets, and highways, and pub-'lick markets, and ſynagogues, againſt the pride, vanity, 'luſts, and hypocriſy of that generation, who were 'righteous in their own eyes, tho' often cruelly in-'treated therefore; and they faithfully propheſied 'and foretold them of their judgment and downfal 'which came upon them, as by ſeveral writings and 'epiſtles delivered to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, 'the Parliament, and other then powers, yet upon 'record doth appear.' Tho' it was evident enough from this language that the author did not intend by this addreſs to depart at all from his principles, yet he thought it requiſite to affirm this ſtill more expreſsly, and to ſhew his meaning in this addreſs more clearly, in the following paragraphs: 'As it is in-'conſiſtent with the truth I bear, ſo it is far from me to 'uſe this epiſtle as an engine to flatter thee, the uſual 'deſign of ſuch works; and therefore, I can neither 'dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if 'thereby I might have more confidence to preſent it 'to the world, or be more hopeful of it's ſucceſs; 'to God alone I owe what I have, and that more im-'mediately in matters ſpiritual, and therefore to him 'alone, and to the ſervice of his truth, I dedicate 'whatever work he brings forth in me, to whom only 'the praiſe and honour appertain, whoſe truth needs 'not the patronage of worldly Princes, his arm and 'power being that alone by which it is propagated, 'eſtabliſhed, and confirmed: But I found it upon my 'ſpirit to take occaſion to preſent this book unto thee, 'that as thou haſt been often warned by ſeveral of 'that people who are inhabitants of England, ſo thou 'mayeſt not want a ſeaſonable advertiſement from a 'member of thy antient kingdom of Scotland, and 'that thou mayeſt know (which I hope thou ſhalt 'have no reaſon to be troubled at) that God is raiſing 'up and increaſing that people in that nation; and 'the nations ſhall alſo hereby know, that the truth we 'poſſeſs is not a work of darkneſs, or propagated by 'ſtealth, and that we are not aſhamed of the goſpel 'of Chriſt, becauſe as we know it to be the power of 'God to ſalvation, and that we are no ways ſo incon-'ſiſtent with government, nor ſuch diſturbers of the 'peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have ſought 'to make the world believe we are; for which to thee 'I dare appeal, as a witneſs of our peaceableneſs and 'Chriſtian patience. Generations to come ſhall not 'more admire that ſingular ſtep of divine providence, 'in reſtoring thee to thy throne without outward 'bloodſhed, than they ſhall admire the increaſe and 'progreſs of this truth without all outward help, and 'againſt ſo great oppoſition, which ſhall be none of 'the leaſt things rendering thy memory remarkable: 'God hath done great things for thee, he hath ſuf-'ficiently ſhewn thee, that it is by him Princes rule, 'and that he can pull down and ſet up at his pleaſure; 'he hath often warned thee by his ſervants, ſince he 'reſtored thee to thy royal dignity, that thy heart 'might not wax wanton againſt him, to forget his mer-'cies and providences towards thee, whereby he might 'permit thee to be ſoothed up and lulled aſleep in thy 'ſins by the flattering of court paraſites, who, by their 'fawning, are the ruin of many Princes.' But what follows in that dedication, is ſtill much ſtronger and more extraordinary, ſhewing clearly the ſpirit of the author, and how much truth there was in his aſſuring the King, that he did not write in order to flatter him: 'There is no King in the world, who can ſo experi-'mentally teſtify of God's providence and goodneſs, 'neither is there any who rules ſo many free people, 'ſo many true Chriſtians, which thing renders thy 'government more honourable, thyſelf more conſide-'rable, than the acceſſion of many nations filled with 'ſlaviſh and ſuperſtitious ſouls. Thou haſt taſted of 'proſperity and adverſity, thou knoweſt what it is to be 'baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled, as 'well as to rule, and ſit upon the throne, and being op-'preſſed, thou haſt reaſon to know, how hateful 'the oppreſſor is both to God and man: If after all 'thoſe warnings and advertiſements, thou doſt not 'turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him 'who remembred thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thy 'ſelf to follow luſt and vanity, ſurely, great will be 'thy condemnation.' As to the book, it is entirely methodical, and contains a logical demonſtration of the propoſitions ſent abroad in his Theſes Theologicæ, and theſe, in few words, were as follow: I. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge. II. Concerning immediate revelation. III. Concerning the ſcriptures. IV. Concerning the condition of man in the fall. V. & VI. Concerning the univerſal redemption by Chriſt, and alſo the ſaving and ſpiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened. VII. Concerning juſtification. VIII. Concerning perfection. IX. Concerning perſeverance, and the poſſibility of falling from grace. X. Concerning the miniſtry. XI. Concerning worſhip. XII. Concerning baptiſm. XIII. Concerning the communion, or participation, of the body and blood of Chriſt. XIV. Concerning the power of the civil magiſtrates in matters purely religious and pertaining to the conſcience. XV. Concerning ſalutations and recreations, &c. He diſcourſes very largely and learnedly upon theſe heads, and yet with wonderful eaſe, and with the greateſt plainneſs imaginable; which may be eſteemed one great reaſon, why this book of his was ſo univerſally read and eſteemed by all ranks and degrees of people, and even by ſuch as oppoſed his doctrines with the greateſt zeal. His concluſion is remarkably pathetick, and he therein ſtates, with as much brevity and perſpicuity as is poſſible, the doctrines owned by, and thoſe imputed to Quakers by their adverſaries; which, as it contains a great deal of matter in a very narrow compaſs, the reader will probably, not be diſpleaſed to ſee: 'Thus, *ſays he*, be-'cauſe we have deſired people earneſtly to feel after 'God, near and in themſelves, telling them, that 'their notions of God, as he is beyond the clouds, 'will little avail them, if they do not feel him near: 'Hence they have ſought maliciouſly to infer, that 'we deny any God except that which is within us. 'Becauſe we tell people, that it is the light and the law 'within, and not the letter without, that can truly 'tell them their condition and lead them out of all 'evil: Hence they ſay, we vilify the ſcriptures, and 'ſet up our own imaginations above them; becauſe 'we tell them, that it is not their talking or believing 'of Chriſt's outward life, ſufferings, death, and re-'ſurrection, no more than the Jews crying, the temple

of

be naturally ſuppoſed, that a performance of this nature could not remain long unattacked; and accordingly we find it has been over and over anſwered, as well abroad as at home, which has only contributed to make it more read and more eſteemed, while very few of theſe anſwers have been hitherto much regarded, though many of them fell from the pens of men, who had before gained conſiderable reputation in the learned world [*F*]. Our author

' of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, that will ſerve ' their turn, or juſtify them in the ſight of God, but ' that they muſt know Chriſt in them, whom they ' have crucified, to be raiſed, and to juſtify them, and ' redeem them from their iniquities; hence, they ſay, ' we deny the life, death, and ſufferings of Chriſt, ' juſtification by his blood, and the remiſſion of ſins ' through him. Becauſe we tell them, while they ' are talking and determining about the reſurrection, ' that they have more need to know the juſt one ' whom they have ſlain, raiſed in themſelves, and to ' be ſure they are partakers in the firſt reſurrection, ' and that if this be, they will be the more capable to ' judge of the ſecond; hence, they ſay, that we deny the ' reſurrection of the body. Becauſe, when we hear ' them talk fooliſhly of heaven and hell, and the laſt ' judgment, we exhort them to come out of that helliſh ' condition they are in, and come down to the judg- ' ment of Chriſt in their own hearts, and believe in ' the light and follow it, that ſo they may come to ſit ' in the heavenly places that are in Chriſt Jeſus: hence, ' they maliciouſly ſay, that we deny any heaven or hell ' but that which is within us, and that we deny any ' general judgment; which ſlanders, the Lord knows ' are foully caſt on us, whom God hath raiſed for ' this end, and gathered us, that by us he might con- ' found the wiſdom of the wiſe, and bring to nought ' the underſtanding of the prudent.' Theſe citations will afford the reader, a very clear notion of the general ſcope of this work, and of the ſpirit and ſtile of this author, to which end they were abſolutely neceſſary, ſince his manner of thinking and writing, have in them ſomething ſo peculiar, that it is not poſſible to give the reader a juſt view of them any other way. It is ſaid by Mr Voltaire, that Barclay's Addreſs and book had a proper effect upon King Charles II, and put a ſtop to that perſecution, to which the people called Quakers had been ſo much expoſed for many years (22): This, however, is very far from being well founded, for after this book was publiſhed, the Quakers were treated with as great or greater ſeverity than before; and, which comes ſtill cloſer to the point, both Colonel David Barclay, our author's father, and our author himſelf, had their ſhare therein, which plainly proves this fact could not be true; yet the King, perhaps, might be in ſome meaſure excuſed, for the heats of party in thoſe times were ſo violent, that it was not in his power to hinder the law, under colour of which the Quakers were perſecuted, from being put in execution. The ſuſpicion he lay under of favouring Popery, put it out of his power to ſhew any indulgence to Diſſenters of any denomination, and the enemies of the Quakers had ſo much addreſs as to throw a ſuſpicion of Popery even on them, tho' the writings of their moſt conſiderable men, and particularly thoſe of Robert Barclay, are not only penned with as much warmth, but are to the full as concluſive againſt the doctrines of Popery, as any publiſhed by Proteſtants of what denomination ſoever (23). But tho' our author's apology had not this effect of ſtopping the perſecution againſt the people in whoſe cauſe it was written; yet it anſwered a more important end, by ſhewing, that the pretences upon which they were perſecuted were falſe and ill grounded; and that thoſe, who, on one ſide, repreſented them as concealed Papiſts, and ſuch, as, on the other hand, denied their being Chriſtians, were equally in the wrong, and equally miſled by their prejudices; and this ſufficiently juſtifies what we have ſaid in the text, of the great ſervice our author's work did to thoſe of his perſuaſion.

(22) Letters on the Engliſh Nation.

(23) See his Catechiſm, his Apology, his Vindication of his Apology, and other Tracts, as to the points controverted between Proteſtants and Papiſts.

[*F*] *Gained conſiderable reputation in the learned world.*] The author's deſign in writing this book, was not to ſhew his learning, though very great, or to magnify the cauſe he maintained, but to come at truth. It was with this view, he firſt ſent abroad the *Theſes Theologicæ*, containing the propoſitions which he intended to maintain, and a ſhort explanation of their ſenſe, and this he did, that he might obtain from ſuch learned men as examined them, the objections to which they thought them liable. He next publiſhed the work itſelf in the Latin tongue, that it might again paſs the examination of thoſe who had read his firſt ſcheme, or draught of it; and after this, he tranſlated it himſelf into Engliſh, for the general uſe of his countrymen. There could not certainly be a better or a fairer way found of bringing the ſentiments he defended to the teſt of reaſon and ſcripture; and accordingly we find, that upon the firſt appearance of his propoſitions, they were examined by a perſon of great note amongſt foreign Divines, one *Nicholas Arnold*, Profeſſor in the univerſity of Franequer (24), who had gained a great character by his polemical writings, and who undertook to deliver his ſentiments of our author's work in a *Theological Exercitation*; and our author ſtated and anſwered all his objections in his book ſo fully, that nothing more was heard from him upon that ſubject. The next who appeared in this controverſy was Mr John Brown, a Preſbyterian Divine in Scotland, of whoſe performance we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the next note. The third anſwer to the Apology fell from the pen of *John George Bojerus* of the Lutheran Church, Doctor in, and Profeſſor of, Divinity at Jena (25). He wrote a large piece on the ſubject of *the Beginning of the true and ſaving Knowledge of* God, in which he very confidently attacks our author's *Theſes* and *Apology*, intermixing ſome very harſh and injurious expreſſions, with what little he has in his book of argument; as for inſtance, he pretends that many of Barclay's expreſſions are improper, others abſurd, and ſome unintelligible, but he was anſwered by Mr George Keith, who was then our author's great friend; becauſe at that time, Barclay's thoughts were ſo taken up with other concerns, that he had not leiſure to write himſelf: This anſwer of Mr Keith's was ſo full, and, with reſpect to the learned world, ſo ſatisfactory, that the Profeſſor in Divinity never thought fit to reply to it (26). But it was not long before the Apology was attacked again by a Divine of the Augſburg Confeſſion, one *Chriſtopher Holthuſius* (27), a famous Preacher at Francfort, whoſe work has received great commendations, and by ſome is repreſented as unanſwerable, and a clear confutation of Barclay: But the book being penned in the German language, is perhaps the beſt reaſon for it's having remained ſo long without an anſwer, and if it's merit was really ſo great as is pretended, one would think, that ſome or other of the German Divines would have put it into Latin, that, in this reſpect, it might have ſtood upon a level with the Apology, and the Anſwer be as univerſally read as the book itſelf. When our author's old friend and fellow-labourer *George Keith*, deſerted the Quakers, he thought he could not do a greater ſervice to the cauſe he had embraced, than by writing againſt the Apology, and accordingly he publiſhed an anſwer to it, under the title of *the Quakers Standard examined*, of which we ſhall give an ample account in another place (28). But beſides theſe large works, which were written expreſsly againſt our author's Apology, there were others penned againſt particular parts of it. As for inſtance, Barclay, having in that work attacked, in his firſt, ſeventh, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth theſes, the Lutherans, their ſentiments were defended by one Mr Reiſer, a native of Augſburg, who being driven from that city for his religion, retired to Hamburgh, and there became Paſtor of the church of St James (28). The title of his book was, *Anti-Barclaius, id eſt, Examen Apologiæ, quam non ita pridem* Robertus Barclaius, *Scoto-Britannus, pro Theologiâ vere Chriſtiana edidit, inſtitutum in gratiam Evangelicorum, a* L. Anton. Reiſero *Auguſtano, nunc Paſtore ad D. Jacobi Hamburgenſis.* That is, ' Barclay refuted, or an Examination ' of the Apology not long ago publiſhed by Robert Bar- ' clay, a Scotſman, for the true Chriſtian Divinity, in ' defence of the Lutherans, &c.' We have a large account of this work in the Literary Journal of Leipſick, and a ſhorter in Baillet. This author is reputed a man of learning and ability, but however, he gives his antagoniſt a good deal of hard language, charging him with many abſurdities and various contradictions, yet, upon

(24) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

(25) G. Croſe's Hiſt. of the Quaker's, P. ii. p. 90

(26) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 156.

(27) Hiſtory of the Quakers, P. ii. p. 91.

(28) See his article in this Dictionary.

(29) Acta Eruditor. A. D. 1683, p. 553.

author was not in the leaſt elevated by the ſurprizing ſucceſs of his writings, or the high veneration expreſſed for his abilities, even by the warmeſt of his adverſaries. On the contrary, he went on in his former method, and in the ſpace of two or three years following, publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of the doctrine delivered in that book, and thereby maintained the credit he had gained, and did incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe[G]. He travelled likewiſe with the famous Mr William Penn, through

upon the whole, he freely acknowledges, that the Lutherans, in whoſe defence he writes, have ſome defects in their diſcipline, which the wiſeſt and moſt pious men amongſt them wiſh to ſee corrected. The Journaliſts of Leipſick, in ſpeaking of this work, give a very high character of our author Barclay and his performance, and Baillet alſo acknowledges, that the Apology was looked upon as a moſt extraordinary book in it's kind, and in which, the defence of the Quakers was carried as far as it was poſſible (29). The famous Mr *Thomas Bennet*, who fought to raiſe his character, by attacking all who differed from the Church of England, publiſhed in 1705, a large work againſt the Quakers, which was very highly commended: The title of it ran thus, *A Confutation of Quakeriſm, or a plain proof of the falſehood of what the principal Quaker Writers (eſpecially Mr R. Barclay in his Apology and other works) do teach, concerning the neceſſity of immediate Revelation in order to a ſaving Chriſtian Faith, the being, nature, and operation of the pretended univerſal Light within, it's ſtirring with men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the miniſtry, regeneration, ſanctification, juſtification, ſalvation, and union of God, the nature of a Church, the rule of faith, water-baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; diverſe queſtions alſo concerning Perfection, Chriſt's Satisfaction, the judge of controverſies, &c. are briefly ſtated and reſolved.* In this, as in all his other writings, Mr Bennet diſcovers a great deal of heat and acrimony, but at the ſame time he confeſſes, that our author's Apology is the exacteſt piece that ever was written in defence of Quakeriſm. His book was anſwered by ſeveral perſons, and ſome of them treated him very roughly, as the reader will ſee in it's proper place (30). The famous Mr *Trenchard* (31), has likewiſe written with as much reaſon and good ſenſe, and much greater decency againſt our author, than any of his opponents, and he allows, that Chriſtian Divinity as ſtated in his Apology, is a moſt maſterly, charitable, and reaſonable ſyſtem, but his exception lies againſt the firſt principle of our author's doctrine, which is immediate Revelation, and which, this great man would willingly exchange for human reaſon, and this done, he ſays, he could have readily ſubſcribed to a great part of his ſyſtem; we ſhall ſee hereafter what our author ſaid to a very great man, who, in his life-time, propoſed the very ſame difficulty, and thereby engaged him to write largely upon this ſubject, which pieces of his it is very probable Mr Trenchard never ſaw. The laſt antagoniſt of his that I ſhall mention, is the famous Mr Thomas Chubb, who, in the year 1726, publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe, occaſioned by the remarks of Mr Trenchard before-mentioned, which was called *An Examination of Mr Barclay's Principles with regard to man's natural ability ſince the Fall, as laid down in his book, intituled* an Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth, and preached by the people, called, in ſcorn, Quakers. *Wherein is ſhewn, that the ſaid principles are erroneous, and in which human nature is vindicated from the burthen and reproach he has loaded it with; in a Letter to a friend, occaſioned by the great commendation given to Mr Barclay's performance in the Britiſh Journal,* No. XXXI. *and now offered to the conſideration of the people called Quakers.* In the very beginning of this treatiſe the author declares roundly, that in his opinion, Mr Barclay's book contained, a confuſed, abſurd ſcheme of religion, in which God was conſidered as dealing with his creatures, not according to the moral fitneſs of things, but from arbitrary pleaſure. This induced one Mr Bevan to write a treatiſe againſt his, which was intituled, *Supernatural influences neceſſary to Salvation, being a vindication of the fourth propoſition of R. Barclay's Apology*; to which Mr Chubb replied in a treatiſe intituled, *Human Nature vindicated*, as he likewiſe did to a letter written by Dr Thomas Morgan of Briſtol, in ſupport of our author Barclay's opinion, and after this he wrote two other pieces againſt the ſame adverſaries, in which he purſues his argument againſt the Apology with his uſual vehemence (32). Thus we have given the reader a ſhort account of the anſwers to the Apology, in caſe he ſhould be inclined to examine this controverſy to the bottom, but at the ſame time we muſt put him in mind, that even the moſt bitter of his antagoniſts have conſtantly owned, that our author was a man of great candour and charity, one who loved truth ſincerely, and did not make uſe of his great learning and abilities, in order to impoſe, by the ſtrength of them, his own opinions on weaker minds.

(29) Jugemens des Sçavants, Tom. XII. edit. Amſterd. 1725. p. 249, 250.

(30) See his article in this Dictionary.

(31) Britiſh Journal, No. XXX and XXXI, and in the Collection of Cato's Letters.

(32) See Chubb's Tracts, 4to, 1730.

[G] *Incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe.*] In the text ſome notice was taken of a diſpute managed by our author againſt ſome ſtudents of Aberdeen: It made a great ſtir in the world, and the more becauſe both ſides claimed the victory, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to print a full account of it, which was accordingly done under the following title. *A true and faithful account of the moſt material paſſages of a diſpute, between ſome Students of Divinity (ſo called) of the Univerſity of Aberdeen, and the People called Quakers, held in Aberdeen in Scotland, in Alexander Harper his cloſe (or yard) before ſome hundred of witneſſes, upon the fourteenth day of the ſecond month called April* 1675, *there being John Leſly, Alexander Sherreff, and Paul Gellie, Maſter of Arts, Opponents; and Defendants upon the Quakers part, Robert Barclay, and George Keith, Præſes for moderating the meeting choſen by them, Andrew Thompſon, Advocate, and by the Quakers, Alexander Skein, ſome time a Magiſtrate of the City: Publiſhed for preventing Miſ-reports by Alexander Skein, John Skein, Alexander Harper, Thomas Merſer, and John Cowie; to which is added, Robert Barclay's offer to the Preachers of Aberdeen, renewed and reinforced.* This was ſoon after followed by another piece in ſupport and defence of the Apology, or rather of the principles laid down in the Apology, which are likewiſe thoſe of the former diſpute, occaſioned by the ſtudents publiſhing a book, in which this whole controverſy was very unfairly ſtated. The title of this treatiſe, in which our author was, as the reader will ſee, aſſiſted by one of the Brethren, ran in the following terms; *Quakeriſm confirmed, or a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the People called Quakers, from the Arguments and Objections of the Students of Divinity (ſo called) of Aberdeen, in their Book intituled Quakeriſm canvaſſed; by Robert Barclay, and George Keith.* But beſides theſe formal challenges from the Students, our author and his friends were expoſed to ſome attempts of another ſort, ſuch as the large book written by Mr John Brown againſt our author's Apology, in which he labours to prove, that the principles of Quakeriſm, inſtead of leading to Chriſtian perfection, were like to lead people into heatheniſm; and that, in ſhort, it was a ſyſtem raiſed out of private men's opinions, who had ſuch high conceits of their own notions, as to fancy them all ſuggeſted by the *Holy Spirit*. This book came out ſoon after our author's was publiſhed in Holland, in the Latin tongue, and Mr Barclay quickly wrote a reply to it, which however he did not publiſh till ſome years afterwards, that is, he did not ſend it abroad till his firſt and great work, the Apology, came out, in Engliſh; that the generality of readers might have before them the whole controverſy in one language. This vindication was eſteemed by many (33), and particularly, by William Penn, to be equal in every reſpect to his Apology, and we do not find that either Brown, or any of his friends, offered any thing by way of rejoinder to this reply of our author's, who gave it the following title, viz. *Robert Barclay's Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity vindicated, from John Brown's Examination and pretended Confutation thereof, in his Book called,* Quakeriſm the Path-way to Paganiſm: *In which Vindication John Brown his many groſs Perverſions and Abuſes are diſcovered, and his furious and violent Railings*

(33) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. 31.

through the greateſt part of England, Holland, and Germany, was every where received with reſpect, and diſmiſſed with concern; for though his converſation as well as his manners were ſtrictly ſuitable to his doctrine, yet there was ſuch a ſpirit and livelineſs in his diſcourſe, and ſuch a ſerenity and chearfulneſs in his deportment, as rendered him extreamly agreeable to all ſorts of people (*n*). It was indeed the peculiar felicity of Mr Barclay, to gain ſo entire a conqueſt over envy, as to paſs through life (and which is ſo much the more wonderful, ſuch a life as his was) with almoſt univerſal applauſe, and without the leaſt imputation on his integrity. The great buſineſs of his life was doing good, promoting what he thought to be the knowlege of God, and conſequently the happineſs of man. He diſcovered the true principles of his life and conduct, in a large treatiſe of his upon the ſubject of *Univerſal Love*, in which he manifeſts ſuch high, and with all, ſuch rational ſentiments of humanity, as have juſtly recommended to univerſal applauſe, this noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence (*o*) [*H*]. His talents however were not entirely confined to this kind of abſtracted writing, he was very capable of ſhining in another ſphere, and of treating ſuch affairs as the world eſteems of greateſt conſequence, with as much dignity, and as thorough a comprehenſion, as any man of his time, as appeared (when publiſhed) from his excellent letter to the publick Miniſters at Nimeguen, and therefore we need not be ſurprized, that notwithſtanding his profeſſion, this epiſtle was received with all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible (*p*) [*I*]. His great modeſty,

(*n*) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

(*o*) See the preface to R. Barclay's Works, p. 27.

(*p*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 569. Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

Railings and Revilings ſoberly rebuked by R. B. It was written, as we have obſerved, in 1677, but was not printed till 1679. Before our author's Vindication appeared, Brown's book was much magnified by his party in Scotland and Holland, which made the reply neceſſary.

[*H*] *This noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence.*] This treatiſe in which abundance of very weighty points are with great judgment and moderation handled, was penned by our author in the priſon of Aberdeen in the beginning of the year 1677, and publiſhed ſoon after under the following title: *Univerſal Love conſidered and eſtabliſhed upon it's right Foundation, being a ſerious Enquiry how far Charity may, and ought to extend towards Perſons of different Judgments in matters of Religion, and whoſe Principles among the ſeveral Sects of Chriſtians, do moſt naturally lead to that due moderation required, writ in the Spirit of Love and Meekneſs for the removing of Stumbling-blocks out of the way of the Simple, by a Lover of the Souls of all Men, R. B.* In this, as in all his other performances, our author was extremely methodical, taking the utmoſt care to handle thoroughly every part of his ſubject, and not to digreſs from it, ſo that whatever point is ſought for therein may be immediately found, and the reaſons on which he maintains it This diſcourſe he divided into five ſections, the firſt containing an account of his own experience in this matter, and the reaſons which induced him to write upon this ſubject; in the ſecond, the nature of Chriſtian love and charity is demonſtrated, ſhewn to be conſiſtent with true zeal, and the means of diſtinguiſhing this from falſe zeal; in the third, we find the controverſy ſtated with reſpect to the different ſorts of Chriſtians, how it is to be fetched from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular perſons; the fourth, contains an examination of the principles of ſeveral ſorts of theſe called Chriſtians, compared with this univerſal love and found defective; as 1. of Papiſts; 2. of Proteſtants in general; 3. of Socinians; and in the fifth, ſome principles of Chriſtianity are propoſed, as they are held by a great body of people, and ſome gathered churches in Great Britain and Ireland, which do very well agree with true univerſal love. Thus the reader may perceive, that the great end and deſign of this work was to recommend the perſuaſion he had embraced, as having in it a greater meaſure of Chriſtian charity than any other Church whatever. In the firſt ſection of this treatiſe, the author gives a large account of his own conduct in his youth, which, as it ſtrictly regards his perſonal hiſtory, cannot but be agreeable to the inquiſitive reader, and ſhall therefore find a place here in his own words (34):

(34) Barclay's Works, p. 678.

'My firſt education from my infancy up, fell amongſt 'the ſtricteſt ſort of Calviniſts, thoſe of our country 'being acknowledged to be the ſevereſt of that ſect in 'the heat of zeal, ſurpaſſing not only Geneva, (from 'whence they derive their pedigree) but all other the 'Reformed Churches abroad (ſo called); ſo that ſome 'of the French Proteſtants, being upbraided with the 'fruits of this zeal, as it appeared in Jo. Knox, Buchanan, and others do; (beſides what is peculiar to 'their principles of this kind) alledge the ſuper-abundance thereof, to proceed *a fervido Scotorum ingenio*: i. e. from the violent complexion of our countrymen. I had ſcarce got out of my childhood 'when I was, by the permiſſion of Divine Providence, caſt among the company of Papiſts, and my 'tender years and immature capacity, not being able 'to withſtand and reſiſt the inſinuations that were 'uſed to proſelyte me to that way, I became quickly 'defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued 'therein for a time, until it pleaſed God, through his 'rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of thoſe ſnares, 'and to give me a clear underſtanding of the evil of 'that way. In both theſe ſects the reader may eaſily 'believe, that I had abundant occaſion to receive impreſſions contrary to the principles of love herein 'treated of, ſeeing, the ſtraitneſs of ſeveral of their 'doctrines, as well as their practice of perſecution, do 'abundantly declare, how oppoſite they are to univerſal love, as ſhall hereafter more at large be ſhewn. 'And albeit the time it pleaſed God to deliver me 'out of theſe ſnares, I was ſo young, that it may be 'preſumed, my obſervations could be but weak, and 'conſequently, my experience inconſiderable; yet 'foraſmuch as from my very childhood, I was very ambitious of knowledge, and by a certain felicity of underſtanding (I think I may ſay without vanity) ſucceſsful beyond many of my equals in age (though my 'obſervations at that time were but weak); yet ſince 'I have with more leiſure and circumſpection gathered 'thence ſo much experience, as I am confident will 'ſerve for a ſufficient foundation to any ſuperſtructure 'I ſhall build upon it in this treatiſe. The time that 'intervened betwixt my forſaking of the Church of 'Rome, and joining with whom I now ſtand engaged, 'I kept myſelf free from joining with any ſort of 'people, though I took liberty to hear ſeveral; and 'my converſe was moſt with thoſe that inveigh much 'againſt judging, and ſuch kind of ſeverity, ſeeming 'to complain greatly for want of this Chriſtian charity 'amongſt all ſects, which latitude may perhaps be 'eſteemed the other extream, oppoſite to the preciſeneſs of theſe other ſects, whereby I alſo received 'an opportunity to know what uſually is pretended on 'that ſide likewiſe, and thence can ſay ſomewhat experimentally on that part alſo.' There needs no more than to read this ſhort account of him from his own pen, to be abſolutely ſatisfied of the openneſs, ſimplicity, and frankneſs of his mind, which proſperity could not corrupt, or adverſity four, ſo true a ſenſe he had of his duty, and ſo little did he conſider what befel him while he was doing it.

[*I*] *With all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible.*] The congreſs held at Nimeguen was to compoſe the long and perplexed liſt of diſputes, which for many years had diſturbed the peace of Europe, and had produced the fatal war of 1672, ſo prejudicial to the Dutch (35). This congreſs began in 1675, and the Plenipotentiaries appointed by King Charles II were Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins: All the Ambaſſadors preſent in this aſſembly, were looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt accompliſhed perſons

(35) See Sir Will. Temple's Letters, and the Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

modeſty, his extenſive learning, and, above all, his known ſincerity in matters of Philoſophy and Religion, made him acceptable to all, who were ſeriouſly inclined to the examination of thoſe important truths, which ought to influence the conduct of men in their paſſage through this life; and his zeal for theſe truths on the other hand, made him ever ready and willing to lend his aſſiſtance to ſuch, as doubted about thoſe things he thought clear and certain. There was a perſon of diſtinction in Holland, the Heer Adrian Paets, who had turned his conſiderations on ſuch ſubjects, and having received ſome wrong impreſſions as to the principles of the Quakers, wrote upon this head an epiſtle to Chriſtian Hartzoeker, which was not long after made publick. With this worthy perſon, after his return from Spain, where he was reſident with a publick character, from the States-General, our author had a long conference *On the Poſſibility of an inward and immediate Revelation* (*q*), which at parting he recommended to our author's recollection, which he underſtood to be an invitation to ſend him his farther thoughts upon that important point. He accordingly digeſted them into a large Latin letter, dated the twenty-fourth of November, 1676, which letter he tranſmitted to his friend Benjamin Furley at Rotterdam, who about a year after delivered it to the perſon for whom it was directed, and deſired, that if he was not entirely ſatisfied he would write an anſwer, which he promiſed but did not perform. Some years after, the Heer Adrian Paets coming over to England, as one of the Commiſſioners for the Eaſt India company, our author ſaw him at London, and diſcourſed him again upon this head, repreſenting the matter to him, ſo that he readily yielded *he had been miſtaken in his notion of the* Quakers, *for he found they could make a reaſonable plea for the foundation of their religion* (*r*). Upon conſidering this matter attentively, and being urged thereto by his friends, our author thought fit to tranſlate this letter into Engliſh, and to make it publick in the year 1686, which he accordingly did. It was the laſt, but not the leaſt, of the ſervices he rendered to thoſe of his perſuaſion, and has been eſteemed by ſuch as have read it with attention, as accurate and ſolid a piece as any that ever fell from his pen (*s*) [*K*]. He paſſed the remaining

(*q*) See R. Barclay's preface to the Engliſh verſion of his Epiſtle.

(*r*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 536.

(*s*) See the Preface to his Works, p. 32.

ſons in that age, and to them our author addreſſed his Epiſtle in theſe words: *To the Ambaſſadors and Deputies of the Chriſtian Princes and States met at* Nimeguen, *to conſult the Peace of Chriſtendom, R. B. a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and hearty well-wiſher to the Chriſtian World, wiſhes Increaſe of Grace and Peace, and the Spirit of ſound Judgment, with Hearts inclined and willing to receive and obey the Counſel of God.* He proceeds to inform them, that being the ſummer before in Holland and Germany, it firſt came into his mind, from ſeeing the miſeries induced by war, to write to them as he now did, but that however he waited, as not willing to be haſty in a matter of ſuch importance, and now being at leiſure, and at his own home, he chearfully addreſſed himſelf to this great work, laying open to them the true cauſes of war, confuſion, and bloodſhed, the dreadful and barbarous conſequences attending it, and the only certain and indubitable means of attaining, by the purſuit of Chriſtian principles, true, laſting, and ſolid peace. After ſigning this letter, he dates it thus: 'This came 'upon me from the Lord to write unto you, at Ury in 'my native country of Scotland, the ſecond of the 'month called November 1677:' After this we find the following account of the manner in which this letter was circulated, viz. 'Copies of the aforeſaid e-'piſtle in Latin, were upon the 23d and 24th days 'of the month called February 1678, delivered at 'Nimeguen to the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, of 'the Kings of Great Britain, Spain, and France, 'Sweden, and Denmark, of the Prince Elector Pala-'tine, as alſo of the States-General, and of the Dukes 'of Lorrain, Holſtein, Lunenburg, Oſnabrug, Ha-'nover, and the Pope's Nuncio, to wit, one to each 'Ambaſſador, and one to each of their Principals, 'together with ſo many copies of the book, whereof 'the author makes mention in the letter: The title 'whereof is, Robert Barclay his Apology, &c.' It is not at this diſtance of time poſſible to ſay what effect this epiſtle of our author's produced; but whatever it was, in regard to quickening the great work of peace, which was accompliſhed ſoon after, moſt certainly it took off thoſe prejudices, and wore away thoſe prepoſſeſſions, which had been obtruded on them, with regard to the people called Quakers, as if they were a company of wild, ignorant, enthuſiaſtic creatures, governed by no certain principles, and aiming at no certain end; whereas this ſhewed them to be men of thought and ſolidity, addicted to no opinion ſo extravagant, as not to be comprehended in a general ſyſtem, or not equally calculated for promoting true piety and publick peace.

[*K*] *As accurate and ſolid a piece as ever fell from our author's pen.*] This treatiſe, though not very long, has been regarded however, as the very corner-ſtone of this ſyſtem of Divinity, and as ſuch we find it inſerted at large in Sewell's Hiſtory of the Quakers, with ſeveral other pieces relating thereto (36). In the Engliſh edition publiſhed by our author, the title at large ran thus: 'The Poſſibility and Neceſſity of inward and im-'mediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the 'Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved in a 'Letter written in Latin to a Perſon of Quality in Hol-'land, and now alſo put into Engliſh by R. B.' His preface before this piece, though very conciſe, contains many cloſe and weighty obſervations altogether out of the common road, and which ſhew that it's author had read and ſtudied what had been advanced on this ſubject by all parties, and the deciſion, as to the rule of faith ſet up by the Papiſts on one hand, and by the Proteſtants on the other, is very well worthy of notice. 'It is, ſays he, a queſtion now 'frequently toſſed, *What is the ground and foundation 'of Faith?* and when the matter is ſifted to the 'bottom, it reſolves in *Tradition* or *Revelation:* For 'thoſe who lay claim to the *Scripture*, and would not 'make it the *foundation* of their *faith*, do reſolve it 'but in a *Tradition*, when the motives of *credibility* 'are inquired into, *ſince* the *ſubjective Revelation* 'which they yield comes but in the laſt place, and is 'by themſelves termed *medium incognitum aſſentiendi*; 'and ſuch a *Revelation* thoſe of *Rome*, will not refuſe 'to influence them to aſſent to the *determination* of 'the *Church*. So thoſe *Proteſtants*, who ſay *the ſub-'jective operation of the Spirit influences them (though 'they know not how) to believe the Scripture, preſented 'and conveyed to them by* Tradition, *as the* dictates *of 'God's* Spirit, *and ſo underſtand them as their* Preachers 'interpret *them*; differ not much, or at leaſt, have 'not reaſon to differ from the *Church* of *Rome*, who 'ſay, *the Spirit influences them to believe the Scriptures* 'as propoſed *by the* Church, *and according as her* 'Doctors *and* Councils *interpret them*. And neither 'has any better foundation than *Tradition*, and to 'ſpeak the truth plainly, the faith of both reſolves 'in the *veneration* they have for their *Doctors*, but 'whereas the one affirms they do it by an *entire ſub-'miſſion*, they think it decent to ſay, *they judge them 'infallible*, and certainly, it is moſt reaſonable, that 'ſuch as affirm the *firſt*, believe in the *laſt*. The 'other, becauſe they pretend they *believe the Church, 'but continually have denied to her*, infallibility, tho' 'generally they be as credulous as the other, and I 'find the *Doctors* of their *Church* as angry to be *con-*

(36) See that Hiſtory, p. 536.

'*tradicted*

remaining part of his life in quiet and peace, having a large family, which he governed with great dignity, wiſdom and diſcretion, living always decently and honourably upon his own fortune, which was very conſiderable. He died at his own houſe at Ury, on the third of October 1690, very near the forty-ſecond year of his age, of a ſickneſs which did not laſt long, and in which he teſtified the greateſt calmneſs and ſerenity of mind, grounded on a thorough confidence in God (*t*). Thoſe of his own perſuaſion gave, as they had juſt reaſon, the moſt ample teſtimonies concerning his life and manners, in terms full of warmth and of ſincerity, with ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended [*L*]. But it was not only from them that Robert Barclay received marks of profound eſteem and general approbation, he received the like while living, and his memory has ſince his death been treated with the ſame candour, by thoſe who differed from him in ſentiments, and even by ſuch as deſerted thoſe in which he lived and died, as the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page, though a few inſtances only are there mentioned, out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe (*u*) [*M*]. His

(*t*) See the Teſtimony of P. Levingſtone prefixed to Barclay's Works.

(*u*) See Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, as before cited.

'*traditted* as the other; that is an *ingredient* goes to 'the *compoſition* of all *Clergymen* ſince it became a 'trade, and went to make a part of the *outward policy* 'of the world, from whence has flowed that monſter *Per-* '*ſecution*. In ſhort, the matter is eaſily driven into this 'narrow compaſs: We believe either becauſe of an *out-* '*ward* or *inward teſtimony*, that is, becauſe it is outward- 'ly delivered, or inwardly revealed to us; for my part, 'I think the *Papiſts* do wiſely in pleading for *infal-* '*libility*, for certainly the *true Church* never was nor 'can be without it; and the *Proteſtants* do honeſtly 'in *not claiming it*, becauſe they are ſenſible they '*want it*. I ſhould therefore deſire the one to prove '*that they are infallible*; and adviſe the other to be- 'lieve *they may*, and ſeek after it. But I am ſure, 'neither the one is, nor the other cannot, without '*immediate divine revelation*.'

[*L*] *With ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended.*] There were, I conceive, many good reaſons, eſpecially at this juncture, for prefixing teſtimonies of this nature, to the books of men of this profeſſion; for *firſt*, they ſhewed that ſuch men died, as well as lived in that communion, and truſted in their laſt moments to that faith they had preached while living. *Next* it ſhewed the union and conformity of the doctrines preached by the deceaſed to thoſe of that body of men, the heads of whom gave under their hands their approbations; and thirdly, it ſecured many remarkable paſſages of their lives from oblivion, and eſtabliſhed the truth of ſuch facts beyond all queſtion or altercation: In the preſent caſe, we find at the end of the large Preface to our author's works, a general atteſtation dated at London, September 16, 1691, and ſigned by ſeven of the moſt eminent perſons of that perſuaſion, of theſe the firſt is that of *George Fox*, the father of this ſect, who ſpeaks thus of him: 'He was, ſays he, a ſcholar, and a man 'of great parts, and underwent many calumnies, 'ſlanders, and reproaches, and ſufferings, for the name 'of Chriſt, but the Lord gave him power over them 'all. He travelled often up and down Scotland, 'and in England, and in Holland, and Germany, 'and did good ſervice for the Lord, and was a man 'of repute among men, and preached the ever- 'laſting goſpel of Chriſt freely, turning people from 'darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto 'God.' The next teſtimony to the memory of Robert Barclay, is by his faithful friend *William Penn*, who gives a large account both of his life and writings, with which no man was better acquainted, and therefore, the greater regard ought to be had to what he delivers as to the character of the deceaſed, which take in his own words: 'We ſometimes travelled to- 'gether both in this kingdom and in Holland, and 'ſome parts of Germany, and were inward in diverſe 'ſervices from firſt to laſt, and the apprehenſion I had 'of him was this, he loved the truth and way of 'God, as revealed among us above all the world, and 'was not aſhamed of it before men, but bold and 'able in maintaining it, ſound in judgment, ſtrong in 'argument, chearful in travels and ſufferings, of a 'pleaſant diſpoſition, yet ſolid, plain, and exemplary 'in his converſation; he was a learned man and a 'good Chriſtian, an able miniſter, a dutiful ſon, and 'a loving huſband, a tender and careful father, an 'eaſy maſter, and a good and kind neighbour and 'friend: Theſe eminent qualities in one that had em- 'ployed them ſo ſerviceably, and that had not lived 'much above half the life of a man (having out-lived 'his father but few years, and died at leaſt thirty 'years ſhort of his age) aggravates the loſs of him, 'eſpecially in that nation where he lived.' To add but one more, *Andrew Jaffray*, who had lived with him in all the ſtrictneſs of private friendſhip, as well as a member in the ſame ſociety, and himſelf reputed as honeſt and upright a man as any in his country, ſpeaks of him in theſe terms: 'He was an exemplary 'huſband, parent, and maſter in his family, ſo that 'the beauty, good order, holineſs, gravity, and low- 'lineſs of the truth ſhined therein, I can ſay to my 'refreſhment, and many others as in a quiet habita- 'tion. He was a man of great meekneſs, ſweetneſs, 'and lowlineſs of ſpirit, and of ſuch a bearing con- 'tented mind, that tho' a man of ſuch great parts 'and great authority over evil, in his ſervants, 'and others, yet kept in ſuch a dominion over 'any thing that would have diſordered his own ſpi- 'rit, that I can truly ſay, I never ſaw him in any 'peeviſh, angry, brittle, or diſorderly temper, ſince 'ever I knew him, tho' I had as much intimacy, and 'frequency of concerns with him as moſt thereaway: 'He was ſo far from being lifted up or exalted, by the 'great gifts he had received from his Maker, both in 'truth, and as a man, that I can ſay I have often de- 'ſired to grow in the plain, downright, humble, and 'lowly ſpirit, wherein he became as weak with the 'weakeſt, and poor with the pooreſt, and low with 'the loweſt, as well as he could be deep with thoſe 'that were deep, ſo that in a good meaſure he had 'learned to become all things, to all men with a 'true and upright endeavour to gain ſome.' We may join to theſe the teſtimony of the Hiſtorian, *William Sewell*, an eminent Dutch Quaker, though of Engliſh extraction, the rather, ſince he did not write from hearſay, or with a view of raiſing the credit of one of the moſt eminent defenders of his religious ſentiments, but from his perſonal knowledge, and full perſuaſion from thence of the truth of what he writes. The character he gives him runs thus (37): 'A man of 'eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not 'only in the languages of the learned, but alſo well 'verſed in the writings of the antient Fathers, and 'other eccleſiaſtical writers, and furniſhed with a great 'underſtanding, being not only of a ſound judgment, 'but alſo ſtrong in arguments, chearful in ſufferings; 'beſides, he was of a friendly and pleaſant, yet grave 'converſation, and eminently fitted for the compoſing 'of differences, and he really lived up to what he 'profeſſed, being of an unblameable deportment, 'truly pious, and well beloved of thoſe he converſed 'with.'

(37) Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 627, 628.

[*M*] *Out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe.*] In that learned, candid, and copious Hiſtory of the Quakers, written in Latin by *Gerard Croeſe* (38), who was however, far enough from agreeing with them in opinions, our author and his writings are very often mentioned, and always applauded. The author of the Hiſtory of the Quakers in French, who is ſuppoſed to be a very learned Jeſuit, gives our author a very high character, and ſpeaks of his book as written with the greateſt elegance, his language being, as he ſays, perfectly pure, and his manner of writing cloſe, preciſe, and carrying in it a ſtrong appearance of truth and reaſon (39). Mr *Jeremiah Jones*, tho' a very warm writer, is diſpoſed to think very kindly of our author, and acknowledges him a man unqueſtionably of a good genius (40). Mr *Geo. Keith*, who left the Quakers, and wrote againſt that very

(38) See the Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 150, 151. P. II. p. 35, 90.

(39) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 151.

(40) New and Full Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament, Vol. II. p. 489.

His character being given ſo fully in theſe paſſages, there is no need of expatiating farther on it here.

very book of Barclay's which himſelf had ſo ſtrenuouſly defended, allows nevertheleſs, that he ought to to be placed amongſt ſuch erring Chriſtians, as cannot be denied to be in Chriſt (41). But the famous Mr *Norris* of Bemerton goes much farther, for he tells us, that he cannot help thinking, the ſect of the Quakers to be far the moſt conſiderable of any that divide from the Church, in caſe the Quakeriſm that is generally held be the ſame with that which Mr Barclay has delivered to the world, whom I take, ſays he, to be ſo great a man, that, I profeſs freely, I had rather engage againſt an hundred Bellarmins, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay (42). Mr *Bennett*, who is by many thought to have wrote as well againſt the Quakers as any (43), ſpeaks with great deference of our author's abilities, expreſſed in the defence of theſe people, and ſays, he employed them in dreſſing up their religion to the beſt advantage. The celebrated Mr *Voltaire* (44), ſpeaking of the Apology, allows, that it is a work as well executed as the ſubject would poſſibly admit. And laſt of all Mr *Trenchard* (45), whom we have before-mentioned, aſſerts, with reſpect to the ſame book, that Mr Barclay has defended his opinions with as much wit, happy turn, and maſtery of expreſſion, as is conſiſtent with the plainneſs and ſimplicity affected by thoſe of his ſect, and for the moſt part uſed in the Holy Writings. Thus it clearly appears from the concurring judgments of friends, of enemies, and of indifferent perſons, that our author was both a great and a good man, which is ſufficient to juſtify the pains taken in this article to preſerve his memory, and to repreſent him, as far as we are able, in the light which his learning and labours have ſo well deſerved. E

(41) Quakers Standard examined, p. 469.

(42) Second Treatiſe of the Light within, p. 32.

(43) See the note [F].

(44) Letters on the Engliſh nation, p. 22.

(45) Britiſh Journal, No. XXXI.

BARKHAM, or BARCHAM (JOHN), a very learned Divine and Antiquarian, in the end of the XVIth, and part of the XVIIth century, was born in the pariſh of St Mary the More, in the city of Exeter, about the year 1572 (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of Lawrence Barkham, of St Leonard's, near that city [*A*]; by Joan his wife, daughter of Edward Bridgeman of Exeter, a near relation of John Bridgeman Biſhop of Cheſter. In Michaelmas-term 1587, he was entered a Sojourner of Exeter-college in Oxford; and on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the year following, admitted ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the ſame univerſity (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 5, 1590-1 (*c*), and that of Maſter, Decemb. 12, 1594 (*d*). On the twenty-firſt of June 1596, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college abovementioned; being then in orders (*e*): And July 7, 1603, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*f*). Some time after, he became Chaplain to Ric. Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, after his death, to George Abbot his ſucceſſor in that See (*g*). On the eleventh of June 1608, he was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middleſex (*h*); and on the thirty-firſt of October 1610, to the prebend of Brownſwood, in the cathedral of St Paul's (*i*): moreover, on the twenty-ninth of March 1615, to the rectory of Packleſham (*k*); the twenty-ſeventh of May following to the rectory of Lachingdon (*l*); and, the fifth of December 1616, to the rectory and deanry of Bocking, all in the county of Eſſex (*m*). But, in 1617, he reſigned Packleſham (*n*); as he had done Finchley in 1615 (*o*). The fourteenth of March, 1615, he was created Doctor in Divinity (*p*). He had great ſkill and knowledge in moſt parts of uſeful learning; being an exact Hiſtorian, a good Herald, an able Divine, a curious Critic, maſter of ſeveral languages, an excellent Antiquarian, and well acquainted with coins and medals, of which he had the beſt collection of any clergyman in his time. Theſe he gave to Dr Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made a preſent of them to the univerſity of Oxford; and they are to this day kept in the picture-gallery over the publick ſchools there (*q*). Dr Barkham writ ſeveral pieces [*B*], but never put his name to any. He died at Bocking, March 25, 1642, and was buried in the chancel of that church, without a monument. He was a man of a ſtrict life and converſation, charitable, modeſt, and reſerved in his behaviour and diſcourſe; but, above all, remarkable for thoſe good qualities which become a clergyman (*r*). By his wife, Anne Rogers, of Sandwich in Kent, he had ſeveral children (*s*).

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, &c. by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701. fol. p. 101.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(*c*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 139.

(*d*) Ibid. col. 148.

(*e*) Idem. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem. Faſti, col. 165.

(*g*) Idem, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. Vol. I. p. 605.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 123.

(*k*) Idem. Vol. II. p. 459.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 355.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 68, 69.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 59.

(*o*) Idem. Vol. I. p. 605.

(*p*) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 200.

(*q*) Idem, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Ibid. See alſo Prince, as above; and Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter, p. 276.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The ſecond ſon of* Laurence Barkham, &c.] This *Laurence* was the ſon of William Barkham of Mereſield in Dorſetſhire, where his anceſtors had reſided for above three generations (1). Laurence, abovementioned, was Steward of the city of Exeter in 1576 (2).

[*B*] *Dr Barkham writ ſeveral pieces.*] He was, in particular, very helpful to John Speed, in compoſing his *Hiſtory of Great-Britaine*, &c. as that author thankfully acknowledges, in the following words (3). 'The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of bookes 'and collections, (eſpecially in matters remoter from 'our own times) I continually received from that 'worthy Divine, Maſter *John Barkham*, a gentleman 'compoſed of *learning*, *vertue*, and *curteſie*, as being 'no leſſe ingenuouſly willing, then learnedly able, to 'advance and forward all vertuous endevours.' What part eſpecially of that hiſtory Dr Barkham compoſed, was, I. *The life and reign of King* John; which ſheweth more reading and judgment than any life beſides in that book (4). II. He wrote, or at leaſt had a chief hand in compoſing, *The life and reign of King* Henry II, *in the ſame hiſtory* (5). III. He is likewiſe the author of *The Diſplay of Heraldry*, &c. firſt publiſhed at London in 1610, Fol. under the name of *John Guillim*; being the beſt in that kind for method that ever was printed before. The learned author having moſtly compoſed it in his younger years, thought it too light a ſubject for him (who was a grave Divine) to own. Therefore being well acquainted with *John Guillim*, an Herald, he gave him the copy; who adding ſome trivial things publiſhed it, with the author's leave, under his own name; and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry* (6). IV. He publiſhed Mr Ric. Crakanthorpe's book againſt the Archbiſhop of Spalato, intituled, *Defenſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatenſis injurias*. Lond. 1625, 4to (7). with a learned preface of his own. V. He wrote 'A book con-'cerning Coins;' never publiſhed. He was a great maſter of that ſubject; being, as Fuller expreſſes it (8), 'A greater lover of *coins* than of *money*, rather curious 'in the *ſtamps*, than covetous for the *metal* there-'of.' C

(1) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(2) Prince, as above.

(3) In the ſummary Concluſion of his *Hiſtory*, &c. the laſt page but one.

(4) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra. Which is the King of all the reigns in that book for profound penning: as Fuller expreſſes it, *ubi ſupra*.

(5) See in the article BOULTON (EDMUND).

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 19, & Vol. I. col. 459. Fuller ſays that Guillim 'was 'much beholden 'to this Doctor's 'emendations.' Ubi ſupra.

(7) See the article CRAKANTHORPE (RICHARD) and the article DOMINIS (D. ANTONIO DE).

(8) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM) a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was at firſt a Monk in the Auguſtin-monaſtery of St Oſith in Eſſex; educated in learning there, and

at Oxford, where the religious of that order had an abbey and a priory; and, arriving to a competent knowledge of Divinity, was made Doctor in that faculty (*a*). He was afterwards Prior of the Canons of his order at Biſham in Berkſhire, and by that title was ſent on an embaſſy to Scotland in 1535 (*b*). At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he *readily reſigned his houſe* (*c*) [*A*], and prevailed upon many Abbots and Priors to do *the like* (*d*). *Having thereby ingratiated himſelf with the King*, he was appointed Biſhop of St Aſaph; and the temporalities being delivered to him on the ſecond of February 1535 (*e*), he was conſecrated the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month (*f*). Thence he was tranſlated to St David's in April 1536 (*g*), where he formed the project of removing the epiſcopal See to Caermardhyn, more in the midſt of the dioceſe, but without ſucceſs. In 1547 he was tranſlated to Bath and Wells [*B*]; but being a zealous profeſſor and preacher of the Proteſtant religion, he was, in 1553, upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, deprived of his biſhoprick, on pretence of his being married (*h*). Moreover he was committed to the Fleet, where he continued priſoner for ſome time: At length finding means to eſcape, he retired, with many others, into Germany, and there lived in a poor condition, till Qu. Elizabeth's happy inauguration (*i*). Returning then to his native country, he was not reſtored to his See (*k*), but advanced to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter, in December 1559 (*l*), and, the next year, was made the firſt Prebendary of the firſt ſtall in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, founded by Qu. Elizabeth; which dignity he held five years with his biſhoprick (*m*). This learned Biſhop writ ſome things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*C*]. He died in Auguſt 1568, and was buried in Chicheſter-cathedral (*n*). What is moſt particularly remarkable concerning him, is, that by his wife Agatha Welleſbourne he had five daughters, which were all married to Biſhops, namely, 1. Anne, married firſt to Auſtin Bradbridge, and afterwards to Herbert Weſtphaling Biſhop of Hereford. 2. Elizabeth, wife of William Day Dean of Windſor, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 3. Margaret, wife of William Overton Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry. 4. Frances, married firſt to Matthew Parker, younger ſon of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and afterwards to Toby Matthew Archbiſhop of York. 5. Antonia, wife of William Wykeham Biſhop of Wincheſter. He had alſo a ſon, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article (*o*); and five more of whom nothing memorable is recorded (*p*).

(*a*) Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. IX. n. 41. and Wood, Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 156. edit. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.* and col. 670.

(*c*) Acta Regia, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV.

(*d*) Wood, ibid. col. 156.

(*e*) Pat. 27 Henr. VIII. p. 2.

(*f*) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, p. 663.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 614.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Idem. col 695.

(*l*) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. p. 562. He was confirmed in that See, Dec. 20.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 156.

(*n*) Idem. col. 157.

(*o*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157.

(*p*) MS. note of Mr Strype.

[*A*] *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he readily reſigned his houſe.*] A. Wood ſays (1), that 'About 'the time of the diſſolution of his Priory, he was 'elected to the epiſcopal ſee of St Aſaph.' But he was certainly made Biſhop in 1535, and the reſignation of that houſe, as inſerted in Rymer's Acta Regia, &c. (2), bears date June 9, 1539. So that there muſt be a miſtake ſomewhere. Perhaps Barlowe reſigned, or quitted his priory in 1535, and another (a formal) reſignation of it was made in 1539: Or elſe probably, that reſignation is miſplaced in the confuſed and ill-digeſted collection, publiſhed under T. Rymer's name.

(1) Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 156.

(2) Vol. XIV.

[*B*] *He was tranſlated to Bath and Wells.*] Of which he alienated moſt of the revenues. See Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, p. 106, &c.

[*C*] *This learned Biſhop writ ſome things*, &c.] Namely, I. Chriſtian Homilies. II. Coſmography. III. He was one of thoſe Biſhops, who compiled, *The godly and pious inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, commonly called, *the Biſhop's Book*. Printed at London, 1537. IV. There is in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (3), 'His anſwers to certain 'queries concerning the abuſes of the maſs.' V. In Edward *the* VIth's reign, he is ſaid to have tranſlated into Engliſh *the Apocrypha*, as far as the book of Wiſdom (4). We ſhould have obſerved above, That he was employed by King Henry VIII, particularly in the great cauſe between that King and the Pope about his divorce; and was greatly in favour with the Lady Anne Boleyn (5).

(3) Vol. II. Collect. of Records, No. 25.

(4) A. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157. Bale, ubi ſupra.

(5) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 552.

C

BARLOWE (WILLIAM) ſon of the former, was born in Penbrokeſhire while his father was Biſhop of St David's (*a*). In 1560 he became a member of Baliol-college, and, four years after, took a degree in Arts; which being compleated by determination, he left the univerſity, and, travelling, became very well ſkilled in Navigation. About the year 1573, he entered into Orders, and was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and Rector of Eaſton near that city. On December the 14th, 1588, he was admitted Prebendary of Collwich in the cathedral of Lichfield, which he quitted for the place of Treaſurer in the ſame church, and was inſtalled in it October 17, 1589 (*). Afterwards, he became Chaplain to Prince Henry, and at length Archdeacon of Saliſbury: to which laſt he was collated the 12th of March 1614 (*b*). He is memorable, for being the firſt that writ on the nature and properties of the loadſtone, even twenty years before Dr William Gilbert publiſhed his book on that ſubject: and was accounted ſuperior, or at leaſt equal to him, for his induſtry in ſearching, and happineſs in finding out, many uncommon magnetical ſecrets. He was the firſt that made the inclinatory inſtrument tranſparent, and to be uſed hanging, with a glaſs on both ſides, and a ring at the top, whereas Dr Gilbert's hath it but of one ſide, and to be ſet on a foot. Moreover, he hang'd it in compaſs-box, where, with two ounces weight it was made fit for uſe at ſea. He was, likewiſe, the firſt that found out the difference between iron and ſteel, and their tempers, for magnetical uſes. He alſo firſt ſhowed the right way of touching magnetical needles (*c*): And was the firſt that invented the piecing and cementing of loadſtones. Finally, he was the firſt that ſhowed the reaſons, why a loadſtone being double-capped, muſt take up ſo great weight (*d*). On theſe ſubjects he writ books, of which there is an account in note [*A*]. This ingenious perſon died the 25th of May 1625, and

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 495.

(*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 411, 430.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) See Magnetical Experiments, by W. Derham, A. M. in Philoſophic. Tranſact. n. 303. p. 2138, &c.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *On theſe ſubjects he writ books*, &c.] They are as follows, 'I. The Navigator's Supply; con-'taining many things of principal importance belonging to Navigation, with the deſcription and uſe of 'divers

and was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton [*B*].

' divers inſtruments framed chiefly for that purpoſe, ' &c. Lond. 1597, 4to. Dedicated to Robert Earl of ' Eſſex. II. Magnetical Advertiſement; or divers ' pertinent obſervations and approved experiments con- ' cerning the nature and properties of the Load- ' ſtone, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to.' Some animadverſions were made upon this book, by Mark Ridley, a Cantabrigian, M. D. ſome time Phyſician to the Engliſh Merchants in Ruſſia, afterwards chief Phyſician to the Czar, and one of the College of Phyſicians in London; whereupon Mr Barlowe publiſhed, in vindication of himſelf, ' III. A brief diſcovery of the ' idle animadverſions of Mark Ridley, Doct. in Phyſic, ' upon a treatiſe, entituled Magnetical Advertiſement. ' —— Lond. 1618, 4to (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 495, Vol. I.

[*B*] *Was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton.*] And the following epitaph was, ſoon after, put over his grave: *Depoſitum Gulielmi Barlowe, Archdiaconi Sariſburienſis, Prebendarii Eccleſiæ Cath. Winton, & Rectoris Eccleſiæ de Eaſton; qui cum ſedulam per annos 52 ædificationi corporis Chriſti navaſſet operam, ad meliorem Vitam migravit, Maii 25, Anno Domini* 1625. *i. e.* ' *Here lie* the remains of William ' Barlowe, Archdeacon of Sarum, Prebendary of the ' Cathedral Church of Wincheſter, and Rector of ' Eaſton; who, having for two and fifty years, dili- ' gently applied himſelf to the edifying of the body ' of Chriſt, paſſed into a better life, May the 25th in ' the year of our Lord 1625 (2). C

(2) Wood, ibid.

BARLOW (THOMAS) a very learned Divine, and Biſhop, in the XVIIth century (of whom Mr Bayle hath given an imperfect account) was born at Langhill in the pariſh of Orton in Weſtmoreland, in the year 1607; being the ſon of Mr Richard Barlow, deſcended from the antient family of Barlow-moore in Lancaſhire (*a*). He had his firſt education at the free-ſchool at Appleby, in his own country (*b*). From thence being removed, in the ſixteenth year of his age, to Queen's-college in Oxford, he took there the degrees in Arts (*c*), that of Maſter being compleated the 27th of June 1633 (*d*), and the ſame year was choſen fellow of his college (*e*). In 1635 he was appointed Metaphyſic-Reader in the univerſity; and his lectures being much approved of, were publiſhed in 1637 for the uſe of the ſcholars [*A*]. When the garriſon of Oxford ſurrendered to the Parliament in 1646, he ſided with the perſons then in power (*f*); and, by the intereſt of Colonel Thomas Kelſey, Deputy-Governor of that garriſon, preſerved his fellowſhip [*B*], notwithſtanding the parliamentary viſitation [*C*]. In 1652 he was elected Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library; and, about the ſame time, was made lecturer of Church-hill near Burford in Oxfordſhire (*g*). July the 23d 1657, he took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*h*); and, in the latter end of the ſame year, was choſen Provoſt of his college *, upon the death of the learned Dr Langbaine (*i*). After the reſtoration of King Charles II, he procured himſelf to be one of the Commiſſioners, appointed firſt by the Marquis of Hertford Chancellor of the univerſity, and afterwards by the King, for reſtoring the members which were wrongfully ejected in 1648 (*k*). The 2d of Auguſt 1660, he was not only created Doctor in Divinity among the Royaliſts, but alſo choſen Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity, the firſt of September following (*l*), upon the ejection of Henry Wilkinſon, ſenior. He writ the ſame year *The Caſe of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, addreſſed to the famous Rob. Boyle, Eſq [*D*]; In 1661, he was appointed Archdeacon

(*a*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 122. and Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 876. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Wood, ibid.

(*d*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 257.

(*e*) Idem. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Idem. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 116.

(*) Queen's college.

(*i*) Idem. Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Idem. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 34.

[*A*] *His lectures —— were publiſhed in* 1637.] They were printed at Oxford in 4to. at the end of Scheibler's Metaphyſicks, under the title of *Exercitationes aliquot Metaphyſicæ de Deo*; ' ſome metaphy- ' ſical Exercitations concerning God (1).' They were afterwards reprinted in 1658, &c. 4to. One of thoſe Exercitations was tranſlated into Engliſh, by Sir Peter Pett, and inſerted in Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains (2). It is upon the famous queſtion, Whether it is better not to be at all, than to be miſerable? Durandus, an old Schoolman, maintained, That it was better to be, tho' in a miſerable condition, than to ceaſe to be; or, in other words, That it was better to be miſerable, than be annihilated. Dr Barlow aſſerts the contrary. —— In the ſame book, there is an abſtract of another Exercitation (3) concerning the exiſtence of God; in which the author demonſtrates, That there is ſome knowledge of God attainable here by the light of nature.

(1) See Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 469, Lond. 1693, 8vo.

(2) Page 469.

(3) Page 521.

[*B*] *By the intereſt of Col. T. Kelſey —— he preſerved his fellowſhip.*] Wood ſays (4), that he and others, kept their fellowſhips, by ' preſenting to ' Kelſey's wife certain gifts.' But 'tis more probable, that it was through Mr Selden's and Dr Owen's favour and intereſt, as we are told elſewhere (5). However, it appears from a book of his, (which will be mentioned below) (6) that if he ſubmitted to the higher powers for his intereſt, he abhorred at the ſame time their practices.

(4) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(5) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 132.

[*C*] *Notwithſtanding the parliamentary viſitation.*] He publiſhed then an anonymous pamphlet, dated Oxford, April 18, 1648; and intituled *Pegaſus, or the Flying-Horſe from Oxford: Bringing the proceedings of the Viſitours and other Bedlamites there, by command of the Earle of Mongomery. Printed at Mongomery, heretofore called Oxford*; in which he gives a very ludicrous account of that viſitation. Some paſſages in it (7) are as follows, ' Tueſday, April the eleventh, ' the long-legged piece of impertinency (which they ' miſ-call Chancellor) was to bee brought with ſtate ' into Oxon: To this end, thoſe few inconſiderable, ' and ill-faced Saints, hired all the hackneyes in towne ' (which were baſely bad, yet good enough for them). ' Out they went, and met the *Hoghen Moghen* I told ' you of; what courtſhip paſſed between them at ' meeting, how hee ſwore at them, and they ſaid ' grace at him; how many zealous faces and ill-legs ' they made, and at what diſtance, I know not; a ' long time they were about it. —— In the mean ' time, *Tho. Smith* of Magdalen college had an ex- ' cellent deſigne; he would ride in with them too, and ' that he might have ſuteable accomodation, would ' needs borrow an aſſe, nay an aſſe he would have, ' and ride in next before the Chancellor, and when ' they told him it was a mad trick, he told them noe; ' for he knew there would bee many aſſes beſides ' his: —— &c.

(6) Pegaſus: or, the Flying Horſe from Oxford.

(7) Page 1 and 2.

[*D*] *He writ —— the caſe of a toleration in matters of religion.*] In which he firſt obſerves, that the toleration he means, is a toleration of ſeveral religions, or ſeveral opinions concerning religion; and that therefore Atheiſts come not under it. Next, that no opinion ought to be tolerated, which contains in it any thing deſtructive to the civil peace, and ſafety of the State. As for the reſt, he declares it difficult and dangerous for the civil magiſtrate to uſe temporal and compulſory puniſhments againſt Hereticks and Sectaries (8). He expreſſes himſelf elſewhere to the ſame purpoſe, —— ' For my part, I ſhould not be ' willing, that any Heretick ſhould be puniſhed with ' death; unleſs he join with his hereſy, blaſphemy of ' God, or diſloyalty againſt the King, or ſome ſins ' againſt

(8) See his ſeveral miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, where this is inſerted. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

Archdeacon of Oxford, in the room of Dr Barten Holiday, deceaſed; but he was not inſtalled till June 13, 1664: For a conteſt aroſe between him and Dr Tho. Lamplugh about that dignity, which, after having laſted ſome time, was at length decided in favour of Dr Barlow, at the aſſizes held at Oxford, March 1, 1663-4 (*). Being a perſon eminent for his ſkill in the Civil and Canon Law, he was often applied to as a Caſuiſt, to reſolve caſes of conſcience, about marriage, and the like (m). And, upon ſuch an occaſion it was, that in 1671, he writ *Mr Cottington's Caſe of Divorce* (n), wherein is diſcuſſed the validity or nullity of his marriage, with a lady whoſe former huſband was living. And alſo, ſome years after, another caſe of marriage, inſerted in his Genuine Remains (o). Upon the death of Dr W. Fuller, Biſhop of Lincoln, which happened April 22, 1675, he obtained, the very ſame day, a grant of that biſhoprick, at the recommendation of ſome of the nobility, and chiefly through the intereſt of the two Secretaries of State, Henry Coventry, Eſq; and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, both ſome time of his college, and the firſt formerly his pupil (p). The 27th of June following he was conſecrated at Ely-houſe-chapel (q). Archbiſhop Sheldon oppoſed his promotion (r), tho' the reaſons of it are not aſſigned. After his advancement to this See, Biſhop Barlow writ ſeveral curious things. They were generally ſhort, and moſt of them by way of letter. The moſt conſiderable are theſe: In 1676, *The Original of Sine-Cures.* Concerning *Penſions paid out of Church-Livings.* And a *Survey of the Numbers of Papiſts within the Province of Canterbury* [E]. In 1679, *A Letter concerning the Canon Law, allowing* (s) *the whipping of Hereticks* [F]. But what he moſtly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, was in writing againſt Popery; tho' herein he is charged by A. Wood with inconſiſtency. For that author tells us (t), that 'before the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, Biſhop Barlow had 'been a ſeeming friend to the Papiſts; but, after that, he became a bitter enemy to 'them, and to the Duke of York.' However, 'tis certain he writ ſeveral things againſt them with great ſtrength of argument, and a prodigious variety of learning. The chief of them were, 'Popery: or, the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church of Rome, '&c. are very dangerous to all[G].' And, 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Laws Eccleſiaſtical 'and Civil, made againſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and 'General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome [H]'. We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery, in the note [I]. He expreſſed his zeal againſt the Papiſts, not only by writing, but alſo by his other behaviour. For when, in 1678, after the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, a bill was brought into Parliament, requiring all members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's court, or preſence, to take a teſt againſt Popery; our Biſhop appeared for that bill in the Houſe of Lords, and ſpoke in favour of it (u). Notwithſtanding which we are told (w), that, after King

(*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(m) See Genuine Remains, p. 351.

(n) Printed among his Miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, p. 1, &c. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

(o) Page 352.

(p) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Cap. cum fortius 1. Extrav. de Calumniatoribus.

(t) Athen. col. 877.

(u) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 435, 436.

(w) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

'againſt the law of nature, evidently puniſhable by 'the civil magiſtrate, for the preſervation of the pub- 'lick peace, and ſafety of the common-wealth (9).'

[E] *A ſurvey of the numbers of Papiſts within the province of Canterbury.*] By this ſurvey it appears, there were then computed in that province *eleven thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy.* This ſurvey was taken by the Biſhops in 1676, by King Charles IId's direction (10).

[F] *A letter concerning the Canon-law allowing the whipping of Hereticks.*] This was upon occaſion of a ſtory related in the book of Martyrs, namely, That Biſhop Bonner uſed to whip ſome of the Proteſtants (or Hereticks, as he called them) in his gardens (11).

[G] *Popery, or the Principles and Poſitions*, &c.] The whole title of the book runs thus, 'Popery, or 'the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church 'of Rome (when really believed and practiſed) are 'very dangerous to all; and to Proteſtant Kings and 'Supreme Powers, more eſpecially pernicious; and 'inconſiſtent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of 'Nature and Scripture) is indiſpenſably due to Su- 'preme Powers. In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour. 'London 1679, 4to. reprinted the ſame year in 8vo. 'It was tranſlated and publiſhed in Latin 1681, 8vo. 'by Rob. Grove, B. D. afterwards Biſhop of Chi- 'cheſter.' It is againſt the Pope's excommunicating and depoſing of Princes.

[H] *A diſcourſe*, &c.] The title of this, beſides what is ſet down of it above in the text, goes on thus ——— 'Shewing, (1.) What Proteſtant ſubjects 'may expect to ſuffer under a Popiſh Prince acting ac- 'cording to thoſe laws. (2). That no oath, or pro- 'miſe, of ſuch a Prince can give them any juſt ſecu- 'rity, that he will not execute the laws upon them. 'Lond. 1682, 4to.' So that it was plainly levelled againſt the Duke of York. There is a large preface thereto, againſt perſecuting and deſtroying Heretics, and ſomething in favour of the Diſſenters. There is no name to it.

[I] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery.*] They are as follows, 'I. Confutation of the infallibility of the Church of 'Rome; written in 1673 (12). II. A letter to J. 'Evelyn, Eſq; concerning Invocation of Saints, and 'Adoration of the Croſs. Lond. 1679, 4to. III. 'The ſame year, he reprinted, in 8vo, The Gun- 'Powder-Treaſon; with a diſcourſe of the manner of 'it's Diſcovery. &c. (Printed at firſt in 1606) and 'placed in the beginning of it, A Preface touching 'that horrid conſpiracy, dated Feb. 1, 1678-9.' In this preface, he takes notice of a Popiſh Lie in the *Calendarium Catholicum*, or Univerſal Almanack, 1662, namely, 'That the Gun-Powder Treaſon, 'was more than ſuſpected to be the contrivance of 'Cecil, the great Politician, to render Catholicks 'odious: ——— That ſome Roman Catholicks 'were in that Plot; but there were but few detected, 'and they that were detected, were deſperado's.' He alſo ſhows there, that it is the practice of the Church of Rome, to endeavour to deſtroy Hereticks all manner of ways. 'IV. *Brutum Fulmen*; or the 'Bull of P. *Pius Sextus* concerning the damnation, ex- 'communication, and depoſition of Q. Elizabeth; as 'as alſo the abſolution of her ſubjects from the oath 'of allegiance, with a peremptory injunction, upon 'pain of an anathema, never to obey any of her 'laws or commands, with ſome obſervations upon it. 'Lond. 1681, 4to. V. Whether the Pope be An- 'tichriſt? And whether the Turk, or the Pope be the 'greater Antichriſt? Whether ſalvation may be had 'in the Church of Rome? That worſhipping the 'Hoſt is idolatry. Concerning the intention of the 'Prieſt, as neceſſary to the validity of the ſacrament. 'A letter about the Papiſts founding dominion in 'Grace. Several letters about the Council of Trent (13). 'VI. A few plain reaſons why a Proteſtant of the 'Church of England ſhould not turn Roman Catholic. 'Lond. 1688.' Dr J. Battely, the Licenſer, not allowing ſeveral ſheets of this to paſs, they were omitted (14).

(9) Genuine Remains, &c. Lond. 1693, 8vo, p. 242.

(10) See Genuine Remains, p. 312.

(11) Ibid. p. 189.

(12) Genuine Remains, p. 454, &c.

(13) All theſe under article V, are in his Genuine Remains.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[K] He

King James IId's acceſſion to the throne, Biſhop Barlow took all opportunities to expreſs his affection, or ſubmiſſion, to him: For, he ſent up an addreſs of thanks to him, for his *firſt* declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſigned by ſix hundred of his clergy (*x*): He writ Reaſons for reading that King's *ſecond* Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience (*y*); he cauſed it to be read in his dioceſe (*z*); nay, he was prevailed upon to aſſert and vindicate the regal power of diſpenſing with penal laws, in an elaborate tract, with numerous quotations from Canoniſts, Civilians, and Divines (*a*). And yet after the Revolution, he was one of thoſe Biſhops who readily voted that King James had abdicated his kingdoms: He took the oaths to his ſucceſſors; and no Biſhop was more ready than he, to fill the places of ſuch clergymen as refuſed to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*b*). So that from his whole conduct it appears, he was of a very timorous * and complying diſpoſition, and always ready to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. With regard to ſome of his notions; he was entirely addicted to the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy (*c*), and a declared enemy to the improvements made by the Royal Society, and to what he called in general the New Philoſophy [*K*]. He was likewiſe a rigid Calviniſt, and the ſchool Divinity was that which he moſt admired (*d*). His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick oppoſition to ſome of Mr Bull's works, which did not much redound to our author's honour [*L*]. He is moreover juſtly blamed for never appearing in his cathedral, nor viſiting his dioceſe in perſon, but reſiding conſtantly at his manor of Buckden [*M*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be allowed to have had the following excellencies: He was a good Caſuiſt, a man of very extenſive learning, an univerſal lover and favourer of learned men, of what country or denomination ſoever, and a great maſter of the whole controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. He died at Buckden in Huntingdonſhire, Octob. 8, 1691, in the 85th year of his age; and was buried the 11th of the ſaid month, on the north ſide of the chancel belonging to that church (*e*), near the body of Dr R. Sanderſon, ſome time Biſhop of Lincoln, and, according to his own deſire, in the very grave of Dr William Barlow, formerly Biſhop of the ſame See: to whoſe memory, as well as his own, is erected a monument, with an inſcription [*N*] which he compoſed himſelf, a few days before his death. He bequeathed to the Bodleian library, all ſuch books of his own, as were not in that noble collection at the time of his death: And the remainder he gave to Queen's college in Oxford (*f*); whereupon the Society erected in 1694, a noble pile of buildings, on the weſt ſide of their college, to receive them. All his manuſcripts, of his own compoſition, he left to his two domeſtic Chaplains, William Offley, and Henry Brougham, Prebendaries of Lincoln, with a particular deſire, that they would not make any of them publick after his deceaſe (*g*). We ſhall give an account in the note [*O*], of the reſt of his works, not taken

(*x*) See Genuine Remains, p. 340, 341. Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 821.

(*y*) Wood, Athen. col. 877.

(*z*) Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 512. Note (1).

(*a*) Ibid. p. 507. Note (*a*).

(*b*) Ibid.

* What rendered him at this time moſt timorous, was, that there were ſeveral attempts to bring him under a proſecution; but for what, is not mentioned. See Compl Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 507, 512. He lived to fear the Court which he had never loved.

(*c*) See Genuine Remains, p. 151 — 159.

(*d*) Ibid. and pag. 344, 424, 577, &c.

(*e*) Wood. Athen. Vol. II. col. 879.

(*f*) Wood. ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

[*K*] *He was a declared enemy* ——— *to what he called in general, the New Philoſophy.*] This plainly appears from the following paſſages in one of his letters (15), 'I confeſs I am, and (a long time) have been 'not a little troubled, to ſee Proteſtants, nay Clergymen and Biſhops, approve and propagate, that 'which they miſ-call *New Philoſophy*; ſo that our Univerſities begin to be infected with it, little conſidering how it tends evidently to the advantage of Rome, 'and the ruine of our religion. For this new Philoſophy ——— hath been ſet on foot, and carried on 'by the arts of Rome, to breed diviſions among Proteſtants. ——— And all the Romiſh Schoolmen, 'Caſuiſts, and Controverſy-writers, have ſo mixed 'Ariſtotle's Philoſophy with their Divinity, that he 'who has not a comprehenſion of Ariſtotle's principles, will never be able rationally to defend or 'confute any controverted poſition in the Roman 'or Reformed Religion.'

(15) Genuine Remains, p. 157.

[*L*] *His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a publick oppoſition to Mr Bull's works.*] Namely to his *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, publiſhed in 1669, wherein he aſſerts the neceſſity of good works, conjoined with faith, for man's juſtification. This book Dr Barlow attacked in his Divinity-Lectures, and treated the author very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious names. Mr Bull being informed of it, came to Oxford, and offered to vindicate himſelf by a publick diſputation; but the Profeſſor declined it; nay he endeavoured to avoid owning the fact, till it was fully proved to his face (16).

(16) See Life of G. Bull, late Biſhop of St David's, by Rob. Nelſon, Eſq; 8vo Lond. 1714. p. 102, 211.

[*M*] *But reſiding at his manor of Buckden.*] He was often reflected on upon that account, and called *the Biſhop of Buckden that never ſaw Lincoln.* But as he hath written ſomething upon that ſubject, it will be proper to hear what he had to ſay in his juſtification (17). 'I have writ (ſaith he) to My Lord 'Privy-Seal, (Marquis of Halifax) the reaſons of my 'not going to Lincoln: 1. I have no houſe there. [It 'was beat down in the civil wars.] 2. Buckden is in 'the center of my dioceſe, and ſtands far more con-

(17) Genuine Remains, p. 255.

'veniently for all buſineſs. 3. Biſhop Sanderſon 'lived and died at Buckden, and Biſhop Lany lived 'there too, till he was tranſlated to Ely; nor were 'they ever accuſed or complained on for it. 4. That 'Lincoln might not think I was unkind and neglected 'them; I ſent them 100*l*. of which 50*l*. to the 'church, and the other 50*l*. to the city; and ſince 'that I gave the city 20*l*. towards their expence in 'renewing their charter, which none of my prede'ceſſors have done.'

[*N*] *With an inſcription.*] It is in Latin; but as it contains nothing remarkable in that language, we ſhall ſet down here only the Engliſh tranſlation of it. 'Tis as follows, '*Here lie* the remains of Thomas Bar'low, D. D. Provoſt of Queen's College, Oxon, 'Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library, Archdeacon 'of Oxford, Lady Margaret Counteſs of Richmond's 'Divinity Profeſſor, and (tho' unworthy) Biſhop of 'Lincoln, in hope of a joyful reſurrection. He com'poſed this epitaph when he was dying, and at his 'own charge rebuilt the monument of his right-reve'rend predeceſſor William Barlow, which was almoſt 'demoliſhed by fanatical rage. He died the 8th 'day of October 1691, in the 85th year of his 'age (18).'

(18) Wood Athen. col. 879.

[*O*] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his works, not taken notice of above.*] They are as follows, '1. *Pietas in Patrem*; or a few tears upon the la'mented death of his moſt dear and loving father 'Richard Barlow, late of Langhill in Weſtmorland, 'who died 29 December 1636; printed at Oxford, '1637, 4to. There are in it copies of verſes upon 'the ſame ſubject, from ſeveral gentlemen of Queen's 'College. II. A Letter to Mr John Goodwin, con'cerning univerſal redemption by J. Chriſt, 1651. 'III. For Toleration of the Jews, 1655. IV. 'Αυτοσχε διδασματα; or Directions to a young Divine 'for his ſtudy of Divinity, and choice of Books. 'V. A letter to Mr John Tombes in defence of Ana'baptiſm, inſerted in one of Tombes's Books. VI. 'A Tract to prove that true Grace doth not lie ſo 'much

taken notice of above.

' much in the degree, as in the nature. This alſo is ' inſerted in a book intituled, Sincerity and Hypocriſy, &c. written by William Sheppard, Eſq; ' VII. The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in capital caſes in Parliament cleared, &c. Lond. 1680; ' being an anſwer to two books; the firſt entituled, ' *A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend, ſhewing, that the Biſhops are not to be Judges in Parliament in caſes capital*, by Denzil Lord Holles, Lond. 1679, ' 4to. and the other, *A Diſcourſe of the Peerage and Juriſdiction of the Lords Spiritual in Parliament*, ' &c. Dr Barlow did not ſet his name to this, and it ' was by ſome aſcribed to Tho. Turner of Grays-Inn. ' VIII. A Letter (to his Clergy) for the putting in ' execution the Laws againſt Diſſenters, written in ' concurrence to that which was drawn up by the Juſtices ' of the Peace of the county of Bedford, at the quarter-ſeſſions held at Ampthill for the ſaid county, January 14, 1684 (19).' IX. After his deceaſe, Sir ' Peter Pett publiſhed in 1692, 8vo. ' Several miſcellaneous and weighty caſes of conſcience, learnedly ' and judiciouſly reſolved by the right reverend Father ' in God, Dr Tho. Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; viz 1. Of Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters. ' 2. The King's power to pardon murder; written ' upon occaſion of Mr St John's (late Lord Viſcount ' St John of Batterſey) being convicted for the death ' of Sir William Eaſtcourt, Bart. ——— 4. About ' ſetting up images in churches; compoſed, when he ' was cited in the Court of Arches, for permitting ' ſome pictures of the Apoſtles, put up in the pariſh ' church of Moulton in his dioceſe, without the conſent of the majority of the pariſhioners, to be defaced.' The ſame Sir Peter publiſhed alſo in 1693, Lond. 8vo. ' X. The Genuine Remains of that learned ' Prelate, Dr Thomas Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of ' Lincoln. Containing divers Diſcourſes Theological, ' Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, &c. In letters to ſeveral ' perſons of honour and quality.' But theſe two volumes being put out without the knowledge or conſent of the Biſhop's two Chaplains abovementioned, to whom he had left all his own manuſcripts, with orders that they ſhould not be publiſhed; they ſeverely reflected upon the publiſher, for the unwarrantable liberty had he taken (20).

(19) Genuine Remains, p. 641.

(20) Wood, Athen. col. 877, 878, 879.

C

BARNARD or BERNARD (JOHN), author of the undermentioned books [*A*], was the ſon of John Barnard, Gentleman; and was born at Caſtor, a market town in Lincolnſhire. He had his education in the grammar ſchool of that place; from whence he was ſent to Cambridge, where he became a penſioner of Queen's-college. From thence journeying to Oxford, to obtain preferment from the Viſitors, appointed by Act of Parliament, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the 15th of April 1648 (*a*); and, the twenty-ninth of September following, was, by order of the ſaid Viſitors, made Fellow of Lincoln-college (*b*). The twentieth of February 1650, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*c*). At length, having married the daughter of Dr Peter Heylyn, then living at Abingdon, he became Rector of Waddington near Lincoln; the perpetual advowſon of which he purchaſed, and held it for ſome time, together with the fine cure of Gedney in the ſame county. After the Reſtoration, he conformed, and was made Prebendary of Aſgarby in the church of Lincoln (*d*). July the 6th, 1669, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*e*); and, the ſame year, was created Doctor in Divinity, being then in good repute for his learning and orthodox principles. He died at Newark, on a journey to the Spaw, the 17th of Auguſt 1683; and was buried in his own church of Waddington (*f*).

(*a*) Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 736, 737. & Faſt. ib. col. 63.

(*b*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*c*) Id. Faſt. col. 94.

(*d*) Id. Athen. ib.

(*e*) Id. Faſt. col. 175.

(*f*) Id. Athen. ibid.

[*A*] *Author of the following books.*] I. *Cenſura Clerior, againſt Scandalous Miniſters, not fit to be reſtored to the Churches Livings, in point of prudence, picty, and fame.* London, 1660; in three ſheets in *quarto*. His name is not prefixed to this piece. II. *Theologo-Hiſtoricus; or the true Life of the moſt Reverend Divine and excellent Hiſtorian, Peter Heylyn, D. D. Sub-Dean of Weſtminſter.* London, 1683, 8vo. This was publiſhed, as the author pretends, to correct the errors, ſupply the defects, and confute the calumnies of George Vernon, A. M. Rector of Bourton on the water in Glouceſterſhire, who had publiſhed a life of Dr Heylyn. III. An *Anſwer to Mr Baxter's falſe Accuſation of Dr Heylyn*; printed with the *Theologo-Hiſtoricus*. IV. A *Catechiſm*, for the uſe of his pariſh. He left behind him a manuſcript againſt Socinianiſm, never printed (1).

T

(1) Wood. Athen. Vol. II. col. 737.

BARNES (JOSHUA), a learned Divine, and Profeſſor of the Greek language at Cambridge, was born at London the 10th of January 1654 (*a*). His father was a tradeſman of that city. Joſhua had his education in grammar learning at Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his early knowledge of Greek, and by ſome *Poems* in *Latin* and *Engliſh* [*A*], written before he went to the Univerſity. December the 11th 1671, he was admitted a Servitor in Emanuel-college in Cambridge (*b*). In 1675, he publiſhed, at London, a little piece, intitled, *Gerania: or, A new Diſcovery of a little Sort of People called Pygmies* (*c*). June the 7th 1678, he was elected Fellow of Emanuel-college (*d*). The next year, 1679, he publiſhed at London, in *octavo*, his *Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther* [*B*]. In 1686, he took the degree of Bachelor

(*a*) *See his* Epitaph *in Remark* [*H*].

(*b*) Regiſter of Emanuel College.

(*c*) Catalogue of his Works, ſubjoined to the *Prolegomena* of his *Anacreon*, 1ſt edition.

(*d*) Regiſter of Emanuel-College.

[*A*] Poems *in* Latin *and* Engliſh.] I. *Sacred Poems*, in five books. viz. 1. Κοσμοποιία, or *The Creation of the World*. 2. *The Fall of Adam and the Redemption by Chriſt*. 3. *An Hymn to the Holy Trinity*. 4. *A Paſtoral Eclogue upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, and an Eſſay upon the Royal Exchange*. 5. *Panegyris, or the Muſes*, &c. Theſe pieces are in Engliſh, with a Latin dedication, An. 1669. II. *The Life of Oliver Cromwell, the Tyrant*. An Engliſh Poem, 1670. III. Several Dramatic Pieces, *viz. Xerxes, Pythias and Damon, Holofernes*, &c. ſome in Engliſh, and ſome in Latin; the former written entirely by himſelf, the latter in conjunction with others. Alſo ſome *Tragedies* of *Seneca* tranſlated into Engliſh. IV. Upon the *Fire of London* and the *Plague*, a *Latin* poem in heroic verſe. V. A Latin Elegy upon the *beheading* of *St John the Baptiſt* (1).

[*B*] *His* Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther.] The Title is; Αυλικοδάτοπτρον, *ſive Eſtheræ Hiſtoria, Poetica Paraphraſi, idque Græco carmine, cui verſio Latina opponitur, exornata; una cum Scholiis, ſeu Annotationibus Græcis; in quibus (ad ſacri textus dilucidationem) præter alia non pauca, Gentium Orientalium Antiquitates, Moreſque reconditiores proferuntur. Additur Parodia Homerica de eadem hac Hiſtoria. Acceſſit Index rerum ac verborum copioſiſſimus. i. e.* ' The Courtier's Looking-Glaſs; or, The ' Story of Eſther paraphraſed in Greek verſe, with a ' Latin

(1) *See the* Catalogue *of Mr* Barnes's Works, *ſubjoined to the* Prolegomena *of his* Anacreon, 1ſt edit.

Bachelor in Divinity (*e*), and, in 1688, publiſhed his *Life of King* Edward III [*C*], dedicated to King James II. In 1694 came out his edition of *Euripides* [*D*], dedicated to

(*e*) University Regiſter.

' Latin tranſlation in the oppoſite page, and Greek ' *Scholia* or Notes; in which (to illuſtrate the ſacred ' Text) beſides many other particulars, the Antiquities ' and more remote cuſtoms of the Eaſtern nations are ' explained. To which is added a parody in Homerics ' upon the ſame Story, and a copious Index of Things ' and Words.' It was printed, as the title-page informs us, at his own charge. The *Imprimatur* is dated July 3, 1676. It is dedicated to Dr John Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of Weſtminſter (2), who, as the Dedication tells us, contributed largely to the expence of the impreſſion. In the preface he tells us, he had finiſhed this piece five years before, but, by advice of his friends, had deferred the publication of it, in order to poliſh it at his leiſure. He juſtifies, by the authority of Joſephus, his placing this hiſtory after the time of Nehemiah, contrary to the opinion of many conſiderable writers. He conſiders, who Ahaſuerus, mentioned in the Hiſtory of Eſther, was; and determines him to have been the famous Xerxes. He diſplays the moral uſes that may be made of his poem, and vindicates his introducing the names of the pagan deities and prophane alluſions into a ſacred ſubject. The preface is followed by ſeveral copies of verſes in Greek and Latin, addreſſed to the author by Dr James Duport and others. As a ſpecimen of Mr Barnes's talent at *Greek Poetry*, we ſhall oblige the learned reader with the following beautiful deſcription of Eſther's perſon.

(2) *Afterwards Archbiſhop of York.*

Ἦγ' ἐδλὲν ποθέκσα, τὸ ὲ πάρος εἵλετο, μάνη
Μαρμαρυγὴν ἀρέηκεν ἀκιϵδνήλοιο προσώπυ,
Μαρμαρυγὴν, ἣ πάντας ἐτέρφατο εἰσορόωντας·
Κυάνεαι λιπαρὴν κεφαλὴν κόσμησαν ἔθειραι,
Ἂς γλυκεροῖς δεσμοίσιν ἐδήσατο Κύπρις ἐρώτων·
Ὄμματα δ' ἀρράποντα πόθυ πτερόεντας ὀϊστὲς
Ὀφρυσιν ἀμφ' ἑκατέρθεν ἐπωξύνοντο μελαίναις.
Καὶ ῥόδα μὲν κρίνοισι μεμιγμένα, λευκῷ ἐρυθρόν
Ὠπὶ νέον λειμῶνα θέσαν· χροιὴ δὲ πάρειων
Καλὸν ἐρευθιόωσα φάνη καλύκεσσιν ὁμοίη.
Χείλεα δ' αὖ σιγήσω, ὅπως μὴ Κύπριν ὀρίνω
(Εἰ πυ Κύπρις ἔην γε) τὰ Χείλεα φέρτερα δείξας·
Πειθὼ δὲ σῶμα καλὸν ἀεὶ ἣ ὀδόντας ἔναιε,
Τὼς μὲν λευκοτέρυς χιόνος, τὸ δὲ νέκταρ' ἐνίκα.
Μαζὸς οἰδαλέυς διδυμοῖς σωρηΐσιν εἴσκω
Ἠδείης κασίης λευκῷ ῥανθεῖσι γάλακτι,
Οἰστροφόρος δὲ πόθος χρυσέην ὑπεβάλλετο ζώνην.
Ἀμφι δ' ἑ πέπλον ἔχευεν ἑανὸν εἵματα τ' ἄλλα
Δι' Εὐσχημοσύνη, ποσσιν δ' ὑπέδησε πέδιλα.
Δειρὴν δ' ἄ τῳ εἴσκον, ὅτ' ἐδέποτ' ἄλλο πέφυκε
Τόσσησιν χαρίτεσσι βεβυσμένον, ὐδ' ἂν ἐρίζοι·
Πάντα μὲν ἦν κάλλισα· Δέμας γλυκὺς ὅρμος ἐρώτων,
Μᾶλλον δ' ἔνδον ἔλαμφε Νόος γ' ἀρετῆσι φαεινός (3).

(3) Αὐλικοκάτοπτρον. *Edit. Lond.* 1679. Κεφ. β. verſ. 343.

The *Homerical Parody*, mentioned in the title, conſiſts of but fifty-ſix lines, and is an *Epitome* of the ſtory of Eſther in the very words of Homer. It begins, like the *firſt book* of the *Iliad*, thus:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ Ἀμαληχιάδεω Ἀμανῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἑβραίοις ἄλγε ἔθηκε,
Περσέων δ' ἰφθίμυς ψυχὰς ἄϊδι προΐαψεν, &c.

The author tells us, he wrote it in leſs than an hour. It is intituled, Σουσιάδος Ῥαψωδία ἢ Παρωδία Ὁμηρική. It is followed by a copy of Greek verſes intituled; Εὐχαριστήριον εἰτ' ἂν τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς Ἐθῆρος φίλων κατάλογος ἢ Μνημόσυνη: *i. e.* ' A ' Thankſgiving; or, Catalogue and Memorial of the ' Friends of my Eſther.'

[*C*] *His* Life of King Edward III.] It is intituled, *The Hiſtory of that moſt victorious Monarch Edward* III, *King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and firſt Founder of the moſt noble order of the Garter; being a full and exact account of the Life and Death of the ſaid King; together with that of his moſt renowned Son, Edward Prince of Wales and Acquitain, ſirnamed* The Black Prince; *faithfully and carefully collected from the beſt and moſt antient Authors domeſtic and foreign, printed Books, Manuſcripts, and Records: By* Joſhua Barnes, *Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Emanuel-College Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1688. In *folio*. In the Preface he tells us, ' He had undertaken a work of ſo much difficulty, ' that nothing but a ſenſe of the honour and real ad- ' vantage thereof could have animated him to it. For ' the obſcurity of our hiſtories being ſo great, and the ' miſtakes and oppoſition of them one with another ' being ſo frequent, it muſt neceſſarily ſeem a labour ' not ſmall to endeavour to give a juſt account of the ' whole ſeries of all public actions for the continuance ' of fifty years and upwards, at ſuch a long diſtance of ' time, as more than three centuries.' However he obſerves, ' That his reſolution had been to ſhew ſo ' much diligence in the collecting, and ſo much inte- ' grity in the compoſing, that if he could not obtain ' the knowledge of all the moſt momentous truths, ' yet he ſhould purpoſely decline all fabulous narra- ' tions, all groundleſs opinions, all popular errors, ' partiality, and prejudice, and ſeriouſly conform him- ' ſelf to thoſe rules and decencies, which belong to a ' faithful hiſtorian. That the ſubject matter of his ' diſcourſe is the honour of his country, the life and ' actions of one of the greateſt Kings, whom perhaps ' the world ever ſaw, the rights of the Engliſh crown, ' and how well our anceſtors were able to vindicate ' them'. He informs us alſo, ' That he does not con- ' fine himſelf wholly to the relation of King Edward's ' exploits, or to thoſe of his invincible ſon the Black ' Prince, and the reſt of his noble and victorious chil- ' dren; but that whatever name he found memorable ' of his ſubjects in either of his kingdoms, whether ' they were famed for arts of war or peace, he had ' endeavoured to pay them that juſt duty, which he ' thought they deſerved; becauſe it ſeemed to him ' altogether fit, that thoſe, who then ſtood with their ' ſovereign in his grand offices of war or government, ' ſhould by no means now be deprived of a partici- ' pation with him in his glorious memoirs; eſpecially ' ſince not a few are ſtill remaining, derived from ' thoſe famous anceſtors, whoſe minds may be more ' ſtrongly affected with due incentives of honour, ' when they ſhall underſtand by what methods their ' forefathers attained ſuch eſtates and titles, which ' they now as worthily enjoy.' Biſhop Nicholſon, in his *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library* (4), gives this character of our author's performance. ' Above all, Mr Joſhua ' Barnes has diligently collected whatever was to be ' had (far and near) upon the ſeveral paſſages of this ' great King's reign. His quotations are many; and ' (generally) his authors are well choſen, as ſuch a ' multitude can be ſuppoſed to have been. His infe- ' rences are not always becoming a ſtateſman; and ' ſometimes his digreſſions are tedious. His deriving ' of the famous inſtitution of the Garter from the ' Phœnicians *, is extremely obliging to good Mr ' Sammes †; but came too late, it ſeems, to Mr Aſh- ' mole's knowledge, or otherwiſe would have bid fair ' for a choice poſt of honour in his elaborate book. ' In ſhort, this induſtrious author ſeems to have driven ' his work too faſt to the preſs, before he had pro- ' vided an *Index*, and ſome other accoutrements, which ' might have rendered it more ſerviceable to his ' readers.' In this hiſtory Mr Barnes ſeems to affect imitating Thucydides, and other antient hiſtorians, particularly in introducing his heroes making long and elaborate ſpeeches, which ſeem to be the reſult of his own imagination.

(4) P. 80. See his *Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, Hiſtorical Libraries*, &c. Lond. 1736. *folio.*

* P. 294, 295.

† Aylet Sammes, *who, in his* Britannia Antiqua Illuſtrata, *folio.* Lond. 1661. *fetches the Original of the Britiſh Cuſtoms, Religion, and Laws, from the Phenicians.*

[*D*] *His* Euripides.] It is intituled; *Euripidis quæ extant omnia, Tragœdiæ nempe XX, præter ultimam omnes completæ: Item Fragmenta aliarum pluſquam LX. Tragœdiarum et Epiſtolæ V, nunc primum et ipſæ adjectæ: i. e.* ' All the works of Euripides, namely, ' Twenty Tragedies, all perfect but the laſt; alſo ' Fragments of above ſixty other Tragedies, and five ' epiſtles, now firſt added'. Mr Barnes has corrected the text of Euripides, which was greatly corrupted in all the preceding editions, and particularly reſtored the metre, of which he has diſcourſed at large in his Preliminary Diſſertation, *De Tragœdia veterum Græcorum*. As to the Latin verſion, he has retained that of

to Charles Duke of Somerſet; and, in 1695, he was choſen Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge. In the year 1700, Mr Barnes married Mrs Maſon [*E*], a widow lady of Hemmingford near St Ives in Huntingtonſhire, with a jointure of 200 *l. per annum.* In 1705, he publiſhed, at Cambridge, his edition of ANACREON [*F*], dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough; and, in 1710, his HOMER [*G*]; the *Iliad* dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and the *Odyſſey* to the Earl of Nottingham. Mr Joſhua Barnes died the 3d of Auguſt 1712, in the 58th year of his age *(f)*, and was buried at Hemmingford, where is a monument erected to him by his widow [*H*]. Our author wrote many other pieces, which were never publiſhed [*I*]. His character, both as a man and

(f) See his Epitaph.

of William Canter, and Æmylius Portus, which he has corrected in many places; eſteeming it preferable to the old verſion, which paſſes under the name of *Dorotheus Camillus*, or that of Melancthon. He has prefixed a *Diſſertation* on the *Life* and *Writings* of Euripides; in which, following the common opinion, he has placed that Poet's birth in the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, tho' the *Arundelian marble* (5) places it in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad. He has given us three *Indexes*; the firſt upon the Poet himſelf, the ſecond upon the *Scholia*, and the third upon the authors quoted in the *Scholia* and the notes.

(5) *See* Baſil Kennet's *Lives and Characters of the antient Greek Poets.* P. i. p. 107. Edit. 1679.

[*E*] *He married Mrs Maſon.*] The ſtory goes, that this lady, who was between forty and fifty, having for ſome time been a great admirer of Mr Barnes, came to Cambridge, and deſired leave to ſettle an hundred pounds a year upon him after her death; which he politely refuſed, unleſs ſhe would condeſcend to make him happy in her perſon, which was none of the moſt engaging. The lady was too obliging to refuſe any thing to *Joſhua, for whom*, ſhe ſaid, the *ſun ſtood ſtill*; and ſoon after they were married.

[*F*] *His* Anacreon.] The title is; *Anacreon Teius, Poeta Lyricus, ſumma cura et diligentia ad fidem etiam vet. MS. Vatican. emendatus, ac priſtino nitori numeriſque ſuis reſtitutus, dimidia fere parte auctus, aliquot nempe juſtis Poematiis et fragmentis plurimis ab undiquaque conquiſitis: i. e.* 'Anacreon the Teian, a lyrick Poet; corrected with the utmoſt care and diligence from an antient manuſcript in the Vatican library; reſtored to his priſtine beauty and metre; and enlarged almoſt half, namely, by ſome entire Poems, and ſeveral fragments collected from various authors.' There was a ſecond edition, after Mr Barnes's death, printed at Cambridge, in 1721. It is dedicated to John, Duke of Marlborough. The dedication (dated from Hemingford near St Ives in Huntingtonſhire, March 26, 1705) is followed by a Greek Anacreontic Ode upon the Duke's victory at Blenheim, with a Latin tranſlation in the ſame meaſure. Then follows the *Life* of *Anacreon*, in which he has endeavoured to vindicate that Poet from the charge of unnatural love, and to ſhew that his poems contain nothing indecent, or contrary to good manners, or improper to be put into the hands of youth; to which end he rejects ſome pieces in the Vatican manuſcript, which he will not allow to have been compoſed by Anacreon. In the *Prologmena* he treats of the antiquity and invention of lyrick Poetry, and the peculiar character of Anacreon; alſo of the metre of that Poet. He anſwers likewiſe an objection urged againſt himſelf, as a Chriſtian Divine, for employing his time and pains on a ſubject of ſo light a nature; which he juſtifies from his having no benefice, or cure of ſouls, to engage his attention; and from his character as Profeſſor of the Greek tongue. To his edition of Anacreon he has ſubjoined the *Epigrams* of the Antients and Moderns upon that Poet, and ſome *Odes* of his own compoſition, under the title of *Anacreon Chriſtianus*, with a Latin verſion of them in the ſame metre; alſo an *Index* to the whole.

[*G*] *His* Homer.] The title is; *Homeri Ilias et Odyſſea*, &c. Beſides a very correct text, the editor has given an exact Latin tranſlation, with the antient *Scholia*, continued notes upon the text and *Scholia*, and many various readings; and has ſubjoined the *Batrochomyomachia*, the *Hymns* and *Epigrams*, the *Fragments*, and two *Indexes*. He informs us, he had written a treatiſe upon the age of Homer, his life, genealogy, &c. which he deſigned to have inſerted in this edition, but for a particular reaſon had deferred it to ſome other time. He has prefixed ſeveral pieces to the firſt volume, comprehending the *Iliad*; as, I. The *Life of Homer*, commonly aſcribed to Herodotus. II. Three ſmall pieces taken from Leo Allatius, *De Patria Homeri*. III. A paſſage from Suidas, and another from Pauſanias, relating to Homer. IV. Plutarch's account of the Life of this Poet. V. *Certamen Homeri et Heſiodi*. VI. A Diſſertation concerning Homer's Poetry, aſcribed by the Editor to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. VII. Porphyry's *Quæſtiones Homericæ*. VIII. The ſame author's *De Nympharum Antro*. IX. Dion Chryſoſtom's oration concerning Homer, with ſome notes thereon by Dr John Davies, afterwards maſter of Queen's-college in Cambridge. There is an account of this edition of *Homer* in the *Acta Eruditorum* for January 1711 (6), in which we are told, that Mr Barnes has given us a more correct and perfect edition of Homer than any which had appeared before, and that he has diſcovered in it great diligence, and ſkill in the Greek poetry. Nevertheleſs we have there ſome objections againſt it, aſcribed to the learned Dr Bentley. Particularly, Mr Barnes is cenſured for retaining ſeveral of Schrevelius's abſurd interpolations in the antient Greek *Scholia*; and exceptions are made to ſeveral points in the *Prolegomena*. When this edition was ready for the preſs, Mr Barnes wrote a long copy of Engliſh verſes, now extant in the library of Emanuel-college; the deſign of which is to prove, that Solomon was the author of that divine work. It is imagined, he wrote theſe verſes, not ſo much from the perſuaſion of his own mind, as to amuſe his wife, and by that means engage her to ſupply him with money to defray the expences of the edition.

(6) P. 1, 54, 308.

[*H*] *The inſcription on his monument.*] It is as follows. H. S. E. Joſhua Barnes, S. T. B. *Collegii Emmanuelis Socius, Linguæ Græcæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſor Regius peritiſſimus. Plura Eruditionis et Induſtriæ Monumenta reliquit. Ob. Aug.* 3. *A. D.* 1712. *Ætat.* 58. Maria Barnes *conjugi dilectiſſimo* M. P.

Βαρνήσιος δ' ἅπαντας
Νίκησε πολύτεχνος,
Λογογράφων φέριστος,
Ἀνδρός τε τῶν Ἀοιδῶν·
Τῶν Ἰσύρων μέγιστος,
Καὶ Ῥητόρων ἄριστος,
Καὶ Μαντέων βάθιστος
Βρεταννικῆς ἀρετῆς.

The Greek Anacreontiques on the monument engliſh'd.

'Kind Barnes, adorned by every Muſe,
'Each Greek in his own Art out-does:
'No Orator was ever greater;
'No Poet ever chanted ſweeter.
'H' excell'd in Grammar Myſtery,
'And the Black Prince of Hiſtory:
'And a Divine the moſt profound,
'That ever trod on Engliſh ground.

Mr Barnes read a ſmall Engliſh Bible, that he uſually carried about him, one hundred and twenty one times over at leiſure hours. He was born January 10, 1654. All this is upon his monument.

[*I*] *He wrote many pieces, which were never publiſhed.*] There is ſubjoined to the firſt edition of his *Anacreon* at Cambridge, 1705; a *Catalogue* of Works, which Mr Barnes had either publiſhed, or intended to publiſh; which catalogue is omitted in the ſecond edition of that Poet, printed after his death in 1721, tho' it is mentioned in the *Contents* and the *Prolegomena*. In this catalogue, beſides the books already mentioned, we find the following: I. *The Warlike Lover, or the Generous Rival*; an Engliſh Dramatick piece upon the war between the Engliſh and Dutch, and the death of the

and an author, ſhall be given in the remark [*K*].

the Earl of Sandwich, *An.* 1672. II. Ψουθομφανεὰχ, or *Joſeph the Patriarch*; a Greek Heroic poem in one book. The author deſigned *twelve* books, but finiſhed only one. III. Θρησκολογία, or our *Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount*, the Decalogue, the Apoſtles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the *Magnificat*, with other Hymns from the Old and New Teſtament, in Greek verſe. IV. *Thuribulum*, or the Hymns and Feſtivals in Greek verſe. V. Miſcellanies and Epigrams in Latin and Greek verſe. VI. Αγλαο-Βαλγομαχία, or the Death of Edward Mountague, Earl of Sandwich, in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh verſe. VII. Αλεκτρυομαχία, or a poem upon *Cock-fighting*, *An.* 1673. VIII. The *Song of Songs*, containing an hundred Hexaſticks in Engliſh Heroic verſe, *An.* 1674. IX. Στεφανηιάδος; a ludicrous Poem, in Greek Macaronic verſe, upon a Battle between a Spider and a Toad, *An.* 1673. X. Φλαϊάδος, or a Supplement to the old ludicrous Poem under that title, at Trinity-Houſe in Cambridge, upon a Battle between the Fleas and a Welſh-man. XI. A *Poetical Lexicon*, Greek and Latin; to which is added a Lexicon of proper names, Fol. 1675. XII. A Treatiſe upon the *Greek Accents*, in anſwer to Henry Chriſtian Heninius and others, with a Diſcourſe upon the *Points* now in uſe. XIII. Humorous Poems upon the 9th book of the *Iliad*, and the ninth of the *Odyſſey*, in Engliſh; publiſhed in 1681. XIV. *Franciados*; an Heroic Poem, in Latin, upon the Black Prince. The whole was to conſiſt of twelve books, eight of which were finiſhed. XV. *The Art of War*, in four books, in Engliſh Proſe. 1676. XVI. *Hengiſt*, or *The Engliſh Valour*; an Heroic Poem in Engliſh, in ſeven books. XVII. *Landgarth*, or the Amazon Queen of Norway and Denmark; an Engliſh Dramatick Poem in Heroic verſe, deſigned in honour of the marriage between Prince George of Denmark and Princeſs Anne. XVIII. An *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from the Beginning of the World to the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, in Latin: Fol. XIX. Miſcellaneous *Poems* in Engliſh. XX. Philoſophical and Divine *Poems*, in Latin, publiſhed at different times at Cambridge. XXI. *Poems*, and ſacred daily *Meditations*, continued for ſeveral years in Engliſh. XXII. A Diſſertation upon *Pillars*, *Obeliſks*, *Pyramids*, &c. in Latin, 1692. XXIII. A Diſcourſe upon the *Sibyls*, in three books, in Latin. XXIV. The *Life* of *Pindar* in four Lectures, and thirty two Lectures upon his firſt Olympick Ode. XXV. The *Life* of *Theocritus*, and Lectures upon that Poet. XXVI. The *Lives* of *David*, *Scanderbeg*, and *Tamerlane*. Theſe Lives, he tells us, he never actually begun, but only made conſiderable collections for them. XXVII. The *Life* of *Edward, the Black Prince*. XXVIII. The *Univerſity-Kalendar*, or Directions for young Students of all degrees, with relation to their Studies, and general Rules of Ethics, and a Form of Prayer. *An.* 1685. XXIX. Thirty-two Lectures upon the firſt Book of the *Odyſſey*. XXX. Above fifty Lectures upon *Sophocles*. XXXI. Lectures upon *Bereſhith*, with an Oration recommending the Study of the Hebrew Language. XXXII. Three *Diſcourſes* in Engliſh. 1. *The Fortunate Iſland, or the Inauguration of Queen Gloriana*. 2. *The Advantage of England, or a ſure way to Victory*. 3. *The Cauſe of the Church of England defended and explained*; publiſhed in 1703. XXXIII. *Concio ad Clerum*, for his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, at St Mary's in Cambridge, 1686. XXXIV. Occaſional *Sermons*, preached before the Lord-Mayor, &c. XXXV. An *Oration*, recommending the Study of the Greek language, ſpoken in the Public Schools at Cambridge before the Vice-Chancellor, March 28, 1705. XXXVI. A *Greek Oration*, addreſſed to the moſt reverend Father Neophytus, Archbiſhop of Philippopolis, ſpoken in the Regent-Houſe at Cambridge, September 13, 1701. XXXVII. A *Prevaricator's Speech*, ſpoken at the Commencement at Cambridge, 1680. XXXVIII. A *Congratulatory Oration* in Latin, ſpoken at St Mary's, September 9, 1683, upon the Eſcape of King Charles II and the Duke of York from the Conſpiracy. XXXIX. Sermons, Orations, Declamations, Problems, Tranſlations, Letters, and other Exerciſes, in Engliſh, Latin, and Greek. XL. A *Satire* in Engliſh Verſe upon the Poets and Criticks. XLI. An Imitation of Plautus's *Trinummi* in Engliſh. XLII. Interpretations, Illuſtrations, Emendations, and Corrections of many Paſſages, which have been falſely tranſlated, with Explications upon various paſſages of Scripture, from *Geneſis* to *Revelations*. XLIII. *Common-Places* in Divinity, Philology, Poetry, and Criticiſm; and Emendations of various Greek and Latin Authors, with Fragments of many of the Poets.

[*K*] *His character both as a man and an author.*] He had a great deal of enthuſiaſm in his temper, which diſcovered itſelf in various circumſtances of his life. He conſtantly maintained, that ſpiritual ſins, ſuch as pride, defamation, &c. were more offenſive in the eyes of God, than thoſe which ariſe from a too great indulgence of the ſenſes. He believed, that charity ſeldom or never paſſes without it's reward in this life. And this opinion prevailed ſo far with him, that he has given his only coat to a vagrant begging at the door; and he uſed to relate ſome extraordinary retributions conferred upon him by unknown perſons for his charities of this kind. He was remarkable rather for the quickneſs of his wit, and the happineſs of his memory, than for the ſolidity of his judgment; upon which ſome body recommended this *pun* to be inſcribed upon his monument;

Joſhua Barnes,
Felicis Memoriæ, Judicium expectans.

He had a prodigious readineſs in writing and ſpeaking the Greek tongue; and he himſelf tells us (7), 'he 'found it much eaſier to him to write in that language, 'than in Latin or even Engliſh, ſince the ornaments 'of poetry are almoſt peculiar to the Greeks, and 'ſince he had for many years been extremely converſant in Homer, the great father and ſource of the 'Greek Poetry: However, that his verſes were not 'mere *Cento's* from that Poet, like Dr Duport's, but 'formed, as far as he was able, upon his ſtyle and 'manner; ſince he had no deſire to be conſidered as 'a *Rhapſodiſt of a Rhapſody**, but was ambitious of 'the title of a Poet.' Dr Bentley, we are told, uſed to ſay of Joſhua Barnes, that *he underſtood as much Greek as a Greek Cobler*. T

(7) *In the Preface to his* Αυτοκατοπτρον

* Ραψωδίας Ραψῳδὸς.

BARNWALL (ROBERT) was of a family which has yielded many conſiderable men in times paſt [*A*], but of which branch of it this Robert was, we cannot with certainty declare. It was originally French, from Little Bretagne, where, we are told (*a*), the ſurname is conſiderable to this day. This gentleman was born in the county of Dublin, and educated in the ſtudy of the Law at Gray's-Inn, London; where he became a writer while he was a youth, what progreſs or figure he made at the bar in his riper years, or when he died we know not, nor ſhould we have known thus much, if the dedication to the book underneath mentioned, had not informed us of it [*B*].

(*a*) Iriſh Compend. p. 133.

[*A*] *Yielded many conſiderable men.*] As Barnwall, Lord Viſcount Kingſland; Barnwall, Lord Baron of Trimelſton; of which family John Barnwall, Lord Trimelſton was, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and made ſo (1), on the 16th of Auguſt, 1534; and before that was made Lord Treaſurer (2) of Ireland, on the 30th of September, 1524. There was alſo a Baronet's title in the family, and many gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates.

(1) Rot. Canc. 26 Hen. VIII.

(2) Ibid. 16 Hen. VIII.

[*B*] *Dedication to a book he publiſhed.*] It is intitled, Syntomotaxia del ſecond Parte del Roy Henry le ſixt, per quel facilement cy troveront ſoubs apt Titles tout choſes conteinue en de dit liver. Printed, London 1601, folio, 1679, folio.—A table to the ſecond part of the year book of King Henry the ſixth, by which may be readily found under proper titles, all matters contained in the ſaid book.——This book, being more properly an index of matter, containing many caſes

caſes concerning Iriſh affairs, he dedicated to Sir Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, and in his dedication obſerves, 'That among all the volumes 'of the law he had read, the ſecond part of Henry the 'ſixth, was the worthieſt to be heeded, and ſpecially re- 'garded by all who ſhould intend the manner of pro- 'ceeding of Law, within the realm of Ireland, which 'was the motive to writing ſuch an index, as may 'ſerve both as an abridgment and table to the ſaid 'volume.' D

BARO, or BARON (PETER) a learned Divine in the XVIth century, was born at Eſtampes in France, and educated in the univerſity of Bourges, where he was admitted a Licentiate in the Law (*a*): But being of the Proteſtant religion, he was obliged to leave his native country, to avoid perſecution. Whereupon, withdrawing into England, he was kindly received, and charitably maintained by the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, who admitted him to eat at his own table (*b*). He afterwards ſettled at Cambridge, upon the invitation of Dr Andrew Perne, Maſter of Peter-Houſe, by whom he was entertained (*c*). In 1574 [*A*], at the recommendation of the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of that univerſity, he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor there (*d*). But finding, after ſome years, that his income was not ſufficient for his maintenance, as he was a married man, and had ſcarce any thing elſe to depend upon but his ſalary; he prevailed upon Dr Perne, to petition the Lord Burghley to make ſome addition to his livelihood (*e*). This Lord accordingly promiſed that he would take care of him: but not performing his promiſe ſoon, Dr Baro wrote him, on the twenty-firſt of November, a modeſt and handſome letter, wherein he put him in mind of his mean condition, and deſired his aſſiſtance when any occaſion ſhould offer (*f*). For ſome years he quietly enjoyed his Profeſſorſhip; but, at length, either out of envy, or on account of ſome unfaſhionable opinions of his, a reſtleſs faction aroſe, which rendered his place ſo uneaſy to him, that he choſe to leave the univerſity. At that time, Abſolute Predeſtination, in the moſt rigid and Calviniſtical ſenſe, was ſtrenuouſly maintained, as the only orthodox and true principle, and as the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England. The chief promoters of it at Cambridge, were, Dr Whitacre, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity; Dr R. Some, Dr Humphrey Tyndal, and in general the oldeſt members of the univerſity (*g*). On the contrary, Dr Baro, with ſome of the younger ſtudents, had a more rational and moderate notion of that doctrine. The Doctor having mentioned it in ſome of his lectures, That occaſioned a conteſt between him and Mr Lawrence Chadderton, in the year 1581, which came to ſuch a height, that Chadderton attempted to confute him publickly in one of his ſermons (*h*). Dr Baro thinking himſelf injured, cauſed Mr Chadderton to be ſummoned into the Conſiſtory, before the Vice-Chancellor and ſome others, when the latter utterly denied he had ever preached againſt the Doctor; and after ſome papers had paſſed between them upon thoſe points (*i*), the affair was dropped (*k*). The chief objections made by the rigid Calviniſts againſt Dr Baro were theſe, 1. That in his lectures upon Jonah (*l*), he taught the Popiſh Doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works in order to juſtification; which, though in terms a little changed, yet the doctrine was in effect one and the ſame. 2. That he endeavoured to perſuade mankind, that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches was not ſo widely different from that of Rome, but that by diſtinctions they might be reconciled, and therefore concluded that both profeſſions might be tolerated. 3. That in his lectures he taught, that the Heathen may be ſaved without the faith of the Goſpel; and other ſtrange matters which were looked upon as damnable errors. —— Moreover, that he brought the Popiſh ſchoolmen into credit, and diminiſhed the honour of the learned Proteſtant writers. Since which time, the courſe of ſtudies in Divinity, and the manner of preaching, had been changed in the univerſity; by ſome, who left the ſtudy of ſound writers, as they ſtiled them, and applied themſelves to the reading of Popiſh, barbarous, and fantaſtical ſchoolmen, delighted with their curious queſtions and quiddities, whereby they drew all points of Chriſtian faith into doubt, being the high-way not only to Popery but to Atheiſm (*m*). Some years after, a controverſy aroſe between Dr Baro and Dr Some about the indefectibility of faith; but this diſpute was ſoon compoſed (*n*). The next diſpute Baro was engaged in, was of much longer continuance, and in the end proved his ruin. For Dr Whitacre having, in the beginning of November 1595, preached a ſermon before the univerſity, in defence of Abſolute Predeſtination, on purpoſe, as he ſaid (*o*), to ſtay the minds of the ſcholars, and to maintain what he called the doctrine of our Church, againſt innovations; he was not ſatisfied therewith, but endeavoured to have his weak arguments ſtrengthened with the irreſiſtible ones of authority and force. To bring that about, he and Dr Tyndal were deputed by the heads of the univerſity, to Archbiſhop Whitgift. They loudly complained to him, that Pelagianiſm was getting ground in the univerſity, and that no better method could be uſed to ſtop the progreſs of it, than the confirmation of ſome propoſitions they had brought along with them (*p*). Theſe, according to their requeſt, were eſtabliſhed and approved on the 20th of November, by the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop-elect of Bangor, and a very few other Divines

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I, edit. 1721, col. 113. Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. IV. p. 231.

(*b*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, edit. 1718, fol. p. 93.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 94.

(*e*) Which was but 20*l.* a year. See Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 472.

(*f*) Strype's ibid. and Appendix of Records, p. 38.

(*g*) Strype, Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 435.

(*h*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 145.

(*i*) Ibid. and Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 47, 48.

(*k*) See Mr Bayle's Dictionary, in the article BARON (PETER).

(*l*) Particularly on chap. iii. ver. 4.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 113, 114.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, &c. p. 448, 449.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 460.

(*p*) Articulorum Lambethæ exhibitorum hiſtoria. Amſtelod. 1700. 12*mo*, p. 4.

[*A*] *In* 1574, —— *he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor.*] Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (1), and Mr T. Baker, in the liſt of the Lady Margaret's Profeſſors (2), place Dr Baro's election under the year 1573. But by his letter to the Lord Burghley, mentioned a little below, it appears, that when he writ it, in November 1580, he had been Profeſſor ſix whole years —— *jam totos ſex hoſce annos* —— (3).

(1) Vol. II. p. 383.

(2) Placed before her Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1708, 8*vo*.

(3) See that Letter, in the Appendix to Archbiſhop Whitgift's Life, p. 38.

[*B*] *The*

Divines (*q*), and came to be known by the title of the *Lambeth-Articles* [*B*]. The Archbiſhop recommended them to the univerſity, as the private judgment only of thoſe that had made them, and not as laws and decrees, but as things neceſſary for the obſervation of peace; and deſired them to take care that nothing ſhould be publickly taught to the contrary (*r*). They were immediately communicated to Dr Baro (*s*), againſt whom probably they were more immediately deſigned. But he, either diſregarding them, or being provoked thereby, preached a contrary doctrine, in a ſermon before the univerſity on the 12th of January following (*t*). In that diſcourſe, he ſtudied not to exaſperate any; and therefore did not ſo much deny, as moderate thoſe propoſitions; and ſtate, as he apprehended, the true ſenſe of them (*u*), and ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles [*C*]. However, his adverſaries judging of it otherwiſe, the Vice-Chancellor conſulted the ſame Day with Dr Clayton and Mr Chadderton, what ſhould be done. Jan. 12. The next day he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein he informed his Grace of the affair; and as he intended to call the Profeſſor to an account for his ſermon, and for breaking the peace of the univerſity, but knew not what courſe to take, nor upon what ſtatute to proceed, he deſired his aid and advice; unleſs they were pleaſed to call him before the High Commiſſion (*w*). The Archbiſhop returned for anſwer, on the 16th, that they ſhould call Baro before them, and require a copy of his ſermon; or, at leaſt, cauſe him to ſet down the principal heads thereof: and to demand of him what ſhould move him to continue that courſe, notwithſtanding order taken, and ſo many advertiſements to the contrary: But not to proceed to any determination againſt him, till they had advertiſed him of his anſwer, and the particular points of his ſermon (*x*). In the mean time, Dr Baro finding what great offence was taken at his ſermon, wrote, on the 14th of January, to the Archbiſhop to this effect (*y*). 'That when his Lordſhip 'lately ſpake with him about the nine Articles [*D*], he ſpake freely that which he thought 'good,

(*q*) Ibid. and Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 229.

(*r*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 462.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 467.

(*t*) His Text was *James* i. 27.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 466.

Jan. 13.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 468.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 469.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 466. He ſays, p. 468, that Baro went to London to the Archbiſhop. But that does not appear.

[*B*] *The Lambeth-Articles.*] They were as follows, I. God hath from eternity predeſtinated ſome perſons to life, and ſome he hath reprobated to death. II. The moving, or efficient cauſe of predeſtination to life, is not the foreſight of faith, or perſeverance, or good works, or of any other quality in the predeſtinated perſons; but the ſole will and good pleaſure of God. III. The number of the predeſtinate is before-limited and certain, and can neither be increaſed nor leſſened. IV. Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins. V. A true, lively, and juſtifying faith, and the ſanctifying ſpirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, doth not fail, nor vaniſh away in the Elect, either totally, or finally. VI. A man who is truly one of the faithful, that is, endued with juſtifying faith, is certain, with full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt. VII. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, ſo as that they may be ſaved by it if they will. VIII. No one can come to Chriſt unleſs it is given him, and unleſs the Father draws him; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son. IX. It is not in every one's will or power to be ſaved (4). When Queen Elizabeth heard of theſe articles, and the manner in which they were framed, ſhe was exceſſively angry. It was a maxim with her, Not to have ſo tender a point, and ſo dangerous to weak, ignorant, minds, diſputed, and brought in queſtion. Beſides, ſhe thought ſuch an aſſembly, and their framing articles or canons without her ſpecial licence, derogatory to her Royal dignity. She therefore, immediately ſends for Whitgift, and accoſts him thus, 'My Lord, I am informed you are heaping 'up riches, and now I ſhall want no money.' The Archbiſhop replied, 'That he had but little, how-'ever, it was at her Majeſty's ſervice.' Nay, ſays the Queen, 'It is mine already, for you are fallen 'into a Premunire, by calling a Council without my 'conſent (5).' Whitgift, in his own excuſe, ſaid, that thoſe articles were not deſigned for a ſtanding rule to direct the Church, but only for the appeaſing of ſome unhappy differences in the univerſity of Cambridge. Whereby the Queen, being ſomewhat appeaſed, proceeded to no extremities, but only commanded thoſe articles to be ſpeedily recalled and ſuppreſſed; which was performed with ſuch care and diligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after (6). The Lord Burghley alſo diſliked them: For when Dr Whitacre preſented them to him, he reaſoned with him upon thoſe points; and drew by a ſimilitude, a reaſon from an earthly Prince. Inferring thereby, that they charged God with cruelty, and might cauſe men to be deſperate in their wickedneſs ——— As the Queen was angry with the framers and contrivers of thoſe articles, ſo was ſhe alſo diſpleaſed with Dr Baro, for diſputing upon ſuch abſtruſe points. For, in a diſcourſe ſhe had of thoſe matters with the Archbiſhop, ſhe wondered Baro ſhould meddle in that controverſy he being an alien, and ſo ought to have carried himſelf quietly and peaceably, in a country where he was ſo humanely harboured, and infranchiſed both himſelf and his family. The Archbiſhop informed Dr Baro of this, who wrote a letter to his Grace, on the 13th of December, wherein he expreſſed the utmoſt affection and loyalty for her Majeſty (7); and declared it as his opinion, 'That God is 'not the author of ſin, nor would that it ſhould be com-'mitted; when he openly forbids it, and reproves men 'for nothing, but becauſe of ſin, which he hateth. And, 'that the Faithful, or the Elect, ought not to be ſecure 'of their ſalvation (8).'

(4) *Articuli Lambethani* printed at the end of Dr Ellis's *Articulorum 39 Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Defenſio*, 12mo. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 230.

(5) Fuller, ibid. p. 232. and *Articulorum Lambethanorum Hiſt.* ubi ſupra, p. 7, 8.

(6) Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſt. c. x. §. 3.

(7) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 464, 465.

(8) Ibid.

[*C*] *And ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles.*] In that ſermon he aſſerted particularly theſe three things; I. That God created all men according to his own likeneſs in Adam, and ſo conſequently to eternal life; from which he chaſed no man, unleſs becauſe of ſin. As Damaſus taught, lib. 2. *de Fide orthodox.* II. That Chriſt died ſufficiently for all; againſt Joh. Piſcator, a German Divine, who denied it: Whoſe opinion, he ſhewed, was contrary to the confeſſion of the Church of England, and the XXXIX articles; and for proof thereof repeated the XXXIIſt article. III. That the promiſes of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally underſtood, as is ſet down in the XVIIth article. But theſe three points were diſagreeable to ſome unreaſonable men, who endeavoured to perſuade the world, that God did on purpoſe create the greateſt part of men to deſtruction, that by the perdition of them he might get glory to himſelf: And that Chriſt did not die for all; not, for that many refuſed to accept his benefits, but becauſe he would not that his death ſhould profit them. And, moreover, becauſe they were not created to ſalvation, as others, but to deſtruction. And, for the ſame cauſe, they would not have the promiſes to be general, but reſtrained them to thoſe perſons alone, who, they ſaid, were created by God to be ſaved (9).

(9) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 466.

[*D*] *When his Lordſhip ſpake to him about the nine Articles.*] It ſeems evident, from Mr Strype's account of this whole matter (10), That when Dr Baro heard of the confirmation of the nine articles, [and not after the preaching of his ſermon as that author aſſerts (11)] he waited upon the Archbiſhop, about the beginning of December; who ſhowed him thoſe articles, and demanded his opinion of every one of them ſeverally, and at two ſeveral times. The laſt time, he ſeemed to

(10) Ibid. p. 466—469.

(11) Ibid. p. 468.

'good, and what then occurred to him. But becauſe many things came not ſo ſoon, 'into his mind, which might be ſaid for a favourable expoſition of them, he thought it 'would not be unacceptable, if he wrote ſomething more amply and particularly con-'cerning each.' —— Then he adds, 'That he ſpake in his ſermon according to thoſe old 'and orthodox Articles *, and did not ſo much as touch the New †. And for a witneſs of it, ſent his Grace an expoſition of theſe laſt nine Articles (z). However, according to the Archbiſhop's directions, Baro was cited before Dr Goad the Vice-Chancellor in the Conſiſtory; and appeared there the 17th, 21ſt, and 29th of January (a), when ſeveral articles were exhibited againſt him [E]. At his laſt appearance, the concluſion againſt him was; 'That whereas Baro had promiſed the Vice-Chancellor, 'upon his demand, a copy of his ſermon, but his Lawyers adviſed him not to deliver 'the ſame; the Vice-Chancellor did now, by virtue of his authority, peremptorily 'command him to deliver him the whole and entire ſermon, as to the ſubſtance of it, in 'writing. Which Baro promiſed he would do the next day, and did it accordingly **. 'And, laſtly, he did peremptorily, and by virtue of his authority, command Baro, that 'he ſhould wholly abſtain from thoſe controverſies and articles, and leave them alto-'gether untouched, as well in his lectures, ſermons, and determinations, as in his diſpu-'tations and other his exerciſes (b).' The Vice-Chancellor, who had proceeded thus far without the knowledge of the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, thought fit to acquaint him, January 29, with their proceedings, and to deſire his wiſe and honourable advice (c). And, on the other hand, Dr Baro being informed of his enemies invidious aſperſions of him to that Lord; took care to repreſent his own caſe to him in a true light: Aſſuring him, that he had only defended the truth of the Goſpel againſt *Piſcator*; whoſe book he ſaw was in the hands of many of the younger ſtudents; and begged of him, not to reſolve any thing concerning him, till he had diligently enquired into the truth of what he had written. The diſcountenance hereupon given to this affair by the Chancellor [F], ſtopped all further proceeding againſt Dr Baro (d). He continued in the univerſity the February and March following (e), but with much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton [G]. But Archbiſhop Whitgift (tho' he had weakly yielded in many reſpects to the ſollicitations of his enemies) being fully ſatisfied at laſt of his learning and integrity, protected him againſt all attempts that could hurt either his learning or reputation. Only he charged him, to forbear ſuch arguments as would provoke contentious diſputations, that ſo peace might be preſerved in the univerſity, and by that means religion and learning flouriſh there (f). The Doctor, notwithſtanding his troubles, had many friends and adherents in the univerſity, as Mr Overal, Dr Clayton, Mr Harſnet, and Dr Andrews; and his diſciples were ſo far from being ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the Lambeth Articles, that they were become more united (g): So that, had he ſtood again for his Profeſſorſhip, when it became vacant on the 25th of March 1596 (h), he would undoubtedly have been choſen in again. But he had met with ſo much vexation, and ſuch ill

* The XXXIX Articles.

† The Lambeth Articles.

(z) Ibid. p. 466, 467. and Appendix, p. 201.

(a) Ibid. p. 470, 471.

** See Ibid. p. 475.

(b) Ibid. p. 471.

(c) Ibid. p. 471, 472.

Febr. 9.

(d) Ibid. p. 473.

(e) Ibid. p. 474.

(f) Ibid. p. 476.

(g) Dr Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſtory, B. iii. c. xxi. §. 9.

(h) Ibid. §. 4. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 125, 126.

to make ſome ſmall objections againſt one or two of them only; yet confeſſed that they were all true. Whereupon, the Archbiſhop admoniſhed him not to diſpute any more upon thoſe points, which he faithfully promiſed to obſerve (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 468, 469.

[E] *Several articles were exhibited againſt him.*] He was charged with having aſſerted, I. That God, by an abſolute will, created all, and every man, to eternal life: Becauſe, he created all according to his own image; and therefore for happineſs; conſequently, he deprives no one of ſalvation, but for his ſin. II. That there is a two-fold will in God, an antecedent and conſequent will. By his antecedent will God hath rejected no body, otherwiſe he would have condemned his own work. To explain this, he alledged the inſtance of a King, a father, and a huſbandman: A King makes laws for the good of his ſubjects; a father does not beget a ſon to have him hanged, or to diſinherit him; a huſbandman does not plant a tree to root it up again. III. That Chriſt died for all men, and for every one in particular; that all, and every man, might know they have a remedy in Chriſt; according to what is ſaid, *That Chriſt came to ſave that which was loſt* (13). Now all, and every man were loſt in Adam: Therefore, &c. For the remedy is as extenſive as the diſeaſe; and *God is no reſpecter of perſons* (14). IV. That God's promiſes to life are univerſal; and belong to Cain as well as to Abel, to Eſau as well as Jacob, to Judas as well as to Peter. And that Cain was no more rejected of God than Abel, before he had excluded himſelf: That men exclude themſelves from Heaven, and God does not exclude them; according to what is ſaid, *O Iſrael, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf* (15) —— Theſe were ſubſcribed by Jo. Allenſon, Will. Nelſon, Obadiah Aſhton, James Crowther, John Hooke, George Downham. —— Dr Baro alledged in his own defence, that he had not preached doctrines contrary to the nine articles. And, with regard to the grace of God ſufficient to eternal life being offered to all; he ſaid, that grace was indeed offered to all, but in a different meaſure: For to ſome was given greater grace, to others leſs; to ſome more talents, to others leſs (16).

(13) Matth. xviii. 11.

(14) Acts x. 34.

(15) Hoſea xiii. 9.

(16) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 470, 471.

[F] *The diſcountenance given to this affair by the Chancellor.*] He told them in his letter among other things, that they ſifted Dr Baro with interrogatories, as if he were a thief; —— and that their proceedings againſt him ſeemed to be done 'of ſtomach,' out of paſſion and prejudice (17). However, his enemies not diſcouraged thereby, writ another letter to the Chancellor, on the 8th of March, wherein they informed him —— 'That Dr Baroe (18) had not 'only in the ſermon, but alſo for the ſpace of fourteen 'or fifteen years taught in his lectures, preached in his 'ſermons, determined in the ſchools, and printed in 'ſeveral books, divers points of doctrine not only con-'trary to himſelf, but alſo contrary to that which had 'been taught and received ever ſince her Majeſty's 'reign, and agreeable to the errors of Popery (19).'

(17) See Strype ubi ſupra, p. 473.

(18) So his name is written in this letter. In other places 'tis ſometimes written Barow.

(19) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Lond. 1714, Vol. II. p. 647.

[G] *With much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr Goad, and Mr Chadderton.*] Dr Goad had been his private enemy a long while. For about ten or eleven years before, in a clandeſtine ſynod at London, held probably by Cartwright and his adherents, ſome things had been decreed againſt him unheard. Of which being informed, he takes a journey to London, complains to Dr Goad who had been in that aſſembly, and deſires him at leaſt to ſhow him, what they had decreed concerning, or againſt him. But he could not obtain a ſight of it, till Dr Bancroft ſhewed it him a few years after. And, from that time, they hated him; and having always privately watched him, they at laſt took occaſion from that ſermon of his, to endeavour to caſt him out of the univerſity with ſhame (20).

(20) Strype, ibid. p. 476.

[H] *We*

ill uſage, from the *Elect*, that for the ſake of peace, he choſe to retire to London, and fixed his abode in Crouched-Friers (*i*). There he died about three or four years after, and was decently buried in the pariſh church of St Olave-Hart-ſtreet, his pall being ſupported by ſix Doctors of Divinity, and his corps attended by the moſt eminent Miniſters in the city, according to an order of Dr Bancroft, then Biſhop of London (*k*). Dr Baro left ſeveral children, which ſettled in and about Boſton in Lincolnſhire (*l*). His eldeſt ſon, Samuel Baro, was a Phyſician, and lived and died at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk (*m*), and in all likelihood was the ſame that was choſen Fellow of Peter-Houſe, in 1584 (*n*). We ſhall give an account of Dr Baro's works, in the note [*H*].

(*i*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 114.

(*k*) Ibid. and Heylin, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Wood, ibid.

(*m*) Strype's Ann. Vol. IV. p. 231.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p 94.

[*H*] *We ſhall give an account of Dr Baro's works.*] They are, I. *In Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones XXXIX.* II. *Conciones tres ad Clerum Cantabrigienſem habitæ in templo B. Mariæ.* III. *Theſes publicæ in Scholis peroratæ et diſputatæ.* [Theſe Theſes, being only two, were tranſlated into Engliſh by John Ludham, under theſe titles; Firſt, 'God's purpoſe and decree taketh 'not away the liberty of man's corrupt will.' The ſecond, 'Our conjunction with Chriſt is altogether 'ſpiritual.' Printed at Lond. 1590, 8vo.] IV. *Precationes quibus uſus eſt author in ſuis prælectionibus inchoandis & finiendis.* All theſe were publiſhed at London 1579, fol. by the care of Oſmund Lake, B. D. Fellow of King's Coll. Cambr. who corrected them before they went to the preſs. V. *De Fide ejuſque ortu et natura plana et dilucida explicatio*, &c. Lond. 1580, 8vo. VI. *De præſtantia & dignitate divinæ Legis, lib.* 2. Printed in 1586, 8vo. VII. *Tractatus in quo docet expetitionem oblati a mente boni et fiduciam ad fidei juſtificantis naturam pertinere.* VIII. *Summa trium ſententiarum de prædeſtinatione*, &c. Hardr. 1613, 8vo. printed with the Notes of Joh. Piſcator, Diſquiſition of Franc Junius, and Prelection of Will. Whitacre. IX. 'Special treatiſe of God's providence, and 'of comforts againſt all kind of croſſes and calamities 'to be fetched from the ſame; with an expoſition on 'Pſalm cvii.' X. Four Sermons; the firſt on Pſalm 'cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3; the ſecond, on Pſalm xv. 1, 2, 3, '4, 5, &c (21). 1560, 8vo (22). C

(21) Wood, Faſti Vol. I. col. 114.

(22) Catal. of Engl. Writers on the Old and New Teſtament, &c. ſecond edit. Lond. 1668, 8vo.

BARON (BONAVENTURE) whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald [*A*], was deſcended from a branch of the Fitz-Geralds of Burnchurch in the county of Kilkenny, a family ſettled in Ireland ſoon after the Engliſh acquiſitions in that country, which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church [*B*]. But he has been more remarkable in the learned world for his maternal genealogy, being the ſon of a ſiſter of Luke Wadding, that eminent Franciſcan Friar, who in the laſt century demonſtrated his great abilities and induſtry, by many voluminous treatiſes of genius and labour (*a*). His uncle Wadding took great care of his education in his youth, which he ſaw rewarded by an uncommon diligence, and when he was of a proper age procured his admiſſion into the Franciſcan order, and ſent for him to Rome; where he lived under his own eye in the college of St Iſidore, a ſociety of that order founded by himſelf in 1625, for the education of Iriſh ſtudents in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts, Divinity, and Controverſy, to ſerve as a ſeminary, out of which the miſſion into England, Scotland, and Ireland, might be ſupplied. Baron, after ſome time, grew into high reputation, and became eſpecially remarkable for the purity of his Latin ſtyle, which firſt fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal [*C*]; from which time his fame increaſed, and he became the author of many books both in proſe and verſe, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks [*D*]. He was for a conſiderable time Prælector of Divinity in the college aforeſaid, and in all reſided at Rome about ſixty years, where he died, very old and totally deprived of ſight, on the 18th of March 1696, and was buried at St Iſidore's.

(*a*) See the article of WADDING (LUKE).

[*A*] *Whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald.*] His family were antiently Palatine Barons of Burnchurch, who had no ſeats in the Houſe of Lords, but were created titular Barons by the Count Palatine of that juriſdiction, by virtue of a royal ſeigniory granted by the Crown; of which kind of Barons there were many in England. As in Cheſhire (according to Camden) (1) the Barons of Haulton, Malbank, Malpas, and Kinderten, &c. who were made ſo by Hugh Lupus, the firſt Count Palatine of Cheſhire, immediately upon his creation: Of the ſame ſort were the Barons of Walton, in the Palatinate of Lancaſter, and the Baron of Hilton in the Biſhoprick of Durham. In Ireland alſo were the Barons of Skrine, Navan, Galtrim, Nerraghmore, Rheban, &c. and the Barons of Burnchurch, from whence many of the Fitz-Geralds in proceſs of time took the names of Baron, and it is now become a family name.

(1) Britannia, paſſim.

[*B*] *Which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church.*] As Milo Baron, who was Prior of Iniſtioch, an Auguſtinian abbey in the county of Kilkenny, and from thence tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Oſſory in 1527; and Roland Baron, who was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Caſhel in 1553.

[*C*] *His Latin ſtile firſt fell under the notice of the Publick, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal.*] The ſtory is told in a letter from Rome, containing many curious remarks on the college of Cardinals, which are foreign to the preſent purpoſe.—'A certain Cardinal (ſays 'the letter writer) writ a ſmall piece in Italian, but for 'fame ſake deſired to have it put into good Latin. He 'employed Luke Wadding to find him out a proper 'perſon to undertake the taſk, and Wadding committed it to his nephew Baron's care, with whoſe 'talents that way he was well acquainted. The Car-'dinal, not underſtanding a word of Latin, to con-'ceal his ignorance, condemned the tranſlation, and 'blamed Wadding for recommending to him ſuch a 'dunce. This accident made a great noiſe in Rome, 'and became the table-talk of the town. For Wad-'ding, who wanted no preferments, and Baron who 'deſpiſed every thing in compariſon of his reputation, 'appealed to the college of Jeſuits, who, upon exami-'nation, unanimouſly allowed the verſion to be extreme-'ly well done, to the no ſmall confuſion of the Cardinal, 'and the merriment of the Publick.'

[*D*] *A catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks.*] They are theſe, viz.

I. Orationes Panegyricæ Sacro-Prophanæ decem. Romæ 1643, 12mo.

II. Metra Miſcellanea, ſive Carminum diverſorum Libri duo; Epigrammatum unus; alter Silvulæ; quibus adduntur Elogia illuſtrium virorum. Romæ 1645, 24to.

III. Proluſiones Philoſophicæ. Romæ 1651, 12mo.

IV. Harpocrates quinque Ludius; ſeu Diatriba ſilentii. Romæ 1651, 12mo.

V. Obſidio et Expugnatio Arcis Duncannon in Hibernia, ſub Thoma Preſtono.

VI. Boëtius Abſolutus; ſive de Conſolatione Theologiæ, lib. iv. Romæ 1653, 12mo.

VII. Controverſiæ et Stratagemata, Lugduni 1656, 8vo.

VIII. Scotus Defenſus, Coloniæ 1662, folio.

IX. Curſus Philoſophicus, Coloniæ 1664, folio.

X. Epiſtolæ Familiares Paræneticæ, &c. Theſe are among his

XI. Opuſcula varia Herbipoli, 1666, folio.

XII. Theologia (2), 6 vol. Paris 1679.

(2) Lipenius. Biblioth. Theol. Vol. II. p. 839.

D

BARROW (Isaac), Biſhop of St Aſaph in the reign of King Charles II, was ſon of Iſaac Barrow of Spiney-Abbey in Cambridgeſhire, and uncle of the famous Dr Iſaac Barrow, Maſter of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*a*). He had his education at Peter-houſe in Cambridge, and became Fellow of that college; but was ejected by the Preſbyterians about the year 1643: whereupon going to Oxford, he was appointed one of the Chaplains of New-College by the Warden Dr Pink (*b*). It is ſaid, he was created Bachelor of Divinity in that univerſity the 23d of June 1646; but his name is not to be found in the regiſter (*c*). He continued at Oxford till the garriſon of that place ſurrendered to the Parliament, after which time he ſhifted from place to place, and ſuffered with the reſt of the loyal and orthodox clergy, till the Reſtoration of King Charles II, when he was not only reſtored to his fellowſhip in Peter-houſe, but elected likewiſe one of the Fellows of Eaton-College near Windſor. July the 5th 1663, he was conſecrated Biſhop of the Iſle of Man, in Henry the VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter; and the year following he was appointed, by Charles Earl of Derby, Governor of the Iſle of Man; which office he diſcharged with great reputation all the time he held that See, and ſome time after his tranſlation to that of St Aſaph. He held his fellowſhip of Eaton *in commendam* with the biſhopric of Man, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that iſland, and eſpecially the clergy thereof (*d*) [*A*]. Afterwards going into England for the ſake of his health, and lodging in a houſe belonging to the Counteſs of Derby in Lancaſhire called Croſs-Hall, he there received the news of his Majeſty's conferring on him the biſhopric of St Aſaph, to which he was tranſlated March the 21ſt 1669, and to which dioceſe he was no inconſiderable benefactor [*B*]. This worthy Prelate died in the 67th year of his age, at Shrewſbury, the 24th of June 1680, and was buried the firſt of July following at the cathedral church of St Aſaph [*C*]. His epitaph [*D*] gave great offence to the Preſbyterians (*e*) [*E*].

(*a*) *See the following article.*

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

(*c*) Id. *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 56.

(*d*) Id. *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ib. col. 1154.

[*A*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to the iſland of Man, and eſpecially to the Clergy thereof.*] He collected with great care and pains from pious perſons one thouſand eighty one pounds, eight ſhillings, and four pence; with which he purchaſed of the Earl of Derby all the impropriations in the iſland, and ſettled them upon the Clergy in proportion to their ſeveral wants. He obliged them all likewiſe to teach ſchool in their reſpective pariſhes, and allowed thirty pounds *per annum* for a free-ſchool, and fifty pounds *per annum* for academical learning. He procured alſo from King Charles II, one hundred pounds a year (which, Mr Wood ſays, had like to have been loſt) to be ſettled upon his Clergy, and gave one hundred thirty five pounds of his own money for a leaſe upon lands of twenty pounds a year, towards the maintenance of three poor ſcholars in the college of Dublin, that in time there might be a more learned body of Clergy in the iſland. He gave likewiſe ten pounds towards the building a bridge over a dangerous water; and did ſeveral other acts of charity and beneficence (1).

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1141.

[*B*] *He was no inconſiderable benefactor to the dioceſe of St Aſaph.*] He repaired ſeveral parts of the cathedral church, eſpecially the north and ſouth iſles, and new covered them with lead, and wainſcotted the Eaſt part of the choir. He laid out a conſiderable Sum of money in repairing the epiſcopal palace, and a mill thereunto belonging. In 1678, he built an alms-houſe for eight poor widows, and endowed it with twelve pounds *per annum* for ever. The ſame year, he procured an act of parliament for appropriating the Rectories of Llaurhaiader and Mochnant in Denbighſhire and Montgomeryſhire, and of Skeiviog in the county of Flint, for repairs of the cathedral church of St Aſaph, and the better maintenance of the choir therein, and alſo for the uniting ſeveral rectories that were ſine-cures, and the vicarages of the ſame pariſhes, within the ſaid dioceſe. He deſigned likewiſe to build a free-ſchool, and endow it, but was prevented by death. Nevertheleſs, in 1687, Biſhop Lloyd, who ſucceeded Biſhop Barrow in the ſee of St Aſaph, recovered of that Prelate's executors two hundred pounds, towards a free-ſchool at St Aſaph (2).

(2) Id. ib. col. 1154.

[*C*] *He died at Shrewſbury —— and was buried —— at the cathedral church of St Aſaph.*] Six days after his death, his corpſe was removed to his houſe called Argoed-Hall in Flintſhire, and from thence carried to his palace at St Aſaph, and the ſame day interred, after divine ſervice and a ſermon, by Dr Nicholas Stratford, Dean of St Aſaph, on the ſouth ſide of the Weſt door in the cathedral church-yard, which was the place he had appointed (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *His epitaph.*] Over his grave was laid a large flat ſtone, and another over that ſupported by pedeſtals; on the laſt of which is the following inſcription engraven: *Exuviæ Iſaaci Aſaphenſis Epiſcopi, in manum Domini depoſitæ, in ſpem lætæ reſurrectionis per ſola Chriſti merita. Obiit dictus reverendus pater feſto Divi Johannis Baptiſtæ, anno Domini* 1680, *ætatis* 67, *et tranſlationis ſuæ undecimo:* i. e. 'The 'remains of Iſaac, Biſhop of St Aſaph, depoſited in 'the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful reſurrec- 'tion thro' the alone merits of Jeſus Chriſt. This 'reverend father died on the feaſt of St John Bap- 'tiſt, in the year of our Lord 1680, the 67th of 'his age, and the eleventh his tranſlation.' On the lower ſtone, which is even with the ground, is the following inſcription, engraven on a braſs plate faſtened thereunto, which was made by the Biſhop himſelf. *Exuviæ Iſaaci Aſaphenſis Epiſcopi, in manum Domini depoſitæ, in ſpem lætæ reſurrectionis per ſola Chriſti merita. O vos tranſeuntes in domum domini, domum orationis, orate pro conſervo veſtro, ut inveniat miſericordiam in die Domini:* i. e. 'The 'remains of Iſaac, Biſhop of St Aſaph, depoſited in 'the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful reſur- 'rection thro' the alone merits of Jeſus Chriſt. O ye, 'who are paſſing into the houſe of the Lord, the 'houſe of prayer, pray for your fellow-ſervant, that 'he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.' The ſaid braſs plate was faſtened at firſt, as is reported there, over the ſaid Weſt door, but was afterwards taken down, and faſtened to the lower ſtone next the body (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] —— *gave great offence to the Preſbyterians*] What they excepted againſt in this epitaph was, no doubt, the latter part of the ſecond inſcription, as ſavouring too much of the Popiſh doctrine of *Prayers for the dead.* But let us cite Anthony Wood (5). (5) Ibid. 'As ſoon as this laſt epitaph was put up, the contents 'thereof flew about the nation by the endeavours of the '*godly faction* (then plumped up with hopes to carry on 'their diabolical deſigns upon account of the Popiſh 'plot, then in examination and proſecution) to make the 'world believe, that the ſaid Biſhop died a Papiſt, 'and that the reſt of the Biſhops were Papiſts alſo, 'or at leaſt popiſhly affected, and eſpecially for this 'reaſon, that they adhered to his Majeſty, and took 'part with him at that time againſt the ſaid faction, 'who endeavoured to bring the nation into confuſion 'by their uſual trade of lying and ſlandering, which 'they have always hitherto done to carry on their 'ends, ſuch is the religion of the *Saints*. But ſo it 'is, let them ſay what they will, that the ſaid Biſhop 'was a virtuous, generous, and godly man, and a true 'ſon of the Church of England; and it is to be 'wiſhed that thoſe peering, poor-ſpirited, and ſneak- 'ing wretches would endeavour to follow his example, 'and not to lie upon the catch, under the notion of 'religion, to obtain their temporal ends, private en- 'dearments, comfortable importances, filthy luſts, '&c.'

T

BARROW (ISAAC), an eminent Mathematician and Divine of the laſt century, was deſcended from an antient family of that name in Suffolk (*a*). His father was Mr Thomas Barrow [*A*], a reputable citizen of London (*b*) and Linnen-Draper to King Charles I (*c*); and his mother, Anne, daughter of William Buggin of North-Cray in Kent, Eſq; whoſe tender care he did not long experience, ſhe dying when he was about four years old. He was born at London in October 1630 [*B*], and was placed firſt in the Charter-houſe ſchool for two or three years, where his behaviour afforded but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar [*C*], for which his father deſigned him. But being removed from thence to Felſtead ſchool in Eſſex, his diſpoſition took a more happy turn, and he quickly made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that his maſter appointed him a kind of Tutor to the Lord Viſcount Fairfax of Emely in Ireland, who was then his ſcholar (*d*). During his ſtay at Felſtead, he was admitted, December the 15th 1643, being then fourteen years of age, a Penſioner of Peter-houſe in Cambridge, under his uncle Mr Iſaac Barrow, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph, and then Fellow of that college. But when he was qualified for the univerſity, he was entered a Penſioner in Trinity-College, the 5th of February 1645; his uncle having been ejected, together with Seth Ward, Peter Gunning, and John Barwick, who had written againſt the Covenant (*e*). His father having ſuffered greatly in his eſtate by his attachment to the royal cauſe, our young ſtudent was obliged at firſt for his chief ſupport to the generoſity of the learned Dr Hammond, to whoſe memory he paid his thanks, in an excellent epitaph on the Doctor (*f*). In 1647, he was choſen a ſcholar of the houſe (*g*); and, tho' he always continued a ſtaunch Royaliſt, and never would take the *Covenant*, yet, by his great merit and prudent behaviour, he preſerved the eſteem and good will of his ſuperiors [*D*]. Afterwards, when the *Engagement* was impoſed, he ſubſcribed it; but, upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he applied himſelf to the Commiſſioners, declared his diſſatisfaction, and prevailed to have his name razed out of the liſt. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of all parts of literature, eſpecially Natural Philoſophy; and tho' he was yet but a young ſcholar, his judgment was too great to reſt ſatisfied with the ſhallow and ſuperficial Philoſophy, then taught and received in the ſchools: he applied himſelf therefore to the reading and conſidering the writings of the Lord Verulam,

(*a*) Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(*b*) Mr Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of Dr* Iſaac Barrow, prefixed to the firſt Volume of the Doctor's Engliſh Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *The pages are not numbered.*

(*c*) Dr Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *Biſhop of Saliſbury*, 8vo, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(*d*) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Printed among his* Opuſcula, edit. 1687, p. 301.

(*g*) Hill, *ibid.*

M. Des

[*A*] *His father was Mr* Thomas Barrow.] He was ſon of Iſaac Barrow, Eſq; born at Gazeby in Suffolk in 1563, but afterwards of Spiney-abbey at Wickham in Cambridgeſhire; a gentleman of a good eſtate, and forty years in the commiſſion of the peace for that county. This Iſaac Barrow was ſon of Philip Barrow, who publiſhed a *Method of Phyſic*, and whoſe brother Iſaac was a Doctor in that faculty, a benefactor to Trinity-College in Cambridge, a Fellow of that college, and tutor therein to Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord Treaſurer of England (1). They were the ſons of John Barrow of Suffolk, and grandſons of Henry Barrow (2). Mr Thomas Barrow, our Divine's father, adhered to the intereſts of King Charles I, whom he followed to Oxford; and, after the murther of that Prince, he went to his ſon Charles II, then in exile, whom he attended till the Reſtoration (3). He had a brother whoſe name was Iſaac, afterwards Biſhop of St Aſaph (4), whoſe conſecration ſermon, his nephew and name-ſake preached at Weſtminſter-Abbey (5).

(1) Mr Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of* Dr Iſaac Barrow, prefixed to the firſt volume of the Doctor's Engliſh Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *and* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(2) *Communicated by* Mr Worthington, *apud* Ward, *ibid.*

(3) Dr Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *Biſhop of Saliſbury*, 8vo, Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(4) *See his article.*

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxonienſes*, Vol. II. col. 1140.

[*B*] *He was born —— — in October* 1630.] The year of his birth is evidently inferred from that of his death, which, according to his funeral inſcription (6), written from the information of his father, was the year 1677; from which ſubtracting the years of his life, ſaid in the ſame inſcription to be 47, we find he was certainly born in the year 1630. And this is farther confirmed by the date of his admiſſion in Peter-houſe, which, Mr Ward tells us (7), was in 1643, at which time, according to the expreſs words of the college regiſter (*annum agens decimum quartum*) he was entered upon the fourteenth year of his age. Notwithſtanding all which, Dr Pope will have it, that the date aſſigned by Mr Hill is not right. 'Mr Hill, *ſays he* '(8), fixes Dr Barrow's birth in the month of October, '*A. D.* 1630. But I hope, he will not be offended, 'if I diſſent from him, both as to the year and 'month, and produce reaſon for ſo doing; 'tis this: 'I have often heard Dr Barrow ſay, he was born 'upon the twenty-ninth of February; and if he ſaid 'true, it could not be either in October, or in 1630, 'that not being a Leap-year. I would not have aſ'ſerted this upon the credit of my memory, had it 'been any other day of any other month, it being 'told me ſo long ſince, had I not this remarkable cir'cumſtance to confirm it; he uſed to ſay, "It is, in "one reſpect, the beſt day in the year to be born "upon; for it afforded me this advantage over my "fellow-collegiates, who uſed to keep feaſts upon "their birth-day; I was treated by them once every "year, and I entertained them once in four years, "when February had nine and twenty days." Theſe accounts are ſo inconſiſtent, that we muſt either ſuppoſe, that Dr Barrow's father was miſtaken as to the year of his ſon's birth, and that his age was falſely entered in the regiſter of Peter-houſe; or (which is no improbable conjecture) that Dr Pope has, thro' forgetfulneſs, aſcribed that to Dr Barrow, which he had heard of ſome other friend.

(6) *See the remark* [*W*].

(7) *Lives of the Profeſſors*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(8) *Life of* Dr Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 129.

[*C*] *He gave but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar.*] His greateſt recreation, Mr Hill tells us (9), was in ſuch ſports as brought on fighting among the boys; to which he adds, his negligence of his cloaths, and (which was much worſe) that of his book. Nay, there was then ſo little appearance of that comfort, which his father afterwards received from him, that he often ſolemnly wiſhed, that if it pleaſed God to take away any of his children, it might be his ſon Iſaac, *ſo vain a thing*, as my author judiciouſly obſerves, *is man's judgment, and our providence unfit to guide our own affairs*. It is obſervable, that Dr Barrow always retained a natural courage, tho' he had perfectly ſubdued all inclination to quarrelling, and that the neglect of his dreſs continued with him to the laſt.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He preſerved the eſteem and good will of his ſuperiors.*] Of this we have an inſtance in Dr Hill, Maſter of the college, who had been put in by the the Parliament in the room of Dr Comber, ejected for adhering to the King (10). One day laying his hand upon our young ſtudent's head, he ſaid, *Thou art a good lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier*; and when, in an oration on the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, Mr Barrow had ſo celebrated the former times, as to reflect much on the preſent, ſome Fellows were provoked to move for his expulſion; but the Maſter ſilenced them with this, *Barrow is a better man than any of us* (11). This, Dr Pope obſerves (12), is very remarkable, and an evident teſtimony of our young ſcholar's irreſiſtible merits, which could, as the Poets feign of Orpheus,

(10) Dr Pope, *ubi ſupra*, p. 132.

(11) Mr Hill, ibid.

(12) Ibid.

------ *lenire tigres rabidoſque leones*,
Make ſavage tygers and fierce lions tame;

that is, as the Doctor interprets it, *make a Preſbyterian kind to a Cavalier and Malignant*, which names the adherers to the King, Church, and Laws, went under in thoſe days.

[*E*] *He*

M. Des Cartes, Galileo, &c. who ſeemed to offer ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial (*b*). In 1648, Mr Barrow took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*i*). The year following, he was elected Fellow of his college, merely out of regard to his merit; for he had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party [*E*]. And now, finding the times not favourable to men of his opinions in matters of Church and State, he turned his thoughts to the profeſſion of Phyſic, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the knowledge of Anatomy, Botany, and Chemiſtry: but afterwards, upon deliberation with himſelf, and with the advice of his uncle, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he was further obliged by his oath on his admiſſion to his fellowſhip By reading Scaliger on Euſebius, he perceived the dependance of Chronology on Aſtronomy; which put him upon reading Ptolomy's *Almageſt*: and finding that book and all Aſtronomy to depend on Geometry, he made himſelf maſter of Euclid's *Elements*, and from thence proceeded to the other antient Mathematicians. He made a ſhort eſſay towards acquiring the Arabic language, but ſoon deſerted it. And with theſe ſeverer ſpeculations, the largeneſs of his mind had room for the amuſements of Poetry, to which he was always ſtrongly addicted (*k*) [*F*]. In 1652, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*l*), and, on the 12th of June the following year, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford (*m*). When Dr Duport reſigned the chair of Greek Profeſſor, he recommended his pupil Mr Barrow to ſucceed him; who juſtified his tutor's opinion of him by an excellent performance of the probation-exerciſe: but being looked upon as a favourer of Arminianiſm, the choice fell upon another (*n*); and this diſappointment, it is thought, helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad (*o*) [*G*]. In order to execute this deſign, he was obliged to ſell his books. Accordingly, in the year 1655, he went into France; where, at Paris, he found his father attending the Engliſh court, and out of his ſmall *Viaticum* made him a ſeaſonable preſent (*p*). The ſame year his *Euclid* was printed at Cambridge, which he had left behind him for that purpoſe (*q*). He gave his college an account of his journey to Paris in a Poem (*r*), and ſome farther obſervations in a Letter (*s*) [*H*]. After a few months, he went into Italy, and ſtayed ſome time at Florence, where he had the advantage of peruſing ſeveral books in the Great Duke's Library, and of converſing with Mr Fitton his Librarian (*t*) [*I*]. Here the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances muſt have put an end to his travels, had he not been generouſly ſupplied with money by Mr James Stock, a young Merchant of London, to whom he afterwards dedicated his edition of Euclid's *Data* (*u*). He was deſirous to have ſeen Rome; but the plague then raging in that city, he took ſhip at Leghorn, November the 6th 1656, for Smyrna. In this voyage they were attacked by a corſair of Algiers, who, perceiving the ſtout defence the ſhip made, ſheered off and left her; and upon this occaſion Mr Barrow gave a remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity (*w*) [*K*]. At Smyrna, he made himſelf welcome

(*b*) Hill, ibid.

(*i*) Ward, ibid.

(*k*) Hill, ibid.

(*l*) Ward, ibid.

(*m*) Wood, *Faſt. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 103.

(*n*) Mr Ralph Widdrington.

(*o*) Hill, ibid.

(*p*) Hill, *and* Ward, ibid.

(*q*) Ward, ibid.

(*r*) *Printed among his* Opuſculs, p. 317.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 351.

(*t*) Hill, ib. *and* Ward, ib. p. 152.

(*u*) Dr Worthington's *Letter to Mr Hartlib.* Auguſt 5, 1656. MS. *apud* Ward, *ibid.*

(*w*) Hill *and* Ward, ib. Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 136.

[*E*] *He had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party.*] Dr Pope, having mentioned this particular circumſtance attending Mr Barrow's election, ſays; 'This brings to my memory a certificate or teſtimonial, which my worthy friend Dr Gilbert Ironſide, then Warden of Wadham-College in Oxford, and now Biſhop of Hereford, gave to a member of that college, who was candidate for a fellowſhip in another college; it was to this purpoſe: *If this perſon, whom I recommend to you, be not a better ſcholar than any of thoſe who are his competitors, chooſe him not*; and he did, upon examination and trial, ſo far ſurpaſs the reſt, that they could not refuſe him, without being and appearing partial and unjuſt. I mention this as parallel to Dr Barrow's caſe (13).'

(13) *Life of Biſhop* Ward, p. 133.

[*F*] *He was always ſtrongly addicted to Poetry.*] This is ſufficiently evident from the many performances he has left us in that art. Mr Hill tells us (14), he was particularly pleaſed with that branch of it, which conſiſts in deſcription, but greatly diſliked the hyperboles of ſome modern Poets. As for our *plays*, he was an enemy to them, as a principal cauſe of the debauchery of the times; the other cauſes he thought to be, the French education, and the ill example of great perſons. For *ſatires*, he wrote none; his wit, as Mr Hill expreſſes it, was *pure and peaceable*.

(14) Ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *This diſappointment helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad.*] His other motives, according to Dr Pope (15), were the melancholy aſpect of public affairs, and a deſire to ſee ſome of thoſe places mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors. But whatever they were, there is no doubt, as Mr Hill obſerves (16), but that he, who, in leſſer occurences, did very judiciouſly conſider all circumſtances, had on good grounds made this reſolution.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

[*H*] *Some obſervations in a letter.*] This letter, which ſhews Mr Barrow's piercing judgment in political affairs, when he turned his thoughts that way, gives a particular account of the controverſy between M. Arnaud the Janſeniſt and the Jeſuits, and mentions the favourable diſpoſition of the King and Queen of France towards the Proteſtants of that kingdom, which plainly appeared upon the following remarkable occaſion. The Archbiſhop of Thoulouſe, being to come to Paris, waited upon the Queen, and in diſcourſe with her majeſty began to complain that the Proteſtants enjoyed too great a liberty in his dioceſe; to which that Princeſs replied by aſſuring him, that ſhe had ſufficiently experienced their loyalty, and had found them to be more faithful ſubjects than thoſe who accuſed them of ſedition. The King coming in during the converſation, joined with the Queen in her opinion of the Proteſtants, and declared he would continue to them the liberty, which had been granted them by the edicts of his predeceſſors. In ſpeaking of the univerſity of Paris, Mr Barrow tells them, that it produced at that time very few men of diſtinguiſhed learning and abilities, and that it's colleges were remarkable for nothing but their ſtructures, tho', even in that reſpect, the Univerſity of Cambridge had no reaſon to envy that of Paris, ſince Trinity-college alone equalled, if not exceeded, the colleges of the Sorbonne, Navarre, and Clermont, thrown together.

[*I*] *Mr Fitton, the Great Duke's Librarian.*] This gentleman, who was an Engliſhman, had been appointed by the Great Duke of Tuſcany to take upon him the charge of that valuable treaſure of antiquity, his library, on account of his extraordinary abilities in that ſort of learning (17). This is ſo clearly expreſſed by Mr Hill, that one would wonder how Dr Pope came to miſtake him ſo far, as to aſſert (18), that, upon Mr Fitton's recommendation, Mr Barrow was invited by the Great Duke to accept of the office of his Librarian.

(17) Hill, ibid.

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 134.

[*K*] *A remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity.*] Take it in Dr Pope's words: 'In his paſſage from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, the ſhip he ſailed in was attacked by an Algerine Pirate; during the fight, he betook himſelf to his arms (*), ſtayed

(*) Mr Hill ſays *he ſtood to the gun appointed him with great courage.*

welcome to Mr Bretton the Conſul, upon whoſe death he afterwards wrote an elegy (*x*), and to the Engliſh factory. From thence he proceeded to Conſtantinople, where he met with a very friendly reception from Sir Thomas Bendiſh the Engliſh Embaſſador, and Sir Jonathan Daws, with whom he afterwards kept up an intimate friendſhip and correſpondence. This voyage, from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, he has deſcribed in a Latin Poem (*y*) [*L*]. At Conſtantinople, he read over the Works of St Chryſoſtom, once Biſhop of that See, whom he preferred to all the other Fathers. Having ſtayed in Turkey above a year, he returned from thence to Venice, where, ſoon after they were landed, the ſhip took fire, and with all the goods was conſumed. From thence he came home, in 1659, thro' Germany and Holland, and has left a deſcription of ſome parts of thoſe countries in his Poems. Soon after his return into England, the time (*z*) being ſomewhat elapſed, before which all Fellows of Trinity-college are obliged to take orders, or quit the ſociety, Mr Barrow was epiſcopally ordained by Biſhop Brownrig, notwithſtanding the unſettled ſtate of the times, and the declining condition of the Church of England. Upon the King's Reſtoration, his friends expected he would have been immediately preferred on account of his having ſuffered and deſerved ſo much; but it came to nothing, which made him wittily ſay (which he has not left in his Poems)

(*x*) *Inter* Opuſcula, p. 302.

(*y*) Ib. p. 302.

(*z*) Viz. *Seven years after the degree of Maſter of Arts.*

Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
Et nemo ſenſit te rediiſſe minus (*a*).

(*a*) Hill, ibid.

That is,

Thy Reſtoration, Royal Charles, I ſee,
By none more wiſh'd, by none leſs felt, than me.

However he wrote an ode upon that occaſion, in which he introduces *Britannia* congratulating the King upon his return (*b*). In 1660, he was choſen, without a competitor, Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*). His oration, ſpoken upon that occaſion [*M*], is preſerved among his *Opuſcula* (*d*). When he entered upon this province, he deſigned to have read upon the *Tragedies* of Sophocles; but, altering his intention, he made choice of Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric* (*e*). Theſe Lectures, having been lent to a perſon, who never returned them, are irrecoverably loſt (*f*). The year following, which was 1661, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*g*). July the 16th 1662, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-College, in the room of Mr Lawrence Rook, and chiefly thro' the intereſt and recommendation of Dr Wilkins, Maſter of Trinity-College, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. In this ſtation, he not only diſcharged his own duty, but ſupplied likewiſe the abſence of Dr Pope the Aſtronomy Profeſſor. Among his Lectures, ſome were upon the projection of the ſphere; which being borrowed and never returned, are loſt (*h*). But his Latin Oration, previous to his Lectures, is ſtill extant [*N*]. The ſame year 1662, he wrote an *Epithalamium* on the marriage

(*b*) Opuſc. p. 309.

(*c*) Hill, ibid.

(*d*) Page 100.

(*e*) Dr Worthington to Mr Hartlib, Oct. 21, 1661, MS. Mr Worthington. *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra. p. 160.

(*f*) Hill, ib.

(*g*) Ward, ib.

(*h*) Hill, ib.

'ſtayed upon the deck chearfully and vigorouſly fighting, 'till the Pirate, perceiving the ſtout defence the 'ſhip made, ſheered off and left her. I aſked him, 'why he did not go down into the hold, and leave 'the defence of the ſhip to thoſe to whom it did 'belong; he replied, "it concerned no man more "than myſelf; I would rather have loſt my life, than "have fallen into the hands of thoſe mercileſs In"fidels.' This engagement, and his own ſtout and 'intrepid behaviour in it, to defend his liberty, which 'he valued more than his life, as he aſſerts in that 'verſe,

'Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,

'he deſcribes at large in a copy of verſes (19) in the 'fourth volume of works (20).' Dr Pope adds to this another accident, which, becauſe it is a farther proof of Dr Barrow's natural courage and intrepidity, I ſhall inſert in this place. 'He was at a gentleman's houſe 'in the country, if I miſtake not in Cambridgeſhire, 'where the neceſſary-houſe was at the end of a long 'garden, and conſequently at a great diſtance from 'the room where he lodged; as he was going to it 'very early, even before day, for he was ſparing of 'ſleep, and a very early riſer, a fierce maſtiff, who 'uſed to be chained up all day, and let looſe at 'night for the ſecurity of the houſe, perceiving a 'ſtrange perſon in the garden at that unſeaſonable 'time, ſet upon him with great fury. The Doctor 'catched him by the throat, threw him, and lay upon 'him, and, whilſt he kept him down, conſidered what 'he ſhould do in that exigent; once he had a mind 'to kill him, but he quite altered this reſolution, 'judging it would be an unjuſt action, for the dog 'did his duty, and he himſelf was in fault for ram'bling out of his lodgings before 'twas light. At 'length he called out ſo loud, that he was heard by 'ſome of the houſe, who came preſently out, and 'freed both the Doctor and the dog from the eminent 'danger they were both in (21).'

(19) *It is intitled,* Iter maritimum a portu Liguſtico ad Conſtantinopolim. *See his* Opuſcula, *or* fourth *Vol. of his Works,* p. 211.

(20) *Life of Dr* Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 136, 137.

(21) Ibid.

[*L*] *This voyage ——— he has deſcribed in a Latin poem.*] The time of his ſailing from Leghorn is, at the head of this poem, thro' miſtake, printed *Nov.* 6. *anno* 1657; it ſhould be 1656; otherwiſe he could not have ſtayed above a year in Turkey, as Mr Hill aſſures us he did, and is manifeſt from his letter to the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-College, dated at Conſtantinople *Aug.* 1, 1658 (22).

(22) It is printed in Mr Ward's *Lives*, &c. Appendix, No. 10, p. 39.

[*M*] *His oration ſpoken upon that occaſion.*] In this ſpeech Dr Barrow pays a high compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheek, Downs, Chrichton, and Dr Duport; and particularly commemorates Eraſmus, who had been ſo nobly inſtrumental in reviving the ſtudy of the learned languages. He compliments the Univerſity of Cambridge upon the good ſenſe, true judgment, real wit, and extenſive learning with which it abounded; in which reſpects it had the advantage over all the univerſities he had ſeen in his travels. He apologizes for his own inſufficiency and inability to fill that chair; but, as he had the honour to be elected, he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſupply the want of genius, by induſtry and diligent application. He congratulates his hearers upon the revival and encouragement of good literature and the politer arts by his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration. Laſtly, he expatiates upon the great antiquity, extenſive uſe, peculiar energy, and ſuperior advantages of the *Greek language*; and diſplays the ſeveral merits of it's writers in every branch of learning.

[*N*] *His Latin oration, previous to his Lectures, is ſtill extant.*] It is printed in his *Opuſcula*, or fourth volume

marriage of King Charles and Queen Catherine, in Greek verſe (*i*). About this time, Mr Barrow was offered a very good living; but the condition annexed of teaching the patron's ſon made him refuſe it, as too like a ſimoniacal contract (*k*). Upon the 20th of May 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the firſt choice made by the Council after their charter (*l*). The ſame year, Mr Lucas having founded a Mathematical Lecture at Cambridge, Mr Barrow was ſo powerfully recommended, by Dr Wilkins, to that gentleman's executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck, that he was appointed the firſt Profeſſor; and the better to ſecure the end of ſo noble and uſeful a foundation, he took care that himſelf and his ſucceſſors ſhould be obliged to leave yearly to the univerſity ten written Lectures (*m*). We have his *Prefaratory Oration* [*O*], ſpoken in the publick Mathematical ſchool, March the 14th 1664 (*n*). Tho' his two profeſſorſhips were not inconſiſtent, he choſe to reſign that of Greſham-College; which he accordingly did, May the 20th 1664. He had been invited to take the charge of the Cotton Library; but, after a ſhort trial, he declined it, and reſolved to ſettle in the univerſity. In 1669, he reſigned the Mathematical chair, to his very worthy friend and learned ſucceſſor Mr Iſaac Newton, being determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity [*P*]. In 1670, he wrote a Latin poem upon the death of the Ducheſs of Orleans (*o*), an *Epicedium* upon the Duke of Albemarle (*p*), and a Latin Ode upon the Trinity (*q*). He was only a Fellow of Trinity-College, when he was collated by his uncle, the Biſhop of St Aſaph, to a ſmall *Sine-Cure* in Wales, and by Dr Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, to a prebend in that cathedral [*Q*]; the profits of both which he applied to charitable uſes, and afterwards reſigned them, when he became Maſter of his college (*r*). This year, 1670, he was created Doctor in Divinity by mandate (*s*). In 1672, Dr Pearſon, Maſter of Trinity-College, being, upon the death of Biſhop Wilkins, removed to the biſhoprick of Cheſter (*t*), Dr Barrow was appointed by the King to ſucceed him [*R*]; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that occaſion, *he had given it*

(*i*) Opuſc. p. 275.
(*k*) Hill, ib.
(*l*) Ward, ib.
(*m*) Hill, ibid.
(*n*) Opuſc. p. 78.
(*o*) Ib. p. 293.
(*p*) Ib. p. 294.
(*q*) Ib. p. 273.
(*r*) Hill, ibid.
(*s*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 162.
(*t*) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 138.

volume of his *Works* (23), and opens with a compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, founder of the college. From thence the Orator proceeds to celebrate his predeceſſors in the Geometry Lecture, Mr Henry Briggs, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and Mr Laurence Rooke; and laments his own want of abilities to ſupply the place of ſuch great men. The reſt of the oration is taken up in diſplaying the ſolid foundation, and great advantages, of *Geometry*, to which the world has been obliged for ſo many noble and uſeful diſcoveries.

(23) Page 90.

[*O*] *His* Prefatory *Oration.*] In this piece the Doctor gives us a fine encomium on Mr Lucas, founder of the Lecture, and pays a compliment to his executors Mr Raworth and Mr Buck. He then mentions the reaſons, which induced him to reſign the Greek Profeſſorſhip for that of the Mathematics, which were chiefly, that the bent of his genius led him more ſtrongly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy than of Philology, the knowledge of things than of words; and that, having undertaken the Greek lecture, at a time when the duty of it was very great and the profits very ſmall, he thought himſelf at liberty, eſpecially now that the circumſtances of that lecture were altered very much to it's advantage, to quit it, and exchange a very laborious duty for one of leſs fatigue. He employs the reſt of the oration on the praiſes of the *Mathematics*, and their excellent uſe in freeing the mind from credulity, fortifying it againſt the vanity of Scepticiſm, reſtraining it from raſhneſs and preſumption, inclining it's aſſent to proper evidence, ſubjecting it to the juſt authority of reaſon, and ſetting it free from the unjuſt tyranny of deluſive prejudices; in fixing the volatility of the imagination, ſharpening the dull and and heavy genius, pruning the luxuriant, bridling the impetuous, and ſpurring the ſlow and indolent.

[*P*] *He determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity.*] What contributed not a little to detach him from the farther purſuit of mathematical knowledge, was, the little notice that had been taken of his *Geometrical Lectures*; which had now been ſome time publiſhed, and yet Mr Hill tells us (24), he had heard of very few that had read and conſidered them thoroughly, beſides M. Sluſius of Liege, and Mr Gregory of Scotland, two that might, indeed, be reckoned inſtead of many; but the little reliſh that ſuch things met with helped to looſen him from theſe ſpeculations, and the more engage his inclination to the ſtudy of Morality and Divinity, which had always been ſo predominant, that, when he commented on *Archimedes*, he could not forbear in diſcourſe to prefer and admire much more Suarez for his book *de Legibus*.

(24) Ubi ſupra.

[*Q*] *He was collated by Biſhop Ward to a Prebend in the cathedral church of Saliſbury.*] That Prelate, Dr Pope tells us (25), had invited Dr Barrow to live with him, not as a Chaplain, but rather as a friend and companion, tho' he frequently officiated in the abſence of the domeſtic Chaplain. About this time, the archdeaconry of North Wiltſhire becoming void, the Biſhop made an offer of it to Dr Barrow, who modeſtly and abſolutely refuſed it, for a reaſon, which Dr Pope thinks it not neceſſary to declare. Soon after, a Prebendary of Saliſbury being dead, and the Biſhop offering Dr Barrow the Prebend, he gratefully accepted it, and was inſtalled accordingly. 'I remember about 'that time, *ſays Dr Pope*, I heard him once ſay, *I 'wiſh I had five hundred pounds.* I replied, *That's a 'great ſum for a Philoſopher to deſire; what would 'you do with ſo much? I would*, ſaid he, *give it my ſiſter 'for a portion, that would procure her a good huſband:* 'Which ſum, in few months after, he received, for 'putting a life into the corps of his new Prebend; after 'which he reſigned it to Mr Corker of Trinity College in Cambridge.' Dr Pope relates a circumſtance during Dr Barrow's reſidence in the Biſhop's family, which, however trifling it may be thought, I ſhall here ſet down in that writer's own words: 'We were 'once going from Saliſbury to London, he in the 'coach with the Biſhop, and I on horſeback; as 'he was entering the coach, I perceived his pockets 'ſtrutting out near half a foot, and ſaid to him, *What 'have you got in your pockets?* He replied, *Sermons*; 'Sermons, ſaid I, *give them me, my boy ſhall carry 'them in his portmanteau, and eaſe you of that lug-'gage. But*, ſaid he, *ſuppoſe your boy ſhould be rob-'bed. That's pleaſant*, ſaid I; *do you think there are 'Parſons padding upon the road for ſermons? Why, 'what have you*, ſaid he; *it may be five or ſix guineas; 'I hold my ſermons at a greater rate; they coſt me 'much pain and time. Well then*, ſaid I, *if you'll 'inſure my five or ſix guineas againſt Lay-Padders, 'I'll ſecure your bundle of ſermons againſt Eccleſiaſti-'cal-Highway-men.* This was agreed; he emptied 'his pockets, and filled my portmanteau with Di-'vinity, and we had the good fortune to come 'ſafe to our journey's end, without meeting either 'ſort of the Padders before-mentioned, and to bring 'both our treaſures to London (26).'

(25) Ubi ſupra, p. 142, &c.

(26) Ib. p. 144.

[*R*] *He was appointed by the King* Maſter of Trinity-College.] The Doctor being at that time one of the King's Chaplains, his Majeſty had often done him the honour to converſe with him, and in his facetious way uſed to call him *an unfair Preacher*, becauſe he exhauſted every ſubject, and left no room for others to come after him (27). This preferment was not at all obtained

(27) Ward, ibid.

it to the beſt ſcholar in England (*u*). His patent [*S*] bears date February the 13th 1672, and he was admitted the 27th of the ſame month (*w*). He gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to that ſociety, whoſe intereſt he conſtantly and carefully conſulted (*x*) [*T*]. In 1675, he was choſen Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity (*y*). This great and learned Divine died of a fever [*U*], the 4th of May 1677, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected to him by the contribution of his friends. His epitaph [*W*] was written by his dear friend Dr Mapletoft (*z*). He left his manuſcripts to Dr Tillotſon and Mr Abraham Hill, with permiſſion to publiſh of them what they ſhould think fit (*a*).

(*u*) Hill, ib.
(*w*) Ward, ib.
(*x*) Hill, ib.
(*y*) Ward, ib.
(*z*) Hill, ib.
(*a*) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 167.

We

obtained by faction or flattery; it was the King's own act, tho' Dr Barrow's merit made thoſe of the greateſt power forward to contribute towards it, particularly, Gilbert Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of Cambridge, and formerly a member of Trinity-College (28).

(28) Hill, ibid.

[*S*] *His patent.*] His patent, according to Mr Hill (29), being drawn up, as it had been for ſome others, with permiſſion to marry, he was at the charge of getting it altered, as thinking it not agreeable to the ſtatutes, from which he deſired no diſpenſation. Dr Pope pretends, he procured a *new patent*. 'Nay, 'ſays that *Life-writer* (30), he choſe rather to be at 'the expence of double fees, and procure a new pa-'tent, *without the marrying clauſe*, than perpetually 'to ſtand upon his guard againſt the ſieges, batteries, 'and importunities, which he foreſaw that honourable 'and profitable perferment would expoſe him to;

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ubi ſupra, p. 165.

'- - - - - Imitatus Caſtora, qui ſe
'Eunuchum ipſe facit, &c.

'in this wiſely imitating the *beaver*; who knows for 'what he is hunted. Thus making matrimony a for-'feiture of his preferment, it was as effectual a way 'to ſecure him from all dangers of that kind as 'caſtration itſelf could have been; for *women*, in 'this age, *like hens, deſire only to lay where they ſee 'neſt-eggs*.' But it is not true, that Dr Barrow procured a new patent, the original inſtrument, in the hands of the Earl of Oxford, having a blank occaſioned by the eraſement (31).

(31) *Communicated by the late Rev. Mr* Baker *of* Cambridge. *See* Ward, ubi ſupra. p. 162.

[*T*] *He conſtantly and carefully conſulted the intereſt of that ſociety.*] Particularly, he excuſed them from ſome expences, and allowances, which they had made to his predeceſſors (32); among other inſtances, he remitted to them the charge of keeping a coach for him, as had been done for other maſters (33). Upon the ſingle affair of building their library, which was begun under his maſterſhip, he wrote out quires of paper in letters, chiefly to thoſe who had been of the college, firſt to engage their benefactions, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted. He kept no copies of theſe letters; but by the generous returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no ſmall value (34).

(32) Hill, ibid.

(33) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 165.

(34) Hill, ibid.

[*U*] *He died of a fever.*] It pleaſed God, Mr Hill tells us (35), that being invited to preach the *Paſſion-Sermon*, April 13, 1677, at Guild-Hall, (which, by the way, was the ſecond ſermon, for which he received any pecuniary recompence) he never preached but once more, preſently after falling ſick of a fever. The like diſtemper he had once or twice before, tho' otherwiſe of a conſtant health; but this fatally prevailed againſt the ſkill and diligence of many Phyſicians his good friends. Dr Pope is more particular in relating the circumſtances of Dr Barrow's death. 'The 'laſt time he was in London, *ſays that writer* (36), 'whither he came, as it is cuſtomary, to the election 'of Weſtminſter, he went to Knightſbridge to give 'the Biſhop of Saliſbury a viſit, and then made me 'engage my word to come to him at Trinity-College 'immediately after the Michaelmas enſuing. I can-'not expreſs the rapture of the joy I was in, having, 'as I thought, ſo near a proſpect of his charming and 'inſtructive converſation; I fancied it would be a 'heaven upon earth, for he was immenſely rich in 'learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, 'delighting in nothing more than to impart to others, 'if they deſired it, whatever he had attained by much 'time and ſtudy; but of a ſudden all my hopes va-'niſhed, and were melted like ſnow before the ſun. 'Some few days after he came again to Knightſbridge, 'and ſat down to dinner, but I obſerved he did not eat. 'Whereupon I aſked him how it was with him; he 'anſwered, that he had a ſlight indiſpoſition hanging 'upon him, with which he had ſtruggled two or 'three days, and that he hoped by faſting and *opium* 'to get it off, as he had removed another and more 'dangerous ſickneſs, at Conſtantinople, ſome years 'before. But theſe remedies availed him not; his 'malady proved, in the event, an inward, malignant, 'and inſuperable fever, of which he died *May* 24, '*Anno Dom.* 1677, in the 47th year of his age, in 'mean lodgings, at a Sadler's near Charing-Croſs; an 'old, low, ill-built houſe, which he had uſed for 'ſeveral years; for tho' his condition was much bet-'tered by his obtaining the maſterſhip of Trinity-'college, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals; 'he ſtill continued the ſame humble perſon, and could 'not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodg-'ings.' The ſame writer informs us (37), that my Lord Keeper ſent a meſſage of condolance to Dr Barrow's father, who had then ſome place under him, importing that he had but too great reaſon to grieve for the loſs of ſo good a ſon, but that he ſhould mitigate his ſorrow upon that very conſideration.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ubi ſupra, p. 166, &c.

(37) Ibid.

[*W*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

ISAACUS BARROW
S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.
Vir prope Divinus, et vere Magnus, ſi quid magni habent
Pietas, Probitas, Fides, ſumma Eruditio, par Modeſtia,
Mores ſanctiſſimi undequaque et ſuaviſſimi.
Geometriæ Profeſſor *Londini Greſhamenſis*,
Græcæ linguæ et Matheſeos apud *Cantabrigienſes ſuos*.
Cathedras omnes, Eccleſiam, Gentem, ornavit.
Collegium S. S. *Trinitatis* Præſes illuſtravit,
Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ fundamentis auxit.
Opes, Honores, et univerſum vitæ ambitum,
Ad majora natus, non contempſit, ſed reliquit ſeculo.
Deum quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus eſt
Pauciſſimis egendo, benefaciendo quam plurimis,
Etiam poſteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non deſinit.
Cætera et penè majora ex ſcriptis peti poſſunt.
Abi, Lector, et æmulare.
Obiit 4 Die *Maii*. Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.
Ætat. ſuæ XLVII.
Monumentum hoc Amici poſuere.

In *Engliſh*.

'ISAAC BARROW, Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain 'in Ordinary to King Charles II. A godlike, and 'truly great man, if piety, probity, fidelity, the moſt 'extenſive learning, and no leſs modeſty, together with 'moſt holy and ſweet manners, can confer that title. 'He was Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college, 'London; and of the Greek tongue and Mathema-'tics, at Cambridge: An ornament to all his chairs, 'to the Church, and to the nation. He added luſtre to 'Trinity-college, as Maſter, and improved it by laying 'the foundation of a truly Royal Library. Riches, 'honours, and whatever elſe men eagerly purſue, he 'did not deſpiſe, but neglect, being born to greater 'and nobler views. God, whom he had ſerved from 'his youth, he imitated in wanting but few things, 'and doing good to all, even poſterity, to whom, 'tho' dead, he yet preacheth. The reſt, and even 'greater things than theſe, may be found in his wri-'tings. Go, reader, and imitate him. He died the '4th of May 1677, in the 47th year of his age. 'His friends erected this monument to his memory.'

We ſhall give a catalogue, with ſome account, of Dr Barrow's Works in the remark [*X*]. He

[*X*] *A catalogue, with ſome account, of Dr Barrow's works.*] The following were publiſhed in his life-time: I. *Euclidis Elementa*; i. e. 'Euclid's Ele-'ments.' Printed at Cambridge in 1655, and oftner, 8vo. This is an edition of *all* the books and propoſitions of Euclid, demonſtrated in a more compendious manner than had been done before. It was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed at London, 1660, &c. 8vo. II. *Euclidis Data*; i. e. 'Eu-'clid's *Data*.' Cambridge 1657, 8vo. This was ſubjoined to the *Elements* in ſome following editions. III. *Lectiones Opticæ* XVIII, *Cantabrigiæ in Scholis publicis habitæ, in quibus Opticorum Phænomenωn genuinæ rationes inveſtigantur et exponuntur*; i. e. 'Optical Lectures, read in the publick Schools at Cam-'bridge, in which the true reaſons of the Optical '*Phænomena* are inveſtigated and explained.' London, 1669, 4to. It is dedicated to Robert Raworth and Thomas Buck, Eſquires; the executors of Mr Lucas, founder of the Mathematical Profeſſorſhip. In the preface, he acquaints us, that Mr Iſaac Newton reviſed the copy, pointed out ſeveral things which wanted correction, and made ſome additions of his own. An account of this book is publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. LXXV. pag. 2258 for September, 1671. Theſe Lectures being ſent to the learned Mr James Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematics at St Andrews in Scotland, and peruſed by him, he gave the following character of the author in a letter to Mr John Collins (38): 'Mr Barrow in his *Opticks* ſheweth 'himſelf a moſt ſubtil Geometer, ſo that I think him 'ſuperior to any that ever I looked upon. I long 'exceedingly to ſee his *Geometrical Lectures*, eſpecially 'becauſe I have ſome notions upon that ſame ſubject by 'mee. I entreat you to ſend them to me preſently, as 'they come from the preſſe, for I eſteem the author 'more than yee can eaſilie imagine.' Being informed by letter, that an account of theſe Lectures, together with thoſe on Geometry, was deſigned to be printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, he ſhews by his anſwer (39), how cautious he was, that nothing might be ſaid to recommend them to the Reader. 'Concerning the character (ſays he) which you ſpeake of, 'of my bookes, I ſhall eſteem myſelf obliged to you, 'if you will effect, that there be nothing ſaid of them 'in the *Philoſophical Reports*, beyond a ſhort and 'ſimple account of their ſubject. I pray, let there be 'nothing of commendation, or diſcommendation of 'them; but let them take their fortune or fate, *pro 'captu lectoris*. Any thing more will cauſe me diſ-'pleaſure, and will not do them, or me, any good.' IV. *Lectiones Geometricæ* XIII, *in quibus præſertim generalia linearum curvarum ſymptomata declarantur*; i. e. 'Thirteen Geometrical Lectures, treating more 'eſpecially of the Properties of Curve Lines.' London, 1670, 4to. An account of this book is publiſhed in the abovementioned *Tranſaction*, pag. 2260; with *An Addition of ſome Corollaries communicated by the author, belonging to the ſecond Problem of his third Appendix to the twelfth Lecture*. Theſe Lectures were firſt printed ſeparately from the former upon Optics; but afterwards, in the years 1672 and 1674, they were publiſhed together with them, but without the *Corollaries* now mentioned, whence it is probable they were not re-printed, but only a new Title-page prefixed to them. V. *Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Conicorum libri* IV, *Theodoſii Sphærica, methodo nova illuſtrata, et ſuccinctè demonſtrata*; i. e. 'The Works of Archi-'medes, the four Books of Apollonius's Conic Sec-'tions, and Theodoſius's Sphærics, explained in a new 'method, and briefly demonſtrated.' London, 1675, 4to. As to the *Lemmata* of Archimedes publiſhed in this volume, we are told in the Preface, that they now appear in Latin, from two tranſlations; the one by the learned John Gravius, publiſhed, with ſome Animadverſions, by Mr Samuel Foſter, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham-college, in 1659; the other by Abraham Ecchellenſis, publiſhed at Florence with Notes by that excellent Mathematician, Alphonſus Borellus. An account of this work may be ſeen in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXIV. pag. 314. May 1675. And the copy of all the books of Archimedes, publiſhed in it, except the ſecond book *De Æquiponderantibus*, the two books, *De inſidentibus humido*, the *Lemmata*, and the book *De Arenæ Numero*, written in Dr Barrow's own hand, in one *octavo* volume, and the four books of Apollonius in another volume in *quarto*, are repoſited in the library of the Royal Society (40). Before his *Apollonius* Dr Barrow wrote the following divine ejaculation. Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ. 'Tu autem, 'Domine, quantus es Geometra? Quum enim hæc 'ſcientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in ſempiter-'num novorum theorematum inventioni locus relin-'quatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium; tu uno 'hæc omnia intuitu perſpecta habes, abſque catena 'conſequentiarum, abſque tædio demonſtrationum. 'Ad cætera penè nihil facere poteſt intellectus noſter; 'et tanquam Brutorum phantaſia videtur non niſi in-'certa quædam ſomniare; unde in iis quot ſunt ho-'mines, tot exiſtunt fere ſententiæ. In his conſpiratur 'ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium ſe poſſe ali-'quid, imo ingens aliquid et mirificum viſum eſt, ut 'nihil magis mirum; quod enim in cæteris penè in-'eptum, in hoc efficax, ſedulum, proſperum, &c. 'Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te ſuſpicor, 'atque illum diem deſidero ſuſpiriis fortibus, in quo 'purgata mente et claro oculo non hæc ſolum omnia 'abſque hac ſucceſſiva et laborioſa imaginandi cura, 'verum multo plura et majora ex tua bonitate et im-'menſiſſima ſanctiſſimaque benignitate conſpicere et 'ſcire concedetur, &c.' i. e. *God acts the Geometrician. But how great a Geometrician art thou, O Lord! For whereas this ſcience has no bounds, and there is room even for human wit to diſcover infinite new theorems, thou perceiveſt all theſe truths at one view, without a chain of conſequences, and without the tireſome length of demonſtrations. In other points our underſtanding is almoſt entirely at a ſtand, and, like the imagination of brutes, ſeems only to dream of ſome uncertain objects; whence in ſuch matters there are almoſt as many opinions as there are men. But in theſe there is an univerſal agreement; in theſe the human mind ſeems capable of ſomething great and wonderful; for notwithſtanding it's inability in other reſpects, here it exerts itſelf with diligence and ſucceſs, &c. Thee, therefore, even upon this account, I rejoice to love; to thee I look up, and with ardent wiſhes expect that day, when thy immenſe goodneſs ſhall enable me to perceive and underſtand, not only all theſe things, but even more truths, and of much greater importance, with a mind purged from error and prejudice, and without this ſucceſſive and laborious effort of the imagination.*

Theſe, which follow, were publiſhed after Dr Barrow's deceaſe: I. *Lectio, in qua Theoremata Archimedis de Sphæra et Cylindro, per methodum indiviſibilium inveſtigata, ac breviter demonſtrata, exhibentur*; i. e. 'A Lecture, in which Archimedes's Theorems 'of the Sphere and Cylinder are inveſtigated and 'briefly demonſtrated by the method of Indiviſibles.' London 1678, 12mo. This was written in Engliſh, but ſoon after the author's death being turned into Latin, was ſubjoined to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* and *Data*. II. *Mathematicæ Lectiones, habitæ in Scholis publicis Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, Ann. Dom.* 1664, 5, 6, &c. i. e. 'Mathematical Lectures, 'read in the public Schools of the Univerſity of Cam-'bridge, in the years 1664, 1665, 1666, &c.' London 1683, 8vo. Theſe were ſome of his Lucaſian Lectures; to which the editor, Mr Wells, has prefixed the author's *Oratio Præfatoria* (41), made at the opening of them. III. *The* WORKS *of the learned* ISAAC BARROW, D. D. *late Maſter of* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge (*Being all his* Engliſh Works) *in* THREE VOLUMES. *Publiſhed by his Grace* Dr JOHN TILLOTSON, *late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*. The firſt edition of theſe Works was in 1685, when Dr Tillotſon was Dean of Canterbury; to whom Mr Abraham Hill addreſſes his *Account of the Life of Dr Iſaac Barrow*, prefixed to the firſt volume. There have been ſeveral editions, the laſt in 1741. It is dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, by the author's father Mr Thomas Barrow. The firſt volume contains, *Thirty-two Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions*; *A Brief Expoſition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue*; to which is added, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and *A Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Unity of Church*. The excellency of Dr Barrow's *Sermons* is ſo thoroughly underſtood at this time of day, as to ſtand in need of no Elogium. M. Le Clerc ſays of them; *Les*

(38) Dat. 29 Jan. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(39) Dat. 25 Apr. 1670, MS. Mr Jones, *apud* Ward, ib. p. 162.

(40) In the *Catalogi librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ*, &c. printed at Oxford, theſe two manuſcripts are thus imperfectly deſcribed: *Iſaacus Barrow in Apollonii Conica*. 2 Vol. Tom. II. p. 84.

(41) *See the remark* [*Q*].

He was not only remarkable for the excellence, but for the extraordinary length likewiſe, of

Les Sermons de cet auteur ſont plûtôt des traitez, ou des diſſertations exactes, que des ſimples harangues pour plaire à la multitude (42). i. e. 'This author's ſermons 'are rather treatiſes, or compleat diſſertations, than 'meer harangues to pleaſe the multitude.' The editor, Dr Tillotſon, gives us the following account of the ſubject-matter, and ſome other particulars relating to theſe ſermons (43). The deſign of the *five* firſt is, to recommend religion to our eſteem and practice, from the conſideration of the manifold excellencies and advantages of it. The *four* next treat of the two great duties of religion, and parts of divine worſhip, prayer and thankſgiving; and contain likewiſe a very powerful perſuaſive to the practice of them. The *three* following were preached upon three ſolemn occaſions; the firſt of them upon the 29th May, 1676, the anniverſary of his majeſty's happy Reſtoration; the ſecond upon the 5th of November 1675, in commemoration of our deliverance from the Powder-Treaſon; both in the year of his Vice-Chancellorſhip; the third, at the conſecration of the Biſhop of *Man* (afterwards Lord Biſhop of *St Aſaph*) his uncle; in which he pleads for the due reſpect and revenue of the Clergy, with ſo much modeſty, and yet with ſo great force of reaſon and eloquence, that the whole profeſſion may juſtly think themſelves for ever indebted to him. Some of theſe *twelve* ſermons were the very firſt that he made; by which we may judge with what preparation and furniture he entered upon this ſacred employment. The *firſt* of them was preached at St Mary's in Cambridge, June 30, 1661, and was (the editor thinks) the firſt that he ever preached. Thoſe *two* excellent ſermons of thankſgiving were, it is ſaid, the next. The *fourth* in order was the firſt that he preached before the King. In placing of them as they now ſtand, the editor had very little regard to the order of time, but rather to ſome ſmall reaſon taken from the ſubject-matter of them. The next *ten* ſermons were placed together, becauſe of their affinity to one another, all of them relating to the ſame argument, and tending to reform the ſeveral vices of the tongue. The *two* laſt of them indeed, againſt *pragmaticalneſs*, and meddling in the affairs of others, do not ſo properly belong to this ſubject; but conſidering that this vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and is almoſt ever attended with ſome irregularity and indiſcretion of ſpeech, they are not altogether ſo foreign and unſuitable to it. The *eight* following ſermons are likewiſe ſorted together, becauſe they explain and enforce the two great commandments of the law, the love of God, and of our neighbour. The *two* next were publiſhed by himſelf, and only theſe two. The firſt of them, concerning *the duty and reward of bounty to the poor*, was preached at the *Spital*, and publiſhed at the deſire of the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen: 'This (ſays the editor) was received 'with univerſal approbation; and perhaps there is 'nothing extant in *Divinity* more perfect in it's kind; 'it ſeems to have exhauſted the whole argument, and to 'have left no conſideration belonging to it untouched.' The other, on *the Paſſion of our bleſſed Saviour*, 'was 'the laſt he preached but one, and, I think, the occaſion of his death, by a cold he then got, which, 'in all probability, was the cauſe of the fever of 'which he died, to our unſpeakable loſs.' This he ſent to the preſs himſelf, but did not live to ſee it printed off. The *Expoſition on the Creed*, &c. Mr Ward tells us (44), was a taſk enjoyned him by the College, being obliged by the ſtatutes to compoſe ſome Theological diſcourſes; and theſe, he ſays (45), ſo took up his thoughts, that he could not eaſily apply them to any other matter. The excellent and elaborate *Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy* was written after his promotion to the headſhip of Trinity-college. 'He underſtood Popery (ſays the writer of his life) 'both at home and abroad; he had narrowly obſerved 'it, *militant* in *England*, *triumphant* in *Italy*, *diſguiſed* in *France*; and had earlier apprehenſions than 'moſt others of the approaching danger, and would 'have appeared with the forwardeſt at a needful time '(46).' The learned author, upon his death-bed, gave Dr Tillotſon a particular permiſſion to publiſh it, with this modeſt character of the performance, that *he hoped it was indifferent perfect, tho' not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.* He deſigned indeed to have tranſcribed it again, and to have filled up thoſe many ſpaces, which were purpoſely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illuſtration of ſeveral things by more teſtimonies and inſtances, which probably he had in his thoughts. However, as it is, (to uſe the editor's words) *it is not only a juſt, but an admirable diſcourſe upon this ſubject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhauſted it; inſomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any conſideration properly belonging to it, hath eſcaped his large and comprehenſive mind. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence the controverſy for ever, and to deter all wiſe men, of both ſides, from meddling any farther with it.* 'And I dare ſay (adds Dr Tillotſon, with ſome 'warmth) whoever ſhall carefully peruſe *this Treatiſe*, 'will find, that this point of the *Pope's Supremacy* '(upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to ſay, '*the whole of Chriſtianity depends*) is not only an indefenſible, but an impudent cauſe, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have 'kept it ſo long from becoming ridiculous in the 'judgment of all mankind, but it being ſo ſtrongly 'ſupported by a worldly intereſt. For there is not one 'tolerable argument for it, and there are a thouſand 'invincible reaſons againſt it. There is neither from 'ſcripture, nor reaſon, nor antiquity, any evidence 'for it; the paſt, and the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, 'the hiſtory and records of all ages, are a perpetual 'demonſtration againſt it; and there is no other 'ground in the whole world for it, but that now of a 'long time it hath been by the Pope's *Janizaries* 'boldly aſſerted, and ſtiffly contended for without 'reaſon. So that any one might with as much colour 'and evidence of truth maintain, that the *Grand Seignor* is of right, and for many ages hath been acknowledged, ſovereign of the whole world, as that the '*Biſhop* of *Rome* is of right, and in all ages from the 'beginning of Chriſtianity hath been owned to be 'the *Univerſal Monarch* and *Head* of the Chriſtian 'Church (47).' The *ſecond volume* of Dr Barrow's *Engliſh Works* conſiſts of *Sermons and Expoſitions upon all the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed.* They are dedicated by his father to the *King*, and are in number *thirty four*. The *third* and laſt volume, containing *Forty-five Sermons upon ſeveral Occaſions*, is dedicated by his father to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, and has the following *Imprimatur: C. Alſton*, R. P. D. *Hen. Epiſc. Lond. à Sacris, Feb.* 11, 1685-6. IV. *Iſaaci Barrow, S. S. T. Profeſſoris Opuſcula*, viz. *Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum, Orationes, Poemata*, &c. *Volumen quartum*; i. e. 'The *fourth* vo'lume of Dr Barrow's Works, conſiſting of *Determi'nations* in the Divinity-Schools, Sermons *ad Clerum*, 'Speeches, Latin Poems, *&c.*' London 1687, *folio*. This is called *Volumen quartum*, becauſe it was printed after the three Engliſh volumes in *folio*. It is dedicated by his father to Dr Montague the Maſter, and the Senior Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge. The *Diſſertatiuncula de Seſtertio*, page 356, was reprinted the ſame year in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXC. p. 383. V. There are two letters written by Dr Barrow to Mr Willoughby, and printed in the *Philoſophical Letters between Mr Ray and his Correſpondents*, p. 360, 362, upon the following ſubjects. The former, dated March 26, 1662, contains *the Method, whereby Monſ. Roberveil was ſaid to have demonſtrated the Equality of a Spiral Line with a Parabola.* And in this letter he ſignifies his intention of reading lectures upon Archimedes *De Æquiponderantibus*; but whether he afterwards put that deſign in execution is uncertain. In the latter, dated October 5, 1665, he approves Mr Willoughby's *Diſcourſe, inferring the Solidity of the Sphere from the Surface, by comparing the concentrical Surfaces of the Sphere with the parallel Arches of the Cone*, and acquaints him with his own method of doing it.

Here follows a ſhort account of ſeveral curious papers of Dr Barrow, written in his own hand, and communicated by William Jones, Eſq; to the author of the *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College* (48). I. A Latin volume in *quarto*, wherein are contained: 1. *Compendium pro Tangentibus.* 2. *Æquationum Conſtructio per Conicas Sectiones.* 3. *Æquationum Conſtructio*

(42) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, T. III. p. 325.

(43) See *The Publiſher to the Reader.*

(44) Ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(45) *Letter to Mr* John Collins, dat. on Eaſter-Eve, 1669, MS. Mr Jones. *apud* Ward, ib.

(46) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(47) Dr Barrow's *Works*, Pref. to the *Treatiſe*, &c.

(48) Page 166, 167.

(b) Ward, ubi supra, p. 164.

(c) Hill, ib.

(d) *This picture was painted by Mrs* Beale, *and is now in the poſſeſſion of* James Weſt, *Eſq;*

of his Sermons [Y], which he generally tranſcribed three or four times, his greateſt difficulty being always to pleaſe himſelf (b). He left little behind him, except books, which were ſo well choſen, that they ſold for more than the prime coſt. Though he could never be prevailed with to ſit for his picture (c), ſome of his friends contrived to have it taken (d) without his knowledge, whilſt they diverted him with ſuch diſcourſe as engaged his attention (e). As to his perſon, he was low of ſtature, lean, and of a pale complexion, and negligent of his dreſs to a fault [Z]; of extraordinary ſtrength, a thin ſkin

(e) Ward, ibid. p. 163.

ſtructio Geometrica. 4. *Additamenta de Curvis.* Theſe tracts ſeem to have been written before his *Geometrical Lectures.* II. *Theorema generale ad lineis curvis tangentes, et curvarum figurarum areas, per motum determinandas*; i. e. 'A general Theorem for determining 'the tangents to curve lines, and the areas of curve 'figures, by motion.' *folio*, half a ſheet. III. *Letters* to Mr John Collins upon various mathematical ſubjects; viz. 1. *Concerning Parabolical Conoids:* without a date. 2. *Rectifying a miſtake of Mr Collins, concerning the parallel Sections of the cubical parabolical Conoid:* without a date. III. *Rules to compute the portions of a Sphere or Spheroid.* September 5, 1664. IV. *A Character of Mengolus's* Elementa Geometriæ Specioſæ, *with whom he is diſpleaſed for his affectation of new Definitions, and uncouth terms.* November 12, 1664. 5. *He thanks him for a Catalogue of Mathematical books which he ſent him. Gives a character of Alſted's* Admiranda Mathematica, *which he thinks a work of no great importance.* November 29, 1664. 6. *Concerning a parabolical Conoid cut parallel to the Axis.* January 9, 1664. VII. *About printing his* Archimedes, Apollonius, *and* Theodoſius; *as alſo a new edition of his* Euclid. March 3, 1665. 8. *Concerning the Area of the common Hyperbola, found by Logarithms.* February 1, 1666. 9. *Containing a variety of Rules relating to the Circle and Hyperbola, with Theorems concerning the curve ſurfaces of Conoids and Spheroids.* March 6, 1667. 10 *A Continuation of much the ſame ſubject.* March 26, 1668. 11. *A farther Continuation of the ſame ſubject.* May 14, 1668. 12. *Concerning the* Linea Secantium; *with two papers, one of the figure of Secants and Tangents, applied to the Arch or Radius; the other concerning the Ciſſoidal Space.* March 13, 1668. 13. *Concerning the publication of his* Lectiones Opticæ. Eaſter-Eve, 1669. 14. *Sends him ſome few things to be inſerted in his* Lectiones Geometricæ, *which were then printing.* March 29, 1670. 15. *Concerning the publication of thoſe Lectures.* April 23, 1670. 16. *Sends him his* Apollonius *and* Perſpective Lectures. October 11, 1670.

[Y] *The extraordinary length of his ſermons.*] Dr Pope gives us (49) the following inſtances hereof.

(49) Ubi ſupra, p. 147.

'He was once requeſted by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, 'Dean of Weſtminſter, to preach at the Abbey, and 'withal deſired not to be long; for that auditory 'loved ſhort ſermons, and were uſed to them. He 'replied, *My Lord, I will ſhew you my ſermon*; and 'pulling it out of his pocket, put it into the Biſhop's 'hands. The text was the 10th chapter of the *Proverbs*, the latter end of the 18th verſe; the words 'theſe; *He that uttereth a ſlander is a liar.* The 'ſermon was accordingly divided into two parts; one 'treated of ſlander, the other of lyes. The Dean 'deſired him to content himſelf with preaching only 'the firſt part, to which he conſented, not without 'ſome reluctancy; and in ſpeaking that only, it took 'up an hour and a half. An other time, upon the ſame 'perſon's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on an 'holiday. Here I muſt inform the reader, that it is a 'cuſtom for the ſervants of the church, upon all holidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the ſermon and 'evening prayers, to ſhew the tombs and effigies of 'the Kings and Queens in wax, to the meaner ſort of 'people, who then flock thither from all quarters of 'the town, and pay their two-pence to ſee the *Play of the Dead Volks*, as I have heard a Devonſhire 'clown not improperly call it. Theſe perceiving 'Dr Barrow in the pulpit, after the hour was paſt, 'and fearing to loſe that time in *hearing*, which they 'thought they could more profitably employ in *receiving*; theſe, I ſay, became impatient, and cauſed 'the organ to be ſtruck up againſt him, and would not 'give over playing 'till they had blowed him down. 'But the ſermon of the greateſt length was that concerning charity, before the Lord Mayor and Alderman at the Spital; in ſpeaking which he ſpent three 'hours and an half. Being aſked, after he came down 'from the pulpit, whether he was not tired; *yes indeed*, 'ſaid he, *I began to be weary with ſtanding ſo long.*

[Z] *He was negligent of his dreſs to a fault.*] This could not but expoſe him to ſome inconveniences, and was apt to prejudice his hearers againſt him, where he was not known; of which Dr Pope give us (50) the following very remarkable inſtance. 'Dr Wilkins, 'then Miniſter of St Laurence-Jewry, being forced by 'ſome indiſpoſition to keep his chamber, deſired Dr Barrow to give him a ſermon the next Sunday, which he 'readily conſented to do. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he came, with an aſpect pale and meagre, 'and unpromiſing, ſlovenly and carleſsly dreſſed, his 'collar unbuttoned, his hair uncombed, &c. Thus 'accoutred, he mounts the pulpit, begins his prayer, 'which whether he did read or not, I cannot poſitively aſſert or deny. Immediately all the congregation 'was in an uproar, as if the church were falling, 'and they ſcampering to ſave their lives, each ſhifting 'for himſelf with great precipitation; there was ſuch 'a noiſe of pattens of ſerving-maids and ordinary women, and of unlocking of pews, and cracking of 'ſeats, cauſed by the younger ſort haſtily climbing 'over them, that, I confeſs, I thought all the congregation were mad; but the good Doctor, ſeeming not to take notice of this diſturbance, proceeds, names his text, and preached his ſermon, to 'two or three gathered, or rather left together, of 'which number, as it fortunately happened, Mr Baxter, that eminent Nonconformiſt, was one; who, 'afterwards gave Dr Wilkins a viſit, and commended 'the ſermon to that degree, that he ſaid, he never 'heard a better diſcourſe. There was alſo amongſt 'thoſe who ſtayed out the ſermon, a certain young 'man, who thus accoſted Dr Barrow as he came down 'from the pulpit, *Sir, be not diſmayed, for I aſſure 'you, it was a good ſermon.* By his age and dreſs, 'he ſeemed to be an apprentice, or at the beſt a 'fore-man of a ſhop, but we never heard more of him. 'I aſked the Doctor, what he thought, when he ſaw 'the congregation running away from him? *I thought*, 'ſaid he, *they did not like me, or my ſermon, and I 'have no reaſon to be angry with them for that But 'what was your opinion*, ſaid I, *of the apprentice? 'I take him*, replied he, *to be a very civil perſon, and 'if I could meet with him, I'd preſent him with a 'bottle of wine.* There were then in the pariſh a 'company of formal, grave, and wealthy citizens, 'who having been many years under famous Miniſters, as Dr Wilkins, Biſhop Ward, Biſhop Reynolds, 'Mr Vines, &c. had a great opinion of their ſkill in 'Divinity, and their ability to judge of the goodneſs 'and badneſs of ſermons. Many of theſe came in a 'body to Dr Wilkins, to expoſtulate with him, why 'he ſuffered ſuch an ignorant, ſcandalous fellow, 'meaning Dr Barrow, to have the use of his pulpit. 'I cannot preciſely tell, whether it was the ſame day, 'or ſome time after in that week, but I am certain it 'happened to be when Mr Baxter was with Dr Wilkins. They came, as I ſaid before, in full cry, 'ſaying, they wondered he ſhould permit ſuch a man 'to preach before them, who looked like a ſtarved 'Cavalier, who had been long ſequeſtered, and out 'of his living for delinquency, and came up to London to beg, now the King was reſtored; and much 'more to this purpoſe. He let them run their ſelves 'out of breath; when they had done ſpeaking, and 'expected an humble, ſubmiſſive anſwer, he replied 'to them in this manner. *The perſon you thus deſpiſe, 'I aſſure you, is a pious man, an eminent ſcholar, and 'an excellent preacher; for the truth of the laſt, I 'appeal to Mr Baxter here preſent, who heard the 'ſermon you ſo vilify. I am ſure you believe Mr Baxter 'is a competent judge, and will pronounce according to 'truth.* Then turning to him, *Pray, Sir*, ſaid he, *'do me the favour to declare your opinion concerning*

(50) Ibid. p. 139, &c.

ſkin, and very ſenſible of cold; his eyes grey, clear, and ſomewhat ſhort-ſighted; his hair a light brown, very fine, and curling (*f*). He was of a healthy conſtitution, very fond of tobacco, which he uſed to call his *Panpharmacon* or *Univerſal Medicine*, and imagined it helped to compoſe and regulate his thoughts (*g*). If he was guilty of any intemperance, it ſeemed to be in the love of fruit, being of opinion that if it kills hundreds in autumn, it preſerves thouſands (*h*). He ſlept little, generally riſing in the winter months before day (*i*). His conduct and behaviour were the moſt amiable imaginable: for he was always ready to aſſiſt others, open and communicative in his converſation, in which he generally ſpoke to the importance, as well as truth, of any queſtion propoſed; facetious in his talk upon fit occaſions, and ſkilful to accommodate his diſcourſe to different capacities; of indefatigable induſtry in various ſtudies, clear judgment on all arguments, and ſteady virtue under all difficulties; of a calm temper in factious times, and of large charity in mean eſtate; he was eaſy and contented with a ſcanty fortune, and with the ſame decency and moderation maintained his character under the temptations of proſperity (*k*). In ſhort, he was the greateſt ſcholar of his times; and, as an ingenious writer expreſſes it, 'he may be eſteemed as having ſhewn a compaſs of invention equal, 'if not ſuperior, to any of the moderns, Sir Iſaac Newton only excepted (*l*).'

(*f*) Hill, ibid.

(*g*) Dr Pope, ib. p. 145.

(*h*) Hill, ib.

(*i*) Dr Pope, ib.

(*k*) Hill, ib.

(*l*) *Preface to Dr* Pemberton's *View of Sir* I. Newton's *Philoſophy.*

'*the ſermon now in controverſy, which you heard at* '*our church the laſt Sunday.* Then did Mr Baxter 'very candidly give the ſermon the praiſe it deſerved; 'nay more, he ſaid that *Dr Barrow preached ſo well,* '*that he could willingly have been his auditor all day* '*long.* When they heard Mr Baxter give him this 'high encomium, they were pricked in their hearts, 'and all of them became aſhamed, confounded, and 'ſpeechleſs; for tho' they had a good opinion of their 'ſelves, yet they durſt not pretend to be equal to Mr 'Baxter; but at length, after ſome pauſe, they all, 'one after another, confeſſed, *they did not hear one* '*word of the ſermon, but were carried to miſlike it, by his* '*unpromiſing garb, and mien, the reading of his prayer,* '*and the going away of the congregation*; for they 'would not by any means have it thought, if they 'had heard the ſermon, they ſhould not have concurred with the judgment of Mr Baxter. After 'their ſhame was a little over, they earneſtly deſired 'Dr Wilkins to procure Mr Barrow to preach again, 'engaging themſelves to make him amends, *by bring-* '*ing to his ſermon their wives and children, their man-* '*ſervants, and maid-ſervants, in a word, their whole* '*families, and to enjoyn them not to leave the church* '*till the bleſſing was pronounced.* Dr Wilkins promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for their ſatisfaction, and accordingly ſollicited Dr Barrow to appear 'once more upon that ſtage, but all in vain; for he 'would not by any perſuaſions be prevailed upon to 'comply with the requeſt of ſuch conceited, hypocritical coxcombs.' T

BARRY (GIRALD) better known by the name of GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *i. e. Girald of Wales*, and by ſome called *Silveſter Giraldus Cambrenſis*, (which addition of *Silveſter* is certainly (*a*) erroneous) is one of thoſe writers, whoſe ſtyle is ſo puerile and affected, ſo diffuſe and full of quibbles, and gingling conceits, (eſpecially in his treatiſes relating to Ireland, which were writ in his younger years) that it can by no means pleaſe men of ſober taſte. He was born (*b*) near Pembroke in South Wales, in the caſtle of Mainarpir, about the year 1146, and was deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care that the world ſhould not be unacquainted [*A*], ſince he often repeats it in his Works. While he was a boy, the omens of his future learning and reputation were ſo extraordinary, that he could not paſs them over in ſilence, and yet in themſelves ſo trifling, that it is irkſome to repeat them [*B*]. He was not very lucky in his early education; for keeping company with his brothers, he followed them in their play, grew a truant, and neglected his books, and had like to have

(*a*) Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112. Whart. Angl. Sacra Pref. to Vol. II. p. xx.

(*b*) Whart. Pref. to Vol. II. of the Anglia Sacra, p. xx. & Camb. de Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. cap. i.

[*A*] *Deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care, that the world ſhould not be unacquainted.*] 'Patre (inquit) natus Willielmo de 'Barri, viro egregio, matre Angareth filiâ Neſtæ, no-'bilis filiæ Rhæſi, Principis Sudwalliæ, ſcilicet, filii 'Theodori (1). —— *My father (ſays he) was William* '*de Barry, a man of extraordinary fame, my mother,* '*Angareth, the daughter of Neſta, who was the* '*noble daughter of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, the* '*ſon of Tudor.*' This, in fact, was his genealogy; but it would have come with more decency out of the mouth of a Herald than his own.

(1) De Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. c. i.

[*B*] *Omens irkſome to repeat.*] 'Ex fratribus quatuor germanis et uterinis minor, tribus aliis nunc 'caſtra, nunc oppida, nunc palatia puerilibus, ut ſolet 'hæc ætas, præludiis in ſabulo vel pulvere protrahen-'tibus ac conſtruendis modulo ſuo, ſolus hic (i. e. Gi-'raldus) ſimili præludio ſemper eccleſias et monaſteria 'erigere ſatagebat. Pater hæc conſiderans, ductus 'prognoſtico quodam ipſum literis et liberalibus diſ-'ciplinis applicandum præſaga mente decrevit, eumque 'ſuum epiſcopum vocare conſuevit. —— *Being the* '*youngeſt of four brothers by the ſame mother, while the* '*other three employed themſelves, as children will do,* '*in raiſing caſtles, towns and palaces in dirt, Girald* '*alone, tho' he buſied himſelf in the like work, yet his* '*employment was to erect churches and monaſteries.* '*His father taking this matter into his conſideration,* '*and prognoſticating what his child would come to,* '*ominouſly determined to educate him to learning, and* '*and the liberal arts, and uſed frequently to call him* '*his little Biſhop.*' —— And then he proceeds to tell us, that in ſome hoſtile invaſion, when all people were running to their arms, that he deſired to be carried to the church, declaring by a wonderful forethought in a child, that the immunity of the houſe dedicated to God ought to be ſecured; from whence people made a judgment, that in time to come he would prove a champion and protector of the liberties and immunities of the Church. —— It is certainly the moſt difficult taſk in the world, for a man to write the hiſtory of his own actions, nor ſhould any body attempt it but a man of mortified paſſions, which was by no means Girald's caſe. Self-love, on the one hand, will not ſuffer him to vend any thing to the diſadvantage of himſelf; on the other hand, if he ſpeaks in his own praiſe, every mortal will cry out on his vanity: This laſt particular has been the fate of the author now under conſideration; every page of his book, intituled *de Rebus a ſe geſtis*, is ſtuffed with this kind of vanity, and ſo full is he of himſelf, his learning, his importance, and his conduct in great affairs, that it is impoſſible to turn him over without being ſurfeited: and the ſame ſelf-ſufficiency runs through all his other writings, ſo that he often ſtops ſhort, and rambles from his ſubject, in order to dwell upon his dear ſelf; and thus much enough to obſerve in this place once for all.

[C] *Obtained*

have diſappointed thoſe omens, which were conceived of him. But his uncle, the Biſhop of St David's, took him to taſk, and his maſters wrought a reformation in him, which was effected more out of a principle of ſhame than fear: From which time he altered his courſe, and applied himſelf to his books with ſuch diligence, that he ſoon got the ſtart of all his ſchool-fellows. He was three times ſent to France for the ſake of improvement, and at firſt continuing there three years, he obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick [C], which upon his return in 1172, ſoon brought him into notice, and he was promoted unto ſeveral eccleſiaſtical livings in Wales and England, in the laſt of which places he was Canon of Hereford (c). His buſy temper, eſpecially in what related to Church affairs, ſoon made him notorious, and, as he deſigned it, proved no ſmall motive to his advancement, in an age, when the temporal intereſt and ſplendor of the Church, were more conſidered than the piety and virtue of it's members. He gives two inſtances (d) of his vigilance in this particular, one of which, it muſt be confeſſed, does not redound much to his honour [D]. Being inveſted with the archdeaconry of Brechin, in the manner mentioned in the remarks, he behaved himſelf with great activity in his archidiaconal viſitations, and reformed many abuſes. In 1176, he was elected, by (e) the Chapter of St David's, Biſhop of that See, not then exceeding thirty years of age; but he declined the election, fearing to be foiled, as alſo, becauſe the King had not been previouſly conſulted, nor iſſued his licence to go to election, as the law required. King Henry II, was a Prince exceeding jealous of his prerogative, and tho' the Archdeacon's ſeeming modeſty might have excuſed this over haſty ſtep in the Chapter, yet the King did not like to ſee even the appearance of his growing intereſt, which would be a means of fortifying the power and grandeur of his relations in Wales, in his Majeſty's opinion too conſiderable already; and ſo he expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion [E], which was followed by the election and conſecration of another Biſhop. Notwithſtanding this ſhew of modeſty in declining the election, yet he could not well digeſt the diſappointment, and the more ſo, as it afforded him a proof of the King's inclinations, and a demonſtration, that thoſe qualities, which would have advanced another man, ſerved only to depreſs him. Being informed of what paſſed at the conſultation, he at once determined to quit his country for a time; and accordingly the ſame year he paſſed a ſecond time (f) into France, in order to purſue his ſtudies at Paris, that is, to add to his knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws, with the more important one of Divinity. With his uſual vanity he boaſts (g), what a prodigious fame he acquired here, eſpecially in the knowledge of the Decretals [F]. In 1179, he was elected Profeſſor of the Canon Laws in the univerſity of Paris; but rejected the honour, out of an expectation of more ſolid advantages in his own country. In 1180, he returned (h) home through Flanders and England, and in his way ſtopped at Canterbury, where he emphatically deſcribes (i) (what may be well allowed him) the great luxury of the Monks of that place. At length he got home, where he found the whole country in a flame, the Canons and Archdeacons of Menevia having joined with the inhabitants, in driving out the Biſhop of that See [G], the adminiſtration of

(c) Whart. Angl. Sacr. Præf. to Vol. II. p. xxiii.

(d) De Geſt. Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(e) Ibid. cap. vi.

(f) Ibid. lib. ii. c. i.

(g) Ibid. cap. iv.

(h) Ibid. cap. iv.

(i) Ibid. cap. v.

[C] *Obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick.*] Probably it was during this firſt journey that he was made Rector of the publick ſchools in Paris, which (as he (2) ſays) he governed for ſome time.

(2) Epiſt. Giral. ad Capit. Hereford.

[D] *Two inſtances of his vigilance, one of which does not redound to his honour.*] He tells us (3), that obſerving through the dioceſe of St David's that by the negligence of the Prelates, neither tithes of wool nor cheeſes were payed, he informed Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then the Pope's Legate, of this loſs to the Church, and by that means in 1175, obtained a Vice-Legantine authority from the Archbiſhop through all Wales, to viſit and ſee theſe and other exceſſes amended; and by a ſtrict diſcipline he effected a thorough reformation. This would have have been tolerable, and might have been imputed to zeal for the ſervice of the Church; but the other inſtance carries in it the appearance of covetouſneſs, and a ſordid baſeneſs: The ſtory is beſt heard from his own mouth (4). Being informed that an aged Archdeacon of Brechin, in the dioceſe of St David's kept a concubine, (a crime not very uncommon among the the Eccleſiaſticks of England in that age, as will appear in the ſequel of Girald's life) he ſuſpended him and ſeized his archdeaconry, which he put into the hands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop made Girald a complement of the fruits of his information, and advanced him to the Archdeaconry in the room of the degraded old man. Virtue or honour would have perſuaded him to have refuſed the promotion; and by that means he would have convinced the world, that conſcience, and the good of the Church, were the motives to this action, and not covetouſneſs, or the deſire of ſtepping over the head of his brother. His refuſal would have been the reſult of an honourable principle, as his acceptance implied, that he was actuated by ſomething oppoſite: And as this was the caſe of an aged man (who do not often keep concubines, as younger Clerks might have done) it gives a ſtrong preſumption, that he had caſt his eye upon the warm Archdeaconry, and made his appetite to that, the motive of his information.

(3) De Geſt. Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(4) Ibid. cap. iv.

[E] *And ſo the King expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion.*] When the King had information given him of the election of Girald, he was much moved, and ſent (5) for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans, to conſult what ſhould be done in the election of a Biſhop of St David's. They were of opinion, that Girald ought to be conſecrated, both on account of his birth and learning, and as he was a man of courage, parts, and activity. But the King told them, that for the reaſons they had given, he by no means thought Girald a fit perſon to fill that ſtation; becauſe his advancement would ſtrengthen the power and intereſt of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, to whom the Archdeacon was a near relation, as he was to moſt of the grandees of that country.

(5) Ibid. cap. x.

[F] *Acquired great fame in the knowledge of the Decretals.*] The Decretals are that part of the Canon Law that conſiſts of the Papal Conſtitutions, called *Litteræ Decretales*, or Reſcripts of Popes, by which ſome difficulties in the Eccleſiaſtical laws are cleared up.

[G] *In driving out the Biſhop of Menevia.*] Menevia is an antient epiſcopal See, ſeated on the weſt ſide of Pembroke-ſhire in Wales, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop Canterbury, and known better

of which was committed (*k*) to our author, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Under this authority he governed the See of St David's for three or four years, and made wonderful reformations in it. The abdicated Biſhop, whoſe name was Peter, did not acquieſce in the conduct of his clergy; but by letters he ſuſpended and excommunicated the Canons and Archdeacons, uncited and unheard: and at length, Girald, not having power to redreſs them, reſigned his charge to the Archbiſhop, who abſolved the excommunicated. Biſhop Peter imputed his diſgrace, or at leaſt the continuance of it, to Girald; upon which great conteſts and bickerings aroſe; appeals upon the occaſion were made to Rome; but at length they were reconciled, and the Biſhop reſtored. About the year 1184, King Henry II ſent (*l*) for Girald to Court, and made him his Chaplain, and at times he attended the King for ſeveral years, and was very uſeful to him in keeping all matters quiet in Wales. Yet though the King approved of his ſervices, and in private often commended his prudence and fidelity, yet he never could be prevailed on to promote him to any eccleſiaſtical benefices, on account of the relation he bore to Prince Rhees, and other grandees of Wales. In 1185, the King ſent (*m*) him to Ireland with his ſon John, in quality of Secretary and Privy-Counſellor to the young Prince; but the expedition did not meet with ſucceſs, becauſe Earl John made uſe only of youthful counſels, and ſhewed no favour to the old adventurers, who were men experienced in the affairs of Ireland. While Girald thus employed himſelf in Ireland, the two biſhopricks of Ferns and Legthin fell vacant, which Earl John offered to unite and confer on him (*n*); but he rejected the promotion, and gave the Earl an anſwer worthy of a great and good man [*H*]. He took this opportunity of collecting materials for writing two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1186, John Comyn (*o*), Archbiſhop of Dublin, convened a Synod of his clergy, in Chriſt-Church in that city. The firſt day of the meeting, the Archbiſhop himſelf preached on the

(*k*) Girald. cap. vi.

(*l*) Ibid. cap. viii.

(*m*) Ibid. cap. x. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

(*n*) Ibid. cap. xii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 439. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

(*o*) Ibid. cap. xiii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 315, 439.

better by the name of St David's, from the founder of a church here, St David, the patron of Wales. The land about Menevia, is called (5) *Kantrev Dewi, i. e.* David's Cantred, but Ptolemey's name, for it is *Octapitarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the Octapitæ. A late Antiquary (6) thinks this word of Ptolemy to be corrupted, and that it ought to be *Octo Petrarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the eight rocks, ὀκτὼ πετρῶν, which eight rocks are thoſe called the Biſhop and his Clerks. The notion carries with it a good deal of weight.

(5) Camd. Brit. Vol. I. p. 756.

(6) Baxter in Gloſſario, p. 186.

[*H*] *An anſwer worthy of a great and good man.*] He told the Prince, that if he ſaw him inclined to be beneficial to the Church of Ireland, he would chearfully accept the honour he offered him; but becauſe he found by his actions that he had no regard to that particular, he choſe rather to continue in a private ſtation, than, being unprofitably placed in power, to be able to do no ſervice.

[*I*] *Materials for two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after.*] They bear this title, namely, *Topographia Hiberniæ*; 'A Topography of 'Ireland:' and *Hiſtoria Vaticinalis de expugnatione Hiberniæ*; 'The Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of 'Ireland.' The reaſon he gave ſuch a whimſical title to the laſt of theſe treatiſes, appears in the firſt preface to his Deſcription of Wales, where he ſays, 'that he 'had given the name Vaticinal, to the ſaid hiſtory, 'becauſe he had ſprinkled up and down in it, the 'prophecies of Caledonius and Ambroſius Merlin, in 'ſuch convenient places as the ſubject required.' He might have added alſo, the prophecies of Moling, Braccan, Patrick, and Columbkille, which he has alſo inſerted in the ſaid work. The Topography contains three books or diſtinctions, and not four, as Bale ſays (7), and the Vaticinal Hiſtory contains only two books and not three; and thus they came originally out of Girald's hands. For he himſelf ſays (8), '*Se* '*Hibernicam Topographiam, cum abditis ſuis, et natu-* '*ræ ſecretis, in tribus diſtinctionibus trennii labore di-* '*geſſiſſe, & Vaticinalem expugnationis Hibernicæ ſub-* '*ſequenter Hiſtoriam, duabus diſtinctionibus biennali lucu-* '*bratione compleviſſe.* — That he had employed three years labour in digeſting the Topography of Ireland, 'with the hidden things thereof, and the ſecrets of 'nature in three diſtinctions; and that by the ſtudy of 'two years, he had afterwards compleated the Vatici-'nal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland in two di-'ſtinctions.' He writ indeed a preface (9) to a third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory; but it ſeems he never finiſhed it: Bale (10) alſo makes him the author of a Vaticinal Hiſtory diſtinguiſhed from that on the conqueſt of Ireland; but the error of that writer manifeſtly appears in the reaſons given before by Girald (11), why he called his book Vaticinal; as alſo from the catalogue he has himſelf furniſhed (12) of his writings, wherein he mentions not a word of any other Vaticinal Hiſtory than that of the Conqueſt of Ireland. The ſame reaſon extends to ſet aſide other inventions of Bale in aſcribing (13) to Girald, *one book of the Caledonian Merlin*, and *one book of Merlin Ambroſius*, as alſo, *Illuſtrationes Merlinorum*; — 'Illuſtrations on the 'Merlins in two books,' beginning *Quoniam in Prioribus Libris Merlini.* For theſe words are taken from the beginning of the preface of the third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, which he intended to have written. Bale makes him the author of another book called *Diſtinctiones Giraldi*, beginning,—— *Nunc ad ea quæ contra naturæ curſum*; but this is manifeſtly the ſame with the ſecond book of the Topography of Ireland. Girald began his Topography and Vaticinal Hiſtory while he was in Ireland; but finiſhed them after his return to Wales. They lay in manuſcript from about the year 1190 to the year 1602, when they were firſt publiſhed by Mr Camden at Frankfort, as appears from what Peter Lombard ſays (14), who being educated under Mr Camden at Weſtminſter-ſchool muſt probably have known the matter; and he having writ his Commentary on Ireland, a ſhort time before the Frankfort edition of Girald came out, though not publiſhed till after, taking occaſion to mention this author's Topography, ſays *Topographia iſta nunc eſt excuſſa typis* —— 'That Topography of Girald's is not yet printed.' When it firſt came out in manuſcript, Girald heavily complains (15) of the Carpers and Criticks who had then taken it to taſk; but when it appeared in print, the many invectives contained in it againſt Ireland, and the natives of it, the fables with which it abounded, and the groſs errors through the whole, alarmed many of the Iriſh, and ſet their pens a going. Stephen White, a Jeſuit of that country, firſt took up arms upon the occaſion; and in an Hiſtorical Treatiſe confuted thoſe baſe and ſcandalous aſperſions related by that writer. A part of this work was in the cuſtody of John Lynch (16), though ſo imperfect that it could not be fitted for the preſs, a loſs to be lamented, ſince ſo good a Judge as Archbiſhop Uſher (17), calls the author: 'Virum Antiquitatum, non Hiberniæ ſolum 'ſuæ, ſed aliarum etiam gentium, ſcientiſſimum; —— '*A man of exquiſite knowledge not only in the antiqui-* '*ties of his own country, Ireland, but alſo of other* '*nations* (*).' Philip O-Sullevan (†) next took Cambrenſis to taſk, a writer much inferior to White, who in a treatiſe intituled Zoilomaſtix, or a Whip for Zoilus, expoſed that writer, as well as Stanihurſt; but it does not appear that this Treatiſe of O-Sullevan's was ever printed. For in an encomiaſtick copy of verſes prefixed to another work (18) of O-Sullevan's by George Mendoza, a Portugueſe, there are the follow-

(7) De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.

(8) Prima Prefat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(9) Uſſerii Sylloge Epiſt. Hib.

(10) De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.

(11) Prima Prefat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(12) Wharton's Angl. Sacra, Part II. p. 445.

(13) Waræus de Script. p. 116.

(14) Commentatio de Hib. p. 91.

(15) Prefat. Prima ad Expugn.

(16) Cambrenſis everſus, cap. i. p. 1. cap. xiv. p. 127.

(17) Primord, 4to, p. 400.

(*) See Steph. White.

(†) *See the article* O-SULLEVAN (PHILIP).

(18) Patriciana decas.

the Sacraments of the Church. The ſecond day, Albin O-Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglas, afterwards Biſhop of Ferns, made a prolix diſcourſe on the continence of the clergy, wherein he inveighed bitterly againſt the clergy that came from England and Wales to Ireland, and by their evil examples, had vitiated the probity and innocence of the Iriſh clergy, and ſhewed how great their chaſtity was, before they had contracted contagion from the evil examples of corrupted foreigners. After the ſermon was ended, the Engliſh clergy of Wexford were accuſed and convicted by the teſtimony of witneſſes, for cohabiting publickly with harlots, and received ſentence of ſuſpenſion, which gave no ſmall mirth and triumph to the Iriſh clergy. The third day Girald mounted the pulpit, by order of the Archbiſhop, and preached on the paſtoral duty. He did not conceal what he had truly to ſay in praiſe of the Iriſh clergy; but afterwards he took occaſion to enlarge on their vices, and taxed them with that of drunkenneſs; and turning his diſcourſe to the Prelates, he proved their neglect of the paſtoral charge, by irrefragable reaſons. He ſeems to have valued himſelf much upon this ſermon, ſince he has given it to the world at large, both in his Topography (*p*), and in his Life (*q*). The ſame evening, Felix, Biſhop of Oſſory, happening to ſup with the Archbiſhop, was aſked, How he approved Girald's ſermon? Felix, who was ſuſpected to be an eunuch Monk [*K*], anſwered, That it was true, Girald ſaid many ſcandalous things well, and with a good grace; but he called us, added he, drunkards. Indeed I could ſcarce contain myſelf from flying in his face, or at leaſt from returning him in words a like treatment. It ſeems to have been at this ſame Synod, that Maurice, Archbiſhop of Caſhel, made that ſtinging and poignant repartee, that Girald (*r*) takes notice of [*L*]. Having obtained a great fame in Ireland, as he has the modeſty

(*p*) Diſtinct. laſt.

(*q*) Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

(*r*) Topogr. Hiſt. diſt. iii. cap. xxxii. Waræi Comment. de Præſul. p. 163.

ing lines; where the Poet having firſt complimented his publiſhed works, proceeds thus.

Divulgata typis hæc; ſed ſunt condita plura,
Quæ tamen in tenebris aurea ſcripta latent.
Invidiæ partus, mendacia magna Gyraldi.
Rejicit, et Stolidus quæ Stanihurſtus habet.
Notitiâ variâ pulchrum, ſermone politum,
Zoilomaſtix et dicitur illud opus.

(‖) *See the article* LYNCH (JOHN).

The next who undertook Girald was John Lynch ‖, under the feigned name of Gratianus Lucius; who doubtleſs had good aid from White's Fragment, which, he confeſſes, was in his hands; and it may be not improbable, but that he had White's whole treatiſe, and deſtroyed it to inhanſe the value of his own performance. Such things have been done in antient and modern times, and will be done again till pride be rooted out of the human conſtitution. Lynch's book, intituled, *Cambrenſis Everſus*, was printed in folio in 1662, and in that he has purſued Girald ſtep by ſtep, and chapter by chapter; wherein he ſhews not only his ignorance and malice; but has demonſtrated, that he had not one quality fit for an Hiſtorian. Nor has Giraldus eſcaped the cenſure of Sir James Ware (19), who expreſſes himſelf with an aſperity uncommon to him: 'Admonendus eſt (inquit) interim lector, Topographiam eam cautè legendam, id quod ipſe Giraldus quodamodo fatetur in apologia, quam habemus in primâ ſuâ prefatione in librum Expugnationis Hibernicæ, cum ob fabuloſa, jam dictæ Topographiæ inſerta, inſimularetur; cui hanc etiam admonitionem è retractationum ſuarum tractatu hic adjicere viſum.——— *De Topographiâ Hibernicâ, labore ſcilicet, noſtro primævo ferè nec ignobili, ubi multa nova, aliiſque regionibus prorſus incognita (ideoque magis miranda) ſcribuntur, hoc pro certo ſciendum, quod quorundam, quinimo et quamplurium per diligentem et certam indagationem, a magnis terræ illius, et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus, de cæteriſque, totius terræ famam potius ſecuti fuimus. De quibus omnibus cum Auguſtino ſentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ ſolum fama celebrat, nec certa veritate fulciuntur, loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum, nec prorſus abneganda decrevit.* ——— Sic ipſe Giraldus. ——— Atqui non poſſum non mirari viros aliquos hujus ſæculi, alioquin graves et doctos, figmenta ea Giraldi mundo iterum pro veris obtruſiſſe. ——— Yet (ſays the learned Knight) I muſt admoniſh the reader to turn over that Topography of Cambrenſis with great caution; which Cambrenſis himſelf in ſome ſort acknowledges in an Apology made by him in his firſt Preface to the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, after he had been taxed with the fabulous reports inſerted in his ſaid Topography, to which it is proper alſo to add this admonition taken out of a treatiſe of his called, his Retractations. ——— *Concerning the Topography of Ireland* (ſays he) *our firſt, and not altogether contemptible labour, in which many things new, and unknown to other countries, and therefore the more wonderful, are written, the reader may with certainty be convinced, that we have obtained the knowledge of ſome, nay, of moſt of the things therein related by a diligent and painful inquiry from the authentick teſtimonies of men of weight and reputation in that country, and in other particulars we have contented ourſelves to follow the reports and fame of the whole kingdom. Concerning all which we are of opinion with St Auguſtin, who, in his book de Civitate Dei, ſpeaking of things which fame only has ſpread abroad, and which are not ſupported by indiſputable evidence, ſays, that as ſuch things are not poſitively to be affirmed, ſo neither are they to be wholly rejected.* ——— Thus much Cambrenſis himſelf owns: ——— But I cannot forbear expreſſing my aſtoniſhment, that ſome men of this age, who in other reſpects, are men of gravity and learning, ſhould again obtrude theſe fictions of Cambrenſis upon the world for truths.' ——— Yet Cambrenſis himſelf had the confidence (20) to obtrude them on a body of grave and learned men. For in a catalogue that he furniſhes of his own works, this is what he ſays of his Topography: ——— 'Item de Topographiâ Hibernicâ, liber, ſcilicet, de ſitu terræ illius, et mirabilibus ejuſdem multis exaratus, apud Oxoniam per tres dies continuos in publicâ cleri audientiâ recitatus: ——— *This book* (ſays he) *of the ſituation of Ireland, and the wonderful things in it, written at large, was read over at Oxford for three whole days in a publick audience of the Clergy.*' In an epiſtle (21) to William Vere, Biſhop of Hereford, he is in raptures upon that part of the third diſtinction of his Topography, wherein he treats of the Iriſh harp and other muſical inſtruments, and with vanity enough imagines, that he has handled the ſubject with an elegance ſuitable to the dignity of it. The author (22) of Cambrenſis Everſus hints, that Girald had maliciouſly deſtroyed a great many old annals of Ireland, that his own performance might carry the greater weight; but the conſequence drawn by Stillingfleet (23) from this action is not juſt; namely, that he had therefore better authorities to build his hiſtory on than Keating; but unfortunately, whatever number of Iriſh annals might have been in his hands, he could make no uſe of them, as he had not the leaſt knowledge in the language.

(19) *Antiq.* cap. xxiii.

(20) Nicholſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, p. 3.

(21) Uſſer. Epiſt. Hib. Sylloge, p. 115.

(22) Lynch. p. 40, 41.

(23) Orig. p. 268.

[*K*] *Suſpected to be an eunuch Monk.*] Girald's (24) words are, 'Monachus mutilatus, ut videbatur, et eunuchatus: ——— *A mutilated Monk, as it ſeemed, and one gelt.*'

(24) Ibid. cap. xv.

[*L*] *A poignant repartee that Girald takes notice of.*] Cambrenſis objected to Archbiſhop Maurice, 'that there never were any martyrs in Ireland, who ſuffered for the faith: It is true, ſaid the Archbiſhop; for tho' our country be looked on as barbarous, uncultivated, and cruel, yet they always have payed reve-

modeſty to tell us himſelf (*s*), between Eaſter and Whitſuntide, 1187, he returned to Wales, and employed all his time in writing and reviſing his Topography, to which, when he had put the laſt hand, he took a journey to Oxford, and repeated it in a publick audience of the univerſity; and as it conſiſted of three diſtinctions, he repeated one every day of three ſucceſſively: and in order to captivate the people, and ſecure their applauſe, the firſt day he entertained all the poor of the town, the next day the Doctors and ſcholars of fame and reputation, and the third day the ſcholars of the lower rank, the ſoldiers, townſmen, and Burgeſſes. In the year 1188 (*t*), he accompanied Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a journey through the rough and mountainous parts of Wales, in order to preach up to the people the neceſſity of taking the croſs, and engaging in an expedition in defence of the Holy Land. Here our author runs riot in his own praiſe, and ſhews the vaſt ſucceſs his eloquence met with, in perſuading the greateſt part of the country to engage in this fooliſh adventure; whereas the Archbiſhop was able to do nothing. Girald himſelf took the croſs at this time, and it afforded him the opportunity of writing a book, mentioned below in the remarks [*M*]. The ſame year he poſted over into France, in the retinue of King Henry II, which he did by the advice of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, Chief-Juſtice of England; but the King dying the year after, he was diſpatched back by King Richard I, to aſſiſt upon this alteration in keeping the peace in Wales, which was then in great confuſion. He effected this commiſſion with great addreſs, and the King the ſame year, going to the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, left the chief government of the kingdom in the hands of William Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Chancellor, and joined Girald in commiſſion with him [*N*]; but he was under the neceſſity of obtaining a diſpenſation from the Pope's Legate, for not purſuing the voyage to the Holy Land, having been ſigned with the croſs for that purpoſe, in the year 1188. In the year 1190, the Biſhop of Ely and the Pope's Legate, offered to advance him to the See of Bangor, then void by the death of the Biſhop of it, which he declined. About the ſame time he adviſed Earl John, the King's brother, to go over to Ireland, and make a final conqueſt of it; but without ſucceſs, the Earl aſpiring to uſurp the kingdom of England in his brother's abſence. In 1191, Earl John having obtained the chief rule in England, by expelling the Biſhop of Ely, offered to advance Girald to the biſhoprick of Landaff; but this promotion he alſo refuſed, waiting for the opportunity of ſtepping into the See of St David's, which he had his heart ſet upon from his youth. In the year 1192 (*u*), Girald retired from Court, where he ſaw promotions did not go according to merit, and removed to Lincoln for the ſake of ſtudying Divinity, as to a more ſecure and quiet port; and here, it is ſaid, he remained ſix or ſeven years (*w*). In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works [*O*]. Upon the death of Peter, Biſhop of St David's, in 1198, he was adviſed by the Chapter and the Barons of that country, to beſtir himſelf in ſeeking this promotion, and in procuring the intereſt of the King, to whom and his father he had been upon many occaſions eminently ſerviceable. But he rejected the motion, and

(*s*) De rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

(*t*) Ibid. cap. xvii, xviii.

(*u*) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. iii. cap. i.

(*w*) Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. ut ſupra.

'reverence and honour to the Eccleſiaſticks, and never 'would ſtretch out their hands againſt the Saints of 'God. But now, added he, there is come a people 'among us, who know how, and are accuſtomed, to 'make martyrs.' Alluding to the affair of Thomas Becket.

[*M*] *Gave him the opportunity of writing a book mentioned below in the remarks.*] This book paſſes under different titles: Bale (*) calls it in two words, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. Mr Wharton (25) enlarges the title from ſome of the manuſcripts of Girald, and ſhews us not only what the book was, but the time and intention of writing it; namely, *Itinerarium Giraldi, de laboriosa Baldwini Cantuarenſis Archiepiſcopi legatione devotaque per Walliam in crucis obſequium prædicatio*; *i. e.* The Itinerary of Girald, and the laborious embaſſage of Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his devout preaching up the duty of taking the croſs through Wales. Girald (26) himſelf calls it, *Itinerarium laboriosum per hiſpida et inæqualia Walliæ loca*; *i. e.* A laborious Itinerary through the rough and mountainy places of Wales. Bale (27) has ſplit this treatiſe into two, one of which he calls, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, and the other, *Itinerarium Baldwini*, both which are manifeſtly one and the ſame work; nor does it contain three or four books, as he ſays, but two. It has been printed (28), with the annotations of David Powell, under the title of *Itinerarium Cambriæ, ſeu laboriosæ Baldwini Cantuarenſis Archiepiſcopi per Walliam legationis accurata deſcriptio*. Probably, it was at the ſame time he compiled, *Kambriæ totius Mappam* (29); *i. e.* A Map of all Wales, which Bale (30) calls, *Cambricæ Mappæ expoſitionem, lib.* 1. whereas it is a coloured Geographical Map yet extant, as Mr Wharton ſays, and beſides, rivers, mountains, and the ſea-coaſts, and the neighbouring places of England, it lays down 43 towns of Wales.

(*) Cent. III. No. 59.

(25) Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

(26) Epiſtola ad Capitulum Hereſordenſe, in Wharton. Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(27) Cent. III. No. 59.

(28) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

(29) Epiſt. ad Capit. Heref. ut ſupra.

(30) Cent. III. No. 59.

[*N*] *Joined Girald in the commiſſion of government with the Biſhop of Ely.*] This fact is unnoticed by the Hiſtorians of England, and for what we know, only told by Girald (31) himſelf, out of a vanity to inhanſe his own importance. As the Biſhop of Ely was Chancellor, as well as chief governour, perhaps he appointed Girald, his deputy, or co-adjutor in the cuſtody of the Great Seal, to eaſe him of part of the burthen, that was too heavy in the whole adminiſtration of the kingdom; and this is the moſt we can upon this occaſion allow to our author.

(31) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

[*O*] *In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works.*] In 1193 he writ *the Life of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York*, called by Bale (32), *Certamina Galfridi Eboracenſis*, i. e. *the Strifes of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York:* lib. 1. but he himſelf (33) intitules it, *Librum de promotionibus et perſecutionibus Gaufredi Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopi*; i. e. a book of the promotions and perſecutions of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York, divided into two books. About 1197 he writ *Gemmam Eccleſiaſticam, ſubſequenter de ſacramentis eccleſiaſticis ſaluti animarum per neceſſariis, et de Clericali continentia et honeſtate.* This is the title he gives it himſelf (34); and ſome (35) think it is the ſame book with the *Gemma Animæ*, publiſhed at Mentz, by John Cochlæus, an. 1549, without prefixing the author's name to it; which opinion ſeems no way improbable, ſince both books begin with the ſame words, (viz.) Agmen in caſtris æterni Regis. ——— Certainly the latter part of this tract, called de Clericali continentiâ, is the ſame with a book aſcribed to him by Bale, intituled, *de Honeſtate Clericali*. lib. 1.

(32) Cent. III. No. 59.

(33) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereford. de libris a ſe ſcriptis, in Wharton Angl. Sacra, Vol. II. p. 439.

(34) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereford. ut ſupra.

(35) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

[*P*] *He*

and made uſe of a memorable ſaying [*P*], which perhaps was the faſhion of the age, and equivalent to the term, *Nolo epiſcopari*, I won't canvas or make intereſt for a biſhoprick. Yet being put in nomination for it the beginning of the year following, he was active enough in ſupporting his intereſt. For two of the Archdeacons, and four of the Canons of St David's, in September, nominated three perſons for the biſhoprick, to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then Chief-Juſticiary, and in the firſt place the Archdeacon of Brecknock, Girald; to whom they added Reginald Foliot, an Engliſhman, of whoſe ſucceſs they did not think there was any likelihood. The Archbiſhop rejected Girald, and when the Canons expoſtulated with him, and deſired to know his reaſons, why he refuſed a diſcreet and learned man, a gentleman, and one born in lawful matrimony; he told them, 'That the King would have no Welſhman a Biſhop in 'Wales, and eſpecially him, who was ſo near in blood to the Prince of Wales.' And the Archbiſhop rejected not only Girald, but all the Welſhmen who were put in nomination. Beſides the political reaſons beforementioned, the Archbiſhop had a private one of his own, namely, a particular pique againſt Girald. On the twenty-ninth of June 1199, the Chapter went again to election, and without one diſcordant voice, choſe Girald. The day following he paſſed over into Ireland, (where his kinſman Meiler Fitz-Henry was then Lord-Juſtice) in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt among his great relations there, and probably to ſupply himſelf with money to proſecute his claim. Having received promiſes of their aſſiſtance, in leſs than three weeks he returned to St David's, where he was informed, that, during his abſence, the Canons had received a mandate from the Archbiſhop and Juſticiary, to elect and admit Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, for their Biſhop. Girald appealed to the Pope, and the Canons, by letter, requeſted his Holineſs to conſecrate him. Furniſhed with theſe credentials, he took a journey to Rome, where he arrived, about the feaſt of St Andrew, and preſented his letters to the Pope. The Prior of Lhantony was not behind him in ſupporting his intereſt; and he alſo went armed with letters from the Archbiſhop, ſtuffed, as Girald ſays (*x*), with nothing but calumnies and lies. All the letters being read, and the ſuit canvaſſed during the whole winter, the Pope perceived that the cauſe would not ſoon be determined, and therefore to provide in the mean time that the See ſhould receive no detriment, and to give Girald ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, in May 1200, he appointed him Adminiſtrator both in ſpiritualities and temporalities of the biſhoprick of St David's, during the continuance of the litigation, and ſent him home. At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes mentioned in the remark [*Q*]. In the year 1201, about Midlent, he again went to Rome, and finding his ſuit not far advanced, he returned to England before the end of ſummer; and in November 1202, he took his third journey to Rome, where he continued till the fifteenth of April 1203, on which day the Pope gave a definitive ſentence in the cauſe, and vacated both candidates claims, and in Auguſt, Girald returned home to ſollicit a new election. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by him, Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, was elected by the Canons, and Girald, finding it to no purpoſe to withſtand the Archbiſhop's weight, deſiſted from all further pretences to the See of St David's, and ſoon after reſigned the archdeaconry of Brechin, to a nephew of his called William. He ſeems to have ſpent the remainder of his life in a ſtate of inaction, and for the moſt part buried in retirement, where he writ many books, of which the reader may ſee a catalogue below [*R*], partly collected from his own works, and partly from the obſervations and collections

(*x*) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, ut ſupra, where the letters are ſet forth at large.

[*P*] *He made uſe of a memorable ſaying.*] He tells (36) us himſelf the ſaying, namely, *Virum Epiſcopalem peti non petere debere:* —— That a man ought to be courted to accept a Biſhoprick, inſtead of ſuing for it.

(36) De Reb. a ſe Geſtis, Lib. iii. cap. iii.

[*Q*] *At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes mentioned in the remark.*] The treatiſe here mentioned, was that, *De Rebus a ſe Geſtis*; lib. 2. which Ward (37) calls *de Vitâ ſuâ*; lib. 2. There are two reaſons that induce us to think, that the birth of this piece was at the time mentioned. Firſt, As it ſets forth all the great actions in which Girald was concerned, in lively colours, and with no little ſhare of vanity; ſo it ſeems calculated to fortify his intereſt with the Pope, by letting him ſee how fit a man he was to ſerve the Pope's views in point of activity and conſequence, a matter of no mean conſideration with Innocent the third. Secondly, As the book breaks off abruptly juſt at the time, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's letters againſt Girald were read before the Pope, after which he returned to Wales.

(37) Script. p. 115.

[*R*] *The reader may ſee a catalogue of ſuch books he writ after his retirement.*] Several of our author's books are mentioned before in the remarks *I*, *M*, *O*, *Q*, which therefore we ſhall not repeat. The others are theſe, namely.

Epiſtola ad Capitulum Herefordenſe de libris a ſe ſcriptis; — i. e. *An Epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford concerning the books written by himſelf.*

Chronographia Metrica, et Mundi naſcentis Deſcriptiuncula; — i. e. *A Chronology in Metre, or a Deſcription of the growing World.*

Coſmographia pentametris verſibus exornata; — i. e. *A Coſmography embelliſhed with pentameter verſes.* —— Bale calls this piece Coſmographia Mundi, lib. I.

Eccleſiæ Speculum, five de Monaſticis Ordinibus ex Eccleſiaſticis Religionibus variis Diſtinctionum, Lib. IV — — i. e. *The Mirror of the Church, or four books of Diſtinctions concerning Monaſtick Orders, or Eccleſiaſtical Religious.* ——— Mr Wharton (38) ſays, 'That 'Girald bore an immortal hatred to the Monks, inſo- 'much that to his Litany he added this deprecation;— 'A Monachorum malitiâ, libera nos Domine — *From 'the malice of the Monks, good Lord deliver us*;— 'which he uſed in his daily prayers, and adviſed his 'friends to do the like; and in all his writings he 'takes a delight in railing at their hypocriſy, frauds, 'and ignorance. But he took three years in compiling 'his Speculum, that he might to the full indulge his 'ſpleen againſt the Monks, and lay an eternal brand 'of infamy on them.' Bale has given us the title of Eccleſiæ Speculum; but then has formed two other tracts out of it (viz.) de Monachis et Clericis, lib. I. and de Ciſtertientium Nequitus, lib. I.

(38) Pref. to Angl. Sacra. p. xx.

Librum de Invectionibus; — i. e. *A Book of Invectives*; — which Bale calls, *Invectiones Triennales*, alluding to his three years journies to Rome, in each of which it is not improbable, but that Archbiſhop Hubert

collections of Mr Wharton; and though he lived till after the year 1220, yet we do not find that he engaged in any publick buſineſs, except that in the year 1215, he was offered his favourite biſhoprick of St David's, upon ſome terms that he looked upon as unreaſonable, and therefore rejected it. The time of his death is not mentioned by any author that we know of. Bale (y), in giving his character, deſcribes his perſon as particularly as if he had been his intimate acquaintance. ——— 'Adoleſcens ſaturâ procerus, facie & formâ nitidus, &c. —— *A young man tall of ſtature, and of a delicate 'form and countenance.*' It is more certain that he was a man of learning, and of conſiderable addreſs and merit; but that his other good qualities were much tarniſhed by an exceſſive vanity; and whoever reads his works cannot but ſee, that he was either extremely credulous

(y) Cent. III. 4to, 60.

Hubert wrote ſharp letters againſt him, to which this book of invectives was an anſwer. Bale multiplies theſe invectives in his catalogue, and thereby makes Girald the author of another book called, Ad Invectiones Huberti, lib. 1. which manifeſtly is the ſame with the former, In another place (*) our author enlarges his former title, and ſhews therein the cauſe of his writing it. Thus he calls it, Liber Invectionum Romæ in Giraldum acriter inchoatus, et ibidem ab ipſo, Papa monente, in pleno Conſiſtorio ad injurias reſpondente, et objecta crimina non incompetenter evacuante pariter et refundante; nec non et utilia quædam adjiciente conſummatus. — i. e. *A book of Invectives ſeverely ſet on foot at Rome againſt Girald, and by the advice of the Pope, an anſwer given in a full Conſiſtory to the injuries and crimes objected; wherein the ſame are ſufficiently retorted and confuted, and ſome other uſeful things added.*

(*) Cambrenſis Catal. brev. Libr. ſuorum in Angl. ſacra, Vol. II. p. 445.

Epiſtolas: — Theſe are what Bale calls Remordentes Epiſtolas; and he has ſome reaſon for it. Becauſe our author ſays (39), that to his Speculum Duorum he hath added, Epiſtolas paucas ad injurias illatas reſpondentes ac remordentes, quaſi querulum carmen.

(39) Epiſt. ad Com. Hereford.

Symbolum Electorum, ſive Epiſtolæ variæ a ſemet ipſo collectæ. In his ſunt plures invectivæ adverſus Wibertum, Abbatem de Bethleſdene, ordinis Ciſtertienſis, Epiſtola prolixa ad Petrum Menevenſem Epiſcopum de officio Epiſcopi; altera ad Adamum, Abbatem Eveſhemenſem de laude amicitiæ, et alia. — i. e. *A collection of pieces, or various Epiſtles collected by himſelf. In which are many invectives againſt Wibert, Abbot of Bethleſdene, a Ciſtertian Monk; a prolix Epiſtle to Peter, Biſhop of St David's, concerning the office of a Biſhop; another to Adam, Abbot of Eveſham in praiſe of friendſhip, and other things.*

Speculum Duorum, Commonitorium et Conſolatorium, et quod ſola peperit indignatio, quaſi querulum carmen emiſſum. — i. e. *A double Mirror, Commonitory and Conſolatory, ſet forth in the form of a querulous copy of verſes, produced by indignation alone.* Bale makes two ſeparate books of this one, which conſiſts of two parts.

Liber de Principis Inſtructione; — i. e. *A Book for the Inſtruction of a Prince*; in three diſtinctions.

Dialogum; i. e. *A Dialogue.* This ſingle Dialogue Bale has enlarged into a volume, intituled Dialogos Proſaicos, lib. 1. and indeed it may be well called a volume, if (as is highly probable) it be the ſame tract, which is called, Liber de Geſtis Giraldi laborioſiſſimis, Menevenſi Eccleſiæ futuris fortè diebus perneceſſarius; — i. e. *A Book of the moſt laborious actions of Girald, which in future times may be very neceſſary for the Church of Menevia*; written in the form of a dialogue between *Quærens* and *Solvens*; from whence Bale takes occaſion to father on him a treatiſe, de Quærente et Solvente, lib. 1. but it is the ſame with the dialogue de Jure Statûs Menevenſis Eccleſiæ, divided into ſeven diſtinctions.

De fidei orthodoxæ fructu, Fideique defectu. —— i. e. *Of the advantages of the orthodox Faith, and of the failing of Faith.*

Vita S. Ædelberti Martyris Herefordenſis egregii, S. David, S. Caradoci, loci ejuſdem Heremitæ nobilis et Preſbyteri, S. Remigii, Lincolnienſis Epiſcopi primi, et S. Hugonis, ſedis ejuſdem Epiſcopi. — i. e. *The life of St Ædelbert, the excellent Martyr of Hereford, the life of St David, the life of St Caradoc, a noble Hermit and Prieſt of the ſame place; the life of St Remigius, the firſt Biſhop of Lincoln; the life of St Hugo, Biſhop of the ſame.* In the ſhort catalogue he gives (40) of his own works, he intitles this piece, de Legendis Sanctorum; i. e. *of the Legends of the Saints*, and then enumerates the foregoing lives.

(40) Wharton, as before.

Topographia Cambriæ, et tam terræ quam morum gentis illius compendioſa deſcriptio; cujus in fine ſatis ſuccinctus ac dilucidus, tam Retractationum Tractatus, quam librorum noſtrorum catalogus non incompetenter eſt appoſitus. —— i. e. *A Topography of Wales, and a compendious deſcription of both the land and cuſtoms of that nation; to which is added, a Treatiſe of Retractations ſuccinct and clear enough, and a catalogue of our books is not incompetently annexed.* This is the title Girald himſelf gives. Bale divides this Topography into four books; but it conſiſts only of two, the firſt of which intituled, de Laudabilibus Cambrorum; — i. e. *of the Praiſes of the Welch*, was publiſhed by David Powell with annotations; but the ſecond intituled, de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum, out of zeal to his country, was left by him unpubliſhed; which omiſſion has been ſince ſupplied by Mr Wharton (41), and intituled, Giraldi Cambrenſis liber ſecundus, de Deſcriptione Walliæ, ſeu liber de Illaudibilibus Walliæ; — i. e. *The ſecond book of the Deſcription of Wales written by Girald Cambrenſis, or a book of the Diſpraiſes of Wales.* In ten chapters. This book eſcaped the induſtry of Sir James Ware (42), who unjuſtly imputes it as an invention of Bale, that Girald wrote de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum.

(41) Ibid. p. xxi. Pref.

(42) De Scriptor. p. 117.

Retractationes: — Catalogus librorum ſuorum, mentioned under the foregoing head.

Epiſtola ad Stephanum Langton, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarenſem; — i. e. *An Epiſtle to Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the purport of which is to adviſe him not to reſign his See.

Epiſtola ad Willielmum Vere Epiſcopum Herefordenſem; ſee before under remark [*I*].

Carmen de Miſeriâ conditionis humanæ. — i. e. *A copy of verſes on the Miſery of man's condition.* It begins with *Unde ſuperbit homo.*

Liber Carminum et Epigrammatum. — i. e. *A book of Verſes and Epigrams.*

De Proëmiis operum ſuorum. — i. e. *Of the Prefaces to his own works.* This piece is mentioned in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford.

Epiſtolas et Dictamina ad varias perſonas variis temtemporibus deſtinata, lib. 1.

Rhetoricas Orationes; theſe were diſperſed through his other works as they were occaſionally written.

De Dictis Quatuor, per totidem diſtinctas particulas artificioſè contextas, ſicut delectabile, ſic et opus non inutile compaginare curavit: — ſays he in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford. This treatiſe contained a collection of the four immediately preceding pieces.

Bale, who upon many occaſions was fond of multiplying the works of writers, has been liberal to Girald, and has aſcribed many treatiſes to him, which nobody elſe ever dreamed of, ſome of which have been obſerved before, as they occurred in the remarks. Among the ſpurious pieces, are the Topographia Britanniæ Primæ, lib. 4. — Relationem Dormientium, lib. 1. — In Opera quædam Senecæ, lib. 1. — De Planctu Lachrymabili, lib. 1. — Pro reddenda Talione, lib. 1. — It is probable this is another title for his Liber de Invectionibus, the ſubject being the ſame, and contains returns to the Archbiſhop's invective letters againſt him. — Acta Regis Johannis, lib. 1. — De Avibus et earum naturis, lib. 1. This is manifeſtly a part of his Topography of Ireland. — Querulum Carmen. — the ſame as his Speculum Duorum. — De Floſculis Philoſophicis. — De Mahumeto et ejus nequitiis, lib. 1. — Pro Guidone Warwicenſi, lib. 1. —Prerogativarum Computum, lib. 1. — De Mundi Mirabilibus, lib. 1. — Deſcriptiones Magnorum Virorum: — i. e. *the Characters of Great Men.* — are certainly a part of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Ireland.

credulous or diſhoneſt, in endeavouring to impoſe manifeſt falſhoods on the world for truths.

(43) Append. ad Geſner. Biblioth. Ware, de Script. p. 117.

Joſias Simler (43) erroneouſly aſcribes to Girald, a book de Viſi-Saxonum Regibus, lib. 1. And another called Anglorum Chronicon, lib. 1. But he was led aſtray by the firſt edition of Bale's writers of Britain; for they are not mentioned in the ſecond. — The books alſo Demonâ Inſulâ, and de Vitâ S. Patricii, which are extant in manuſcript in the publick library at Cambridge, are none of his; though ſome have made a handle from their being mentioned by Dr. Thomas James in his Eclogâ Oxonio-Cantabrigienſi to aſcribe them to Girald. But that writer only enumerates them as bound together in one volume with ſome works of Girald. D

BARRY (JAMES) Lord Baron of Santry. The family of the Barrys were originally Welch, ſeated in Pembrokeſhire, and deſcended from the Princes of that country by a female line. Several of them paſſed into Ireland among the firſt adventurers in 1169 [*A*], of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Barry (*a*) [*B*], commonly called Cambrenſis, who was of the ſame family. Camden (*b*) makes this Robert an Engliſhman, meaning, it may be preſumed, that he was born within the allegiance of the King of England, to whom the Princes of Wales paid homage, and to underſtand that careful writer in any other ſenſe, would be to detract from his ſkill in genealogy, of which indiſputably he was a great maſter; and yet it may be doubted, whether one ſmall error in relation to this family of the Barrys ſettled in Ireland may not be imputed to him [*C*]. It is certain therefore, that Robert de Barry was a Cambro-Briton, and nephew to Robert Fitz-Stephen, who firſt invaded Ireland in aid of Dermod Mac-Murrough, King of Leinſter, a year or two before Earl Strongbow's arrival. From which of the four branches mentioned in the remark (*A*), the gentleman, who is now our ſubject, is deſcended, muſt be left to the Heralds to trace; but both his father and grandfather were bred to merchandiſe in the city of Dublin, by which they not only acquired a conſiderable eſtate, but alſo enjoyed, and with ſufficiency executed, the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city [*D*]; which his father repreſented more than once in Parliament. He educated this his ſon in the ſtudy of the Law, who did not diſappoint his expectations: for being called to the bar, he practiſed in his profeſſion for ſeveral years, with great reputation and ſucceſs. In 1629, the King thought him a proper perſon on whom to confer the office of his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law (*c*), for the kingdom of Ireland, at a yearly fee of twenty pounds ten ſhillings, ſterling, and in as full a manner, as the ſame office was granted before to Sir John Brereton, Knt. This was a prelude only to his future advancement. For the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, found him in this poſt when he firſt arrived Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon diſcovered his abilities, and took him under his protection. His Excellency laid hold of the firſt opportunity he had to promote him; and accordingly on the fifth of Auguſt 1634, he obtained a grant (*d*) of the office of Second Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland, to hold during pleaſure, with ſuch fees, rewards, and profits, as Sir Robert Ogelthorpe, Sir Lawrence Parſons, Sir Gerard Lowther, or any other Second Baron did or ought to receive; and he ſoon after received the honour of knighthood. He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another,

(*a*) Expugn. Hib. Lib. i. cap. iv.

(*b*) Brit. N. edit. P. 1339.

(*c*) In Offic. Rot. Hib. 6th. Octob. 5 Car. I.

(*d*) Pat. in Offic. Rot. Canc. Hib. 5 Aug. 10 Car. I.

[*A*] *Several of the Barrys paſſed into Ireland in* 1169.] We read in hiſtory of four principal adventurers of the name of Barry, who arrived in Ireland upon the firſt invaſion undertaken by Robert Fitz-Stephens, namely, 1. Robert Barry the elder. 2. Robert Barry the younger. 3. Philip Barry, and 4. Walter Barry; beſides Girald Barry (1) the Hiſtorian, an Eccleſiaſtick, who went thither in Earl John's retinue in the year 1210.

(1) *See the preceding article.*

[*B*] *Of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Cambrenſis*] The character Cambrenſis gives of Robert de Barry is this, 'That he was a 'young gentleman ambitious rather to be really great 'than to ſeem ſo, was by nature both noble and 'valiant, and could not bear either to glorify his own 'actions, or to hear others do it. That he was of a 'ſedate, ſtayed courage, one whom no ſudden miſ-'adventure could terrify, was always ready at his 'arms, forward in battle, and the firſt that received a 'wound in the conqueſt of Ireland.'

[*C*] *Whether one error in relation to the Barrys may not be imputed to Camden*] Camden makes Robert de Barry the anceſtor of the family of Barry-mor, or Barry the great (one of whom was created Baron Barry, afterwards Viſcount Buttevant, and they are now Earls of Barrymore). Whereas it is ſtrongly to be preſumed that that branch of the family are deſcended from Philip de Barry, to whom his uncle, Robert Fitz-Stephen, made large grants in the county of Cork, which that family enjoy to this day, as appears from from King John's Charter of confirmation (2). For then (ſays the Charter) 'Johannes Rex confirmavit Wil-'lielmo de Barry donationem quam Robertus Filius 'Stephani fecit Philippo de Barry, (ejus et ſorore ne-'poti) patri ejuſdem Willielmi, cujus hæres ipſe fuit 'de tribus Cantredis in terra ſua de Corcaiâ, ſcilicet 'Olethan, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, et aliis duo-'bus, ſcilicet, Muſcherie Dunegan, et Cantredo de 'Killede, per ſervitium decem militum, ſicut charta 'prædicti Roberti, quam inde habebat teſtabatur.—— '*King John (ſays the Charter) confirmed to William* '*de Barry, the donation which Robert Fitz-Stephen* '*made to Philip de Barry, his ſiſter's ſon, father of* '*the ſaid William, whoſe heir he is, of three Cantreds,* '*or hundreds, in his land of Cork; namely, Olethan* '*with all his appurtenances, and two others, namely* '*Muſcry-Dunnagan, and the Cantred of Killede, to* '*hold by the ſervice of ten Knights, as the ſaid Ro-*'*bert's charter, in the hands of the ſaid William,* '*teſtifies.*'

(2) Pat. in Rot. tur. Birmingham de anno nono Johan.

[*D*] *His father and grand-father enjoyed the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city.*] His grand-father, James Barry, was one of the Sheriffs (3) of the city of Dublin in 1577. His father, Richard Barry, was alſo Sheriff (4) of the ſame city in 1604, and Mayor thereof in 1610. He likewiſe ſerved as Member of Parliament (5) for the city in 1613, with his colleague, Sir Richard Bolton, Recorder; and again in 1634 (6), with Serjeant Catelin, who was the King's Serjeant, Recorder, and Speaker of the ſame Parliament. Lord Wentworth ſpeaks of him to Mr Secretary Coke in terms of reſpect, and as a good Proteſtant.

(3) Archives in the chamber of the city of Dublin, MS.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Liſt. of Members, MS.

(6) Strafford's Letters, 24 June, 1634.

[*E*] *He*

another [*E*], and it was meerly the fruit of the Lord Wentworth's friendſhip, of which he had occaſion ſoon after of making a publick acknowledgment [*F*], and of doing juſtice to his patron's merit. In the mad times that followed in the year 1640, when the Parliament of Ireland were upon the point of ſending over a Committee of their body to England, to impeach the Earl of Strafford, he joined all his weight and intereſt with Sir James Ware (*e*), and other moderate members of the Houſe of Commons, to oppoſe thoſe meaſures; though the torrent was ſo violent, that all he or his party could do to ſtop it was vain and fruitleſs, and he had nothing left him but prayers to avert the fate of his noble friend. Times of diſtraction and confuſion afford only few opportunities to gentlemen of the long robe, to diſplay their talents in; the gown upon ſuch occaſions muſt give way to the ſword, and therefore we hear little of our Baron during the long courſe of the rebellion, till a little before the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in the year 1660, when he was appointed Chairman of the Convention, which voted his Majeſty's Reſtoration without any previous conditions, in which Revolution no doubt he was uſeful; ſince we find his Majeſty took his merit into conſideration in a very ſhort time after. For on the ſeventeenth of November that year, the King iſſued a privy-ſeal (*f*), for advancing him to the office of Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench in Ireland, and another (*g*) on the eighteenth of December following, in conſideration of his eminent fidelity and zeal, ſhewn in his Majeſty's ſervice, for creating him Lord Baron of Santry in the kingdom of Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body, and ſeparate patents (*h*) accordingly paſſed on the eighth of February enſuing, and he was preſently after called unto the Privy-Council. He died ſome time in March 1672, and was buried in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, having left behind him iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title [*G*].

(*e*) Autographa Jacob. Ware.

(*f*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 17 Nov. 12 Car. II.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

[*E*] *He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another.*] This recommendation was from Dr Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in behalf of Mr Chadwick. Lord Wentworth takes notice of it in a letter (7) to his Grace of Canterbury at that time. 'Your Grace (ſays 'he) recommends unto me Mr Chadwick, in your 'letter of the 23d of June, for a ſecond Baron's place 'in the Exchequer: But I had, with the advice of the 'Chief Baron, promiſed it before to Serjeant Barry, 'the King's Serjeant, ſo as I could not with honeſty 'recall it. Beſides, Mr Chadwick is not held here ſo 'fit as yet for the Bench; nay, the Chief Baron has 'has a very mean opinion of his judgment in his own 'profeſſion. But I will be anſwerable to your Grace, 'he ſhall be by me effectually remembred in virtue of 'your Lordſhip's recommendation, at one time or 'other, and as ſoon as ever any occaſion ſhall preſent 'itſelf.'

(7) Strafford's Letters, 23 Aug. 1634.

[*F*] *Of which favour he had occaſion ſoon after to make a publick acknowledgment.*] This acknowledgment appears in a book he publiſhed in the year 1637, intituled, *The Caſe of Tenures upon the Commiſſion of defective Titles, argued by all the Judges of Ireland, with the Reſolution and the Reaſons of their Reſolution.* Dublin 1637, folio; ibid. 1725, 12mo. In the report of this caſe he diſplays his own abilities in the Law, and in the dedication of it to the Lord Strafford, he acquaints the world with his gratitude to his patron in terms very full and expreſſive: 'This work, (ſays he) 'my Lord, is your's by more than one intereſt, and 'therefore it returns naturally unto you; for to lay 'aſide my particular reſpects (it being by your Lordſhip's favour that I ſerve his Majeſty in this place) you are '*Pater Patriæ*, and not more ſo by your office, than 'by your love to this nation, and your moſt equal, 'and indifferent diſpenſation of juſtice, (next under 'his Majeſty) the father of this Church and Common-'wealth: And for whom can an oblation of this na-'ture be more proper? Beſides, all that is here, as it 'was at firſt ſpoken, in an humble obedience to your 'Lordſhip's order, ſo it was after upon a noble invi-'tation from you digeſted into this form, and it is now 'made publick by your commandment; ſo that in all 'the paſſages of it, it carries your image, your ſuper-'ſcription, and therefore by this dedication, I do not 'ſo much give it, as reſtore it. If there be any thing 'in it, that is mine, that anſwers your expectation, 'even in that, that it anſwers your expectation, I 'have my reward; for all that are below your Lord-'ſhip, I hope it ſhall have their uſe, to ſatisfy them 'that your Lordſhip's proceedings in this buſineſs have 'been in all points agreeable both to honour and 'juſtice, &c.'

[*G*] *Having left iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title.*] He married Catherine, daughter to Sir William Parſons of Bellamont in the county of Dublin, Baronet, one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in the year 1640, and anceſtor to the Earl of Roſs; and by her had iſſue Richard, Lord Santry, the father of Henry, Lord Santry, who by Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Domville of Temple-Oge, Baronet, and half ſiſter to the preſent Sir Compton Domville, had iſſue Henry, Lord Santry, who unfortunately forfeited the title. D

BARRY (GERAT) a gentleman deſcended from the noble family of Barrymore, Earls of that title in Ireland, as he tells us himſelf in a book of his writing, mentioned in the remarks [*A*]. He ſerved many years with reputation as an inferior officer in the armies of the King of Spain, in Germany and the Low-Countries, being (as we apprehend) of the Popiſh religion, from the circumſtance of his not being employed at home; and in the Spaniſh ſervice he never roſe higher than to the office of a Captain of foot, few foreigners in that age obtaining conſiderable poſts, at leaſt he ſtiles himſelf only Captain in the title of his book, which was in the library of Dr King, late Archbiſhop of Dublin, and is now in the Dioceſan library at Caſhell; a ſcarce piece, but of little intrinſick value. What became of the author, or when he died, I know not, having met with no account of him, but in his own Preface; but of whatever ſufficiency he was in the army, he ſeems to have been very ignorant in other reſpects, not being able even to ſpell in the manner uſed in his time; of which his title-page and the whole work are manifeſt proofs.

[*A*] *A book of his writing mentioned in the remarks.*] The title of the book here referred to is as follows. A Diſcourſe of Military Diſcipline, divided into three bookes, declaringe the Partes and Sufficiencie ordained in a private Souldier, and in each Officer ſerving in the Infanterie, till the Election and Office of the Captain-Generall; and the laſt booke treatinge of Fire-Wourks of rare Executions by Sea and Lande; as alſo of Firtifaſions. Compoſed by Captain Gerat Barry Iriſh. Bruſſels 1634, folio. Dedicated to David, Earl of Barrymore. D

BARRY (LODOWICK) a gentleman of Iriſh birth, flouriſhed in England about the middle of the reign of King James I; and, it ſeems, muſt have been a man of ſome figure, ſince Anthony Wood (*a*) is pleaſed to complement him with the title of Lord Barry, which is certainly a miſtake; nor would we think him worth introducing into this work, but to correct that error. Mr Langbaine (*b*) ranks him among the dramatick poets, and makes him the author, as well as Anthony Wood (*c*) does, of a Comedy, intituled, *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, Printed at London, 1611, acted by the children of the King's revels, before the year 1611, but printed that year. Some have aſcribed this Play to Philip Maſſenger; but the author (*d*) above quoted clears that miſtake. The plot in this Play of Will. Smalſhanks decoying the widow Taffeta into marriage, is the ſame with that in Killigrew's *Parſon's Wedding*, and both taken from the *Engliſh Rogue* (*e*), where a ſervant is introduced decoying his miſtreſs into a wedding, by bribing the city muſick to play under her window, and wiſh her joy of her marriage, when at the ſame time he appeared at the window of her bed-chamber in his ſhirt, and threw them money. D

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 629.

(*b*) Engliſh Dramatick Poets.

(*c*) Athen. ibid.

(*d*) Athen. ibid.

(*e*) Part iv. cap. xix.

BARTON (ELIZABETH) (*a*) when or where born we do not find, 'tis more than probable ſhe was of no great extraction or family, ſince we firſt meet with her in the character of a ſervant to one Thomas Knob of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1525, in whoſe ſervice, and much about which time, ſhe firſt began her pranks (*b*): for being troubled with hyſterical fits, and the uſual ſymptoms of riſings in her throat, faintings, deliria, &c. which ſtrangely diſtorted her limbs, and threw her body into very unuſual agitations; it was no difficult matter in an age of credulity and ſuperſtition, to make people believe, there was ſomething more in her fits than a bare paroxyſm of the diſeaſe (*c*), and ſhe accordingly become the object of their wonder and ſurprize: thus her ſtrange fits and odd geſticulations, together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination [*A*], ſoon ſpread her fame abroad, and made people believe ſhe was really inſpired of God. This affair coming to the ears of Maſters, the parſon of Aldington, he immediately reſolved to ſet her up for a propheteſs, in hopes perhaps thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church (though the event turned out directly the contrary) [*B*]: this, or at leaſt the hopes of making his chapel famous, that he might reap thereby the advantages of pilgrimages, offerings, &c. (*d*) made him very ready to contribute to, and carry on the impoſture. To this end his firſt care was, to adviſe her to pretend (or at leaſt to perſuade her to believe) ſhe had a ſupernatural impulſe, and that what ſhe ſaid was truly prophetic: for when her fits were over, and ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in them, Maſters, the Prieſt, took care it ſhould not go ſo, but perſuaded her, all ſhe had ſaid was of the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe ought publickly to confeſs it was ſo (*e*); this diſtemper holding her for ſome time, ſhe had thereby an opportunity (as it were by daily habit and experience) of attaining ſuch perfection in counterfeiting her fits, that when cured, ſhe could ſo exactly imitate them, as would have deceived any body, ſo ready and expert was ſhe at it, to which her own application and obſervance, and the diligent tuition of her preceptors, *Maſters* and other Monks and Friars, did not a little contribute (*f*): For having by her art brought the fit upon her, ſhe would lie as it were in a trance for ſome time, then coming to herſelf, (after many ſtrange grimaces and odd geſticulations) ſhe would break out into devout ejaculations, hymns, and prayers, ſometimes delivering herſelf in ſet ſpeeches, ſometimes in uncouth monkiſh rhymes, pretending to propheſy, and that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions,

(*a*) Stapleton calls her *Anne Berton*, Vita Th. Mori, p. 281. Several other authors call her *Berton*, but none elſe *Anne*.

(*b*) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. *Thomas Cobbs*. Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24.

(*c*) Godwin's Annals, 1534. Fox's Martyrs, p. 333. Hollinſhed's and Speed's Chronicles.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 150.

(*e*) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. See her Speech.

(*f*) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 86. Hall's Chron. p. 220. Hollinſhed's Chr. Vol. I. p. 936. Burnet, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination.*] It happening, that a child of her maſter's, that was ſick in the cradle by her, being near death, juſt as ſhe was come out of one of her fits; ſhe aſked, with great pain and groaning, whether it were dead or not? And hearing it was alive, ſhe ſaid it would die anon; which words were ſcarce out of her mouth, but the child fetched a deep ſigh and died; as might be naturally ſuggeſted without any great ſkill in divination (1): This ſucceſs however, ſimple as it was, together with her odd fits, ſoon ſet her up for a Propheteſs: For a little while after this, ſhe took upon her to tell things that were done at church, court, and other diſtant places, where ſhe could not be preſent, or have any apparent information; nay ſo low did her divinations deſcend, that ſhe would alſo tell in particular on any night, what meat the Hermit of that chapel had for his ſupper, and many other things told ſhe concerning him, to the great admiration of thoſe about her; delivering her ſpeeches, as ſhe lay immoveable, and as it were dead, all which ſhe ſeemed (by ſigns that ſhe gave) moſt lively to behold, as it were with her eyes ——— See more of her pretended miracles in note [*C*].

(1) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. See alſo a Pamphlet (called *A New-Year's Gift*, dedicated to the Pope's Holineſs, and all Catholicks addicted to the See of Rome, 1579, 4*to*, which contains about thirteen pages, about this Holy Maid,) in *Bibliotheca Mediі Templi*, Vol. LXXXVIII, of Miſcellan. Tracts, No. 12.

[*B*] *In hopes thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church, though the event turned out directly the contrary.*] For the foulneſs and wicked deſigns of this impoſture ſays Burnet (2), did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people; inſomuch that it was generally believed, or at leaſt leaſt ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles, by which religious orders had raiſed their credit ſo high, were of the ſame nature; on which account, it was not a little inſtrumental in making way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England, tho' all the ſeverity which at that time followed on it, was that the Obſervant Friars at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcaſtle*, were removed out of their houſes, and put with the other Grey Friars, and Auguſtin Friars were put in their houſes (3). ——— This however, was the firſt that provoked the King againſt the regular Clergy, and drew after it all the ſeverities that were done in the reſt of this reign, and not undeſervedly; for had it fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after viſions, the King might have loſt his crown by it *.

(2) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 153.

(3) Stowe, p. 570.

* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

[*C*] *Saying*

visions, heard heavenly voices and melody, and had the revelations of many things, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, &c. [C] declaiming against the wickedness of the times, and evil life, in no bad manner; and was always particularly vehement against Heresy and innovations, exhorting to frequent the church, to hear masses, to use frequent confession, and to pray to our Lady and all Saints, and to all the superstitions of the Romish Church. The artful management of this imposture, together with her pretended piety, virtue, and austerity of life, gained her undoubted credit to all she said; the common people looking on her with a kind of reverence, as a person truly inspired of God, and not only the commonalty were deceived, but several learned men of uncommon understanding, and persons of great characters were wrought upon to give credit to her pretended revelations (g). Among the rest was Sir Thomas More, and Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who are by some reported (though falsely) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her [D]; as also Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; to whom Masters having set this holy Nun off in an extraordinary manner, by relating her pretended revelations, divinations, and long speeches (h), Warham ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new trances, &c. she might afterwards fall in; to whom was joined Dr Bocking a Canon of Christ-Church in Canterbury, and Mr Hadley and Barnes, two Monks of the same place, together with Father Lewis his official of Canterbury (i), and others, as commissioners to examine

(g) Cotta's Trya' of Witchcraft, p. 64.

(h) Hall's Chron. fol. 219.

(i) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 150.

[C] *Saying that she had been honoured by God with many strange visions, and heard heavenly voices and melody, and that she had the revelations of many things to come, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory,* &c.] In her trances she would often say, that she would *go home*; and sometimes when she came out of them, that *she had been at home*; and being asked where her *home* was; she said it was in Heaven, where St Michael weighed souls, and St Peter carried the keys; and where she had the company of our Lady of Court of Strete, who had commanded her, to offer a taper up to her in her chapel, and that then she would immediately be cured; discovering great pleasure in the thoughts of being talked of for the miracles: Saying, our Lady would show more miracles there shortly, and *that if any one should chance to depart this life suddenly, or by mischance, or in deadly sin; if they vowed heartily to our good Lady at* Court of Strete, *they should be restored to life again, to receive shrift and housell, and should after depart this life with God's blessing* (4).

(4) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 24. Also the Pamphlet, as quoted in note [A].

It was also given out that she had much conversation with, and many revelations from, *Mary Magdalen*, who gave her a letter that was wrote in Heaven, which was shewed to many, being wrote in golden characters; this was however afterwards found to be wrote by one Haukherst, a Monk of Canterbury (5).

(5) Hall's Chron. p. 220.

She pretended also to be present at Henry the VIII's interview with the French King at Calais, and that God being displeased with King Henry, an angel, when he was at mass, took away the sacrament out of the Priest's hand invisibly, as he was going to administer it to the King, and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she was immediately wafted over sea again to her monastery, as she had been carried from it (6).

(6) Hall's Chron. The Pope's New Year's Gift, by B. G. Citizen of London, as before in note [A].

In the chapel of St Giles in the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, she is said to have been particularly honoured by God with the sight of heavenly lights, the sound of celestial voices and melody, and sensation of unspeakable joys; to which chapel, she, by the peculiar command of God, is said oftentimes to have resorted (especially by night) to receive visions and revelations, the door of the dormitory, opening itself to her by the power of God, and not only to her, but to Dr Bocking and some others; however, her stealing forth of the dormitory by night, (which she did four or five times a week) was at last found not to be for spiritual business, nor to receive revelations of God, but rather for bodily communication and pleasure with her friends, who could not have so good leisure and opportunity with her in the day (7). ———

(7) Hall's Chron. Pamphlet, ibid.

The books and papers wrote about her, mentioned the devil's having appeared to her, and tempted her in diverse forms and fashions, sometimes like a man wantonly dressed, &c. sometimes like a deformed bird, and sometimes in other shapes (8). ———

(8) Hall's Chron. See Sir Thomas More's conversation with her, in note [K].

One of her prophesies or revelations was, that there was *a root with three branches*, and till they were plucked up, it should never be merry with England, interpreting the root to be the late Lord Cardinal, the first branch the King, the second, the Duke of Norfolk, and the third, the Duke of Suffolk (9). ——

(9) Hall's Chron.

[D] *Among the rest were Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, who are by some reported (though falsly) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her.*] Sanders (10) has the following paragraph, 'Quam fœminam, cum inter cæteros *Roffensis* & *Morus* 'diligenter examinâssent, confessi sunt se nullo indicio 'deprehendere potuisse, eam fanatico spiritu (quod in 'ejus invidiam tunc spargebatur) agitatam fuisse: Unde 'et ipsi in suspicionem, apud Regem venerunt, quod 'cum illa sentirent, &c.—*Which woman (speaking of 'the Holy Maid of Kent) when, among the rest, Bishop* 'Fisher *and* More *had carefully examined, they confessed, 'that they could not by any sign or token find out, that she 'was possessed by a fanatical spirit, (as was then re-'ported in her dispraise) upon which they themselves, as 'agreeing with her in sentiments, became suspected by 'the King*, &c.' Stapleton (11) in his life of Sir Thomas More is still stronger in this respect; his words are these, 'Hujus rei invidia in Thomam Morum, qui 'illam jussu Regis examinaverat, devolvitur, quod præ-'ter examinationis tempora, secreto cum ipsam contu-'lerit; quodque literas ad eam miserat, ab eâque ac-'ceperit: Jamque adeo accusatur, &c. — *The blame of 'this affair turned chiefly on Sir Thomas More, who 'having examined her by the King's command, did never-'theless, after the time of examination was over, hold 'private conferences with her, writing and receiving 'letters from her, for which reason*, &c.' Both these authors, but especially the last quoted, make Sir Thomas, as one among the rest, appointed by the King to examine her and her associates in this affair: But this seems highly improbable, for in the first place, we find no other circumstances in history to corroborate it; and in the next place, Sir Thomas, in his long letter of justification to Cromwell (in note *K*) tells us, the manner of his being brought acquainted with her, the several conferences, &c. he had with herself and her accomplices about her; but throughout all his letters in no way intimates any command he ever had to visit her, or inspect into the affair, which had it been true, besides being too material a point to be omitted by inadvertency, would have been too good an excuse, to have been passed by in silence; nay, the passage marked with an asterism thus *, in his long letter (note *K*) indicates directly the contrary: — In this letter he acknowledges he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard he had to her prophesies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holiness and humility; but he adds (12) that he was then convinced, that she was the most false, dissembling hypocrite, that had been known; and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy, and deviliish dissembled falshood; he also believed that she had communication with an evil spirit, and had, we find by his other letters, as well as this, a very mean opinion of her, looking on her as a weak woman, and in discourse with his beloved daughter Roper, he commonly called her the *Silly Nun* (13): ——— And Fisher disowned her when the cheat was discovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before (14): See note [F] for Fisher's opinion of her, &c

(10) De Schismate Anglicano, lib. i. p. 106, 167.

(11) Tres Thomæ Vitæ — In Vita Thomæ Mori, per Stapleton, p. 281.

(12) Burnet's Abridgment of the Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 115. See his letter in note [K].

(13) Roper's Letter in Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1435.

(14) Burnet's Errors and Falsehoods of Sanders's Book of English Schism.

examine further into this affair (*k*). However, for all this piece of outward ceremony, Warham (as he was a violent, perſecuting Papiſt) was not a little ſuſpected, with ſome others, to have countenanced this impoſture underhand. And if he was not really privy to the contrivance, he muſt have been moſt egregiouſly impoſed on. For Fiſher, in his letter of excuſe to Cromwell (*l*), ſeems to throw the chief of his credit or belief in this affair, upon the teſtimonies and accounts he received from Warham; his words are theſe: 'Finally, my Lord of Canterbury, that then was both her Ordinary, and a man reputed 'of high wiſdom and learning, told me that ſhe had many great viſions; and of him I 'learned greater things, than ever I heard of the nun herſelf, &c.' (*) Maſters, and the reſt (thus commiſſioned by Archbiſhop Warham) finding her upon examination a ſtanch Catholick, that they might reap ſome benefit from the noiſe her inſpiration and revelations had made in the world, inſtructed her to ſay, in her counterfeit trances, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and that ſhe never could recover, till ſhe went and viſited her image, in the famous chapel that was dedicated to her, and was called the Chapel of our Lady, of *Court of Strete* (†). Accordingly, the day being made publick that ſhe intended to go and viſit the image of the Virgin, a mob of above 3000 people gathered together to attend her there, as did likewiſe ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, and the hopeful commiſſioners made a part of the ſolemn proceſſion (*m*). At her entrance ſhe was ſaluted in a hymn, with *Ave Regina Cœlorum*; when ſhe came before the image of our Lady, ſhe fell down before it in one of her trances, delivering therein rhymes, ſpeeches, &c. all tending to the honour of that Saint, and the Popiſh religion (*n*): ſhe wiſhed alſo that there was a ſinging Prieſt to attend the chapel; and ſaid, that ſhe herſelf was by the inſpiration of God called to be a Religious; and that it was alſo the will of our Lady, that Bocking ſhould be her Ghoſtly Father, but there were violent ſuſpicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was her carnal as well as ſpiritual Father (*o*). It was now given out, that ſhe was, by the interceſſion of our Lady, miraculouſly recovered of her former diſtemper; and on the report made by the faithful commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop ordered the wench to be put into the nunnery of St Sepulchre's in Canterbury, where ſhe feigned to have frequent returns of her former trances, viſions, and revelations, working (as was pretended) many miracles, on all ſuch as would but make a good profitable vow to our Lady, at Court at Strete. The deſign of the contrivance was now in ſome meaſure anſwered; the Prieſts had made plentiful gains of her, the Hermit thrived well on the offerings, and the convent was much pleaſed with the new Nun, who was in ſuch great credit and vougue, that there were ſeveral books wrote, about her ſanctity of life, viſions, revelations, and propheſies [*E*]: and thus matters went glibly on for divers years together. But now the Roman clergy being apprehenſive, that the King's marriage with Anna Bullen would prove very detrimental to their religion; they ſet every engine at work to prevent it, and among the reſt, Bocking and her other aſſociates were prevailed upon, to perſuade her to menace the King, with death or the loſs of his crown: ſhe, puffed up with her former ſucceſs, and the credit ſhe bore in the world as to ſanctity, &c. was hardy enough to be governed by this advice, and made no ſcruple to declare publickly, that God had revealed to her, that in caſe the King went on in the divorce, and married another wife while Queen Catherine was living, he ſhould not be King of England a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God, not one hour longer, but ſhould die a villain's death. This ſhe ſaid was revealed to her, in anſwer to the prayer ſhe had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's proceedings or not (*p*). This coming to the ears of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others who adhered to the Queen's intereſts, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices [*F*], concealing

(*k*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 25.

(*l*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 550.

(*) See the Letter at large, in Bibliotheca Cotton.

(†) For *Court at Strete*.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 150.

(*n*) Hall's Chron.

(*o*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. See the latter end of note [*C*].

(*p*) Hall's Chron. Cotta of Witchcraft, p. 64. Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. an. 1534.

[*E*] *That there were ſeveral book wrote about her ſanctity of life, viſions, revelations, and propheſies.*] Among which books, one pamphlet contains twenty-four leaves, printed by Robert Red-Man, intituled, A marvellous work done of late at Court of Strete in Kent, and publiſhed to the devout people of their time for their conſolation. John Deering, a Monk in the monaſtery of Chriſt-Church (ſays the act) made, wrote, or cauſed to be wrote, ſundry books, both great and ſmall, both printed and written, concerning the particularities of the falſe and feigned hypocriſy and revelations of Elizabeth Barton, in defence and great praiſe of the ſame: ——And one Edward Thwaites, Gentleman, tranſlated and wrote diverſe quires and ſheets of paper, concerning the ſaid falſe, feigned revelations of the ſaid Elizabeth: —— And Thomas Laurence of Canterbury, being Regiſter to the Archbiſhop, at the inſtance and deſire of the ſaid Edward Bocking, wrote a great book of the falſe and feigned miracles and the revelations of the ſaid Elizabeth in a fair hand, and ready to be a copy to the Printer; Laurence was alſo her interpreter to one of the Pope's Legates (15).

(15) Hall's Chron.

[*F*] *This coming to the ears of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others who adhered to the Queen's intereſt, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices,* &c.] Not to break into the life of *Fiſher* *, and to avoid being tedious, we ſhall only give extracts of the two letters that paſſed between Cromwell and Fiſher on this occaſion, the original whereof may be found as in the margin. —— Upon the firſt diſcovery of this cheat, Cromwell ſent Fiſher's brother to him, to reprove him, for his carriage in that affair, and to adviſe him to aſk the King's pardon, for the encouragement he had given the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: But Fiſher by letter (16) excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not? He confeſſed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never diſcovered any falſhood in her; it is true, ſhe had ſaid ſome things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not neceſſary to do it; becauſe he knew ſhe had told it to the King herſelf. She had named no perſon that ſhould kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reaſon to think that the King would have been offended with him, if he had ſpoken of it to him; and ſo he deſired to be no more troubled with that matter. Upon that, Cromwell wrote him a ſharp letter (17), wherein he ſhewed him that he had proceeded

* See the Article FISHER, (JOHN) Biſhop of Rocheſter.

(16) Bibliothec. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 87.

(17) Cotton. Libr. Cleopat. E. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. collect. 49.

concealing what she spoke concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others, to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with several of the fathers of the Nuns of Sion, and the Charter-House in London, and Shéne, and of the Observants of Richmond, Canterbury, and Greenwich, and a great many other persons, which appeared, however, most signally at Greenwich [G]. Nor was this all; but the Fathers that were in the conspiracy, had agreed to publish these revelations in their sermons up and down the kingdom: for by Sir Thomas More's long letter, as well as by the act itself we find, that Rich, Risby, and several other Monks and Friars, made it their business to travel up and down the countries, artfully introducing and insinuating themselves, not only to the commonalty, but into every family of note, and all degrees of men. Where they took an opportunity to report, in the most advantageous manner and terms, the hypocritical holiness, and feigned revelations, miracles, &c. of this imposture. By this means, poisoning and prepossessing the minds of the people, not only against the King's intended marriage; but against the King himself, declaiming against the wickedness of his life, and declaring, that he had abused the sword and authority committed to him by Almighty God; stirring up rebellion, withdrawing and absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him, by publickly preaching and declaring, that he was no longer King according to revelation. They had also given notice of these her prophesies to the Pope's Embassadors, and had the maid brought to declare her revelations to them; they also sent an account of them to Queen Catherine, to encourage her to stand out, and not submit to the laws (q). Of this confederacy Thomas Abel (r) was likewise one. The thing being now far from a secret, the King, who had hitherto despised it, thinking it now proper to take notice thereof, ordered that, in November 1533, the maid and her accomplices (Richard Master, Dr Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold a parson in London, Hugh Rich an Observant Friar, Richard Risby, Thomas Gold, and Edward Thwaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence) should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a numerous appearance of Lords, &c. Upon examination, they did all, without any rack or torture, confess the whole to be a contrivance and imposture [H], and were first sentenced to stand at St Paul's Cross, on a scaffold built on purpose for them, all sermon-time, and after sermon the King's officers was to give every one of them their bill of confession, to be opened and publickly read by each before the people, which was accordingly done the Sunday after; the Bishop of Bangor preaching, and giving an account of their treasonable practices to the audience. This publick manner was thought, upon good grounds, to be the best way to satisfy the people, of the imposture of the whole affair, and it did very much convince them, that the

(q) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 151, &c.

(r) See the article ABLE or ABEL (Thomas.)

ceeded rashly in that affair, being so partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him also, how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations; since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold and crafty impostor; yet, in the conclusion, he advised him again to ask the King's pardon for his rashness, and he assures him, that the King was ready to forgive that and every thing else by which he had offended him. But *Fisher* was obstinate and would make no submission, and so was included within the act, yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble.

[G] *This appeared most signally at Greenwich.*] Where the King chiefly resided in the summer, for one *Peto*, an Observant, being to preach in the King's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face. His text was the Prophet Elijah's reproof of *Ahab*; where the fate of that Prince is denounced in these words: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of* Naboth, *shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. Peto* quickly discovered his meaning in taking this text, and drove the application strong upon the King; he told him, notwithstanding the countenance and opinion of learned men, his second marriage was altogether unlawful, and as for himself, he was resolved, like Micajah, to deliver some unacceptable truths, tho' he was sensible, he should suffer for his plain-dealing, but pretended a divine commission for his freedom; upon presumption of this warrant, he told the King, his Highness was furnished with a great many Preachers to justify his marriage with Mrs Boleyn; but that these were men of no sincerity, that courted the King's fancy, and applied to his inclination for wealth and promotion in the Church: These were extraordinary sallies, however, the King bore the reprimand with great temper, and suffered *Peto* to go off without trouble (18).

(18) See more of this in Stowe, and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. &c.

[H] *And upon examination, did all, without any rack or torture, confess the whole to be a contrivance and imposture.*] Sanders nevertheless has the following encomiums on her, calling her and those that suffered with her, Martyrs; his words are, 'Celebre erat 'his diebus Elizabethæ Bartonæ Monialis, nomen, quæ 'propter famam sanctitatis, Virgo sancta Cantiana, vulgo 'appellabatur. Hæc asserebat Henricum non amplius 'jam esse Regem, eo quod ex Deo non regnaret, Mariam vero Catherinæ filiam, quæ tunc minus legitime 'nata habebatur, ad Regni gubernacula suo jure sessuram 'esse: Ob quæ verba in jus vocata & in publicis regni 'comitiis una *cum cæteris*——(qui omnes eam Spiritu 'Dei afflatam credebant) capitis condemnata fuit, & post 'ludibria publica, omnes constanter supplicium ultimum 'subierunt, &c. (19)——*Much about this time, 'Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, was in great esteem, who 'was so highly famed for her sanctity as to acquire the 'title of the Holy Nun of Kent. She affirmed that 'Henry the eighth was no longer King, because he did not 'now reign of God*, and that Mary, the daughter of 'Catherine, tho' then esteemed illegitimate, should succeed by her own right to the government of the kingdom; 'on account of which words she was, with her accomplices, accused in Parliament, and there with them, who 'all believed her inspired by the Holy Ghost, condemned 'to die; which, after having been publickly exposed, 'they all did with great constancy.'

(19) Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, p. 106.

(*) Alluding to her Prophecy.

Upon this paragraph of Mr Sanders's, Burnet has the following evident remarks, viz. First, that her associates knew she was not inspired, and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such tricks as was proved by their own confessions and other evidences. Sanders also says, 'that they all died with great con-'stancy; and in the margin calls them seven Mar-'tyrs.'——Now the Nun herself acknowledged the imposture at her death, and laid the heaviest weight of it on the Priests that suffered with her, who had taught her the cheat; so that they died both for treason and imposture; and this being *Sanders's* faith, as appears by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it (20).

(20) Burnet's Appendix concerning the Errors and Falsehoods in Sanderss Book of the English Schism, p. 288, 289.

[I] *The*

(s) Burnet, Hall, &c. as before.

the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it (s). From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the meeting of the Parliament, during which time, ſome of their accomplices ſent meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid, and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad, of her being forced or cheated into a confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being brought before, and conſidered in Parliament (t), it was judged a conſpiracy againſt the King's life and crown, and the Nun, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high treaſon; and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeſon, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure (u). But in the concluſion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance, by theſe impoſtures, except the perſons abovenamed, were, at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen Anne, (as it is expreſſed in the act) pardoned. On the reading the bill about them the third time, on the ſixth of March, the Lords addreſſed the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at leaſt as concealers, might not be heard for themſelves in the Star-Chamber (*). By this we find, Sir Thomas More was at firſt inſerted in the bill of attainder, and though the King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to let his name be eraſed, yet he was nevertheleſs ſo highly diſpleaſed with him for the conference and correſpondence he had carried on with the Nun herſelf, and her accomplices, that this was afterwards laid hold on, and made the ground-work of his ruin [I]. And yet the care and caution he uſed in this affair was very extraordinary, and his grandſon ſays (w), 'that he demeaned himſelf ſo diſcreetly in all his talk with her, that he deſerved no blame, 'but rather great commendation, as was afterwards evidently proved, when it was ſore 'laid to his charge.' The ſame was alſo very conſpicuous from his letter of juſtification to Secretary Cromwell, which lays open the artifices, by which he was drawn in to have ſo high an opinion of her, as he at firſt had, as alſo that he was at laſt thoroughly convinced of the forgery and impoſture of the whole; but as this letter contains ſeveral remarkable paſſages of the Nun herſelf, and will give ſome light into her character and genius, as well as into thoſe of the clergy that adhered to the intereſt of the Court of Rome, we thought it not improper to give it at length, as below in note [K]. Soon after the one (as he wiſhes it) was over, after this he ſaid, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction to meet his Highneſs once again, and be merry with him in Heaven, where among other pleaſures, this would be one, that his Majeſty would clearly ſee there, whatever his opinion might be now, that he had always been his faithful ſubject. In the cloſe of the letter he deſires the King, that no bill of attainder may paſs againſt him, becauſe it muſt be drawn upon untrue ſuggeſtions, miſreport him to the world, and ſtick a blemiſh upon his memory.

(t) 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

(u) Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

(*) 12 in the Statute-Book. 31 in the Record. 7 in the Journal.

(w) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 209.

[I] *The King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty prevailed upon, that no bill of attainder ſhould paſs againſt him, he was nevertheleſs highly diſpleaſed with him, &c. that it was made the ground-work of his ruin.*] 'Now after the report made of this their examination of Sir Thomas to the King, by the Lord 'Chancellor and the reſt, King Henry was ſo highly 'diſpleaſed with Sir Thomas More, that he plainly 'told them, that he was reſolutely determined that 'the aforeſaid Parliament bill ſhould undoubtedly paſs 'againſt them. Yet to this the Lord High Chancellor and the reſt ſaid, that they had perceived that 'all the Upper-Houſe, was ſo powerfully bent to hear 'Sir Thomas ſpeak in his own defence, that if he 'were not put out of the bill, it would be utterly overthrown, and have no force againſt the reſt; which 'words although the King heard them ſpeak, yet 'needs would he have his own will therein, adding, that 'he would be perſonally preſent himſelf at the paſſing 'of it. But Lord Audley and the reſt, among whom 'was Cromwell *, ſeeing him ſo violently bent upon it, 'fell down on their knees, and beſought his Majeſty 'not to do ſo; conſidering, that if in his own preſence he ſhould be confronted and receive an overthrow, it would not only encourage his ſubjects ever 'after to contemn him, but alſo redound to his diſhonour for ever throughout Chriſtendom; and they 'doubted not in time, but to find ſome other fitter 'matter againſt him; for in this caſe of the Nun, 'they ſaid all men accounted him ſo clear and innocent, that for his behaviour therein, every one reckoned him rather worthy of praiſe than of reproof; 'at which words of theirs, the King, at their earneſt 'perſuaſion, was contented to condeſcend to their 'petition; yet was not his diſpleaſure againſt Sir 'Thomas More any whit aſſwaged, but much more 'incenſed (21).' Sir Thomas, however, wrote a letter to the King upon that occaſion, to this effect (22).

He clears himſelf of having any communication with the Maid of Kent to the King's diſpleaſure (23); and for this he refers his Majeſty to his long letter lately written to Secretary Cromwell; he takes the freedom to tell the King, that if he ſhould miſcarry and fall under the forfeiture of the Law, either by bill of attainder or otherwiſe, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction, after his own ſhort life, and the King's long

* Which alſo appears by Sir Thomas's Letters. See his Works, p. 1423.

(21) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 216, 217. Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 36. Hoddeſdon's Hiſt. of Sir Thomas More, chap. xii. p. 83, ibid. xxxix. p. 87.

(22) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 181.

(24) Sir Thomas More's Works, by Raſtal, p. 1423.

[K] *We thought it not improper to give it at length.*]

Right Worſhipful,

'AFTER my moſt hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your goodneſs, in accepting my rude long letter; I perceive that of your farther goodneſs and favour towards me, it liked your Maſterſhip to break with my ſon *Roper*, of that, 'that I had had communication, not only of divers 'that had acquaintance with the lewd Nun of Canterbury, but alſo with herſelf; and had over that, by 'my writing declaring favour towards her, given her 'advice and counſel; of which my demeanour, that it 'liked you to be content to take the labour and the 'pain to hear, by myne own writing, the truth, I 'very heartily thank you, and reckon myſelf therein 'right deeply beholden to you.

Taken from the Norfolk MS. in the Royal Society Library.

'It is, I ſuppoſe, about eight or nine years ago, 'ſith I heard of that houſe-wife firſt, at which 'time the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, that then was, 'God aſſoyl his ſoul, ſent unto the King's Grace 'a roll of paper, in which were written certain 'words of hers, that ſhe had, as report was then 'made, at ſundry times ſpoken in her trances; 'whereupon it pleaſed the King's Grace, to deliver 'me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards ſhew him what I thought therein; whereunto at another time, when his Highneſs aſked me, 'I told him, in good faith, *I found nothing in theſe 'words, that I could any thing regard or eſteem*; for 'ſeeing that ſome part fell in rhyme, and that, God 'wot, full rude alſo, for any reaſon God wots that 'I ſaw therein; a right ſimple woman, might, in 'my mind, ſpeak it of her own wit, well enough:

'Howbeit,

the condemnation of theſe delinquents, *viz.* on the twenty-firſt of April (*x*), the Nun, and Bocking,

(*x*) Several authors have it the twentieth of April.

'Howbeit, I ſaid, *becauſe it was conſtantly reported for a truth, God wrought in her, and that a miracle was ſhewed upon her, I durſt not nor would not be bold, in judging the matter*; and the King's Grace, ſome thought, eſteemed the matter as light, as after it proved lewd.

'From that time till about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-month, albeit that there was continually much talking of her, and her holineſs, I never heard of any talk rehearſed, either of revelation of her's or miracles, ſaving that I heard divers times in my Lord Cardinal's days, that ſhe had been both with his Lordſhip and with the King's Grace, but what ſhe ſaid either to the one or the other, upon my faith I never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-month, Father *Riſby*, Friar Obſervant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one night at mine houſe, where, after ſupper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her commendation of holineſs, and that it was wonderful to ſee and underſtand the works that God wrought in her; which thing I anſwered, that I was glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof: Then he told me that ſhe had been with my Lord Legate in his life, and with the King's Grace too, and that ſhe had told my Lord Legate a revelation of her's of three ſwords, that God had put into my Lord Legate's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would put it ſore to his charge; the firſt he ſaid was, the ordering the ſpirituality under the Pope as Legate; the ſecond, rule he bore, in order of the temporality under the King as his Chancellor; and the third ſhe ſaid was, the meddling he was put in truſt with by the King, concerning the great matter of his marriage; and therewithal, I ſaid unto him, that any revelation of the King's matters, I would not hear of. I doubt not but the goodneſs of God ſhould direct his Highneſs with his grace and wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's honour and the ſurety of the realm: When he heard me ſay theſe words or the like, he ſaid unto me, that God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he break again into her revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his ſoul was to be ſaved by her mediation and without any other communication went into his chamber; and he and I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of matter; nor ſince his departing on the morrow, I never ſaw him afterwards to my remembrance, till I ſaw him at St Paul's Croſs.

'After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me a little before ſupper, Father *Rich*, Fryar Obſervant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I aſked him of Father *Riſby*, how he did? Upon that occaſion he aſked me, whether Father *Riſby* had any thing ſhewed me of the holy Nun of Kent? And I ſaid yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue; I would not, quoth he, tell you again what you have heard of him already; but I have heard and known many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already; and therewith he aſked me, whether Father *Riſby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? And I ſaid yea; then he told you (quoth he) of the three ſwords; yea verily, quoth I: Did he tell you (quoth he) of the revelations ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay forſooth, (quoth I) nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing: Nor verily, no more I would indeed; for ſith ſhe have been with the King's Grace herſelf, and told him, methought it a thing needleſs to tell me, or any man elſe: And when Father *Riſby* perceived, that I would not hear her revelation concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my ſupper was ſet upon the board, where I required him to ſit with me; but he would in no wiſe ſtay, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice; once in mine own houſe, another time in his own garden at the Fryars, at every time a great ſpace, but not of any revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean folk I know not of whom; which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were very childiſh. But albeit that he ſaid he had ſeen her lie in a trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told him thoſe tales herſelf; for if he had, I would for the tale of Mary Magdalene, which he told me, and for the tale of the hoſtie, which I have heard ſhe hath ſaid, ſhe was houſeled at the King's maſs at *Calice*; if I had heard it of him, as told unto himſelf by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worſe. But whether ever I heard the ſame tale of *Rich* or of *Riſby*, or of neither of them both, but of ſome other man, ſince ſhe was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well, when and whereſoever I heard it, methought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that ſhe had told ſome man of her dream, who told it out for a revelation; and, in effect, I little doubted but that ſome of thoſe tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet, ſince I never heard them reported as ſpoken by her mouth, I thought nevertheleſs, that many of them might be true, and ſhe be a virtuous woman too; as ſome lies be peradventure written of ſome that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

'After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the grate, they ſhewed me that ſhe had been with them, and ſhewed me divers things, that ſome of them miſliked in her, and in this talking they wiſhed I had ſpoken with her, and ſaid, they would fain ſee how I ſhould like her: Whereupon afterwards when I heard ſhe was there again, I came thither to ſee her and to ſpeak with her herſelf. At which communication had in a little chapple, there were none preſent but we two; in the beginning were I ſhewed, that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of ſuch thing as *folks* talked that it pleaſed God to reveal and ſhew unto her; but for the great virtue I had heard ſo many years, every day more and more ſpoken and reported of her, I therefore had a great mind to ſee her and be acquainted with her, that ſhe might have ſomewhat the more occaſion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers; whereunto ſhe gave me a good virtuous anſwer, that as God did of his goodneſs far better by her than ſhe, a poor wretch, was worthy; ſo ſhe feared, that many folks yet beſides that, ſpoke of their own favourable minds many things for her far above the truth; and that of me, ſhe had many ſuch things heard, that already ſhe prayed for me, and ever would, whereof I heartily thanked her. I ſaid unto her, *Madam, one* Hellen, *a maid at* Totnam, *of whoſe trances and revelations, there hath been much talking, ſhe hath been with me of late, and ſhewed me that ſhe was with you; and that after the rehearſal of ſuch viſions as ſhe had ſeen, you ſhewed her that they were no revelations, but plain illuſions of the* Divel, *and adviſed her to caſt them out of her mind; and verily ſhe gave therein good credit unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer to ſuch viſions of her own, whereupon ſhe ſayeth, ſhe findeth your words true; for ever ſince ſhe has been the leſs viſited with ſuch things, as ſhe was wont to be before:* To this, ſhe anſwered me, *forſooth, Sir, there is in this point no praiſe unto me; but the goodneſs of God, as it appears, hath wrought much meekneſs in her ſoul, which hath taken my rude warning ſo well, and not grudged to hear her ſpirit and her viſions reproved.* I liked her, in good faith, better for this anſwer, than for many of thoſe things that I heard reported of her. Afterwards ſhe told me, upon that occaſion, how great need folk have that are viſited with ſuch viſions, to take heed, and prove well of what ſpirit they come of; and in that communication ſhe told me, that of late the Divel, in the likeneſs of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in her chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken, and being in hands, ſuddenly changed in their ſight that were preſent, unto ſuch a ſtrange, ugly-faſhioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

Bocking, Maſters, Deering, Riſby, and Gold, (Rich is not named, being perhaps dead or

'For concluſion, we talked no word of the King's 'Grace, nor any great perſonages elſe, nor in effect, 'of any man or woman, but of herſelf and myſelf; 'but after no long communication had, for as ſoon as 'ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her 'a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and 'mine, and ſo departed from her, and never ſpake 'with her after. Howbeit, of a truth I had a great, 'good opinion of her, and had her in great eſtima-'tion, as you ſhall perceive by the letter I wrote unto 'her: For afterwards, becauſe I had often heard, 'that many right worſhipful folks, as well men as 'women, uſed to have much communication with 'her; and many folks are of nature inquiſitive and 'curious, whereby they fall ſometimes into ſuch talking, 'as better were to forbear, of which things I nothing 'thought, while I talked with her of charity; there-'fore I wrote her a letter thereof, which, ſith it may 'be peradventure that ſhe brake or loſt, I ſhall in-'ſert the very copy thereof in this preſent letter, 'theſe were the very words.

'Good Madam, and my right dearly beloved Siſter 'in the Lord.

'AFTER moſt hearty commendations, I ſhall 'beſeech you to take my good mind in good 'worth; and pardon me, that I am ſo homely, as of 'myſelf unrequired, and alſo without neceſſity, to 'give counſel to you, of whom, for thy good inſpi-'rations and great revelations, that it liketh Almighty 'God of his goodneſs, to give and ſhew to many 'wiſe and well learned, and very virtuous folk, teſtify, 'I myſelf have need, for the comfort of my ſoul, to 'require and aſk advice; for ſurely, good Madam, 'ſith it pleaſeth God ſometimes to ſuffer ſuch as are 'far under, and of little eſtimation, to give yet fruit-'ful advertiſement to ſuch as are in the light of the 'Spirit far above them, that there were between them 'no compariſon, as he ſuffered his prophet Moſes to 'be, in ſome things, adviſed and counſelled by Jethro; 'I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, 'refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, 'which, in my poor mind, I think highly neceſſary 'to be by your wiſdom conſidered, referring to the 'end and the order thereof, to God and his Holy 'Spirit to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not 'but you remember, that, in the beginning of my 'communication with you, I ſhewed you that I never 'was, nor would be curious of any knowledge of other 'mens matters; and leaſt of all of any matter of 'Princes, or of the realm, in caſe it ſo were that God 'had, as to many folks beforetime, he hath any time 'revealed unto you ſuch things; I ſaid unto your 'Ladyſhip, I was not only not deſirous to hear of, 'but alſo would not hear of. Now, Madam, I con-'ſider well, that many folk deſire to ſpeak with you, 'which was not all, peradventure, of my mind, in 'this point, but ſome hap to be curious and inquiſitive 'of things that little pertain unto their parts; and 'ſome might, peradventure, hap to talk of ſuch things 'as might afterwards turn to much harm, as I think 'you have heard how the late Duke of Buckingham, 'moved with ſome one who was reputed a holy Monk, 'and had ſuch talking with him, as after was a great 'part of his deſtruction, and diſinheriting of his blood, 'and great ſlander and infamy of religion. It ſuffices 'me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of 'ſuch things, as I nothing doubt your wiſdom, and 'the Spirit of God ſhall keep you from talking with 'any perſon, eſpecially with high perſons of ſuch 'manner and things, as pertain to Princes affairs or the 'ſtate of the realm, but only to commune and talk 'with any perſon, high or low, of ſuch a manner of 'things, as may to the ſoul be profitable for you to 'ſhew, and for them to know. And thus my good 'Lady, and dearly beloved Siſter in our Lord, I make 'an end of this my needleſs advertiſement unto you, 'whom the Bleſſed Trinity preſerve and increaſe in 'grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and 'mine unto him in your devout prayer.

'At Chelſea this Tueſday, by the hand of

'Your hearty loving Brother, and Beadſman,

'THOMAS MORE, Kt.

'At the receipt of this letter, ſhe anſwered my ſer-'vant, that ſhe heartily thanked me: Soon after this, 'there came to mine houſe the Prior of the *Charter-'Houſe* at *Sheen*, and one Brother Williams with him, 'who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the 'great joy they took in her virtue, but of any of her 'revelations they had no communication; but at an-'other time Brother Williams came unto me, with a 'long tale of her being at the houſe of a Knight in 'Kent, that was ſore troubled with temptations to de-'ſtroy himſelf; and none other thing we talked of, nor 'could have done of likelihood, though we had tar-'ried together much longer, he took ſo great plea-'ſure, good man, to tell the tale with all the circum-'ſtances at length. When I came again another day 'to Sion, on a day in which there was profeſſion, 'ſome of the Fathers aſked me how I liked the ſaid 'Nun, and I anſwered, * that in good faith I liked her 'very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, ſhe's 'never the nearer tried by that, for, I aſſure you, ſhe 'were likely to be very bad if ſhe ſeemed good, e'er I 'ſhould think her other, till ſhe happened to be 'proved naught; and, in good faith, that is my man-'ner indeed, except I were ſet to ſearch and examine 'the truth, upon likelihood of ſome cloaked evil; for 'in that caſe, although I nothing ſuſpected the per-'ſon myſelf, yet no leſs than if I ſuſpected him ſo, I 'would, as far as my wit would ſerve me, ſearch to find 'out the truth, as you yourſelf hath done very pru-'dently in this matter, wherein you have done in my 'mind, to your great laud and praiſe, a very merito-'rious deed, in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable 'hypocriſy, whereby every other wretch may take 'warning, and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh 'diſſembled falſehoods, under the manner and colour 'of the wonderful work of God; for verily this woman 'ſo handled herſelf, with the help of that evil ſpirit 'that inſpired her, that, after her own confeſſion de-'clared at Paul's Croſs, when I ſent word by my ſer-'vant to the *Prior* of the *Charter-Houſe*, that ſhe was 'undoubtedly proved a falſe deceiving hypocrite, the 'good man had had ſo good opinion of her ſo long, 'that he could at the firſt ſcarcely believe me thereiſ; 'howbeit, it was not he alone that thought her ſo very 'good, but many another right good man beſides, as 'little marvel was, upon ſo good report, till ſhe was 'proved naught: I remember me farther, that in com-'munication with Father *Rich* and me, I counſelled 'him, that in ſuch ſtrange things as concerned ſuch 'folk as had come unto her, to whom, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe 'had told the cauſes of their coming, e'er them-'ſelves ſpake thereof, and ſuch good fruit, as they 'ſaid, that many men had received by her prayer, 'he and ſuch other ſo reported it, and thought that 'the knowledge thereof ſhould much return to the glory 'of God, ſhould firſt cauſe the things to be well and 'ſure examined by the Ordinary, and ſuch as had au-'thority thereunto, ſo that it might be ſurely known 'whether the things were true or not, and that there 'were no letters intermixt among them, or elſe the 'letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of 'the things that were true; and when he told me 'the tale of Mary Magdalen, I ſaid unto him, Father '*Rich*, that ſhe is a good virtuous Woman in good 'faith I hear ſo many folk ſo report, that I verily 'think it true, and think it well likely, that God 'wrought ſome good and great things by her; but 'yet are you wot well theſe ſtrange tales no part of 'our Creed, and therefore, before you ſee them ſurely 'proved, you ſhall have my poor counſel not to wed 'yourſelf ſo far forth to the credence of them, as to 'report them very ſurely for true, leaſt that if it ſhould 'hap, that they were afterwards proved falſe, it might 'miniſh your eſtimation in your preaching, whereof 'might grow great loſs; to this he thanked me for my 'counſel, but how he uſed it after, that I cannot 'tell.

'Thus have I, good Mr Cromwell, fully declared 'to you, as far as myſelf can call to remembrance, all 'that ever I have done or ſaid in this matter; where-'in I am ſure, that not one of them all ſhall tell you 'any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or 'any man elſe, report of them, as I truſt verily no 'man will, I wot well, truly no man can, any word or 'deed by me ſpoken or done, touching any breach of

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or (*y*) pardoned) were drawn to Tyburn, where the Nun made a ſpeech, as in the note below, acknowledging her crime, and the juſtneſs of her ſentence [*L*], and was then executed with her abovenamed five accomplices, who were all beheaded, and their heads ſet up in different parts of the town; as to the Nun's head, Stowe informs us, that was ſet upon London-Bridge.

(*y*) Hall's Chron.

'my legal truth and duty towards my moſt redoubted 'Sovereign and natural liege Lord; I will come to 'mine anſwer, and make it good, in ſuch wiſe as be-'cometh a true poor man to do, that whoſoever any 'ſuch thing ſhall ſay, ſhall therein ſay untrue; for I 'neither in this matter have done evil or ſaid evil, nor 'ſo much as any evil thing thought, but only have 'been glad and rejoiced of them that were reported for 'good, which condition I ſhall nevertheleſs keep to-'ward all other good folk, for the falſe cloaked hypo-'criſy of any of theſe, no more than I ſhall eſteem 'Judas the true Apoſtle for Judas the falſe Traytor.

'But ſo propoſe I to bear myſelf in every man's 'company while I live, that neither good man or 'bad, neither Monk, Fryar, nor Nun, nor other 'man or woman in this world, ſhall make me digreſs 'from my truth and faith either towards God, or to-'wards my natural Prince, by the grace of Almighty 'God; and as you therein find me true, ſo I heartily 'therein pray you to continue toward me your favour 'and good will, as you ſhall be ſure of my poor daily 'prayer, for other pleaſures can I not do you; and 'may the Bleſſed Trinity, both bodily and ghoſtly, 'long preſerve and proſper you.

'I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you 'of mine own hand-writing, for verily I am compelled 'to forbear writing for a while, by reaſon of this diſ-'eaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, 'as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my 'breaſt that I have uſed in writing; and thus eftſoons 'I beſeech our Lord long to preſerve you.'

Concerning this Letter, a curious diſcovery has been made, viz. that *Raſtal*, who publiſhed Sir Thomas More's works in Queen Mary's time, and among them other letters of his to Cromwell relating to that long one, which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed, but that long one was left out, though *More* refers to it in all his following letter, which is a little unaccountable, viz. that the referring letters ſhould be preſerved, and the original letter, referred to in all the others, ſuppreſſed——but it is highly probable this was done on purpoſe, and with deſign; for in Queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that ſtory of the Nun and canonize her, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her mother's account, and was called a Martyr to her mother's marriage, and there was no want of miracles to juſtify it; therefore a letter ſo plain and full againſt her was thought fit to be kept out of the way; and that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was thought fit to ſuppreſs it: This, however, Burnet acknowledges to be only a conjecture, leaving it to the judgment of the reader to determine (23).

(23) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. Book i. p. 149.

[*L*] *The Nun made a ſpeech, acknowledging her crime and the juſtneſs of her ſentence.*] Her dying words, as recorded in Hall's Chronicle, are, *Hither I am come to die, and I have not only been the cauſe of mine own death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe perſons which at this time here ſuffer; and yet to ſay the truth I am not to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me could not proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but becauſe the thing which I have feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praiſed me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghoſt, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praiſes, fell into a certain pride and fooliſh fantaſie with myſelf, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this caſe; and for which now I cry God and the King's Highneſs moſt heartily mercy, and deſire you all good people to pray God to have mercy on me, and on all them that ſuffer here* (24).

(24) Hall's Chronicle.

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BARWICK (JOHN) an eminent Engliſh divine in the XVIIth century, and Dean of St Paul's. He was born at Witherſlack, a little village in Weſtmoreland, the twentieth of April, 1612 (*a*). His father's name was George Barwick, and his mother's, Jane Barrow. They were far from being conſiderable either for rank or riches, but were otherwiſe both of them perſons of great merit, and remarkably happy in their family [*A*]. John was the third ſon, and his parents intended him from his childhood for the Church. In his nonage he went to ſchool in the neighbourhood, and loſt much time under maſters deficient alike in diligence and in learning. At length he was ſent to Sedberg ſchool in Yorkſhire, where, under the care of a tolerable maſter, he gave early marks both of genius and piety (*b*) [*B*]. In the year 1631, and the eighteenth of his own age, he was admitted

(*a*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 1. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, where it is (perhaps by miſtake) printed *Wappenſlacke*, p. 610.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 23.

[*A*] *Perſons of great merit and remarkably happy in their family.*] Mr George Barwick was deſcended of a very antient family of that name in Lancaſhire. The village of Wetherſlack, where his ſmall eſtate lay, is about ſix or ſeven miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland, but is conſiderably nearer the borders of Lancaſhire. Old Mr Barwick was a great oeconomiſt, and, though he bred up a large family, made a handſome figure, and did a great deal of good in the neighbourhood where he dwelt. He was bleſſed with five ſons who lived to mens eſtate, beſides one who died young. Nicholas and William, the two eldeſt, ſettled in the country, each having a farm; Nicholas that which deſcended from his anceſtors; and William another purchaſed by his father. John and Peter we have particularly accounted for, and as for the youngeſt, Edward, he was bred a Herald-Painter, and became a very eminent man in his profeſſion; as well as very remarkable for his loyalty and ſteady courage, as will be obſerved in the courſe of this life (1).

(1) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 2, 3, 4.

[*B*] *He gave early marks both of genius and piety.*] The maſter of this ſchool at that time was Mr Gilbert Nelſon, who, we are told, taught his ſcholars Latin very well, and Greek indifferently. Dr Peter Barwick ſays, 'He was a very pleaſant, facetious man, and by his 'merry comments rendered ſo very agreeable, what uſes 'to give moſt uneaſineſs in learning, that his ſcholars 'became fond of their books tho' never ſo hard. 'They were wonderfully delighted, when he under-'took to explain any of the dramatick Poets, parti-'cularly Terence or Plautus; for whatſoever in them 'ſeemed difficult to the weaker capacity of the boys, he 'expounded with ſo much wit and merriment, that all 'who had the leaſt ingenuity were extremely in love 'with that ſort of learning. In order alſo more clearly 'and thoroughly to explain the meaning of thoſe Poets, 'whether Comedians or Tragedians, he uſed to teach 'ſuch of his ſcholars as he found fit for it, to tread 'the ſtage now and then for their diverſion, and act 'the ſeveral parts of thoſe plays; without which kind 'of knowledge he knew he might fit them for the lives 'of Monks or Hermits, but not to bear any offices in the 'ſtate, or perform the duties of civil life. Among 'ſuch as were moſt ſkilful in acting plays, he took 'greateſt delight in John Barwick, and was mightily 'pleaſed to ſee him act ſo much to the life, the 'part of Hercules raving in the tragedy, as to gain 'the applauſe of all the ſpectators. This ſhewed that 'our young ſcholar had now laid aſide all childiſh 'ſports, and was fit to converſe with men before he

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admitted of St John's College at Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Fothergill, who proved at once a guardian and a preceptor, ſupplying his neceſſities as well as inſtructing him in learning (c). By this gentleman's help Mr Barwick quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf to ſuch a degree in his college, that when a diſpute aroſe about the election of a Maſter, which at laſt came to ſuch a height as to be heard before the Privy-Council, the college choſe Mr Barwick, then little above twenty, to manage for them, by which he not only became very conſpicuous in the univerſity, but was alſo taken notice of at court, and by the Miniſtry, who in thoſe days were encouragers of learning (d). In 1635 he became Bachelor of Arts while theſe affairs were ſtill depending [C]. April the fifth, 1636, he was created Fellow without oppoſition, though a party was already formed againſt him in the college by ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm. In 1638 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. When the civil war broke out, and the King wrote a letter to the univerſity, acquainting them that he was in extreme want, Mr Barwick concurred with thoſe loyal perſons who firſt ſent him a ſmall ſupply in money, and afterwards their college plate (e), and upon information had, that Mr Cromwell, afterwards the Protector, lay with a party of foot at a place called Lowler Hedges, between Cambridge and Huntington, in order to make himſelf maſter of this ſmall treaſure, Mr Barwick made one of the party of horſe, which conveyed it through by-roads ſafely to Nottingham, where his Majeſty had ſet up his ſtandard (f). By this act of loyalty the Parliament was ſo provoked, that they ſent Cromwell with a body of troops to quarter in the univerſity, where they committed ſuch outrages, as would ſcarce have been credible in ſucceeding times, if Mr Barwick, in conjunction with many other learned members of that celebrated ſociety, had not tranſmitted an authentick account of them to poſterity (g) [D]. Mr Barwick alſo publiſhed another piece againſt the Covenant, and having thereby provoked ſuch as were then in power, he thought proper to retire to London, there to render all the ſervice that he was able to the royal cauſe (h) [E]. Soon after he ſettled there, he was intruſted with the management of the King's moſt private concerns, and carried on with great ſecrecy a conſtant correſpondence between London and Oxford, where the King's head quarters then were. A nice and arduous employment, and for which there never was a man perhaps better fitted than he. For with great modeſty, and a temper

(c) E. Regiſtro Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(d) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 9. See alſo the Engliſh Tranſlation of that Life, p. 11. Vit. Richard Holdſworth, à Richard Pearſon, Script. & ſuis Oper. præfix.

(e) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Cambridge, p. 167. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 16.

(f) Ibid. p. 17.

(g) Querela Cantab. p. 2, 3, &c.

(h) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 25.

'left ſchool; for Hercules's buſkins (as the proverb 'ſays) are not fit for children. But he never ſuffered 'theſe diverſions to interrupt the ſteady courſe of 'piety, to which he had been remarkably accuſtomed 'from his childhood; for I remember when at a break-'ing-up for Eaſter holidays, he came home from 'ſchool, (as is uſual at thoſe great feſtivals) he ſpent 'all Good-Friday at church in devotion, ſuitable to 'that ſolemn occaſion; when every one elſe came 'home after morning prayer, and went not to church 'again till evening ſervice (2).'

(2) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 6, 7.

[C] *While theſe affairs were ſtill depending.*] The author of the Engliſh tranſlation of Dr Barwick's Life, ſeems to be a good deal embarraſſed as to the chronology of this fact, Dr Gwin, the old maſter, died in June 1633, upon which a ſtruggle followed between Dr Lane and Mr Holdſworth, wherein though the latter is thought to have had a clear majority of legal votes, yet it was held moſt for the peace of the Univerſity to ſet both candidates aſide; and, in conſequence of this expedient, Dr Beale was admitted Maſter the 20th of February 1633-4 (3). Now the difficulty lies here, Mr Barwick at this time was not ſo much as Bachelor of Arts, nor is there any entry in the college books, of his being appointed Proctor for the ſociety upon this occaſion. I am therefore inclined to believe, there might be a ſubſequent hearing before the Council, in relation to the ſettlement of St John's college, at which Mr Barwick might aſſiſt. Dr Holdſworth was ſoon after Maſter of Emanuel-college, and both Dr Beale and he were ejected by the Parliament (4).

(3) E. Regiſt. Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of the univerſity of Cambridge, p. 170. See alſo the Latin Life of Dr Rich. Holdſworth, prefixed to his Lectures by Dr Pearſon.

[D] *An authentick account, &c.*] The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of theſe ſeverities runs thus. 'The rebels at that time threatened ſome of the 'greateſt men and moſt learned heads, ſuch as Dr 'William Beale of St John's, Dr Edward Martin of 'Queen's, and Dr Richard Sterne of Jeſus college, 'with tranſportation into the iſlands of America, and 'even with ſelling them to the Algerines. For theſe 'great men, with ſeveral other eminent Divines, were 'kept cloſe priſoners in a ſhip on the Thames, under 'hatches, almoſt killed with ſtench, hunger, and 'watching; and treated by the ſenſeleſs mariners 'with more inſolence than if they had been the vileſt 'ſlaves, or had been impriſoned there for ſome in-'famous robbery, or cruel murder; nay, one Rigby, 'a mean fellow, and of the very dregs of the people, 'did at that time expoſe theſe venerable perſons to 'ſale, and would actually have ſold them for ſlaves, 'if any would have bought them (5).' Sir William Dugdale carries this ſtill farther, he ſays, 'That this 'Mr Alexander Rigby, twice moved the Houſe of Com-'mons, that thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, who were 'priſoners for being malignants, ſhould be ſold as ſlaves 'to Algiers, or ſent to the new plantations in the 'Weſt-Indies, becauſe he had contracted with two 'Merchants for that purpoſe (6).' Dr Fuller, who was a very cautious writer, and rather inclined to favour, than to exaggerate the proceedings of theſe people, is pleaſed to own, that ſoldiers were quartered in their colleges, their chapels abuſed, their bridges broken down, materials for building taken away, Jeſus-college grove cut down, and a noble collection of antient coins belonging to St John's-college, ſold by weight for twenty-two pounds (7). Such was the effects of ſome mens zeal for liberty and reformation! But the beſt and moſt authentick account of this perſecution, becauſe written at the time, and wherein our author had a large ſhare, is intituled, *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, or the Univerſity of Cambridge's Complaint, at the end of which there is a liſt of the Heads and Fellows, *&c.* ejected and plundered, *&c.*

(5) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 23.

(6) Short View of the Troubles, chap. xliv. p. 577.

(7) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 171.

[E] *All the ſervice he was able to the royal cauſe.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus: Certain Diſquiſitions and Conſiderations, repreſenting to the Conſcience the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath intituled, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, *&c.* as alſo the Inſufficiency of the Arguments uſed in the Exhortation for taking the ſaid Covenant. Publiſhed by Command. *Oxford* 1644. It contains forty-nine pages in quarto, beſides the Printer's poſtſcript to the reader. It ſeems this was but the ſecond impreſſion, for the firſt was diſcovered, and the greateſt part of it burnt. The learned perſons who joined with our author in compoſing this piece, were Mr William Lacy of St John's-college, Mr Iſaac Barrow of Peter-houſe, Mr Seth Ward of Sidney-college, Mr Edmund Baldero, and Mr William Quarles of Pembroke-hall, and that incomparable diſputant againſt the Schiſmaticks, Mr Peter Gunning of Clare hall, each of whom took his particular ſhare of this Covenant to confute, and bringing his part of the work to Mr Gunning's chamber, there they all conferred, and agreed upon the whole (8).

(8) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 40.

[F] *Both*

a temper naturally meek, he had a cool ſettled courage, and ſo much prudence and ſagacity, that as, on the one hand, he never wanted preſence of mind, ſo, on the other, he was never at a loſs for expedients (*i*). He lived upon his firſt coming to town with Dr Morton, then Biſhop of Durham, at Durham-houſe, which being an old ſpacious Building, afforded him great conveniencies for hiding his papers (*k*), and at the ſame time his reſidence with that prelate as his chaplain, countenanced his remaining in London. One great branch of his employment, was the bringing back to their duty ſome eminent perſons who had been miſled by the fair pretences of ſome of the great ſpeakers in the long Parliament. Amongſt thoſe who were thus reclaimed by the care of this religious and loyal gentleman, were Sir Thomas Middleton and Colonel Roger Pope, both perſons of great credit with the party, and both very ſincere converts [*F*]. By his application likewiſe Mr Creſſet was convinced of his errors, and became a uſeful aſſociate in the dangerous employment of managing the King's intelligence (*l*) [*G*]. Even after the King's affairs became deſperate, Mr Barwick ſtill maintained his correſpondence, and when his Majeſty was in the hands of the army, Mr Barwick had frequent admittance to him, and received his verbal orders, which he executed both punctually and ſucceſsfully. To perform his duty the more effectually, he had the King's expreſs command to lay aſide his clerical habit, and in the dreſs of a private gentleman, with his ſword by his ſide, he remained without ſuſpicion in the army, and gave the King the trueſt lights poſſible as to the humour both of officers and ſolders, till all intelligence of this ſort became unneceſſary, by the army's throwing off, all pretences to loyalty, and even ſhew of tenderneſs towards the King's perſon. When his Majeſty came to be confined in Cariſbrook Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, ſo cloſely, that guards were poſted at all the avenues to his chamber, and even at his windows, to prevent his having any correſpondence, Mr Creſſet, who was placed about him, through the dexterous management of Mr Barwick, defeated all their diligence, and preſerved his Majeſty a free intercourſe with his friends: For this purpoſe he firſt depoſited with Mr Barwick a cypher, and then hid a copy of it in a crack of the wall in the King's chamber. By the help of this cypher the King both wrote and read many letters every week, all of which paſſed through the hands of Mr Barwick (*m*). He likewiſe was concerned in a very well laid deſign for procuring the King's eſcape, which however was unluckily diſappointed [*H*]. Theſe labours, though they were very fatiguing, did not hinder him from undertaking ſtill greater, for when Mr Holder, who had managed many correſpondencies for the King, was diſcovered and impriſoned, he had ſo much ſpirit and addreſs as to procure admitance to, and a conference with him, whereby his cyphers and papers were preſerved, and Mr Barwick charged himſelf

(*i*) See the grant of an honourable addition of arms to this family, on account of the ſervices performed by the two brothers John and Peter, in the Preface to the Latin Life.

(*k*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 26.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 33. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 143. Dugdale's Short View of the late Trouble, p. 188.

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 51. Sanderſon's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 990. Life of King Charles I, by Dr Perrinchief, p. 95.

[*F*] *Both very ſincere converts.*] This Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, had been a Colonel under the Earl of Eſſex, but was afterwards eminently loyal, which ſo far irritated General Lambert, that he pulled his fine ſeat quite down to the ground. John Middleton, Eſq; of Chirk-Caſtle, is the grandſon of this gentleman. As for Colonel Roger Pope, he ſoon after died of the plague, and upon this occaſion, Mr Barwick performed an act of piety worthy of immortal memory. The Colonel it ſeems was under great trouble of mind, and exceedingly deſirous of receiving the ſacrament, but at the ſame time afraid of ſending for any Clergyman on account of his infectious diſtemper. Mr Barwick being informed of this, tho' he never had either the meaſles or ſmall-pox, went immediately to aſſiſt his dying friend, and remained with him till he had yielded his laſt breath (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 53.

[*G*] *Managing the King's intelligence.*] This gentleman had lived long in the Biſhop of Durham's family, and afterwards entered into the ſervice of the Earl of Pembroke, who made ſo great a figure on the ſide of the Parliament. He found it impracticable to bring his Lord to a better way of thinking, and was therefore forced to content himſelf with making him an inſtrument in doing good without his knowledge. Thus he obtained paſſports for certain London Pedlars to carry wares into all the quarters of the Parliament army; under the pretext of this commerce, Mr Barwick procured a ſafe conveyance as far as to the King's quarters, which joined upon thoſe of the Rebels; for not a few meſſages of great importance, ſlid in as it were by ſtealth among the Pedlar's wares, and ſometimes alſo for money and ammunition, furniſhed by certain Citizens in his Majeſty's intereſt, to be conveyed thence to Oxford by ſome of the King's party, who waited in thoſe places to receive them. In the mean time, Mr Barwick himſelf (lying as it were behind the curtain) was known to very few of thoſe of whoſe help he made uſe, either by ſight, or ſo much as by name; and thoſe few only perſons of the greateſt probity, and who knew hardly any thing of what was doing, or indeed deſired to know it, but as it were through a lettice, and enveloped in a miſt, to the end that they might more eaſily clear themſelves if if they ſhould happen to be taken (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 59.

[*H*] *Which however was unluckily diſappointed.*] The Earl of Clarendon was abſolutely miſinformed as to this project for the King's eſcape, he tells us that it was concerted by Oſborne and Rolph, the latter deſigning to kill the King, that his Majeſty coming to the window at midnight and putting himſelf out, diſcerned more perſons to ſtand there than uſed to do, thence ſuſpecting ſome diſcovery, ſhut the window and retired to bed; and this, ſays his Lordſhip, was all the ground of a diſcourſe which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out of the window, and could neither draw his body after nor get his head back, and ſo was compelled to call out for help; which was a meer fiction (11). To the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, I oppoſe that of King Charles I, who wrote the following letter with his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved by the deſcendant of the gentleman to whom it is addreſſed. 'D, (which in the cypher 'ſtands for Henry Firebrace, *i. e.* Sir Henry Firebrace, 'to whom it was directed) ſince I ſee that A, *i. e.* 'Creſſet cannot ſtay, you muſt take the more care to 'ſettle the intelligence between my friends and me 'at London; to which end, I hope you have ſhewn 'the packet to F, *i. e.* Doucet, I have written to W, '*i. e.* Titus, but it is only to refer him to you: Where-'fore let him know, that the narrowneſs of the win-'dow was the only impediment of my eſcape, and 'therefore that ſome inſtrument muſt be had to remove 'the Bar, which I believe is not hard to get, for I 'have ſeen many, and ſo portable, that a man might 'put them in his pocket, and yet of force ſufficient to 'do more than this comes to; I think it is called the 'Endleſs Screw, or the Great Force. Likewiſe ac-'quaint him with thoſe other ways that were in diſ-'courſe among us, deſiring him upon the whole matter '(as well upon his own, as other mens inventions) to 'give his judgment, which is the moſt probable way 'to effect this buſineſs (12).'

(11) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 235.

(12) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 380.

himſelf with the intelligence which that gentleman had carried on [*I*]. After this he had a large ſhare in bringing about the treaty at the Iſle of Wight, and upon this occaſion rode from London thither in one day, and returned in another (*n*). By this time he was ſo well known by reputation to all the loyal party, that even thoſe who had never ſeen him, readily truſted themſelves to his care even in the niceſt and moſt dangerous conjunctures. Thus Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had been condemned to ſuffer death before the walls of Pomfret, which he had defended againſt the Parliament, and who, by the aſſiſtance of the Lady Saville, had made his eſcape while he lay under condemnation, after lying ſome weeks in a hay-ſtack, came boldly up to London in a clergyman's habit, and remained under Mr Barwick's protection as a poor miniſter driven from his benefice in Ireland, till ſuch time as an opportunity offered for his ſafe conveyance out of the kingdom (*o*). When the King was murdered, and the royal cauſe ſeemed to be deſperate, Mr Barwick ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and though harraſſed with a continual cough, followed by a ſpitting of blood, and afterwards by a conſumption of his lungs, yet would not interrupt the daily correſpondence he maintained with the miniſters of King Charles II. At laſt, when he was become very weak, he was content that his brother Dr Peter Barwick ſhould take off a-part of the burthen, by attending the Poſt-office, which he did for about ſix months, and then this office was devolved on Mr Edward Barwick, another of his brothers. This gentleman had not been engaged two months in this perilous buſineſs, before one Boſtock, who belonged to the Poſt-office, betrayed both him and Mr John Barwick, together with ſome letters which came from the King's miniſters abroad, into the hands of thoſe who were then poſſeſſed of the government. Theſe letters were ſuperſcribed to Mr James Vandelft, Dutch merchant in London, which was a fictitious name made uſe of to cover their correſpondence. Upon his examination, Mr Barwick did all he could to take the thing upon himſelf, in order to free his brother Edward. Yet ſo careful he was of offending againſt truth, that he would not deny his knowledge of the letters, but inſiſted that he was not bound to accuſe himſelf. Thoſe who examined him were not aſhamed to threaten him, though half dead with his diſtemper, with putting him to the torture, if he did not immediately diſcover all who were concerned with him. To this Mr Barwick anſwered with great ſpirit, that neither himſelf or any of his friends had done any thing which they knew to be repugnant to the laws, and if by the force of tortures, which it was not likely a dry and bloodleſs carcaſe like his would be able to bear, any thing ſhould be extorted which might be prejudicial to others, ſuch a confeſſion ought to go for nothing. Mr Edward Barwick behaved with the

(*n*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 63.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 151. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 67. Lloyd's Memoirs, of Loyal Sufferers, p. 549.

[*I*] *Which that gentleman had carried on.*] This Mr Thomas Holder was Auditor-General to the Duke of York; he had the care of the King's correſpondence with the Lady Saville, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and other perſons of great quality. He gives the following account of the kindneſs he received from Dr Barwick; but as he wrote it in the year 1671, the reader will find that he ſtiles him Dean of St Paul's. 'On account of this correſpondence, ſays he, I took up my 'ſtation in London, where I had an intimate acquaintance with the late reverend Dean of St Paul's, 'Dr John Barwick, who, as he was a perſon of great 'zeal towards his Majeſty, ſo he was of great correſpondence alſo with many Lords, and other eminent perſons of the King's Party; and, beſides that, 'of indefatigable induſtry in the ſervice of his Majeſty; to promote which, he and I did often meet 'twice or thrice in a week, and ſometimes oftner, and 'communicated to each other what we had to make 'uſe of from time to time for his Majeſty's ſervice; 'and ſome poſt-days, when I was in danger, he was 'pleaſed to go himſelf, and take up my letters and 'packets at the Poſt-Office, and bring them to me, and 'ſtay with me until I had decyphered them to give 'him the contents thereof, that he might ſerve himſelf of what was fitting amongſt his correſpondents: 'And twice, by his means, I procured conveyance of 'diſpatches to, and of returns from, his Sacred Majeſty, in the time of no addreſs to him in the Iſle of 'Wight, touching ſome difficulties that did ariſe in 'ſome of his Majeſty's affairs within my correſpondences: And he told me ſince, that he was beholden 'to one Mr Creſſet for effecting that matter of ſo great 'an undertaking and danger. And after I had carried 'on my correſpondences throughout the great buſineſs 'of the year, for the moſt part ſucceſsfully, I was at 'laſt betrayed, and, by order of the Juncto at Derby-Houſe, committed to cloſe priſon; and then this 'worthy Dean, my dear friend and confident, adventured himſelf, and by my contrivance got to whiſper 'with me through the chinks of a door nailed up, 'and the hangings before it turned by, in the chamber 'next to mine at Peter-Houſe, where Major Polwheel 'was priſoner upon the King's account, by whoſe favour we conferred together; of which I made this 'good uſe, that by my directions the Dean found all 'my cyphers, papers, &c. and burnt them; and at 'my requeſt he alſo expoſed himſelf to give intimation 'to ſome worthy honeſt gentlemen, (though ſtrangers 'to him) who had very faithfully acted with me in 'many things to provide for their own ſecurity, which 'I was very deſirous they might have notice of, becauſe I had heard them threatened by thoſe in whoſe 'cuſtody I then was. And when I ſaw myſelf thus 'ſhut up, and paſt hopes of coming again to be farther 'ſerviceable to his Majeſty, I aſked the good Doctor 'if he would adventure and engage himſelf to carry 'on my correſpondences, (not knowing then what had 'befallen our friends in the North) which he chearfully 'reſolved on, if I would bring him into a confidence 'with thoſe perſons I had been engaged with; upon 'which I gave him a ſhort character of my moſt incomparable Lady Saville; for till that time I had 'never named her to any perſon but whom ſhe herſelf had truſted, and by letter recommended him to 'her, who received him with much eſteem and confidence, under the ſame truſts I had been with her 'and others: And the worthy Dean going on therein 'as I had done, (but with more abilities) came at laſt 'to my misfortune of impriſonment, which 'tis likely 'might have befallen any other perſon that would have 'adventured to act as he and I did, in ſuch times, under ſuch diſadvantages, and with ſo much danger: 'And for my part, I thank God that I held out ſo 'long as I did, till the very day, (viz. the 17th of 'Auguſt, 1648) on which my Lord Langdale's forces 'were worſted by Cromwell's army, in ſight of the 'Scotch army, God in his providence ſo ordering his 'defeat and my impriſonment on the very ſame day, 'and thereby making an end of our correſpondence 'and endeavours for his Majeſty's ſervice together. 'And I muſt not omit, in gratitude to the memory of 'my worthy friend the good Dean, to acknowledge 'the many comforts he afforded me during my impriſonment, and the many kind viſits and helps after 'my eſcape, until I got out of England. Thomas 'Holder (13).'

(13) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 94.

[*K*] *Even*

the like firmneſs, ſo that not ſo much as one perſon fell into trouble through their misfortune; and as for Mr John Barwick, he had the preſence of mind to burn his cyphers and other papers before thoſe who apprehended him could break open his door (*p*). This extraordinary fortitude and circumſpection ſo irritated Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and others of the Council who examined them, that, by a warrant, dated the ninth of April, 1650, they committed both brothers to the Gatehouſe, where they were moſt cruelly treated, and three days afterwards committed Mr John Barwick to the Tower; and the reaſon they aſſigned for this change of his priſon was, that he might be nearer to the rack, aſſuring him, that in a few days they would name commiſſioners to examine him, who ſhould have that engine for their Secretary. Mr Francis Weſt, who was then Lieutenant of the Tower, put him in a dungeon, where he was not only kept from pen, ink, and paper, and all books, but the Bible, with reſtraint from ſeeing any perſon except his keepers, but, as an additional puniſhment, had boards nailed before his window to prevent the coming in of the freſh air. In this melancholy ſituation he remained many months, during which time the diet he uſed was herbs or fruit, or thin water-gruel made of oatmeal or barley, with currants boiled in it, and ſweetned with a little ſugar, by which he recovered beyond all expectation, and grew plump and fat. A cure ſo perfect, and withal ſo ſtrange, that many Phyſicians have taken notice of it in their writings, as a moſt pregnant inſtance of the power of temperance even in the moſt inveterate diſeaſes (*q*) [*K*]. While he was thus ſhut up, his friends laboured inceſſantly for his ſervice and relief, and his Majeſty King Charles II, for whom he thus ſuffered, gave ſuch teſtimonies of his royal concern, as ſhewed him to be the worthy maſter of ſo faithful a ſubject [*L*]. After fifteen months paſſed in this ſtrict confinement, Mr Otway and ſome other friends procured a warrant from Preſident Bradſhaw to viſit him, who were not a little ſurprized to find him ſo luſty, and in ſo good health, whom they had ſeen brought ſo low, as to engage this very Mr Otway to take care of his burial. His prudence and patience under this terrible perſecution were ſo great, that they had a happy effect on all who came about him, ſo that Mr Robert Browne, who was Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, became firſt exceeding civil to him, and afterwards his convert, ſo as to have his child baptized by him; and, which was ſtill a ſtronger proof of his ſincerity, he quitted the very profitable poſt he held, and returned to his own buſineſs, which was that of a cabinet-maker (*r*). Nay, Mr Weſt, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who treated him ſo harſhly at his entrance, and executed to the full, if he did not exceed the orders of his ſuperiors, abated by degrees of this rigour, and became at laſt ſo much ſoftened, that he was as ready to do him all offices of humanity as Mr Browne was thoſe of duty and religion, for he removed him out of a noiſome dungeon, into a handſome convenient chamber, with a pair of leads over it, where he might enjoy freer air, and ſometimes alſo the company of his friends. He likewiſe made aſſiduous application to the Council of State, that while Mr Barwick remained in the Tower, he might have an allowance granted him for his ſubſiſtence, and when he could not prevail, he ſupplied him from his own table. Indeed, after two years confinement, the Commonwealth did think fit to allow him five ſhillings a week, which he received for about four months. Then, through the ſame friendly interceſſion of Mr Weſt, he was diſcharged on the ſeventh of Auguſt, 1652, but upon giving ſecurity to appear at any time within a twelvemonth before the Council of State (*s*). This procuring his diſcharge, was the laſt friendſhip Mr Weſt did him, who within three days after died of an apoplexy, and was ſucceeded by Colonel Barkſted, a barbarous, bloody man, and ſo cruel to his priſoners, that Mr Barwick thought it the greateſt mercy afforded in his life-time, that he became not one of the number (*t*). On his deliverance, he went and paid his reſpects to his old patron the Biſhop of Durham, his aged parents, and the incomparable Lady Saville, but the place he choſe for his reſidence, was the houſe of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Suſſex, a man

(*p*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 75.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memorials of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 89.

(*r*) ibid. p. 96.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 98.

(*t*) See the Groans of the Priſoners in the Tower, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1657. Hiſtory of Independency, third and fourth Parts. Tryals of the Regicides.

[*K*] *Even in the moſt inveterate diſeaſes.*] Long before Dr Peter Barwick wrote his brother's Life, this circumſtance was become famous. Lloyd tells us the Dean of St Paul's was in the Tower ſed ſeveral years with bread and water; which diet, by God's providence, having ſaved his life when his vein broke, he drank little or nothing but water almoſt all his life after, and eat nothing but once in twenty-four or thirty hours (14). A late writer mentions this caſe of Dr Barwick's as a ſtrong proof of the virtue of water (15). The celebrated Dr Cheyne gives us the following account of it, wherein the reader will ſee that he has committed ſome ſlight miſtakes. 'Dr Barwick tells us in the Life of 'his brother, who in the late civil wars had for many 'years been confined in a low room in the Tower, 'during the Uſurpation, that at the time of his going 'in he was under a phthiſis, atrophy, and dyſcraſy, 'and lived on bread and water only ſeveral years there, 'and yet came out at the Reſtoration ſleek, plump, 'and gay (16).'

(14) Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610.

(15) The Miracles of Water, in anſwer to *Scelera Aquarum*, p. 93.

(16) The natural Method of curing the Diſeaſes of the Body, and the Diſorders of the Mind, p. 210.

[*L*] *So faithful a ſubject.*] About the time of Mr Barwick's impriſonment, the Lady Saville ſent the King one thouſand pounds, out of which his Majeſty immediately ordered two hundred pounds to be employed for Mr Barwick's relief. Afterwards he attempted to purchaſe his liberty in exchange for one who had made an attempt upon his own life, which Dr Barwick thankfully acknowledges in a dedication of his (17). When the King lay encamped near the city of Worceſter, a few days before the battle, Dr Peter Barwick coming to pay his duty, and mentioning ſlightly his brother's confinement, the King was pleaſed to ſay with great warmth, 'I well know that honeſt man, who for my 'ſake, and that of all my loyal ſubjects, has been 'treated with great indignity, and ſuffered the utmoſt 'hardſhips; but now, ſays he, the time is at hand 'when I ſhall either with theſe arms ſuccour him, and 'the reſt of my deareſt friends that groan under the 'cruel yoke of this uſurpation, or willingly lay down 'this life for them (18).' Many more inſtances might be given of the King's gratitude, but it will be ſufficient to indicate the pages where they are ſet down in the margin (19).

(17) Prefixed to the Life of Dr Morton, Biſhop of Durham.

(18) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 129.

(19) Ibid. p. 178, 181, 227, 294, 295, 301.

[*M*] *As*

man of great integrity as well as learning, with whom he lived for many months (*u*). After the expiration of the year, to which the recognizance entered into by himſelf and his friends, Mr Thomas Royſton, ſtudent of Gray's Inn, and Mr Richard Royſton of London, Bookſeller, extended, he began to think of getting up his bond, and entering again into the King's ſervice. With this view he found it expedient to pay a viſit to Preſident Bradſhaw, who received him very civilly, and entered into ſuch a converſation, as deſerves particular notice (*w*) [*M*]. Having thus received ſatisfaction, as to his being out of danger from that recognizance, he began to enter again into buſineſs, and drew over ſeveral conſiderable perſons, ſuch as Colonel John Clobery, Colonel Daniel Redman, and Colonel Robert Venable, to the King's ſervice, with whom he conferred on ſeveral ſchemes for reſtoring monarchy, in all which they were long diſappointed by the craft and induſtry of Cromwell. His friend, Sir Thomas Eversfield, dying, and his widow retiring to the houſe of her brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, at Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, Dr Barwick accompanied her thither, and remained for ſome time with Sir Thomas, who was his old friend. His own and the King's affairs calling him back to London, he lived with his brother, Dr Peter Barwick, in St Paul's Church-Yard, and there managed the greateſt part of the King's correſpondence, with as much care, ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, as ever (*x*). While he was thus engaged, he received ſome interruption, by the revival of that old calumny on the Church of England, the Nag's-Head Ordination, to which he furniſhed the materials for a full and concluſive anſwer [*N*]. His modeſty and private way of living, preſerved him from much notice even in thoſe prying times; and yet, when proper occaſions called for more open teſtimonies of his principles, Mr Barwick did not decline profeſſing them, as appeared by his aſſiſting Dr John Hewet, while in priſon for a plot againſt Cromwell, and even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head (*y*) [*O*]. By the death of this gentlemen, his branch of intelligence, and the care of conveying ſome hundred

(*u*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 103.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 105.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 118.

(*y*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 723. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

[*M*] *As deſerves particular notice*] The account of this converſation given in his Life runs thus: 'Mr 'Barwick finding the year expired, and no indictment 'againſt him, goes to Bradſhaw, whom Cromwell had 'now turned out, to conſult with him what was to be 'done in order to get his bond cancelled, ſince it ought 'to lay him under no farther obligation to the com-'monwealth, now changed into a new tyranny. Brad-'ſhaw receives him with great courteſy and civility, 'and profeſſes himſelf willing to do him any good of-'fice, even with Cromwell himſelf, if he had intereſt 'enough in him. But, Sir, ſays he, there is no oc-'caſion that you ſhould be very ſollicitous about this 'matter, for ſuch papers are either all loſt, or other-'wiſe lie in ſo much diſorder and confuſion, that they 'are never like to give trouble to any one. Hence he 'took occaſion to expreſs himſelf with great bitter-'neſs againſt Cromwell, and utter the moſt direful 'execrations againſt his arbitrary tyrannical govern-'ment, but ſpake as reſpectfully of the Royal Autho-'rity exerciſed within thoſe bounds preſcribed by the 'laws, as if he had had a mind to return into favour 'with Kings: But you Cavaliers (ſays he, ſmiling) muſt 'needs laugh in your ſleeves at our diſſentions, and the 'ſtruggle there is amongſt us who ſhall have the go-'vernment; and promiſe your King, not without rea-'ſon, great advantages from our diſagreement (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 159, 160.

[*N*] *A full and concluſive anſwer.*] The revival of this diſpute was occaſioned by a little Piece publiſhed at Rouen under the title of *A Treatiſe of the nature of the Catholic Faith, and of Hereſy*. The authors of this Piece, for there was more than one, aſſerted therein, that a Preſbyterian Nobleman, who ſat in the late Parliament, had written a book with intent to exclude the Biſhops from their ſeats in the houſe of peers, by ſhewing that they were not the legal ſucceſſors of the antient Biſhops for want of due conſecration; and, in anſwer to this, they pretended that the Biſhop of Durham ſtood up and made a ſolemn ſpeech; in which he averred, in expreſs words, that the firſt Biſhops, after the Reformation, were conſecrated in a tavern (the Nag's Head in Cheapſide); and added farther, that this was a fact notorious to all the world, and to this the book affirms the Biſhops then preſent aſſented. In all probability the coiners of this fine tale perſuaded themſelves, that the Biſhop of Durham, who was now in the ninety-fifth year of his age, had been in his grave, and ſo out of a capacity of contradicting them. But when that grave prelate heard in the country of this ſtrange reflection caſt upon him, 'he ſent for his chaplain Mr 'Barwick, then at London, directing him to bring a 'Public Notary with him, that by a ſolemn proteſtation 'made before them, and other proper witneſſes, he 'might declare the falſehood of this ſtory (21). When 'his Lordſhip had made this proteſtation in due form, 'he employed Mr Barwick to lay it before all thoſe 'Lords who had ſat in that Parliament, and were yet 'ſurviving, whether ſpiritual or temporal, living either 'at London or in the neighbouring counties; appeal-'ing to the faith of them all, that, preferring the ſa-'credneſs of truth to all other conſiderations whatever, 'if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed with this 'calumny, they would freely atteſt it by ſubſcribing 'their names (22). And this was readily done, not 'only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the 'proteſtation could be carried (and it was carried to a 'great many), but by all the clerks alſo, and other 'officers of the houſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to regiſter 'in authentick journals all ſuch debates if there had 'been any; but they all declared there was not the leaſt 'footſtep to be found, either of any ſuch book as was 'pretended to be laid before the houſe, or of any ſuch 'ſpeech, as the adverſaries alledged to have been made 'on that occaſion. The aged Biſhop, now paſt ma-'naging Church controverſies himſelf, lays his com-'mand on his Chaplain Mr Barwick to publiſh this pro-'teſtation, together with the noble teſtimony thereto 'ſubjoined: And this he deſigned to do in a vo-'lume; but when he heard that the learned Biſhop of 'Derry (23), then an exile in Holland, intended the 'ſame thing (having been engaged before with the 'ſame adverſaries in that controverſy) (24), he readily 'left this work to his Lordſhip's irrefragable pen, fur-'niſhing him in the mean time with materials proper 'to end this diſpute (25).'

(21) Signed July 17, 1658.

(22) Signed July 19, 1658.

(23) Dr John Bramhall.

(24) *Viz.* In his Juſt Vindication of the Church of England, p. 133. In his Replication to the Biſhop of Chalcedon, p. 253. and in Schiſm Guarded, in anſwer to Serjeant, p. 422.

(25) Which was done in his treatiſe, intituled, The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified; the Biſhop of Dureſme Vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's-Head, clearly confuted. Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 424.

[*O*] *Even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head.*] This Dr John Hewit was a Norfolk man by birth, and educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, where very probably his acquaintance with Dr Barwick commenced. He was employed by his Majeſty in keeping his friends together, and collecting money from them for his ſupport; in the courſe of which undertaking his own honeſty made him leſs ſuſpicious than was neceſſary, and ſo he fell into the hands of ſome of Thurloe's agents, by whom he was enſnared (26), and in virtue of a ſentence paſſed by a high court of juſtice for contumacy, loſt his head on the eighth of June, 1658. He was attended by Mr Barwick, in conjunction with Mr Wild and Dr Warmeſtry (27); and the moment before he ſuffered he preſented Mr Barwick with a ring, the motto of which was, *Alter Ariſtides*, which he wore to the day of his own death (28). His friendſhip went beyond the grave, for when he attended the King at Breda, he made it his requeſt that Dr Hewet's widow might be taken under his Majeſty's care and protection, and that her fatherleſs ſon might have ſome place given him (29).

(26) Collection of Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 707, & *ſeq.*

(27) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

(28) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 175.

(29) Ibid. p. 274.

[*P*] *And*

hundred pounds, which he had collected for the King's uſe, devolved upon Mr Barwick; who, though he had already ſo much upon his hands, readily undertook and happily performed it. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a perſon in his circumſtances, and ſo little uſed to an active life, was able to go through the drudgery of ſuch a correſpondence, wherein he met daily acceſſions of fatigue, and yet durſt not take in any aſſiſtance; but what is ſtill more wonderful, is the ſilence of the Earl of Clarendon as to this gentleman's indefatigable ſervice, who never once mentions him, tho' he was his principal correſpondent, and his Lordſhip certainly drew from his intelligence, the fund of that hiſtory which he wrote of theſe times (z). The concern Mr Barwick had for the King and for the State, did not hinder him from attending, when he was called thereto, the buſineſs of the Church, in which however he had a very worthy aſſociate, Mr Richard Alleſtrey, who took the moſt troubleſome part on himſelf, by performing ſeveral dangerous journies into Flanders, in order to receive the King's commands by word of mouth; neither did Mr Barwick's aſſiduity in this reſpect, proceed in any degree from that kind of ambition which is but too common amongſt churchmen, for with great modeſty he declined the epiſcopal dignity when offered him, and with unfeigned humility conſented to receive this office, in caſe the circumſtances of the Church abſolutely required it, and no fitter perſon could be found (a) [P]. In the riſing of Sir George Boothe, he had a principal concern in the managing of the deſign, and in providing for the ſafety of ſuch as eſcaped after it miſcarried. Not long after he narrowly miſſed a new impriſonment, thro' the treachery of ſome who were intruſted by the King's miniſters: For by their intelligence, Mr Alleſtrey was ſeized as ſoon as he landed at Dover, and one of Mr Barwick's letters intercepted, part of which was, and all might have been decyphered by the famous Dr Wallis, if in pity to thoſe concerned, or perhaps from ſome proſpect of a change in the King's affairs, he had not been content to appear leſs knowing than he really was (b) [Q]. Secretary Thurloe, with all his intelligence, never gained any notice of Mr Barwick, tho' he carried on ſo long and regular a correſpondence with the King and Chancellor Hyde, of which there are ſtill in being a great variety of inſtances, which ſufficiently diſcover how induſtriouſly he enquired

(z) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life in Engliſh. See alſo the ſeventh volume of Thurloe's State Papers.

(a) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 139.

(b) Ibid. p. 167.

[P] *And no fitter perſon could be found.*] The buſineſs then in agitation was the filling up the vacant Sees, a point of very great conſequence, and not more warmly puſhed by the Clergy themſelves than by the Chancellor Hyde; yet ſome unexpected difficulties ſprung up, which retarded it. Mr Barwick declined the epiſcopal dignity, becauſe he thought it irregular at leaſt, if not ſomething more, for a Preſbyter to be made at once a Biſhop without paſſing through any of the leſſer dignities of the Church. When, however, the Biſhoprick of Man appeared to have no candidate, ſeveral eminent Divines looking upon it as a kind of baniſhment to be ſent thither, Mr Barwick readily accepted of it, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, as readily reſigned the promiſe he had of it; when, upon a nearer view of poſſeſſing it, others thought it worth the ſeeking (30). The letters which paſſed between the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Barwick upon this occaſion, and which may be found in the Appendix to his Life, are ſufficient to ſhew how large a ſhare he had in the ſettlement of the Church, and how honeſtly he diſcharged it.

(30) Ibid. p. 238, 246.

[Q] *Leſs knowing than he really was.*] When Chancellor Hyde was informed that letters written by him were not only intercepted, but decyphered, he would ſcarce believe it; and upon this occaſion he wrote March 8, 1660, thus to Mr. Barwick: 'I confeſs to you, as I am ſure no copy could be gotten of 'any of my cyphers from hence, ſo I did not think it 'probable that they could be got on your ſide the 'water: But I was as confident, till you tell me you 'believe it, that the Devil himſelf cannot decypher a 'letter that is well written, or find that 100 ſtands for 'Sir Henry Vane. I have heard of many of the pre'tenders to that ſkill, and have ſpoken with ſome of 'them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks; 'nor did I ever hear that more of the King's letters 'that were found at Naſeby, than thoſe which they 'they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which 'they were wrote, were decyphered. And I very well 'remember, that in the volume they publiſhed, there 'was much left in cypher which could not be under'ſtood, and which I believe they would have explained 'if it had been in their power; but you can eaſily 'ſatisfy yourſelf in this point, if you either make a 'cypher yourſelf, or write half a ſcore lines out of ſe'veral other cyphers, and ſend them to the artiſt, and 'you will then be convinced yourſelf, and be able to 'convince others; and then it will be to no purpoſe to 'traffick any more in thoſe commodities (31).' The account given by Dr Peter Barwick of this accident, is to this purpoſe: Mr Alleſtrey, as he was returning home from thence, i.e. Bruſſels, was betrayed (by whoſe perfidiouſneſs is unknown); but he was no ſooner landed on the Engliſh ſhore, than he was immediately made a cloſe priſoner; and Mr Barwick's letter, with more ſent by Mr William Rombald and others, were intercepted by the garriſon of Dunkirk, then at enmity with the King; and what was yet worſe, although every different perſon's letter was written in a diſtinct cypher, and that contrived with great thought, yet they were all decyphered by the art and ingenuity of a certain very famous Mathematician (Dr Wallis), who was hired by the Rebels: For it was the very ſame artiſt that made theſe diſcoveries, who (too officious to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decyphered his Majeſty's papers written alſo in characters, and taken at Naſby fight. Yet he had now at laſt this in him of a good ſubject, that at this time he diſcovered nothing to the Rebels, which much concerned the publick ſafety; though he ſatisfied ſome of the King's friends, that he could have diſcovered a great deal; but all thoſe whom it concerned being ſufficiently aſſured that no key of any cypher had fallen into the enemy's hands, it was thought nothing but vain boaſting, when the Rebels bragged, that by the help of their friends they were able to find out the moſt hidden ſecrets of the Royaliſts, till Mr Matt. Wren (ſon to the right reverend Biſhop of Ely), who was intimately acquainted with this Mathematician, obtained of him ſome copies of thoſe letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered ſeverally to the perſons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's art (32).——By comparing theſe paſſages, the Reader will eaſily diſcern that this enquiry by Mr Wren, who was ſon to the Biſhop of Ely, was made in purſuance of my Lord Chancellor's direction, who yet ſeems, by another letter of his, to have remained fixed in his old opinion, that, without treachery, a good cypher could not be penetrated. There is a letter in Thurloe's collection, ſuppoſed to be written by Chancellor Hyde to Mr Barwick, in which the Names of perſons are not decyphered, yet upon carefully reviewing the letter, I am very poſitive that it was not directed to Mr Barwick, becauſe it cannot be read by his cyphers, as all the other letters to him in that collection, which are not a few, may (33). If this was a letter from the Chancellor to any body elſe, then it would give ſome probability to his opinion; but as to that I can determine nothing.

(31) Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 503.

(32) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 251.

(33) Vol. VII. p. 857.

enquired into all that paſſed here, as well as how true judgment he made of all the ſchemes of the Cromwellians, and how exact an account he tranſmitted of them to the King and Chancellor Hyde, which is a ſecret but lately revealed (*c*) [*R*]. In the midſt of theſe difficulties died the good old Biſhop of Durham, whom Mr Barwick piouſly aſſiſted in his laſt moments, preached his funeral ſermon, and afterwards wrote his life, which he dedicated to the King (*d*) [*S*]. All the hopes that now remained of a Reſtoration reſted upon General Monk, and though it is certain that Mr Barwick had no direct correſpondence with him, yet it is no leſs certain, that he furniſhed him with the principal inſtruments he employed in the moſt difficult parts of that arduous affair; as for inſtance, Colonel Daniel Redman, who carried over to Monk the Iriſh horſe, and Colonel Cloberry, whom he intruſted chiefly with the guard of the Parliament, as well as with his meſſages to them. After the affair was ſo far ripened, that there ſeemed to be no longer any doubt of the King's return, Mr Barwick was ſent over by the Biſhops to repreſent the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs. He was received by his Majeſty with the moſt endearing marks of cordial affection, preached before him the Sunday after his arrival, and was immediately appointed one of his Chaplains. Yet did not his great deſerts, or theſe extraordinary marks of the King's favour induce him to make any requeſt for himſelf, tho' he did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of recommending effectually ſeveral of his friends, and procuring for them an acknowledgment ſuitable to each of their ſervices (*e*) [*T*]. On his return he viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where he gave a new proof his diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity, by relinquiſhing his right to his fellowſhip in favour of an intruder, becauſe he had the reputation of being a young man of learning and probity (*f*). Before he left the univerſity, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, upon which occaſion he performed his exerciſe, tho' that might have been well diſpenſed with, merely to ſupport the diſcipline of the univerſity, for which he had a very warm and juſt concern. The theſis made choice of upon this occaſion was very ſingular, viz. That the method of impoſing penance, and reſtoring Penitents in the primitive Church was a godly diſcipline, and that it is much to be wiſhed it was reſtored. The Latin diſputation upon this queſtion has been preſerved, and it was chiefly for the ſake of inſerting it, that Dr Peter Barwick compoſed his brother's life in Latin. It is indeed a moſt learned and inſtructive piece, and does our author's memory much honour (*g*) [*U*]. When the Church of England was reſtored in all it's beauty by King Charles II, and Deans and Chapters revived, Dr Barwick, according to his uſual modeſty, contented himſelf with recommending his tutor, old Mr Fothergill, to a Prebend in the cathedral church of York, but as to himſelf, he would have reſted content with the

(*c*) See a more full account in the following note.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*e*) Vit. Johan. Barwick. p. 199.

(*f*) This was Mr John Tuckney, who yet loſt the fellowſhip for Nonconformity, Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 90.

(*g*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 257.

proviſion made for him by his late patron, the Biſhop of Durham, who had given him the fourth ſtall in his cathedral, and the rectories of Wolſingham, and Houghton in le Spring, nay when he found of how great value theſe preferments were, he was inclined to think he had too much (*h*). Among other extraordinary offices to which he was called at this buſy time, one was to viſit Hugh Peters, in order to draw from him ſome account of the perſon who actually cut off the head of King Charles I; but in this neither he nor Dr Dolben, his aſſociate, had any ſucceſs (*i*). Before the Reſtoration there had been a deſign of conſecrating Dr Barwick, Biſhop of Man, but the Counteſs of Derby deſiring to prefer her Chaplain to that dignity, the Doctor readily reſigned all title thereto in his favour, upon which,

(*h*) Ibid. p. 197.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 203.

[*R*] *Which is a ſecret lately revealed.*] It is indeed ſomething ſtrange, that, in ſo long a correſpondence, Dr Barwick ſhould never be detected, eſpecially if Thurloe had been as well furniſhed with intelligence as he is generally ſuppoſed. Yet in his voluminous collection I do not find one of Mr Barwick's, or of any directed to him. Thoſe that are in the ſeventh volume of that work were communicated to the Editor, and not intercepted (34). This ſhews, that if a man be very prudent and cautious of converſing with ſtrangers, he may avoid great dangers in this way. It was Dr Hewet's foible to converſe freely with every man who profeſſed himſelf a Royaliſt, and this undid him. Mr Barwick, on the contrary, avoided being known as much as poſſible, and ſuffered none of his correſpondents to pry into each others affairs, by which means he eſcaped.

(34) Theſe Letters are in the poſſeſſion of Joſ. Radcliffe, Eſq; of the inner Temple. See Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 415, 531, 613, 614, 615, 646, 658, 662, 666, 685, 686, 763, 853, 854, 859, 860, 870.

[*S*] *Which he dedicated to the King.*] He alſo drew up an Epitaph for him, in which is contained a very juſt, as well as very accurate, panegyrick on this great man. A circumſtance from the dedication of Dr Barwick's book has been before taken notice of, and the title of this Treatiſe will be given in another note. Here we ſhall only add, that an account of Biſhop Morton's life was written by another Chaplain of his, Dr Joſeph Nelſon, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgfield.

[*T*] *To each of their ſervices.*] In his Life we have the inſtructions given by the Biſhops to Mr Barwick, in relation to his laying before the King a ſtate of the Church; and we have alſo a paper of his containing the requeſts made by him to his Majeſty, ſuch as that he would be pleaſed to confer the honour of Knighthood on the eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Middleton, which was complied with; that his Majeſty would take care of Colonel Cloberry, which had alſo it's proper weight; and that gentleman, ſoon after the Reſtoration, had a grant made him of ſix hundred pounds a year; that ſome ſome eminent mark of the King's favour might be ſhewn to Colonel Robert Venables; the reaſon aſſigned for it I muſt give in Mr Barwick's own words, *viz.* Becauſe it was ſufficiently known that he formerly both could have reſtored his Majeſty to his throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the perfidiouſneſs of ſome to whom the King's buſineſs was truſted, but we are not told what return this repreſentation met with; that ſuch as had tranſmitted money through his or Dr Hewet's hands might be admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and that Dr Hewet's family might be provided for (35).

(35) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 270, 273, 274.

[*U*] *Our author's memory much honour.*] The title of this piece in Latin runs thus: *Exomologeſis primitivæ Eccleſiæ eſt Diſciplina pia, ejuſque Reſtitutio eſt maximè optanda.* This diſſertation makes about forty pages at the end of the Latin life, and ſhews the Author's perfect acquaintance with the diſcipline of the Primitive Church, and how diligently, and to how good purpoſe, he ſtudied the antient Fathers. It is indeed in every reſpect ſo well conceived, and ſo well executed a piece, that it is ſurprizing the Editor of the Latin life, and Tranſlator of it into Engliſh, did not take the pains to give us a verſion of it; for though it be true that the ſubject is handled in a ſcholaſtic ſtile, yet it is no leſs evident that it's author was as much for Reformation in a right courſe as any man of his time.

[*W*] *For*

which, the King, of his own motive, would have promoted him to the See of Carliſle, which the Doctor ſteadily refuſed, that the world might not imagine, the extraordinary zeal he had ſhewn for epiſcopacy, flowed from any ſecret hope of his one day being a Biſhop. Upon this he was promoted to the Deanery of Durham, with which he kept the rectory of Houghton, which is only four miles diſtant from the city. He took poſſeſſion of his deanery on the feaſt of All Saints 1660 (*k*), and as he enjoyed a large revenue, ſo certainly never any man employed it better, or more conſcientiouſly ſtudied the laying it out for thoſe purpoſes for which it was given; he repaired publick buildings, relieved the poor, and kept up great hoſpitality, both at the houſe of his deanery and at Houghton. But before the year was out, he was called from theſe cares, in which he would willingly have ſpent his whole life, by his being made Dean of St Paul's, which though a preferment leſs in value, and attended with much more trouble than that he already poſſeſſed, yet Dr Barwick readily accepted, becauſe he knew he was called thereto, purely for the ſervice of the Church (*l*). As ſoon as he had done this he put an end to all granting of leaſes, even where he had agreed for the fine with the tenants, and did many other things for the benefit of his ſucceſſor, which ſhewed his contempt of ſecular advantages, and his ſincere concern for the rights of the Church (*m*) [*W*]. He took poſſeſſion of the deanery of St Paul's, about the middle of October 1661, and found, as he expected, all in very great diſorder with reſpect to the church itſelf, and every thing that concerned it. He ſet about reforming theſe abuſes with a truly primitive ſpirit, and proſecuted with great vigour the recovery of ſuch revenues, as in the late times of diſtraction had been alienated from the church; though with reſpect to his own particular concerns, he was never rigid to any body, but frequently gave up things to which he had a clear title (*n*). By his intereſt with his Majeſty he obtained two royal grants under the Great-Seal of England, one for the repair of the cathedral, the other, for enumerating and ſecuring it's privileges. In this reſpect, he was ſo tender, that he would not permit the Lord-Mayor of London to erect there a ſeat for himſelf at the expence of the city, but inſiſted that it ſhould be done at the charge of the church (*o*). Towards the repairing the cathedral, he, together with the Reſidentiaries, gave the rents of the houſes in St Paul's church-yard as a ſettled fund, beſides which they advanced each of them 500 *l*. a piece, and, in many other reſpects, he demonſtrated, that neither the love of preferment, or the deſire of wealth, had any ſhare in his acceptance of this dignity (*p*) [*X*]. Though this office might ſufficiently have employed, even as active a perſon as Dr Barwick was, yet he was called to ſtill greater labours by the good opinion of the King, and the univerſal reſpect of the Clergy. In conſequence of the former, he was appointed one of the nine aſſiſtants to the twelve Biſhops, commiſſioned to hold a conference with the like number of Preſbyterian Miniſters upon the review of the Liturgy; which conference was held at the Biſhop of London's lodgings in the Savoy (*q*). As an effect of the latter, he was, by the unananimous ſuffrage of all the Clergy of the province of Canterbury aſſembled in Convocation, choſen Prolocutor on the 18th of February 1661 (*r*); in which high office he behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, as added even to the great reputation he had before acquired. His application, however, to the diſcharge of ſo many and ſo great duties brought upon him his old diſtemper, ſo that in November 1662 he was confined to his chamber: He heigthened his diſeaſe by officiating at the ſacrament the Chriſtmas-day following, after which he was ſeized with ſuch a violent vomiting of blood, that he brought up whole baſons full. Upon this he was adviſed to a change of air, for the enjoyment of which he retired to Therfield in Hertfordſhire, of which he was Rector, but finding himſelf there too far from London, he returned to Chiſwick, where he in ſome meaſure recovered his health (*s*). As ſoon as he found he had a little ſtrength, he applied himſelf there to the putting in order the archives of St Paul's church, and ſo threw himſelf down again. This was followed by an extraordinary flux of blood, which rendered him very weak, and defeated his favourite deſign of retiring to Therfield. When he firſt found his health declining, he made choice of and procured this living, intending to have reſigned his deanery and office of Prolocutor, to thoſe who had vigour enough to diſcharge them, and to ſpend the remainder of his days in the diſcharge of his paſtoral office, to

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*l*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Angl. p. 185.

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 213.

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*o*) Vit. John Barwick, p. 219.

(*p*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 61. Wherein it appears, that theſe Reſidentaries were Dr Thomas Turner, Dr John Hacket, and Dr Edward Layfield.

(*q*) See this commiſſion at the end of Dr Nichols's Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, edit. in folio.

(*r*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 101.

(*s*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 231.

[*W*] *For the rights of the Church.*] This induced him, upon his coming to Durham, to take great care that the prebendal houſes ſhould be repaired, and a grammar-ſchool erected from the ground; he brought water into the college, and took upon himſelf a very hard taſk, that of bringing all the officers of the church under a good diſcipline and to a regular life, and at the ſame time to augment ſuch ſalaries as were too ſmall, not only of the mother church, but of all the churches depending upon it; and the Chapter not only gave their conſent to this, but did all in their power to promote it; yet they were ſo far from exacting in the matter of fines, upon ſuch as had leaſes of the church lands, and were ſo beneficial to all the poor, that, in an age very little favourable to the clergy, they are mentioned with honour to this day for their humanity, candour, and piety: Nay, in many caſes they were ſo bountiful, as to recede from their own right in favour of their ſucceſſors, that the revenues of the Church might deſcend to them with ſome augmentation (36).

(36) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 103, 108.

[*X*] *Accepting this dignity.*] One may ſafely ſay, that nothing could have happened more for the ſervice of the church of St Paul's than Dr Barwick's being appointed it's Dean. He boldly entered into ſuits for the ſake of the church, and was not to be terrified by any interpoſitions of the Great, or ill grounded calumnies of the Many. He followed a cauſe even before the Privy-Council, and though it came there with an ill grace, yet he procured a good end to it, and juſtified his own conduct to the ſatisfaction of every body. He would have gone a progreſs into Eſſex for the ſettling the eſtates of the Church there, if he had not ſwooned at ſetting out, and even then was hardly prevailed on to deſiſt, and this for no other reaſon, than becauſe he was afraid the tenants might be ſqueezed or harraſſed by ſuch as were employed in this affair (37).

(37) Ibid. p. 312, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322, 323

[*Y*] *Equal*

to which he thought himſelf bound by his taking orders (*t*). But Providence prepared for him a ſtill more quiet manſion, for coming upon ſome extraordinary occaſion to London, he was ſeized with a pleuriſy, which carried him off in three days. He was attended in his laſt moments by Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and as he lived, ſo he died with all the marks of an exemplary piety, on the 22d of October, 1664; after he had ſtruggled almoſt twelve years with this grievous diſtemper (*u*). Upon inſpection, all his entrails appeared to be decayed, particularly his liver and his lungs, and yet not ſo much vitiated, but that he might have lived conſiderably longer, if the maſs of of blood, had not been in a great meaſure, by continual evacuations, exhauſted. Many good and great men came of their own accords from all parts to his funeral, where Dr Henchman, Biſhop of London, read the ſervice, and Dr Gunning preached the funeral ſermon (*w*). By his will he bequeathed the greateſt part of his eſtate to charitable uſes, and this with a judgment equal to his piety (*x*) [*Y*]. His body was interred in the cathedral of St Paul's, and his epitaph, compoſed by Mr Samuel Howlet, then not twenty years of age, is not inferior to the worth of him it celebrates (*y*) [*Z*]. The character of Mr Barwick is ſo eaſily collected from theſe memoirs, that nothing in relation thereto can ſeem neceſſary in this place, as the extraordinary length of this article forbids any addition which is not abſolutely of that kind; I ſhall therefore conclude with obſerving, that as his was a life of action, and not a very long one neither, dying at fifty-three, ſo we have no reaſon to wonder, that he did not leave behind him a greater number of writings, though what he has left are ſufficient to ſhew, how well he could have expreſſed his zeal and his loyalty by words, if he had not been better employed, I mean, in expreſſing them by his actions. Mr Wood has given us a catalogue of his works (*z*) [*AA*], which, with thoſe already mentioned, may ſatisfy the reader on this head, only it may not be amiſs to remark, that abundance of his letters to Chancellor Hyde, may be found in the Collection of Thurloe's State-Papers.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 233.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 237.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 238. The particulars relating to his interment, are taken from a letter of the Reverend Mr John Worthington, communicated to the Tranſlator of Dr Barwick's Life, by his ſon.

(*x*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 239.

(*y*) Le Neve's Monum. Angl. Vol. II. p. 107. Whence we learn that he is buried in the ſouth iſle of St Paul's Cathedral. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 50.

(*z*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

[*Y*] *Equal to his piety.*] He gave to the daughters of his brothers, four in number, one hundred pounds each; to his brother William's ſon, his only nephew, two hundred pounds; the works of King Charles I. to his dear friend Mr John Otway; the reſt of his ſtudy to Mr Samuel Howlet; to the ſchool at Sedberg forty pounds; to St John's College, Cambridge, three hundred pounds; to St Paul's church one hundred pounds, all to be employed in the repair of thoſe public buildings. He likewiſe purchaſed an eſtate of about fifty pounds a year, belonging formerly to the Church, but now alienated and applied to ſecular uſes for ſeven hundred pounds, and out of this he gave, by way of augmentation, to the poor endowment of the chapel of Wetherſlack, his native village, thirty pounds a year, which chapel in his life-time he rebuilt from the ground far more elegantly than it was before. The ſurplus of this eſtate he directed to be annually diſpoſed of in mending the highways, in the inſtruction of the ſons of the poorer ſort, or in marrying their daughters. Thus, for the moſt part, he diſpoſed of all he had, or was due to him from thoſe whom he thought would readily pay his executors. The reſidue of his eſtate, by reaſon of the doubtful credit of ſome of his debtors, or the leſs doubtful indigence of others, he could not reduce to any juſt eſtimate; but whatever it ſhould amount to, after his funeral expences and other debts paid, he directed it to be diſpoſed of either for the relief of poor families, or to other pious uſes, at his diſcretion, to whom he intruſted the care and execution of his will. And indeed this ſurpluſage of his eſtate, by the diligence and faithfulneſs of ſome perſons that had a juſt value for his memory, and were well verſed in the practice of the Law, amounted, beyond all expectation, to little leſs than one thouſand pounds; ſo faithfully did he diſcharge the public truſt committed to him, and ſo prudently manage his private fortune (38).

(38) Ibid. p. 346.

[*Z*] *To him it celebrates*] In this epitaph, which has been often printed both in Latin and Engliſh, there is a conciſe hiſtory of Dean Barwick's life, in a very elegant and claſſic ſtile, though the author was ſo young a man. He had ſome relation to the family, being, as I take it, ſon to Dr Peter Barwick's wife, by her firſt huſband Dean Howlet, and bred at Cambridge in St John's-college under Mr Fothergill, Dean Barwick's own tutor. The text, on which Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, preached on this occaſion, was *Philippians* i. *ver.* 22, 23, 24. His funeral was ſolemnized on the 27th of October, 1664 (39).

(59) This from Dr Worthington's Letter abovementioned.

[*AA*] *A catalogue of his works.*] This worthy perſon, Dr Barwick, ſays he, has publiſhed, 1. *The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of St Paul*, accommodated to Thomas (Morton) late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, in a ſermon preached at his funeral in the pariſh church of St Peter at Eaſton Manduit in Northamptonſhire, on Michaelmas-day, on 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, 8. Lond. 1660, 4to. 2. *A Summary Account of the Holy Life and Death of Thomas late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme*, printed with the ſaid ſermon, which Biſhop died at Eaſton Manduit before mentioned on St Matthew's day, *an.* 1659, aged 95 years. 3. *Deceivers deceived, or the Miſtakes of Wickedneſs*, &c. a ſermon at St Paul's cathedral the [illegible] of October, 1661, on *Prov.* xiv. part of the 8th verſe. Lond. 1661, 4to (40).

(40) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 50.

E

BARWICK (PETER) Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. He was brother to John beforementioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1619, at Wetherſlack in Weſtmoreland (*a*). He went to the ſame grammar-ſchool with his elder brother, till ſuch time as he was fitted for the univerſity, when he removed to St John's-college in Cambridge. This was about the year 1637, and he continued there about ſix years, being much furthered in his ſtudies, by the care taken of him by his brother. In 1642, being then in the twenty-fourth of his age, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). In 1644, he was nominated by the Biſhop of Ely, to a fellowſhip of St John's, in his gift (*c*) [*A*]. It is very probable that he had left the college before he obtained this preſentation,

(*a*) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick, Dean of St Paul's.

(*b*) Regiſt. Coll. S. Joan.

(*c*) Regiſt. Elienſ.

[*A*] *To a fellowſhip of St John's in his gift.*] The induſtrious and reverend Mr Bedford, editor of Dr Peter Barwick's Life of his brother, the Dean of St Paul's, had the firſt hint of our author's being not only a ſcholar, but a fellow of St John's, from his daughter, Lady Dutton. Upon this, he applied to the late excellent Mr Baker of the ſame college, who, of all men living, was the moſt capable of obtaining for him a true account. He ſearched the college regiſters to no purpoſe, which, to a leſs curious man, would have been a ſufficient proof that this report was ill-grounded; but he, to avoid all poſſibility of miſtake, conſulted the regiſtry of Ely, where he found an entry to this purpoſe, That on the third day of Dec. 1644,

preſentation, for as he was eminently loyal, as well as his brother, there is little reaſon to doubt his withdrawing from the univerſity, about the ſame ſame time his brother did, which was in the foregoing year. It is uncertain, whether, at that time, he had made any choice of a profeſſion or not, ſo that being invited into Leiceſterſhire, in order to become Tutor to Ferdinando Sacheverell, Eſq; of Old Hayes in that county, a young gentleman of great hopes, he readily accepted the propoſition, and continued with him for ſome time (*d*). In 1647, he returned to Cambridge, and took his degree of Maſter of Arts, applying himſelf then aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of Phyſick. While he was thus engaged, he loſt his friend and former pupil, Mr Sacheverell, who, as a teſtimony of his eſteem and affection, bequeathed our author an annuity of twenty pounds, which was very punctually paid him (*e*). How he diſpoſed of himſelf for ſome years, does not very clearly appear, becauſe he who ſo elegantly recorded the loyal ſervices of his brother, as ſtudiouſly concealed his own. It is however more than probable, that he was engaged in the ſervice of his Sovereign, ſince it is certain that he was at Worceſter in 1651, where he had acceſs to his royal maſter King Charles II, who teſtified to him a very kind ſenſe of the fidelity of his family (*f*). In 1655, he was created Doctor of Phyſick, and two years afterwards, being then near forty, he took a houſe in St Paul's Church-Yard, and much about the ſame time, married the widow of an eminent merchant, who was a near relation of Archbiſhop Laud's [*B*]. Being thus ſettled, he ſoon gained a very great repute in the city, for his ſkill in his profeſſion, as amongſt the learned, by his judicious Defence of Dr Harvey's Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, which was then, and is ſtill, admired, as one of the beſt pieces wrote upon that ſubject (*g*) [*C*]. At this houſe of his, he entertained his worthy brother Dr John Barwick, who repaired at his own expence an oratory he found there, wherein he daily read the ſervice of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and with a few ſteady Royaliſts, prayed for his exiled maſter. After the Reſtoration in 1660, he was made one of the King's Phyſicians in Ordinary (*h*), and in the year following, received a ſtill ſtronger proof of his Majeſty's kind ſenſe of his own and his brother's ſervices [*D*]. On the eighth of May 1661, Dr Gilbert Sheldon, then Biſhop

(*d*) Præfat. Vit. J. Barwick, S. T. P. à P. Barwick conſcript p. v.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Heath's Chr. Vit. J. Barwick, p. 81.

(*g*) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick; p. xiii.

(*h*) Ibid. p. vii.

Peter Barwick, Bachelor of Arts, was preſented to a fellowſhip in St John's college, void by the marriage of John Topping, Maſter of Arts, late Fellow, being in the gift of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Dated the the ſame day from the chamber in which his Lordſhip was then impriſoned in the Tower of London. This Biſhop was the famous Dr Matthew Wren; and the reaſon why our author made no uſe of this preſentation, is obvious enough, the Parliament was then poſſeſſed of the Univerſity, and none could be admitted there who were not well affected to them. Accordingly, in the college regiſter we find, that on April 26, 1650; John Heath, a Middleſex man, was admitted by the Viſitors into this fellowſhip without any notice taken who he ſucceeded (1). This little circumſtance certainly deſerves notice, as it is an early proof of our author's modeſty, who, in the title of his books ſtiles himſelf, formerly a ſcholar of that college, though, as we ſee, he might juſtly have wrote himſelf Fellow, as having for many years a legal title thereto.

(1) Præfat. in Vit. Johannes Barwick, S.T.P. à Pet. Barwick, M. D. conſcrip. p. ii, iii, iv.

[*B*] *A near relation of Archbiſhop Laud's*] This Lady's maiden name was Brown, deſcended of the ancient family of Browns in Norfolk. She married firſt Dr Richard Howlet, a Clegyman of great merit, who became a Dean in Ireland, but being driven from his deanery in the Rebellion, came over into England in very diſtreſſed circumſtances; on which account, as well as becauſe his wife was his relation, Archbiſhop Laud collated him to the rectory of Lachingdon in Eſſex. After his deceaſe ſhe married Mr Sayon, a rich Merchant, whoſe widow ſhe was when our author eſpouſed her (3). He had by her ſeveral children, viz. a ſon who died an infant, two daughters who alſo died in their non-age, and one who ſurvived him, mentioned in the text.

(2) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick, p. vi.

[*C*] *Which were then admired as the beſt pieces on that ſubject.*] The learned Dr Harvey publiſhed his uſeful diſcovery of the circulation of the blood when our author was between eight and nine years old (3), and yet the diſputes about it were very warm after Dr Barwick had taken his degree, the author himſelf being ſtill living. As two things were chiefly inſiſted on, firſt that the fact itſelf was ſtill dubious, and next, that admitting it certain, it was a thing known long ago even to Hippocrates, the Father of the Faculty, our author was excellently qualified to ſhine in this diſpute. The learned writings he left behind him on the human ſyſtem, though they were never publiſhed, ſufficiently demonſtrate his exquiſite ſkill in Anatomy, and his great ſagacity in applying the lights he drew from that ſcience. On the other hand, no man was ever better read than he in the antient authors on Phyſick, whence he made it evidently appear, that ſuch as attributed this diſcovery to Hippocrates, did it only out of envy to his friend Dr Harvey. As theſe ſuccours from ſo worthy a perſon were kindly acknowledged by that venerable old man, ſo our author himſelf, as he often told Dr Woodward, reflected on no action of his life with greater ſatisfaction, than he did on this, of eſpouſing the cauſe of ſo worthy a perſon againſt a troop of malevolent opponents (4). To this we may add what is likewiſe a circumſtance much to our athor's honour, that Dr Woodward, late Profeſſor at Greſham-college, was his pupil, and very probably derived from him that fluency in writing and ſpeaking elegant Latin, for which he is deſervedly famous.

(3) In his Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis, printed at Francfort, 1628.

(4) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, &c. p. xv.

[*D*] *His and his brother's ſervices*] The patent under the hand and ſeal of Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter King at Arms, bears date the 20th of November 1661, and recites, That whereas nothing can be more juſt, than that ſuch as have deſerved well of their Prince and of their country, ſhould be properly diſtinguiſhed, and their merits pointed out to poſterity, and whereas nothing hath more effectually anſwered the former purpoſe, or furniſhed ſtronger incitements to loyalty, or virtuous atchievements in the latter, than the rules obſerved in bearing arms; and whereas the reverend John Barwick, Profeſſor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty, late Dean of Durham, and then of St Paul's, and his brother, Peter Barwick, Doctor in Phyſick, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, during the late troubleſome and diſtracted times, did conſtantly, faithfully, and aſſiduouſly, with their lives and fortunes, ſupport the royal cauſe, deſerving thereby not only an authentick conceſſion of arms to them and their poſterity, but alſo an addition and augmentation to be in them inſerted. Know therefore, that I Edward Walker, Principal King at Arms by the name of Garter, by virtue of the authority to me given by letters patents under the great ſeal of England, do hereby give, grant, and confirm, unto the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the following arms, which they have hitherto born by the ſur-name of Barwick, viz. in a field argent, three bears heads ſable, muzzled, gules, and as a creſt on a helmet proper, a bear's head ſable, muzzled, gules, with a crown Or, by way of collar; ſignifying their extraordinary fidelity to the King, their many great ſervices and toilſome afflictions by them endured with patience; and I farther give and aſſign to the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the addition and augmentation following,

Biſhop of London, with ſeveral other Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. met in the morning at our author's houſe, and proceeded thence to the cathedral of St Paul's in order to open the Convocation (*i*). In 1666, being compelled by the dreadful fire to remove from St Paul's Church-Yard, where he had remained all the time of the plague [*E*], and been very active and ſerviceable in his profeſſion, he thought proper to take another houſe near Weſtminſter-Abbey, for the ſake of being near that cathedral, to which he conſtantly reſorted every morning at Six o'clock prayers (*k*). He was a very diligent Phyſician, and remarkably ſucceſsful in the ſmall-pox, and in moſt kinds of fevers. Yet he was far from making money the main object of his care, for during the many years that he practiſed, he not only gave advice and medicines gratis to the poor, but likewiſe charitably adminiſtered to their wants in other reſpects. He was very kind to all who had ſuffered for the Royal cauſe, to which he was a conſtant votary all his life, and with a view to it's ſervice, in 1671, he drew up in Latin, which he wrote with unuſual elegance and purity, the Life of the Dean his brother, and took care to depoſit it, and the original papers ſerving to ſupport the facts therein mentioned, in the library of St John's college at Cambridge (*l*) [*F*]. Twenty years after this, when our author was in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and his eye-ſight ſo much decayed, that he was forced to make uſe of the hand of a friend, he added an appendix in defence of the Βασιλικὴ, againſt Dr Walker, who was very well known to him, and of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account (*m*) [*G*]. This piece of his is written with a good deal of aſperity, occaſioned chiefly by the frequency of ſcurrilous libels againſt the memory of Charles I. To this appendix, our author, as well as he could, ſubſcribed his name. In 1694, growing quite dark, and being beſides frequently afflicted with fits of the ſtone, he gave over practice, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the ſervice of God, and the converſation of a few intimate friends, amongſt whom Dr Buſby, the ever-famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, was one (*n*) [*H*]. From this ſedentary courſe of life, his old diſtemper the ſtone grew very much upon him, and toward the end of Auguſt 1705, being ſeized with a vomiting and looſeneſs, followed with an intermitting fever, and in a few days, with a great and ſudden evacuation of blood, he exchanged this life for a better, the fourth of September the ſame year, in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, and by his own direction, was interred without any monument, as well as with great privacy, near the body of his dear wife, in the pariſh church of St Faith's under St Paul's (*o*). He was a man of a very comely perſon, equally remarkable for the ſolidity of his learning, and for a wonderful readineſs as well as elegance in expreſſing it. His piety was ſincere and ſublime, his reputation abſolutely unſpotted, his loyalty exemplary, and his modeſty almoſt without example. In all ſtations of life admired and beloved, of a chearful and ſerene mind in all ſituations. Happy in the univerſal approbation of all parties, as he was himſelf charitable to all, and never vehement but in the cauſe of truth. He left behind him an only daughter, Mary, who married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherbourne in Dorſetſhire, Baronet, and brought to him a very conſiderable fortune, and her only ſon Sir John Dutton is now living, together with two daughters, who inherit all the virtues of this their illuſtrious anceſtor (*p*).

(*i*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 60.

(*k*) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(*l*) As I was informed by ſeveral members of that college.

(*m*) Vit. J. Barwick, p. 247.

(*n*) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(*o*) Ibid. p. xviii.

(*p*) Preface to the Life of Dr John Barwick.

that is to ſay, in the midſt of the field abovementioned, a roſe gules irradiated Or, which arms, creſt, and augmentation ſhall be born by them and their poſterity, &c (5). This we thought, might with greater propriety be taken notice of here than in the life of his brother John, who lived and died a bachelor.

[*E*] *Remained all the time of the plague.*] This is taken notice of by Dr Hodges, in his treatiſe *de Peſte*, wherein he ſays, that there were not wanting many learned and famous Phyſicians, who, notwithſtanding the great danger to which they were expoſed, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion, particularly Dr Francis Gliſſon, Regius Profeſſor of Phyſick in the univerſity of Cambridge, Dr Nathan. Paget, Dr Thomas Wharton, Dr Peter Barwick, Dr Humphry Brooks, and others (6). This was a noble inſtance of piety, fortitude, and publick ſpirit.

[*F*] *In the library of St John's college.*] Our author had a great reſpect for this learned ſociety, as appeared not only by his depoſiting theſe valuable papers there, but alſo by his lending two hundred and eight pounds to the college for many years without intereſt, and making at length a preſent of the whole ſum (7). This copy however, was not the only one he left of his book, on the contrary, he left another MS. to his family, which is now in the hands of his grandſon, Sir John Dutton, and a third given by him in his lifetime to Dr Woodward, and depoſited for ſome time with the author's approbation in the library of St Martin in the Fields. Of theſe the Cambridge copy is moſt authentick, which is fairly copied, bound up in Turkey leather, with three of the King's original letters, and an acquittance, all in his Majeſty's own hand. Together with this volume there is another of the Chancellor's, Dr Barwick's and other original letters and papers relating to the ſame ſubject (8).

[*G*] *Of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account.*] This he was very capable of doing, ſince Dr Anthony Walker, while at the univerſity of Cambridge was pupil to Dean Barwick, and a very indifferent character is given of him, though without mentioning his name, in the life of the Dean written by our author. In this appendix, the conduct not only of Dr Walker, but Biſhop Gauden is fully expoſed, in relation to the point therein examined.

[*H*] *Dr Buſby, the famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool was one.*] In Mr Bedford's preface to the Latin life, there is inſerted an elegant letter from the ingenious Mr Mattaire, wherein he, of his own knowledge, moſt pathetically deſcribes the dear friendſhip there was between thoſe two excellent perſons, particularly the infinite pains taken by Dr Barwick, as a Phyſician, to alleviate the many painful diſeaſes to which, in the latter part of his life, Dr Buſby was ſubject. The piece itſelf, though very curious and entertaining, is too long to be inſerted here (9).

(5) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. vii. This hath alſo by the permiſſion of the preſent Garter King at Arms, John Anſtis, Eſq; a true friend to all Engliſh Antiquaries, been examined with the Original Book of Grants, in the Herald's Office.

(6) Hodges de Peſte, p. 19.

(7) Preſat. ad Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. xvii.

(8) Preface to the Engliſh Life of Dr Barwick.

(9) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

BASIER, or BASIRE (ISAAC), a learned and active Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in the Isle of Jersey (*a*), in the year 1607 [*A*]. In what school and university he received his education is altogether unknown. For some time, he was master of the college or free-school at Guernesey (*b*): But, at length, became Chaplain to Thomas Morton Bishop of Durham (*c*), who gave him the rectory of Stanhope, and the vicarage of Egglescliff, both in the county of Durham (*d*). In July 1640, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, by mandate (*e*); and was incorporated in the same at Oxford, the November following (*f*). About that time he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles I (*g*). On the twelfth of December 1643, he was installed into the seventh prebend in the church of Durham, to which he was collated by his generous patron Bishop Morton (*h*). The next year, on the twenty-fourth of August, he was also collated to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, with the rectory of Howick annexed (*i*). But he did not long enjoy these great preferments. For, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, being sequestered, pursevanted, plundered, and forced to fly (*k*), he repaired to King Charles at Oxford, before whom, and his Parliament, he frequently preached (*l*). In 1646, he had a licence granted him under the publick seal of the university, to preach the word of God throughout England (*m*). Upon the surrender of the Oxford garrison to the Parliament, not caring to stay any longer within the British dominions, he resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and to go and propagate the doctrine of the English Church in the East, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. (*n*) Leaving therefore his family in England, he went first to Zante, an island near the Morea, where he made some stay; and had good success in spreading among the Greek inhabitants the doctrine of the English Church, the sum whereof he imparted to several of them, in a vulgar Greek translation of our Church-Catechism (*o*). The effect of it was so remarkable, that it drew envy, and consequently persecution, upon him from the Latins [*B*]. This occasioned his voluntary recess into the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia prevailed upon him to preach twice in Greek, at a meeting of some of his Bishops and Clergy, which was well taken. At his departure, he left with him a copy of the Catechism above-mentioned. From thence, after he had passed through Apulia, Naples, and Sicily again (in which last, at Messina, he officiated for some weeks a-board a ship) he embarked for Syria; and, after some months stay at Aleppo, where he had frequent conversation with the Patriarch of Antioch, then resident there, he left a copy of our Church-Catechism, translated into Arabick, the native language of that place. From Aleppo he went in 1652 to Jerusalem, and so travelled over all Palestine. At Jerusalem he received much honour, both from the Greeks and Latins [*C*]. The Greek Patriarch (the better to express his desire of communion with the Church of England, declared by the Doctor unto him) gave him his bull, or patriarchal seal, in a blank, which is their way of credence, and showed him many other respects. As for the Latins, they received him most courteously into their own convent, though he did openly profess himself a Priest of the Church of England. After some disputes about the validity of our English ordinations, they procured him entrance into the temple of the sepulchre, at the rate of a Priest, that is half in half less than a layman's rate [*D*]; and, at his departure from Jerusalem, the Pope's Vicar gave him his diploma in parchment, under his own hand and publick seal, in it stiling him, 'a Priest of the Church of England, and Doctor of 'Divinity;'

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Fasti, col. 285, 286, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) From the information of a friend.

(*c*) Life of Bishop Morton, 8*vo*, p. 85.

(*d*) J. Walker's Attempt towards recovering the number and sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 19. Tit. Durham.

(*e*) As appears from the university registers.

(*f*) Wood, ubi supra. In the university register, he is stiled, *Vir doctissimus — ingenii & doctrinæ ornamentis præditus*, *i. e.* a very learned and ingenious man.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727, 4*to*, p. 270.

(*i*) Ib'd. p. 263, 280.

(*k*) J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*l*) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra.

(*m*) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 57.

(*n*) Wood, Vol. I. Fasti, col. 286. J. Walker, ubi supra.

(*o*) Letter written by Dr Basier to Sir Ric. Brown, at the end of The antient Liberty of the Britannick Church, Lond. 1661.

[*A*] *Was born in the Isle of Jersey, in the year* 1607.] This is expressly asserted by A. Wood (1), but it is contradicted by a gentleman, who hath imparted some materials to the author. And Dr Durel, a native of Jersey, and an intimate acquaintance of his, calls him a Frenchman born (*). There is no memorial of him in the island, nor any account of his birth and baptism in the parish registers there, which have been searched upon this occasion. That he was born in the year 1607 appears from his epitaph recited below (2), for in the year 1676 when he died, he was 69 years of age.

(1) Fasti, Vol. I. col. 285.

(*) View of the Government and Publick Worship in the Reformed Churches, Lond. 1662, 4*to*, Appendix, p. 341.

(2) Note [*I*].

[*B*] *From the Latins.*] The Latins are those members of the Romish Church, dispersed throughout the East; which, because they perform their divine service in the Latin tongue, are thence called Latins.

[*C*] *He received much honour from the Greeks and Latins.*] Who the Latins are, hath been explained in the last note. As for the Greeks, they are such of the original inhabitants as are Christians and members of the Greek Church.

[*D*] *They procured him entrance into the temple of the sepulchre at the rate of a Priest*, &c.] Christians having always expressed an uncommon regard, and extreme veneration, for the place of Jesus Christ's burial (on which a church is built) when the Turks became possessed of those places, they took care to make an advantage of it. And therefore the church doors are guarded by several Janizaries and other Turkish officers; who are placed there to watch, that none enter in, but such as have first paid their appointed caphar or tribute: This is more or less, according to the country, or character of the persons that enter. For Franks [*i. e.* Europeans] it is ordinarily fourteen dollars a head, unless they are Ecclesiasticks; for in that case it is but half so much, namely seven dollars. Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out gratis as often as you please during the whole feast of Easter; provided you take the opportunities in which it is customary to open the doors. But if you would have them opened purposely for your own private occasion, then the first expence must be paid again (3). The care of the holy sepulchre formerly belonged to the Greeks; but was in the last century, committed to the Latins: For there being violent disputes and animosities about it between the two nations, so that, in striving which should go in to celebrate their mass, they proceeded to blows and even wounds; the late King of France, in order to put an end to those infamous quarrels, did, about the year 1685, write a letter to the Grand Visier, wherein he requested him to order the holy sepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins. The consequence of which letter, and of other instances made by that King, was, that the sepulchre was appropriated about the year 1690, to the Latins: Since which time they alone have the privilege to say mass in it. And tho' Christians of all nations are permitted to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may solemnize any publick office of religion there, but the Latins (4).

(3) A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, by Hen. Maundrell, 4th edit. Oxford, 1721, 8*vo*, p. 67, 68.

(4) Ibid. p. 70, 71.

[*E*] *The*

'Divinity (p);' at which title many marvelled, eſpecially the French Embaſſador at Conſtantinople. Returning to Aleppo, he paſſed over the Euphrates, and went into Meſopotamia, Abraham's country, where he intended to ſend the Church-Catechiſm in Turkiſh, to ſome of their Biſhops, who were moſtly Armenians. This Turkiſh tranſlation was procured by the care of Sir Thomas Bendyſhe, the Engliſh Embaſſador at Conſtatinople. After his return from Meſopotamia, he wintered at Aleppo, where he received ſeveral courteſies from the Conſul, Mr Henry Riley. In the beginning of the year 1653, he departed from Aleppo, and came to Conſtantinople by land, being ſix hundred miles, without either ſervant, or Chriſtian, or any man with him, that could ſo much as ſpeak the Frank language [E]: Yet, by the help of ſome Arabick he had picked up at Aleppo, he performed that journey in the company of twenty Turks, who uſed him courteouſly; the rather, becauſe he was by the way, Phyſician to them and their friends: A ſtudy (as he ſays) whereunto the iniquity of the times, and the opportunity of Padua drove him (q). After his arrival at Conſtantinople, the French Proteſtants there deſired him to be their Miniſter. And, tho' he declared to them his reſolution to officiate according to the Engliſh liturgy (a tranſlation whereof, for want of a printed copy, coſt him no little labour) yet they orderly ſubmitted to it, and promiſed to ſettle on him, in three reſponſible men's hands, a competent ſtipend: And all this as they told hm, with the expreſs conſent of the French Embaſſador, but ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador [F]. Before he quitted the Eaſtern parts, he intended to paſs into Egypt, in order to take a ſurvey of the churches of the Cophties, and confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria, as he had done already with the other three Patriarchs, partly to acquire the knowledge of thoſe Churches, and partly to publiſh and give them a true notion of the Church of England (r). But whether he accompliſhed his deſign, is not certain. He went next into Tranſilvania, where he was entertained for ſeven years by George Ragotzi the ſecond, Prince of that country; who honoured him with the divinity-chair in his new-founded univerſity of Alba Julia (or Weiſſenburg) and endowed him, tho' a mere ſtranger to him, with a very ample ſalary (s). During his travels he collated the ſeveral confeſſions of faith of the different ſorts of Chriſtians, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, &c. which confeſſions, he kept by him in their own languages (t). His conſtant deſign and endeavour, whilſt he remained in the Eaſt, was, to perſuade the Chriſtians of the ſeveral denominations there, to a canonical reformation of ſome errors; and to diſpoſe and incline them to a communion, or unity, with the Church of England (u). But his pious intentions were afterwards defeated by the artifices of the court of France (w). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, Dr Baſire was recalled by his Majeſty to England, in a letter written to Prince Ragotzi. But this unfortunate Prince dying ſoon after, of the wounds he received in a battle with the Turks at Gyala, the care of his ſolemn obſequies were committed to the Doctor's care by his relict, Princeſs Sophia, whereby he was kept a year longer out of England (x). At length returning in 1661, he was reſtored to his preferments and dignities; and made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II (y). He wrote ſeveral things [G]. Having for many years after the Reſtoration, quietly enjoyed his large revenues, he died on the 12th of October in the year 1676, and in the 69th year of his age (z): And

(p) Sacerdotem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & SS. Theologiæ Doctorem.

(q) Letter, as above.

(r) Letter, as above.

(s) Dr Baſier's own words, in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 526. See alſo Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 286.

(t) Letter to Sir Rich. Brown, as above.

(u) Ibid.

(w) See *Etat preſent des Nations & Egliſes Grecque, Armenienne, &c. par le Sieur de la Croix.* Paris 1695, 12mo, in the Preface.

(x) Dr Baſier, in Kennet, ubi ſupra.

(y) See his epitaph below.

(z) Ibid.

[E] *The Frank language.*] That is any of the European languages. For the Turks give the general name of Franks to the European nations, whether French, Engliſh, Dutch, &c.

[F] *But ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador.*] 'How long, adds he, this liberty may laſt, I know not, becauſe they are all of them bred after the Geneva diſcipline, and conſequently, not like to perſevere, or to be ſuffered to go on in our way, out of which, God willing, I am reſolved not to depart, though for it I loſe this, as I have loſt all.' This paſſage I take notice of, becauſe it plainly manifeſts the Doctor's inviolable affection for the Church of England.

[G] *He wrote ſeveral things.*] Namely, I. *Deo & Eccleſiæ Sacrum*; 'Sacrilege arraigned and condemned by St Paul, Romans ii. 22. Oxford 1646, 4to. Reprinted at London in 1668, 8vo. II. *Diatriba de antiquâ Eccleſiæ Britannicæ libertate*; written on occaſion of Chr. Juſtell's intended *Geographia Sacro-politica*, but which was never publiſhed. It was found in the Lord Hopton's cabinet after his deceaſe, by Richard Watſon, an exile for his loyalty, who not only cauſed it to be printed at Bruges in 1656, 8vo. but alſo tranſlated it into Engliſh, and put it out under the title of 'The antient Liberty of the Britannick Church, and the legitimate exemption thereof from the Roman Patriarchate, diſcourſed on four poſitions, and aſſerted, &c.' To which are ſubjoined, 'Three chapters concerning the Privileges of the Britannick Church, &c. ſelected out of a Latin manuſcript intituled, *Catholico-Romanus Pacificus*, written by F. I Barnes of the Order of St Benedict.' At the end, there is 'A Letter, written by Dr Baſier to the Honourable Sir Richard Brown, when Reſident at Paris for his Majeſty of Great Britain; relating his travels and endeavours to propagate the knowledge of the doctrine and diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the Britannick Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. dated from Pera, near Conſtantinople, 20 Julii, 1653.' Sir Richard Brown, in a letter to R. Watſon, printed at the beginning of this book, obſerves, 'That he could never read this letter, but as a kind of nine and twentieth of the Acts.' The Doctor writ ſome further accounts of his travels, in letters to Sir George Radcliffe, but they could not be recovered. This book, dedicated by the tranſlator to Sir Richard Brown above-mentioned, was printed at London 1661, ſmall 8vo. III. Dr Baſier hath alſo written, 'The Hiſtory of the Engliſh and Scotch Preſbytery, Lond. 1659, 1660, 8vo.' IV. *Oratio privata, boni Theologi (ſpeciatim concionatoris practici) partes præcipuas complectens.* Lond. 1670, 8vo in half a ſheet. V. 'The dead man's real ſpeech;' being a ſermon on Hebr. xi. 4. at the funeral of Dr John Coſin, late Biſhop of Durham, 29th of April, 1672. 'Together with a brief [account] of the life, dignities, benefactions, principal actions and ſufferings' of the ſaid Biſhop: And an Appendix of his 'profeſſion and practice, and of his laſt will concerning religion.' Lond. 1673, 8vo. Mr Wood thinks he publiſhed ſome other things, but does not mention what they were (5).

(5) Wood's Faſti Vol. I. col. 286.

[H] *He*

And was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham [*H*], where a tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription, ſet down below in the note [*I*]. His character ſufficiently appears from what hath been ſaid of him in this article: Namely, That he was a learned, active, and induſtrious man; a true ſon of the Church of England; and a loyal ſubject to his two maſters, King Charles I and II [*K*].

[*H*] *He was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham.*] And, as Wood informs us (6), 'Near the body of an antient ſervant that had lived 'many years with him, and not by that of his wife 'in the cathedral.'

(6) Col. 286.

[*I*] *A tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription,* &c.] The inſcription on this tomb, is as follows, *Depoſitum* IS. BASIRE, S. T. D. *Archidiaconi* Northumbr. *hujus eccleſiæ Canonici, & Regibus aug.* CAROLO I. & CAROLO II. *a Sacris, qui obdormivit* 12 *die Octob. Anno Domini* 1676. *anno Ætatis ſuæ* 69. 1 Theſſ. iv. *Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jeſum adducet cum eo* (7). i. e. 'Here lie the re-'mains of *ISAAC BASIRE, D. D.* Archdeacon of 'Northumberland, Prebendary of this Church, and 'Chaplain to their Majeſties King *CHARLES* I, 'and II, who fell on ſleep the 12th day of October, 'in the year of our Lord 1676, and in the 69th year 'of his age. 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 14. Them which ſleep in 'Jeſus, will God bring with him.'

(7) J. Le Neve Monum. Anglic. from 1650, to 1679, p. 171, n. 43. and Willis, ubi ſupra. p. 263.

[*K*] *A true ſon of the Church of England; and a loyal ſubject,* &c.] An undeniable inſtance of this, and a ſignal proof of his ſincerity was, his ſuffering the loſs of his large preferments, rather than ſubmit to what he thought unlawful. And a further confirmation of it was the reſolution he took, 'not to exerciſe his 'function where the duty of praying for King Charles 'ſhould be prohibited.' Accordingly, he refuſed from the Conſul at Smyrna the offer of a plentiful ſupport, becauſe that would not be allowed (8). But, let us hear the Doctor's own words to the ſame effect (9) 'I ſhould now, ſays he, long for a comfortable *poſt-'liminium* [return] to my family; but yet I am re-'ſolved rather *intermori* [to die] in theſe toilſome 'eccleſiaſtical peregrinations, than to decline the leaſt, 'on either hand, from my religion, or allegiance.' C

(8) R. Watſon, in his epiſtle dedicatory at the beginning of 'The ancient Liberty of the Britiſh Church.'

(9) Concluſion of his Letter to Sir R. Brown, as above.

BASINGE (JOHN) (*a*), more commonly known by the name of *Baſingſtochius*, or *de Baſingſtoke*, was born at Baſingſtoke, a town in the north part of Hamſhire, and from thence took his ſurname (*b*). He was a perſon highly eminent for virtue, and learning. For having very good natural parts, he ſo improved them by ſtudy, that he became a perfect maſter of the Latin and Greek languages; and alſo an eloquent Orator, a compleat Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a ſound Divine (*c*). The foundation of his great learning he laid in the univerſity of Oxford (*d*), and, for his further improvement, went to Paris [*A*], where he reſided ſome years (*e*). Not ſatisfied with that, he travelled to Athens (*f*), that agreeable ſeat of the Muſes, and the mother of all polite literature, where he made many curious obſervations, and perfected himſelf in his ſtudies, particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue [*B*]. At his return from thence to England, he brought over with him ſeveral curious Greek manuſcripts (*g*), and introduced the uſe of the Greek numeral figures into this kingdom (*h*). He became alſo a very great promoter and encourager of the ſtudy of that language (*i*), which was much neglected in theſe weſtern parts of the world [*C*]: And to facilitate it, he tranſlated from Greek into Latin a Grammar (*k*), which he entituled, The Donatus of the Greeks [*D*]. Our author's merit and learning recommended him to the eſteem of all lovers of literature; particularly to the favour of Robert Groſteſte, Biſhop of Lincoln, by whom he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Leiceſter, as he had been ſome time before to that of London (*l*). He died in the year 1252 (*m*), the 26th of King Henry III.

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. Lond. 1709, p. 266. Baleus de Script. cent. iv. n. 15.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1252.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, p. 835.

(*i*) Leland, ubi ſupra, p. 267.

(*k*) M. Paris, & Leland, ibid.

(*l*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ibid.

(*m*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *For his further improvement went to Paris.*] The univerſity of Paris was then, and had been for ſome years before in great reputation, on account of the famous perſons that taught there; namely, Peter Abailard, Alberic of Reims, and eſpecially Peter Lombard. See *Cinquieme diſcours ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, par l'Abbé* Fleury (1).

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique par M. Fleury, Tom. XVII, Paris, 1721, 12*mo.*

[*B*] *Particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.*] That is to ſay, that he learned *moſt* there, from a young Lady named Conſtantina, daughter of the Archbiſhop of Athens; who, before the age of twenty, was a prodigy of learning, and, through her great ſkill in Natural Philoſophy, could foretell plagues, earthquakes, thunder, eclipſes, and the like (2)

(2) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Which was very much neglected in theſe Weſtern parts of the world.*] From the ninth to the fourteenth century, nay even to part of the fifteenth, the ignorance in all points of learning, and among the reſt in the Greek tongue was extreme. So that, as Eſpencæus obſerves (3), *Græcè noſſe ſuſpectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*; for a man to underſtand Greek, rendered him ſuſpected; but, if he knew Hebrew, it made him be looked upon almoſt as a Heretic. The Monk's ſaying is alſo well known, *Græcum non eſt legi*, Greek is not to be read. For more inſtances of that monſtrous ignorance, See An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God, by George Hakewill, D. D (4).

(3) 2 Tim. iii. Diſſertione 17.

(4) Book iii. c. vii. §. 2.

[*D*] *Which he entitled The Donatus of the Greeks.*] The reſt of his works are, I. A Latin tranſlation of a Harmony of the Goſpels. II. A volume of ſermons. III. *Particulæ ſententiarum per diſtinctiones*, or a Commentary upon part of Lombard's Sentences, &c (5). ——— It was he alſo that informed, Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, that he had ſeen at Athens, a book called The Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs. Upon which the Biſhop ſent for it, and tranſlated it into Latin (6), and it was printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, Baſileæ 1555, fol. C

(5) Paleus, Leland, & Pits, ibi

(6) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

BASINGSTOKE (RICHARD) ſee WHYTE, or VITUS.

BASKERVILE (Sir SIMON) Knight, (of the antient family of the Baſkerviles in Herefordſhire) (*a*), an excellent ſcholar and eminent Phyſician, famous for his ſkill in Anatomy, and happy practice (*b*) in the time of King James the Firſt, and King Charles the Firſt, born at Exeter 1573, was the ſon of Thomas Baſkervile, an Apothecary of that city (*c*), who obſerving an early love of knowledge and thirſt after learning in his ſon, gave him a proper education for the univerſity, to which he was ſent about eighteen years old, entering him in Exeter-college in Oxford, on the 10th of March 1591, putting him under the care of Mr William Helm (*d*), a man no leſs famous for his piety than learning, under whoſe tutorſhip he gave ſuch early proofs of his love of virtue and knowledge, that

(*a*) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 107.

(*b*) Dugdale, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 93.

(*d*) Dr Prideaux's Epiſt. Dedic. to his Conſecration Sermon, as in note [*B*]. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 539.

he was on the firſt vacancy elected Fellow of that houſe, before he had taken his Bachelor's degree in Arts, which delayed his taking it, till July the eighth, 1596 (*e*), to which he ſoon after added that of Art's-Maſter; and when he was admitted, had particular notice taken of him (according to our author's own words) for his admirable knowledge in Humanity and Philoſophy (*f*) [*A*]. After this, viz. 1606, he was choſen Senior Proctor of the univerſity; when he bent his ſtudy wholly to Phyſic, in the knowledge of which uſeful faculty, he became a moſt eminent proficient, and was then in as great eſteem at the univerſity for his admirable knowledge in medicine, as he had been before for other parts of learning, taking at once by accumulation (on the 20th of June, 1611) both his degrees therein, viz. that of Bachelor and Doctor (*g*). After many years ſtudy and induſtry, leaving the univerſity, he came to London, where he became of great eminency in his profeſſion; being a member of the College of Phyſicians, and for ſome time alſo Preſident thereof (*h*). His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in Phyſick [*B*], ſoon brought him in vogue at court, where he was ſworn Phyſician to King James the Firſt, and afterwards to King Charles the Firſt; with whom, Mr Wood (*i*) tells us, he was in ſuch eſteem for his learning and accompliſhments, that he conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. —— He, by his practice, obtained a very plentiful eſtate, and ſhewed in his life a noble ſpirit ſuitable to the largeneſs of his fortune [*C*]. What family he left beſides his wife, or who became his heir to all his great wealth, we can no ways find: He died July the 5th, 1641, aged 68 years (*k*), and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul, in the city of London; (unto which, ſays Mr *Prince*, 'he had probably, 'been a liberal benefactor.' Adding, where, if he had any monument erected to his memory [*D*], it fell under the ruins of that church, occaſioned by the dreadful conflagration, which happened in the year 1666 (*l*).

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 778

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811.

(*g*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*h*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 94.

(*i*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 811. See alſo Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, p. 107.

(*k*) Dugdale's Hiſt. of St Paul's, p. 106, 107, where alſo ſee his monument, as below in note [*D*].

(*l*) Danmonii Illuſtr. p. 94.

[*A*] *For his admirable knowledge in humanity and philoſophy.*] He was ſo noted and eminent for his excellent parts, knowledge of the arts and ſciences, and quickneſs in arguing, that, upon the firſt coming of King James to ſee that flouriſhing univerſity, he was choſen as a prime perſon to diſpute before him in the philoſophic art, which he performed with great applauſe of his Majeſty, who was not only there as an hearer, but as an accurate judge. —— After this he had the honour to be one of the Proctors of that univerſity, which gave him farther occaſion of ſhewing himſelf publickly; and, having laid his grounds ſo firmly in Natural Philoſophy, he went on happily in the ſtudy of Phyſic, according to the known method of *Ubi deſinit Philoſophus, ibi incipit Medicus* (1).

(1) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 107.

[*B*] *His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in phyſic.*] This gentleman is one of the famous men mentioned by Dr John Prideaux (as the great ornament of Exeter college, nay even of the univerſity itſelf in their time) in his epiſtle to the reader before his conſecration ſermon (2); the dedication whereof (to the right worſhipful George Hakewill, D. D. Archdeacon of Surrey, and founder of St James's Chapel), after a ſhort preamble, runs thus: 'About 'your ſtanding in Exeter college, what a knot of *noted* '*ſcholars* appeared in ſight of one another, to the cre-'dit of our common mother, who ſupplied her other 'defects with ſuch a fair iſſue?' He then enumerates the 'ſeveral perſons' (and among the reſt Dr Baſkervile, whom he compliments with the title of a *Worthy Phyſician*) 'who had there laid thoſe grounds which, 'ſince improved, have attained *that height* the *world* 'now *takes notice of*.'

(2) Preached at the conſecration of St James's chapel, Exeter-college, Oct. 5, 1624.

[*C*] *He by his practice obtained a plentiful eſtate, and ſhewed in his life a noble ſpirit, ſuitable to the largeneſs of his fortune.*] No Phyſician of that age could, we imagine, have better practice than he, if what is reported of him be true, viz. that he had no leſs than one hundred patients a week; ſo that it is not at all ſtrange he ſhould amaſs ſo great an heap of wealth, as to acquire the title of *Sir Simon Baſkervile the Rich* (3). *Fuller*, ſpeaking concerning the ſtoppage of the river *Ex* in Devon, has the following words: '*Some* 'knowing *Sir Simon Baſkervile*, a Phyſician, and na-'tive of this place, to have a plentiful purſe and a 'public ſpirit, wiſhed he would have taken the work 'in hand to cure this obſtruction; but it was no Phy-'ſician's work to meddle therewith, nor is it either 'powder or ſteel, or gilded pills, which can do the 'deed, but only pills of maſſy gold and ſilver (4).'— *As to his ſpirit being equal to the largeneſs of his fortune*, we have, among others, the following inſtances recorded of him: That being a great friend to the clergy and inferior loyal gentry, *he would never take a fee of an orthodox miniſter under a Dean, nor of any ſuffering Cavalier in the* cauſe of King Charles the Firſt, *under a gentleman of an hundred a year*, but would alſo with phyſic to their bodies generally give relief to their neceſſities (5).

(3) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, &c. p. 539.

(4) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 276.

(5) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. p. 635.

[*D*] *Adding, where if he had any monument erected to his memory*, &c.] By this Mr Prince ſeems to make a doubt, or at leaſt not to know of his having a monument at all. ——— But in a catalogue of tombs, inſcriptions, &c. of memorable perſons (6) in London, deſtroyed by the fire, we find the name of Sir Simon Baſkervile, Knight, M. D. as having one; but Dugdale (7) goes yet farther, giving the very figure of the marble tablets, on which were the following inſcriptions:

(6) Printed in 1668.

(7) Hiſtory of St Paul's, p. 106.

On one,

NEERE THIS PLACE LYETH BURIED THE BODY OF THAT WORTHY AND LEARNED GENT. SIR SIMON BASKERVILE KNIGHT AND DR IN PHYSICK WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 3D OF *(it ſhould be the 5th)* JULY 1641 AGED 68 YEARS

And on another,

P. M. CHARISSIM: CONJUGIS, P: KATH. RELICTA S: BASKERVILE EQ: AUR. R

BASNET (EDWARD) Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, was an active man at the time of the Reformation, and a Privy Counſellor to King Henry VIII, and King Edward VI. He was deſcended of an Eſquire's family, long ſeated at Eaton in the county of Denbigh, in Wales, and had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him [*A*]; for we find no ſuch names in hiſtory or records, planted in Ireland before his time. He was preſented (*a*) by King Henry VIII to the vicarage of Swoids, in the dioceſe of Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1535, during the vacancy of that ſee by the

(*a*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 27 Hen. VIII.

[*A*] *Had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him.*] One Finian Baſſet was a near relation of his, who was ſeated at Nangre, in the county of Dublin, to whom Richard Baſnet of Eaton in Denbighſhire, Eſq; was heir. Our Edward, being a married man, had a daughter named Katherine, who was married to one Patrick Dillon.

[*B*] *Elected*

the murder of Archbiſhop Alan(*b*); and this is the firſt promotion we find he had in Ireland, ſo that in all probability he came over the year before in the retinue and under the countenance of Sir William Skeffington, Lord-Deputy. About the latter end of April 1537, he was elected by the Chapter, Dean of the cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin [*B*], that dignity being void on the eighth of the ſaid month by the death of Geoffry Fitche, his predeceſſor; and this promotion gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal [*C*]. He was ſtiled Sir Edward Baſnet, and is ſo named in an act of Parliament of that time [*D*]; not that he had been dubbed a Knight, but was called ſo in the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity [*E*]. However active he was in the work of the Reformation, when he found his Prince, King Henry the Eighth, was in earneſt to ſhake off the Pope's power, it is certain, he did not ſhew his zeal in other particulars, by running ſo faſt into it as his Metropolitan, Archbiſhop Brown had done; who having received an order (*c*) from the Lord Thomas Cromwell, for removing all ſuperſtitious images and reliques out of the churches of his dioceſe, he ſet about it immediately, and removed them from all his pariſh churches. But the cathedral of St Patrick's being not under his juriſdiction, as Ordinary, but under the Dean alone, he could not make any alteration there, but through the Dean in perſon, who had neglected to carry this order into execution. The Prior of Chriſt-Church, who was head officer of that cathedral, was guilty of the ſame diſobedience, and both of them had written to Rome for encouragement. The Archbiſhop attributes this their negligence to their avarice (*d*), on account of the rich offerings that devotees uſed to make at the ſhrines of the ſaints. Wherefore he applied to the Lord Privy-ſeal, Cromwell, for a more extenſive commiſſion, in the execution whereof, if occaſion required, he might be ſupported by the civil power [*F*]. It is not likely Dean Baſnet waited to ſee ſuch a new coercive authority in the hands of his Metropolitan: For he received ſuch honours from his Prince, for his fidelity and perſonal bravery againſt the Popiſh rebels, as wipes off any ſuſpicion of his being a bigot to Popery; further, than ſtanding out a while againſt innovations, as a prudent man would do (eſpecially where his intereſt was concerned) until he ſaw upon what foundation they were built. In 1539, O-Neal and O-Donnel, with ſome other Iriſh chieftains, or heads of clans, conſpired againſt the gentleman of the Pale [*G*], and made terrible ravages in the county of Meath, by burning towns and villages as far as Tara-hill, before the country was able to oppoſe them. The

(*b*) Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1534.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 256.

(*d*) Ibid. and Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1538.

[*B*] *Elected Dean of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.*] The Chapter of this cathedral had a right of electing their own Deans conferred on them by the crown, as early as the beginning of the reign of King Henry III; and this right of election, after the ſuppreſſion of the cathedral in the laſt year of King Henry VIII, was expreſsly renewed to the Chapter, by the charter of renovation of 3d and 4th Philip and Mary.

[*C*] *Gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal.*] The juriſdiction of the Dean of this church, is called *quaſi epiſcopalis*, as it were epiſcopal, and is founded upon the model of the church of Sarum in England. He is Lord of a manor extended about the cathedral, and has a ſeneſchal for holding courts leet and baron.

[*D*] *Named Sir Edward Baſnet in act of Parliament of that time.*] He is ſo named in an Iriſh ſtatute of 28 *Hen.* VIII, chap. xiv. for the payment of the 20th parts, whereby it is provided, 'That nothing 'in the ſaid act ſhould extend to charge the ſaid Sir 'Edward Baſnet, now Dean of the ſaid cathedral 'church of St Patrick's Dublin, for the payment of the 'ſaid twentieth part of the yearly profit or revenue 'of the ſaid deanery, till the feaſt of the nativity of 'our Lord, which ſhall be in the year 1538.' The ſame act diſcharged him, and the other dignitaries of the ſaid church, for the time being, from going or ſending to any hoſting, road, voyage, or journey, under the penalty of ten pounds forfeiture on the Sheriff who ſhould diſtrain for his or their abſence; the weight of which extraordinary charges of hoſting for reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the Engliſh government, uſed to be borne by ſuch ſubjects as were anſwerable to the Engliſh laws; and whenever they failed to ſend their proportion of armed men and horſes, they were amerced in certain ſums of money.

[*E*] *In the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity.*] In this ſenſe it is taken by Selden (1), and Chamberlayne (2); and we find in Chaucer and Shakeſpear, Clergymen frequently introduced under the titles of Sirs, though they were no Knights.

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 551.

(2) Preſent State of England, Part iii. ch. iv.

[*F*] *Applied for a more extenſive commiſſion, and required to be ſupported by the civil power.*] All the matter alledged above in the text, appears from a complaining letter (3) of Archbiſhop Brown's couched in theſe terms, viz. 'I have obſerved your Lordſhip's letter of commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils 'leave me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their 'livings till I do know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for 'it is meet I acquaint you firſt. The Romiſh reliques 'and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of 'the Holy Trinity, and St Patrick's, took off the 'common people from the true worſhip; but the Prior 'and the Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, 'that they heed not my words: Therefore ſend in 'your Lordſhip's next to me, an order more full, 'and a chide to them and their Canons, that they 'might be removed. Let the order be, that the chiefe 'governors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and Dean 'have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it 'be not hindered before they have a mandate from 'the Biſhop of Rome, the People will be bold, and 'then tug long before his Highneſs can ſubmit them 'to his Grace's orders, &c.' ———

(3) See Ware's Engliſh Annals, in the Life of Geo. Brown, p. 150.

[*G*] *Conſpired againſt the gentleman of the Pale.*] The Pale was a canton of land, which was ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs, as the Engliſh power prevailed or was depreſſed. It originally comprehended all Leinſter, which, upon the Engliſh acquiſition, was divided into the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, (afterwards divided into two counties) Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and alſo properly comprized that diſtrict, which, in latter times, was converted into ſhire ground, and called the county of Wicklow. For all Leinſter becoming the property of Earl Strongbow, upon his marriage with Eva, daughter of Mac-Murrough King of Leinſter, and on the death of that Monarch in 1171, the whole became ſubject to the Engliſh power, and was called the Pale, from *Palor*, an old Latin word, which ſignified to incloſe with ſtatutes, as though the Engliſh by this imaginary fortification were ſeparated from the Iriſh. What was immediately without the Pale, was called the Marches; all within the Pale was ameſnable to law, and the King's writ obeyed there. It once extended from Dundalk, the moſt remote part of the county of Louth, to Carlow and Kilkenny; but in Queen Elizabeth's time was included within much narrower bounds. The notion of the Pale became obſolete when the whole kingdom ſubmitted to the Engliſh laws, and now is only to be found in hiſtory; the Marches of the kingdom being only the ſeas ſurrounding it.

[*H*] *For*

The Lord-Deputy Grey, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, and the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, marched out to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the rebels; and Dean Baſnet, laying aſide his ſacerdotal habit, ſerved in a military capacity upon this occaſion. Both armies were encamped on each ſide of the river Belahoa, where the Engliſh waited till their whole forces were come up; and then paſſing the river they attacked the Iriſh, killed great numbers of them, put the reſt to flight, and took all their baggage. Stanihurſt (e) gives an account of thoſe gentlemen, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their courage and conduct in this action, and among the reſt, mentions Sir Edward Baſnet, Prieſt, who, on account of his good ſervices to the State upon this occaſion, was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council [H]. In 1541, an act (f) paſſed in the Iriſh Parliament, declaring Henry the VIIIth King of Ireland, who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland [I], and making it high-treaſon in any perſon to impeach that title. His Majeſty was accordingly proclaimed King of Ireland, in St Patrick's cathedral on the 13th of June, the principal nobility attending the ſolemnity in their parliament robes (g), and Dean Baſnet, with all his Chapter in their Pontificalibus; and the joy upon that occaſion in banquets, plays, and other entertainments, was very extraordinary. On the 5th of July 1542, the King wrote a letter (b) with his own hand to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council [K], 'Shewing them the neceſſity of providing good and faithful paſtors through 'the dioceſe of Dublin, for inſtructing the people in the duties of religion, and no leſs 'in obedience to thoſe new laws, which every day reſtored to them more and more of 'their Chriſtian liberty, and promoted trade and induſtry through the whole kingdom.' In 1544 a report was made by the Lord-Deputy about the ſingular merit of Dean Baſnet from the Crown. For which the King was pleaſed to reward him with a grant (i) to him and his heirs of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan [L], in the marches of the county of Dublin, to hold in capite by the ſervice of one Knight's fee for ever, and three ſhillings Iriſh money, *per annum* rent. In 1545, Auguſt the 20th, the King, as a mark of his royal indulgence, granted to the Dean a particular favour [M], in which his Chapter, under his countenance, was concerned, which is regiſtered among the records of the deanery (k). About Chriſtmas this year, the Dean was employed to mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger, and the Earl of Ormond [N], whoſe bickerings and quarrels had cauſed no little uneaſineſs to the ſubjects; but he had the misfortune

(e) Stanihurſt in Hollingſhed's Ir. Chron. p. 101. and MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.

(f) Ir. Stat. 33 Hen. VIII, Seſſ. 1. chap. i.

(g) Annal. Waræi Lat. ad ann. 1541.

(b) Rolls of Chancery.

(i) Rolls Office, ibid.

(k) Dignitas Decani S. Patricii, MS.

[H] *For his ſervices upon this occaſion was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.*] Stanihurſt (4) alledges, that he was for this ſervice made alſo Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin; but this muſt be a miſtake, he having been made ſo two years before this action; and it appears before, remark [B], that it was not in the power of the Crown to promote him to this dignity, the Deanery being elective by the Chapter.

(4) Hollinſhed's Chron. p. 101.

[I] *Who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland.*] The Kings of England from the firſt conqueſt of Ireland to this time, never aſſumed any other title than Lords of Ireland, though they enjoyed Regal authority and juriſdiction under that ſtile, in as full a meaſure as if they had been called Kings: Yet the Iriſh did not pay the ſame reverence to the name of Lord, as they did to the name of King, and thoſe who were traiterouſly inclined often made uſe of the diſtinction to inveigle the common people into rebellion. This was the cauſe of making the ſtatute before mentioned in the text, and it anſwered the end intended by ſilencing all objections.

[K] *The King wrote a letter to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council.*] The letter here mentioned was ſent in anſwer to an application made by the Privy Council, in favour of Archbiſhop Brown, to obtain for him a remittal of a ſum of money which he owed to Lord Rochford, then a forfeiting perſon. It may not be unpleaſant to the curious reader to ſee the language and manner of writing in that age. It runs thus (*), 'We bene pleaſed at youre 'humble ſuittes to forgyve to th Archbuſhope of 'Dublyn the two hundreth and fyfte poundes, whyche 'he oughte to the late Lorde Rochford, not doubtyng but he woll the better applie his charge and 'offyce, and provyde that there may be ſome good 'prechers, to inſtructe and teche the people ther 'dutyes to God and us; the lacke whereof is grete 'in thos parties: Wyllyng therefor youe, our Deputie and Counſail, that yeoue have a ſpecialle 'regard alſoo to this poynte: And as youe may provyde, that they may lerne by good and Catholique 'teaching, and the mynyſtracione of juſtice to knowe 'Godde's lawes and ours togythir, whiche ſhall dailie 'more and more frame and conforme theym in honeſt 'lyving, and due obedyence to ther owne beneficles, 'and th univerſalle good of the countrey.'

(*) Chancery Rolls.

[L] *Grant of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan.*] Kilternan lies about five miles S. S. E. of Dublin, in the road to Power's court; and was part of the poſſeſſions of the abbey of the bleſſed Virgin Mary near Dublin: After the ſuppreſſion of which it was leaſed for twenty-one years to Walter Pippard of Kilca, gentleman, whoſe intereſt therein probably Baſnet purchaſed; for he lived partly in this caſtle, and partly in the caſtle of Dean-Rath, near Cladolcan, which belongs to the deanery of St Patrick's. Baſnet is diſtinguiſhed by both places in a pardon (5), that he ſued out in 1545, for the death of one William Fowle.

(5) Filac. Canc.

[M] *Granted to the Dean a particular favour.*] The favour was a licence or privilege, that if the Dean or any of the Canons of St Patrick's, had benefices in any diſtant dioceſe, that they ſhould not be obliged to perſonal reſidence in thoſe parts, during their continuance in Dublin, as reſidentiaries near their own cathedral.

[N] *To mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St Leger and the Earl of Ormond.*] The quarrel between the Lord-Deputy and the Earl of Ormond, had it's riſe the preceding year from this motive. The Exchequer being exhauſted, and the exigencies of affairs requiring a ſupply before a Parliament could be convened for that purpoſe, the Lord-Deputy by his own authority (6), would have laid ſome new and extraordinary impoſitions upon the people. The Earl of Ormond oppoſed the Deputy's proceedings, but finding his own influence could not prevail in obtaining a reſpite, he wrote letters of complaint to the Council of England, which were intercepted at ſea by a friend of the Lord-Deputy, and put into his hands. After peruſing them, he employed Dean Baſnet, as a perſon in whoſe prudence he could confide, to repair in all haſte to the caſtle of Kilkenny, and to communicate his knowledge of the letters to the Earl, that he might ſee the Deputy was not inſenſible of his complaints, and he had it in commiſſion, to reaſon with the Earl about the ſubject of their quarrel, and, if poſſible, to end the diſputes between them in a private, amicable manner, that neither the Council of England, nor the ſubjects of Ireland be troubled with their diſputes. The Dean found the Earl immoveable, and finding nothing could prevail on him to drop his complaint, he returned unſucceſsful. Soon after both parties were ſent for by the Engliſh Council, who made up the breach between them, and put an end to all diſputes.

(6) Stanihurſt in Hollinſhed. p. 104. Cox, Vol. I. p. 280.

[O] *The*

fortune to fail of ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's gracious favour, lately conferred on the Dean and his Canons, yet, in the year 1546, the King projected (*l*) the ruin of that antient cathedral, which he ſoon effected [*O*]. The Dean had a penſion aſſigned him of two hundred marks ſterling a year, to commence from the day that the church was ſurrendered, and penſions were ſettled by the King's Commiſſioners upon each of the Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, and Vicars, in proportion to the income of their ſeveral offices before the diſſolution of the cathedral. In the firſt year of King Edward the VIth, Commiſſioners were appointed (*m*), for diſpoſing of all the revenues and buildings belonging to this cathedral. The deanery houſe, wherein Baſnet lived was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, who was deſired to accommodate the Lord-Deputy with the Archiepiſcopal palace. Another houſe was ordered for the Lord-Chancellor's dwelling. The plate, jewels, and ornaments, were given to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, except what was reſerved for the pariſh-church of St Nicholas without the walls, whoſe ſervice was always celebrated in St Patrick's church. One part of the building was ordered for holding the courts of juſtice in, while another part was appropriated to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh church. The hall belonging to the Vicars choral, was appointed for keeping a grammar-ſchool, of which one Matthew Talbot was conſtituted maſter. The publick records, which before had been kept in Bermingham tower, were removed from the caſtle, and lodged in the library of St Patrick's; and the college of Minor-Canons and Choriſters was fitted up, for an hoſpital to entertain twelve decayed ſoldiers, worn out in the ſervice. Sir Edward Baſnet lived to ſee all theſe changes, and continued a member of the Privy-Council, during the reign of King Edward the VIth; but did not live to ſee his church reſtored to it's former dignity, and all it's antients rights and privileges by King Philip and Queen Mary; for he died in the firſt of that Queen's reign, as appears by an inquiſition (*n*) *poſt mortem Edwardi Baſnet*. He continued to write himſelf Dean after the ſurrender of his cathedral. For in an act of Council (*o*) of the fifth year of Edward VI, about ſending the records of Bermingham-tower to the Library of St Patrick's, he ſubſcribed himſelf Edward Baſnet, Dean; but a daſh of the pen is drawn over the word Dean.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 104. Annal. Waræus, ad ann. 1546. Cox's Hiſt. Irel. p. 280.

(*m*) Chancery Rolls.

(*n*) Chancery Rolls.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*O*] *The King projected the ruin of that antient cathedral, which he ſoon effected*] On the the 8th of November, 38 Henry VIII (1546). The King iſſued a commiſſion (7) to Sir Anthony St Leger, Lord-Deputy, Sir Richard Read, Lord-Chancellor, Edward Staples, Biſhop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, Sir Thomas Luttrell, Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, James Bath, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Cuſack, Maſter of the Rolls, empowering them, or any three of them, of whom Sir Anthony St Leger was to be one, to receive a reſignation from the Dean and Chapter in perſon, of the church with all it's revenues, lands, tythes, &c. which was accordingly complied with on the 8th of January following, and the ſame was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery. But all this was done without the conſent of the Archbiſhop, who is the chief Ordinary there, and the founder and Lord-Paramount of all their benefices. This undue reſignation of the cathedral church afterwards occaſioned a trial at law (8) about the validity of a leaſe perfected by the Archbiſhop of Dublin, without the conſent of this Chapter, to one Brereton, which was only confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, whereas both Deans and Chapters uſually confirmed leaſes made by the Archbiſhop. When Archbiſhop Loftus was advanced to the See of Dublin, he looked upon the leaſe made to Brereton as bad, and endeavoured to break it. The caſe was adjudged in Eaſter-Term, 11 Elizabeth, and certified from England to the Lord-Deputy Sidney, under the hands of the Judges, that the leaſe was allowed to be good and valid in Law; becauſe that at the time of making it, there was no Chapter in being except that of Chriſt-Church. A majority of all the Judges of England were of this opinion, although many held the contrary; who maintained, that after the death of the Archbiſhop who made the leaſe, it could not bind a ſucceſſor; becauſe it ought to have been confirmed by both Chapters, as leaſes always had been before. D

(7) Rolls Office.

(8) Dyer's Rep. f. 282.

BASSANTIN (JAMES) a Scots Aſtronomer in the XVIth century, whoſe writings have deſervedly tranſmitted his memory to poſterity, was the ſon of the Laird of Baſſantin in the Mers, and born ſome time in the reign of King James IV (*a*). He was ſent while young to the univerſity of Glaſgow, where, inſtead of applying himſelf to words he ſtudied things, and while other young men of his age were perfecting themſelves in ſtyle, he arrived at a ſurprizing knowledge (for that time) in almoſt all branches of the Mathematicks (*b*). In order to improve himſelf in this kind of knowledge, and to gratify his paſſion for ſeeing other countries, he travelled, ſoon after he quitted the college of Glaſgow, through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, fixing himſelf at laſt in France, where he taught the Mathematicks with applauſe, in the univerſity of Paris (*c*). He fell in there with the common notions of the times, and was either credulous enough to entertain a good opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, or had ſo much addreſs, as to make the credulity of others uſeful to him, by ſupporting an erroneous ſyſtem, then in too great credit for him to demoliſh, even if that had been his inclination (*d*). For the humour of believing ſuch kind of predictions, never ran ſo ſtrong as at this time, nor ran any where ſtronger than in that country [*A*]. At laſt, having a deſire

(*a*) Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. p. 108.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 81.

(*d*) See note [*A*].

[*A*] *Any where ſtronger than in that country.*] The great end of publiſhing lives of this nature, and in this manner, is not only to make the hiſtory of learned men, but of learning itſelf thoroughly known, which is a thing equally laudable and uſeful. In order to have a juſt notion of this Scots Aſtronomer's merit, we muſt conſider him as contemporary with the famous Nicholas Copernicus, and ſomewhat earlier than the celebrated Tycho Brahe; ſo that we may thence diſcern how few helps he had, and what an amazing progreſs he made, if, as Voſſius ſays, he was unacquainted with Greek, and knew but little of Latin (1). However Voſſius

(1) *Voſſ. de Matheſi, cap. lxiii, lxiv, lxv.*

desire to see his relations, and spend his remaining days in his own country, he resolved to quit France, where he had acquired a high reputation and some fortune, and returned home in the year 1562 (e). It seems he made his journey through England, and as he was entering the borders of his native country, he met Sir Robert Melvil, a very worthy gentleman, and a most loyal and faithful servant to his unfortunate mistress, Mary Queen Scots; with whom he entered into a conversation on the then state of affairs, which gained him the reputation of being deeply versed in those stiled the Occult Sciences (f) [B]. But

(e) Dempster, ubi supra.

(f) Melvil's Memoirs, Lond. 1683. fol. p. 92, 93.

Vossius himself does him injury, by placing him a century later than that in which he flourished (2). In reference to Judicial Astrology, it must be owned it was at this time in so great credit, that almost all who applied themselves to Geometry, Astronomy, or, in short, to any branch of the Mathematicks, struck also into this way, which served in times of so much ignorance to keep up the reputation of this supposed science. As for Tycho Brahe, he was so addicted thereto, that he was wholly guided by it; and though he owned he was mistaken in many, or most, of his predictions, yet he remained obstinate in his opinion, alledging first, that the Astronomical tables then in use were faulty; and when with prodigious labour he had corrected these errors, and still found his judgments wrong, he complained that the rules commonly received were bad or misunderstood, but never laid the fault on the Art itself (3). This conduct of the learned had so bad an effect, that almost every Prince in Europe had his Astrologer. There were, however, more at Paris than almost in any other place. Catherine de Medicis was excessively addicted to this sort of superstition; and we know that the Horoscope of her Husband Henry II, was not only calculated, but published also by Gauric; and some affirm, but without due proof, that his death, and even the manner of it, was predicted by Jerom Cardan (4). Mr Finé, better known by his Latin appellation Orontius Finœus, who taught Mathematicks in the university of Paris, was famous for the judgments given by him upon Nativities; and once, his predictions having offended the Court, he was imprisoned for it a long while in the Bastile, which undoubtedly, had he been truly able to read future events in the Stars, he would have both foreseen and avoided (5). The old friendship and intimacy between the Scots and French nations, joined to the close connection between them at the time he was at school, and while Bassantin flourished, was sufficient to carry all the French customs over thither; and this, amongst the rest, and that in fact this was the case, will manifestly appear by what is related in the next note. If therefore we lay all this together, it will not seem at all strange that a Scotsman, who had not comprehensive knowledge, should be led away by so many and great authorities, in a matter which perhaps made the best branch of his business, and for which he had naturally a happy turn; for we may with truth affirm, that no man ever set off the system of the twelve Houses, and the influences of the Planets in them, in a more plausible way, or which seems more free from absurdities. It is likewise more than probable, that as this humour long survived him, and even grew more and more into fashion after his decease, it promoted the reputation of his writings, and procured them so quick a sale. But how well or ill founded this notion may be, we are certain of this, that he laboured the point exceedingly, and left no stone unturned to maintain a doctrine he had too hastily embraced, and from which, so long as he lived, he never departed. His having this kind of taking way of delivering himself on such subjects, must have recommended him in Courts, where such notions frequently prevail; and I can easily conceive, that his being so well received took place in his judgment, made him more satisfied of the rectitude of his opinions, and gave him spirit likewise to profess, maintain, and defend them against all opponents.

(2) He places him in the XVIIth century, because Tornæsius's translation of his book into Latin, was published at Geneva in 1609, and even this seems to have been a second edition, but the original Work had been published in French sixty years before.

(3) Niceron. Mem. pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustr. Tom. XV. p. 168, 169.

(4) Gassend. Oper. Tom. p. 745. Mem. de Brantom, Tom. II. p. 50. Lettres de Pasquiers, Tom. I. p. 346.

(5) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

[B] *The reputation of being deeply versed in those stiled the Occult Sciences.*] There are very few books in better credit for the supposed candour and veracity of their author, than the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill, wherein, after describing the decisive Action which obliged Queen Mary to fly into England, proceeds thus (6): 'After the loss of the battle, her 'Majesty lost all courage, which she had never done 'before, and took so great fear, that she never rested 'till she was in England, thinking herself sure of re-'fuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly 'made her by the Queen of England by word 'to her Embassadors, and by her own hand, writ 'before and after she was captive in Lochleven. 'But God and the world knows how she was kept and 'used, for not only she refused to see her, of whom 'she appeared so oft so desirous of a sight and a meet-'ing, but also caused to keep her prisoner, and at 'length suffered her life to be taken away, or else it 'was subtilly taken against her intention. This puts 'me in remembrance of a tale my brother Sir Robert 'told me: The time that he was busiest dealing be-'twixt the two Queens to entertain their friendship, 'and draw on the meeting at a place near York, one 'Bassintoun, a Scotsman, who had been a traveller, 'and was learned in high sciences, came to him, and 'said to him, Good Gentleman, I hear so good a re-'port of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore 'cannot forbear to shew you, that all your upright 'dealing and honest travel will be in vain: For whereas 'you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at 'at the Queen of England's hands, you do but lose 'your time and your travel: For first, they will never 'meet together; and next, there will never be any 'thing else but dissembling and secret hatred for awhile, 'and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen 'from England. My brother answered, he liked not 'to hear of such devilish news, nor yet would he in any 'sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful 'for Christians to meddle with. Bassintoun answered, 'Good Mr Melvil, entertain not that harsh opinion of 'me, I am a Christian of your own religion, and fear 'God, and purposes never to cast myself on any of 'the unlawful arts that you mean; but so far as Me-'lancthon, who was a godly Theologue, hath de-'clared lawful, and written concerning the Natural 'Sciences, which are lawful and daily read in divers 'Christian universities, in the which, as in all other 'arts, God gives to some less, and to others clearer 'knowledge; by the which knowledge I have attained 'to understand, that at length the kingdom of Eng-'land shall of right fall to the crown of Scotland, and 'that at this instant there are some born who shall 'brook lands and heritages in England: But, alas! it 'will cost many their lives, and many bloody battles 'will be fought ere things be settled, or take ef-'fect. And by my knowledge, says he, the Spaniards 'will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for 'their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.' It has been shewn in the former note, that listening to these kind of predictions was one great foible of those times; and if it had not been so, one could hardly account for so wise a man as Sir James Melvil giving this, and some stories of the like kind, a place in his book. But it is observable, that he gives no judgment upon it, he introduces it only as a tale, and does not at all recommend it to his readers belief by professing it had gained credit with him. A less cautious writer, who repeats this story (7), could not help adding, that all our author's predictions were fulfilled except the last, and even as to that he makes some apology. It may not be amiss therefore to bestow a few remarks, and they shall be but short ones, upon this singular story. I. It does not appear how he should come at this knowledge on the principles of his art, supposing it to be an art. He might indeed have calculated the nativities of both the Queens, and from thence have predicted what would happen to them; but how could he from thence learn that the crown of England should descend to a Prince of Scotland? It might be answered well enough if King James had been then born, but he was not till four years afterwards; and from the Horoscopes of the two Queens it was impossible, by the rules of Astrology, for him to pretend to foretel what he did. II. It is in the next place clear, that the greatest part of what he foretold was absolutely false; for there was not so much as one battle fought, or a drop of blood shed, to make way for the accession of the King of Scots, which was the act of Queen Elizabeth herself; and the King of Spain was so far from assisting in this, that he actually set

(6) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

(7) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 82.

But whoever maturely weighs what paſſed in that conference, of which we have a moſt authentick account, will ſee good reaſon to believe, that our learned author was more a Politician than a Prophet, or elſe, that he talked at random, and on falſe or precarious principles. It does not at all appear in what manner he ſpent the remainder of his life, after he came back to Scotland, but it is certain he did not ſurvive long, ſince his deceaſe happened, as thoſe who were well acquainted with him atteſt, in 1568 (*g*). As to his learning, we are told by thoſe who admired it moſt, it lay not in languages, of which, except his mother-tongue, he knew none thoroughly, though he ſpoke and taught in French, but in a very incorrect manner, and wrote much worſe (*b*). He had very clear notions in moſt parts of his writings, and was far from being a contemptible Aſtronomer, though the commendations beſtowed on him by ſome authors, very far ſurpaſs his deſerts. He was too much tinctured with the ſuperſtition of the times, not to intermix a vaſt deal of falſe, and even ridiculous ſtuff in his writings, on the virtues, aſpects, and influences of the planets; yet in other reſpects he ſhews much good ſenſe and induſtry, which render his works very well worth reading, and ought to ſecure both them and his memory from oblivion, as they are ſo many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit (*i*) [C]. As to his religion, he is reported to have been a zealous Proteſtant; and with regard to his political principles, he is ſaid to have adhered to the famous Earl of Murray, then ſtruggling for that power which he afterwards obtained (*k*).

(*g*) Dempſter, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Voſſius de Metheſi, cap. lxv. §. 3.

(*i*) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 97, 98.

(*k*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

ſet up a title againſt that Prince, and did all that lay in his power to hinder his ſucceſſion: So that if this ſtory proves any thing, it muſt prove that there was either no certainty in this art, or that our author did not ſufficiently underſtand it. III. Upon the whole, it is highly probable that this man was no friend to the negociation Sir Robert Melvil was then engaged in, and that he ſaid what he did, with a view to hinder that Gentleman from proceeding in it: And if we take the thing thus, he may be allowed to have acted very right as a Politician; but a man muſt have had very indifferent parts for a ſtateſman, who could be diverted from his duty by ſuch ſuggeſtions as theſe; and it is certain that they had no weight with Sir Robert Melvil, who behaved in all theſe tranſactions with the utmoſt prudence, ſteadineſs, and courage. But when things were over, and Queen Mary in her grave, Sir Robert Melvil told this tale to his brother, who committed it to writing, and ſo it has paſſed for a full proof of our author's proficiency in theſe high ſciences; whereas there cannot well be a more convincing argument of the contrary.

[C] *So many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit.*] The Works publiſhed by our author were theſe that follow, viz. I. *Aſtronomia*, Jacobi Baſſantini *Scoti, opus abſolutiſſimum, in quo quicquid unquam peritiores Mathematici in cœlis obſervarunt, eo ordine, eaque methodo traditur, ut cuivis poſt hac facile innoteſcant quæcunque de Aſtris ac Planetis, nec non de eorum variis orbibus, motibus, paſſionibus, &c. dici poſſunt, ingens et doctum volumen ter editum Latinè et Gallicè:* That is, 'The 'Aſtronomy of *John Baſſintin*, a *Scot*, a compleat 'work; wherein, whatever the moſt expert Mathe- 'maticians have obſerved in the heavens, is digeſted 'into ſuch order, and in ſo exact a method, that every 'one may henceforward apprehend whatever, as to the 'Stars and Planets, their orbs, motions, paſſions, &c. 'can be delivered; a work large and learned, now 'thrice publiſhed in Latin and French.' This is the Title given by John Torneſius, who tranſlated it into Latin, and publiſhed it in a large folio at Geneva in 1599. In his account of our author, in his Epiſtle dedicatory addreſſed to Frederick IV, Count Palatine of the Rhine, he repreſents him as a wonderful proficient in this ſcience; and, as a proof of it, tells him, that this circumſtance was very ſurpriſing in him, that tho' he was unſkilled in polite learning, and underſtood only his Mother-Tongue, yet he made ſo great a progreſs in Aſtronomy, as to be eſteemed one of the greateſt Aſtronomers of the age. And whereas other perſons were obliged to learn the Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages, if they were deſirous of raiſing themſelves any reputation in that ſcience, our author was born an Aſtronomer, and not made one. He obſerves likewiſe, that Baſſantin's book was at firſt publiſhed in French, not as it was written by the author, who was ſo little maſter of that language, notwithſtanding he lived moſt part of his time in France, that he could not write even ſo much as tolerable Grammar; upon which account the ſtile of his book had been corrected and poliſhed by ſome other perſons who better underſtood the genius of that language. This affords us a ſufficient account of the author; but, perhaps, the value of his book will be better underſtood by taking a view of it's contents. In this great work he firſt of all lays down the neceſſary axioms and definitions for the underſtanding of the ſcience, and then gives a table of Sines; after this a treatiſe of Rectilineal Triangles, in twenty propoſitions; and another of Spherical Triangles, in thirteen propoſitions. The next Tract is concerning the Sphere of the World, in thirteen chapters. The firſt chapter treats of the Syſtem of the World in general, and the ſeveral parts of it. The ſecond of the Magnitude of the Earth compared with the Firmament. The third of the Circles of the Sphere. The fourth of the Declination of the Degrees of the Ecliptic from the Equinoctial. The fifth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of Signs in a direct Sphere. The ſixth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of the Signs in an oblique Sphere. The ſeventh of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Latitude. The eighth of the Declination, Aſcenſion, Deſcenſion, and Latitude, of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Stars. The ninth of the Elevation of the Stars above the Horizon. The tenth of the Variation of the Artificial Days and Nights in the different parts of the Earth. The eleventh of the Twelve Celeſtial Houſes, and their Diviſions. The twelfth of the Diviſion of the Zones and Climates. And the thirteenth of the Regions of the Earth; to which is annexed, A Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities and places of the world. Then follow the Hypotheſes of the Celeſtial Orbs, containing the Theory of the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. After this he gives an account of the direct retrogade and ſtationary motions of the Planets, their various Aſpects, the Declination of the Stars, the Latitude of the Moon, the Latitude of the three Superior Planets, the Latitude of Venus and Mercury; of their Excentricities, Ellipſes, and whatever elſe relates to the Planets. After he has treated of theſe things, he gives us the Theory of the Motion of the Eighth Sphere, and concludes with the practical part of Aſtronomy, in thirty propoſitions; wherein he gives the figures of many curious inſtruments, with proper tables, and directions for the uſe of them. II. *Paraphraſe de l'Aſtrolabe avec un amplification de l'uſage, de la Aſtrolabe*; that is, 'A Paraphraſe (or ample expla- 'nation) of the Aſtrolabe, with an improvement as 'to the uſes to which this inſtrument may be applied.' This Treatiſe was printed at Lyons in 1555, and again at Paris 1617, in 8vo. III. *Super Mathematic Genethliaca*; i. e. 'Of the Calculation of Nativities.' IV. *Arithmetica*, or 'A Treatiſe of Arithmetick.' V. *Muſica ſecundum Platoni*; i. e. 'Muſick on the 'principles of the Platoniſts.' VI. *De Matheſi in genere*; i. e. 'Of the Mathematicks in general.' The very titles of his works, joined to the age in which he flouriſhed, ſufficiently juſtify his right to a place in this work; and though he might have foibles, yet without doubt his practical ſkill was great, and the pains he took contributed not a little to bring in that accuracy and correctneſs in obſervations, which have effectually exploded thoſe ſuperſtitions to which, with other great men, he was too much addicted. X

BASSET (FULK *), Biſhop of London in the reign of King Henry III (*a*), was brother of Gilbert Baſſet, one of the Barons, who died by a fall from his horſe, leaving behind

(*) In Latin *Fulco*.

(*a*) *Vide* Henr. Whartoni *Hiſtor. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ.* &c. p. 89, edit. 1695.

behind him one only ſon, an infant, by whoſe death ſoon after the inheritance devolved to Fulk (*b*). In the year 1225, he was made Provoſt of the collegiate church of St John of Beverly, and in 1230, Dean of York (*c*). In December 1241, he was elected, by the Chapter of London, Biſhop of that See, in the room of Roger Niger [*A*], both in regard of his family and his great virtues, and notwithſtanding the King's recommendation of Peter de Egueblanche Biſhop of Hereford (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant at the time of this Prelate's election, he was not conſecrated till the ninth of October 1244 [*B*], at which time the ſolemnity was performed at London in the church of the Holy Trinity (*e*). In the year 1250, Biſhop Baſſet began to have a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface (*f*), concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation [*C*]; in the courſe of which he met with very rough treatment from the Archbiſhop, and at laſt, after a long conteſt, thought it beſt to ſubmit [*D*], and acknowledge his juriſdiction (*g*). But he ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate [*E*], in 1255 (*h*). In 1256, this Prelate began to build the church of St Faith, near that of St Paul, on the ſpot which King John had formerly given to the Biſhops and Chapter of London for a market (*i*). In the latter part of his life, he is ſaid (*k*) to have tarniſhed his virtues, by inclining to the cauſe of the rebellious Barons [*F*]. He died of the plague in 1259, having ſat near fifteen years from the time of his conſecration, and was buried the twenty-fifth of May, in St Paul's church (*l*). Biſhop Baſſet founded a chantry in his cathedral church, near the altar of the Bleſſed Virgin, for his own ſoul; and another near the altar of St Catherine, for thoſe of Alan and Alice, his father and mother. He alſo bequeathed to his church a golden apple, two rich cheſts for relicks, ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments, and ſeveral books relating to Church matters (*m*).

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* epiſc. Lond. *ann.* 1244.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Grey. Eborac.

(*d*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640. *fol.* Vol. II. p. 576.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 650.

(*f*) *See the article* BONIFACE (Abp. of Cant.)

(*g*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra, p. 780, 809.

(*h*) Id. ib. p. 915.

(*i*) Dugdale's *Hiſt. of St Paul's*, p. 13.

(*k*) M. Paris, ib. p. 974.

(*l*) Id. ib. p. 987.

(*m*) Dugdale, Monaſt. Angl. T. III. p. 330, 309.

[*A*] *He was elected ——— in the room of Roger Niger.*] During the vacancy of the See, the King, in conſideration that the temporalities were in his hands, ordered his treaſurer, January the 17th, 1244 (1), to diſtribute victuals, on the enſuing feaſt of the Converſion of St Paul, to fifteen thouſand poor people, in the church-yard of St Paul's, and upon that occaſion to light up fifteen hundred wax tapers in the church. Whence it appears what large alms were formerly beſtowed by the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics (2).

(1) Clauſ. 28 H. III. m. 16.

[*B*] *He was not conſecrated till the 9th of October, 1244.*] About the beginning of that year, Archbiſhop Boniface, being then in France, commiſſioned a certain number of Biſhops to conſecrate Baſſet at his church in London (3). But, at the interceſſion of the Chapter of Canterbury, he revoked that commiſſion in February following, under pretence that it was ſurreptitiouſly obtained, namely, by diſſembling the privilege of the church of Canterbury; ſo that Baſſet could not obtain conſecration but by entering a ſolemn proteſt (4), that he had no deſign to infringe the rights of that church.

(2) Hen. Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 89.

(3) *Ex* Inſtrum. Autograph.

(4) *Extant in the Archives of the Church of Canterbury.*

[*C*] *He had a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation.*] The See of Canterbury had from the beginning an undoubted authority over all the churches of that province, received appeals, cenſured offenders, and occaſionally exerciſed a juriſdiction over the Biſhops and Canons of the cathedral churches. But hitherto ſolemn metropolitical viſitations at ſtated times were not in uſe. Boniface was the firſt who introduced them (5), and loaded the Biſhops and Chapters with a prodigious expence, under the name of procurations. On the 12th of May, 1250, he viſited the Biſhop of London, and, being intolerably inſolent, as well as avaritious, treated the good Prelate with the groſſeſt indignities and moſt opprobrious language. *In craſtino autem viſitavit epiſcopum Fulconem, apud quem inverecundiam ab eodem archiepiſcopo factam, tum in eſculentis, tum in poculentis, tum in ferratura, ſcilicet equorum deferratorum, ſi quis enarraret, aures et animos offenderet audientium, imo et corda cruentaret* (6). Deſigning to viſit the Chapter of St Paul's, and the Priory of St Bartholomew, he was oppoſed by the Canons of both places, alledging that they had a learned and diligent Biſhop, who was their proper viſitor, and that they neither ought, nor would ſubmit to any other viſitatorial power. *Cui reſpondit unus Canonicorum pro omnibus, quod epiſcopum haberent peritum et diligentem, qui eos habuit, cum neceſſe fuerat, viſitare, nec voluerunt, nec debuerunt ab alio, ne contemptus videretur, viſitari* (7). The Archbiſhop hereupon excommunicated the Canons, and involved the Biſhop, as favouring their obſtinacy, in the ſame ſentence (8). Both ſides appealed to Rome, where the Archbiſhop, ſupported by money and the royal favour, pleaded his cauſe in perſon; and, notwithſtanding the Engliſh Clergy, by their Proctors, offered the Pope four thouſand * marks to be exempted from the archiepiſcopal viſitation, he obtained a confirmation of his viſitatorial power, with this reſtriction only, that he ſhould be moderate in his demand of procurations (9).

(5) *See his article.*

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640, Vol. II. p. 780.

(7) Id. ib. p. 781.

(8) Ib. p. 782.

(*) Some writers ſay 6000.

(9) Id. ib. & p. 142, 856.

[*D*] *He thought it beſt to ſubmit.*] Matthew Paris repreſents his ſubmiſſion as the effect of fear, leſt his holding out againſt the Archbiſhop ſhould provoke the King to ſeize his effects, and ruin his family; and therefore, as the leaſt evil, he choſe for the preſent to humble himſelf under the Archbiſhop's authority, rather than experience the conſequences of the King's diſpleaſure. *His igitur ſubtiliter penſatis incommodis, quaſi inter duas molas contritus, anguſtiabatur: hinc honor et cauſa eccleſiæ ſuæ, hinc impetus regalis iracundiæ, ipſum hinc inde diſtrahebant. Tandem vero, ut minus malum ſubiret, prælegit, quamvis læſus, et quamvis paſſus injuriam, ad tempus humiliari, et jurare ſtare proviſioni archiepiſcopi licet adverſantis, potius quam regalis impetus diſcrimen experiri* (10).

(10) Id. ib. p. 809.

[*E*] *He ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate.*] The King and the Pope had agreed, with their joint force, to ſqueeze a large ſum of money out of the Engliſh Clergy, and to ſhare the plunder. To this end Ruſtand, the Pope's Legate, ſummoned a Council at London in October, 1255, in which he produced a commiſſion from the Pope to demand a certain ſum of them. Whereupon the Biſhop of London, riſing up, ſaid: 'Before I will ſubmit to 'ſuch great ſervitude, injury, and intolerable oppreſſion 'of the Church, I will loſe my head' *Antequam tantæ eccleſiæ conſentiam ſervituti, injuriæ, et intolerabili oppreſſioni, profecto decapitabor.* The reſt of the Prelates being animated by Baſſet's conſtancy, it was unanimouſly decreed, that the Pope's demand ſhould not be complied with, nor any regard paid to Ruſtand's authority or cenſures. The Legate carried his complaints to the King, who, ſending for the Biſhop of London, reviled him moſt ſhamefully, threatening him with the ſevereſt Papal cenſures. To which Fulk replied, 'The King and the Pope, though they cannot 'juſtly, yet, as being ſtronger than me, may force my 'Biſhoprick from me; they may take away the mitre, 'but the helmet will remain.' *Auferant epiſcopatum, quem tamen non poſſunt de jure auferre, Papa et Rex, qui me fortiores ſunt; tollant mitram, galea remanebit.* This ſteadineſs, and the decree of the Council, quite diſconcerted the ſcheme (11).

(11) Id. ib. p. 915.

[*F*] *He inclined to the cauſe of the rebellious Barons.*] Take notice, that it is Matthew Paris, a Monk, who cenſures our Prelate for ſo doing, telling us, That, by this ſtep, he brought the greater ſtain upon his character, inaſmuch as he was a man of more honour than the reſt. *In hoc tanto plus famam ſuam denigravit, quanto aliis fuerat generoſior* (12). And afterwards, mentioning Baſſet's death, he ſays of him: 'He was 'a noble and an honourable man, and, excepting only 'his laſt ſlip, the anchor of the whole kingdom, and 'the ſhield of ſtability and defence.' *Vir quidem nobilis et magnæ generoſitatis, et, niſi paulo antè titubaſſet, totius regni anchora, et clypeus ſtabilitatis et defenſionis* (13).

(12) Ib. p. 974.

(13) Ib. p. 987.

BASSET (PETER, Esq;) a gentleman of a good family [*A*], and a writer in the XVth century, was Chamberlain (*a*), or Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry V (*b*). He was a constant attendant on that brave Prince, and an eye-witness of most of his glorious actions both at home and abroad: All which he particularly described, and faithfully related (*c*). For, beginning at his tendereſt years, he gave a full and exact account of his several expeditions into France; his glorious victories, large conquests, and illustrious triumphs in that kingdom; his most advantageous and honourable peace with Charles VI; his marriage with the Princess Catherine, his coronation at Paris: And, finally, his death, and the coronation of King Henry VI, his son and successor. These several remarkable events, Peter Basset comprized in one volume, which he intituled, *The Actes of King Henry* V. This book was never printed; but is extant in manuscript in the college of Heralds, and perhaps in some other places [*B*]. In one particular he differs from the rest of King Henry Vth's historians: For whereas Monstrelet says (*d*), that that Prince died of a St Anthony's fire; others, of a fever and dysentery (*e*); or of the disease of St Fiacre (*f*), which is a flux accompanied with the hæmorrhoids; Peter Basset, who was with him at the time of his decease, affirms, that he died of a pleurisy [*C*]. This author flourished about the year 1430, under the reign of King Henry VI (*g*).

(*a*) Hall, Chronicle, or Unyon of the two Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, &c. edit. 1550, fol. 82.

(*b*) Hollinshed's Chronicles, Lond. 1587, fol. p. 662.

(*c*) Baleus, Scriptor. Brytanniæ, cent. VII, No. 80. Pits, de Illustrib. Angliæ Script. Æt. XV. ann. 1430, n. 795.

(*d*) Fol. 325, Paris edit.

(*e*) Walsingham, Hist. Hen. V, Francof. 1602, p. 406.

(*f*) J. Des Ursins, fol. Paris, 1653, p. 394. R. Gaguin, l. ix. f. 207, edit. Paris, 1521, 8vo.

(*g*) Bale, and Pits, ubi supra.

[*A*] *A gentleman of a good family.*] This noble family, which was seated at Draiton-Basset in Staffordshire, derived it's descent from one Turstin, Lord of that place in the reign of Henry I. They grew up into a numerous and considerable family (1). For, from this stock at Draiton, were derived the Bassets of Welleden, Northamptonshire; Wiccomb, Bucks; Sapcott, Leicestershire; Hedendon, Oxfordshire; (which were all Barons of the Realm) (2), besides several other eminent private families, (3) ——— Ralph Basset, and Richard his son, were successively Justiciaries of England, in the reigns of King Henry I. and King Stephen (4).

(1) Camden. Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 635.

(2) Dugdale, Baron. Vol. I. p. 378, &c.

(3) Camden, ubi supra, col. 102, 301, 327, 526, 586, 639, 643, 681.

(4) Dugdale, p. 378.

[*B*] *But is extant in MS. in the college of Heralds,* &c.] Upon the closest examination it appears, that he is originally quoted only by Edw. Hall in his Chronicle (5), and perhaps by J. Bale (6). What hath been said of him, or quoted out of his writings, either by Mr Thomas Goodwin in his 'History of the reign of 'Henry the Vth,' or by other Historians within that period, is visibly borrowed from Hall. Dr Nicolson (7) mentions Basset only upon the authority of Pits, who had taken his account from Bale.

(5) Fol. 82.

(6) Ubi supra.

(7) English Hist. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 82.

[*C*] *P. Basset ——— affirms that he died of a Pleurisy.*] Edw. Hall, from whom we learn this particular, calls it a *Plurisis*; 'whiche (adds he) at that tyme 'was so rare a sickenes, and so straung a disease, that 'the name was to the most part of men unknowen, 'and phisicions were acquainted as little with any re-'medy for the same, and therfore every man judged as 'he thought, and named a sickenes that he knew, 'shoting not near the pricke, nor understandyng the 'nature of the disease (8).' C

(8) Unyon of the two Famelies, &c. as above, p. 82.

BASTARD (THOMAS), a Clergyman and a Poet, was born at Blandford in Dorsetshire, and educated at Wincheſter-school; from whence he removed to New-College in Oxford, where he was chosen Perpetual Fellow in the year 1588, and two years after took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But indulging too much his talent for satire, he was expelled the college for a libel; and not long after, being then in Holy Orders, he was made Chaplain to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Treasurer of England, through whose favour and interest he became Vicar of Beer-regis, and Rector of Amour or Hamer, in his native country, having some time before taken the degree of Master of Arts. He was a person of great natural endowments, well skilled in the learned languages, a clebrated poet [*A*], and, in his later years, an excellent preacher [*B*]. His conversation was witty and facetious, which made his company courted by all ingenious men. He was thrice married, as appears from one of his epigrams [*C*]. Towards the latter end of his life, being disordered in his senses, and thereby brought into debt, he was confined in the prison in All-Hallows parish in Dorchester; where dying in a very obscure and mean condition, he was buried in the church-yard belonging to that parish, April the 29th, 1618 (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 431, 432.

[*A*] ——— *A Poet.*] Among other poetical performances of our author's, that had been published, Mr Wood tells us (1), he had seen only the following. 1. *Epigrams*, which were greatly admired in that age, and occasioned Sir John Harrington's addressing one or more epigrams to our author. 2. *Magna Britannia*, a Latin poem in three books, dedicated to King James I. London, 1605, in *quarto*. Besides which, there is in the King's Library, *Jacobo regi* I. *carmen gratulatorium* (2), i. e. 'A congratulatory poem to King James I.' Under this head we may mention his *Libels*, two of which Mr Wood met with in his collection of Libels or Lampoons, written by several Oxford Students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. One of them is intitled *An Admonition to the City of Oxford*; or his Libel intitled *Mar-prelate's Bastardine*; wherein he reflects upon all persons of note in Oxford, who were suspected of criminal conversation with other men's wives, or with common strumpets. The other, made after his expulsion, and in which he disclaims the former, begins thus; *Jenkin, why man? why Jenkin? fie for shame*, &c. But neither of these were printed (3).

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 432.

(2) D. Casley's Catal. p. 197.

(3) Wood, ibid.

[*B*] ——— *a Preacher.*] Under this character, he published, I. *Five Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The three first, on *Luke* i. 76, are called *The Marigold and the Sun*. The two last, on *Luke* vii. 37, 38, are intitled *The Sinner's Looking-Glass*. II. *Twelve Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4to. The first, on *Ephes.* iv. 26, is intitled *A Christian Exhortation to innocent Anger*. The second, on *Exod.* iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, is intitled *The Calling of Moses*, &c (4).

(4) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He was thrice married, as appears by one of his epigrams.*] It is this (5):

(5) Ibid.

Terna mihi variis ducta est ætatibus uxor,
Hæc juveni, illa viro, tertia nupta seni.
Prima est propter *opus* teneris mihi juncta sub annis,
Altera propter *opes*, tertia propter *opem*.

The meaning of which (for it is impossible to give the force of it in an English version) is, that he married his first wife, in his youth, for *love*; his second, when he was grown a man, for *money*; and his third, in his old age, for a *nurse*. T

BASTON (*a*) (ROBERT), a Poet of ſome note in the XIVth century, and author of ſeveral works [*A*], was deſcended of a noble family, and born in Yorkſhire, not far from Nottingham. In his youth he became a Carmelite Monk, and afterwards Prior of the convent of that order at Scarborough. He was likewiſe Poet Laureat, and Publick Orator, at Oxford (*b*). King Edward I, in his expedition into Scotland in 1304, took Robert Baſton with him, in order to celebrate his victories over the Scots: but our Poet, being taken priſoner by the enemy, was obliged by torments to change his ſtrain, and ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce [*B*], who then claimed the crown of Scotland (*c*). Our author's poetry was ſomewhat barbarous, but not contemptible for the age in which he lived. He died about 1310, and was buried at Nottingham, being ſucceeded in his monaſtery by his brother Philip (*d*).

(*a*) Leland (*Comment. de Script. Brit.* c. 351) calls him *Baſſodunus*.

(*b*) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. IV. n. 92. *and* Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *ann.* 1310. n. 452.

(*c*) Hector Boëth. *Hiſt. Scot.* l. xiv. & Joan. Major. Chronic. l. v. c. iii.

(*d*) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral works.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *De Strivilnienſi obſidione*, i. e. 'Of the Siege of Striveling;' a poem in one book. II. *De altero Scotorum bello*, i. e. 'Of the ſecond 'Scottiſh war,' in one book. III. *De Scotiæ guerris variis*, i. e. 'Of the ſeveral wars of Scotland,' in one book. IV. *De variis mundi ſtatibus*, i. e. 'Of the 'various ſtates of the world,' in one book. V. *De ſacerdotum luxuriis*, i. e. 'Of the luxury of the prieſts,' in one book. VI. *Contra Artiſtas*, i. e. 'Againſt the 'Artiſts,' in one book. VII. *De Divite et Lazaro*, i. e. 'Of the rich man and Lazarus,' in one book. VIII. *Epiſtolæ ad diverſos*, i. e. 'Letters to ſeveral 'perſons,' in one book. IX. *Sermones Synodales*, i. e. 'Synodical Sermons,' in one book. X. A Book of Poems; and XI. A volume of Tragedies and Comedies in Engliſh.

[*B*] *He was obliged to ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce.*] This taſk he undertook ſore againſt his will, as he intimates in the two firſt lines:

In dreery verſe my rhymes I make,
Bewailing whilſt ſuch theme I take (1). T

(1) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687, 8*vo*, p. 15.

BASTWICK (JOHN) a man more remarkable for the great noiſe he made, in the laſt century, than for any ſingular merit of his own, was born at Writtle in Eſſex (*a*), in the year 1593 [*A*]. He was entered in Emmanuel-college, Cambridge, the nineteenth of May 1614, where he continued but a little while (*b*). Leaving the univerſity without a degree, he travelled beyond ſea for the ſpace of nine years (*c*), where he ſpent his time between the ſchools and the camp (*d*), and was made Doctor of Phyſick at Padua (*e*). Upon his return to England, he ſettled at Colcheſter, where he practiſed Phyſick for ſome time (*f*). But not ſatisfied with his profeſſion, and being a man of ſtrong zeal, with a warm imagination, and commanding a pure and fluent Latin ſtyle (*g*), he applied himſelf to write books, eſpecially againſt Popery. About the year 1633, he printed in Holland (*h*) a treatiſe called *Elenchus Religionis Papiſticæ*, with *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, 'A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the 'Latin Biſhops (*i*);' which he induſtriouſly diſperſed in London, and throughout the kingdom (*k*). It was in effect an anſwer to one Short a Papiſt, who maintained the Pope's Supremacy, the Maſs, and Papal Religion [*B*]: And Baſtwick, in his epiſtle to the reader, declared, that he intended nothing againſt ſuch Biſhops, as acknowledged their authority from Kings and Emperors (*l*). But it ſeems, as Mr Fuller obſerves, he confined not his character ſo to the Latian Biſhops beyond the Alpes, but that our Engliſh Prelates counted themſelves touched therein (*m*). The author therefore being queſtioned for this book in the High-Commiſſion-Court, in 1633 (*n*), was, on the twelfth of February, fined a thouſand pounds, ſentenced to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of Phyſick, his books to be burnt, to pay coſts of ſuit, and to remain in priſon till he made a recantation [*C*]. In purſuance of this ſentence, he was committed two years to the Gate-Houſe (*o*), where his violent temper would not permit him to be quiet. For he writ during his confinement there, *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos*, &c. 'An Apology for himſelf, addreſſed to the Biſhops (*p*),' and another book called

(*a*) Church Hiſt. of Great Britain, by T. Fuller, Book xi. p. 151.

(*b*) As appears by the college books.

(*c*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, edit. Oxford, 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. I. p. 199.

(*e*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Clarendon & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Clarendon, ib.

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, Lond. 1732. p. 22. and Baſtwick's Petition in Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Vol. IV. p. 79, 80.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book xi. p. 152.

(*n*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra. See Baſtwick's Dedicat. to his Flagellum, &c. Lond. 1641, p. 6. and his Petition, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Printed at London, 1636, 8*vo*. See his Dedication to his Flagellum, &c. Lond. 1641, 12*mo*, p. 6.

[*A*] *Was born —— in the year* 1593.] This appears from the date on his picture, prefixed to his *Flagellum pontificis & epiſcoporum latialium* (1): For there it is ſaid, that he was forty-ſeven years old in 1640, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1593.

(1) Second edit. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*.

[*B*] *He printed in Holland a Treatiſe called Elenchus*, &c.] It was firſt printed in Holland, in 1633, and reprinted at London in 1641, 12mo, under the title of *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latalium, auctum & multis argumentis locupletatum*, with three Letters at the end: 1. To a Proteſtant who had embraced Popery. 2. Concerning the abſurdity of the Popiſh Religion, to one Mr St John: And the 3d, to prove that the Church of Rome is not a true Church, directed to one Coleman. In the beginning, there is a Letter of thanks to the King, the Parliament, and the people of England; in which he bitterly inveighs againſt his perſecutor Archbiſhop Laud. The book is written in good Latin, and, to an unprejudiced reader, there doth not appear any thing in it that could deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure as was inflicted on the author; except it is his maintaining a parity or equality between Biſhops and Preſbyters (2), which was by ſome perſons reckoned a moſt heinous crime in thoſe days. The contents of the book are, An Anſwer to theſe Queſtions: '1. Whe-'ther Chriſt conſtituted Peter monarch, or ſupreme 'head, of the Catholic Church: Nay, whether Peter 'was ever Biſhop of Rome? 2. Whether the Pope, '(if he is Biſhop) as Biſhop of Rome, has authority and ju-'riſdiction over his fellow-chriſtians, and the flock of 'God, or no? 3. Whether the Popiſh Biſhops are 'true Biſhops?' The firſt he thinks is ſufficiently overthrown by theſe paſſages of Scripture, Matth. xx. 25, 26. Mark x. 43, 44. Luke xxii. 25, 26. To the ſecond he oppoſes Acts xx. 28. Titus i. 5. Philip. i. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, &c. from all which he infers, that Biſhops and Preſbyters were originally the ſame. In anſwer to the third he affirms, that the Popiſh Biſhops not performing the functions of a Biſhop, as laid down by St Paul, (to Timothy and Titus) are not true Biſhops.

(2) Page 58, &c. 75, &c.

[*C*] *The author —— was fined*, &c.] All the Biſhops preſent at this cenſure, as Whitelock obſerves (3), denied openly that they held their juriſdiction, as Biſhops, from the King; but they affirmed, that they had their juriſdiction from God only. For which, as that author further obſerves, they might perhaps have been cenſured themſelves in the times of Henry II. Edw. III. or Henry VIII.

(3) Memorials, p. 22.

[*D*] *The*

called the *Letany* (*q*), wherein he groſsly reflected upon the Biſhops, taxed them with an inclination to Popery, and exclaimed againſt the ſeverity and injuſtice of the High-Commiſſion's proceedings againſt him (*r*). The perſons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper, to let ſuch reflections and invectives go unpuniſhed [*D*]. Accordingly, on the 11th of March, 1637, an information was exhibited againſt him (and Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Barriſter at Law) in the Star-Chamber, by the Attorney-General, 'For writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libel-'lous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church (*s*).' They being thereupon ſerved with ſub-pœna's returnable immediately, refuſed to appear, unleſs they had liberty of acceſs to Counſel; which being granted them, they prepared their anſwers; but Dr Baſtwick's Counſel, for fear of offending the court, refuſed to ſign his anſwer, which he had drawn up himſelf; alledging it was of ſuch a nature, that they could not well ſet their hands to it (*t*). And indeed, according to Mr Whitelocke (*u*), it contained ſomething very abuſive, to this effect: 'The Prelates are invaders of the King's prerogative 'royal, contemners and deſpiſers of the holy ſcriptures, advancers of popery, ſuperſtition, 'idolatry, and prophaneneſs: Alſo they abuſe the King's authority, to the oppreſſion of 'his loyaleſt ſubjects, and therein exerciſe great cruelty, tyranny, and injuſtice; and in 'execution of thoſe impious performances, they ſhew neither wit, honeſty, nor tempe-'rance. Nor are they either ſervants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil, being 'enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which he is 'ready to maintain.' ——— And none of his friends could prevail with him to expunge this, and other the like paſſages. Upon the Counſel's refuſing to ſign the anſwers, Baſtwick, and the reſt of the defendants, petitioned the court, that, according to antient precedents, they might put in their anſwers ſigned with their own hands; and declared, they would abide by the cenſure of the court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refuſed by the court; which ordered them to put in their anſwers by the Monday following under Counſel's hand, or elſe they ſhould be taken *pro confeſſo*. Baſtwick, thereupon tendered his anſwer under his own hand at the Star-Chamber-Office, and there left it. On the 14th of June, the day wherein ſentence was paſſed on them, they firſt preſented to the court a croſs-bill againſt the Biſhops, which was not admitted (*w*). Next, they were told, That they had not put in their effectual anſwer into the court, though they had ſufficient notice and competent time. And the Lord-Keeper Coventry informed them, of a precedent, wherein, for ſuch a neglect, the court had, after *ſix days* notice, taken a cauſe *pro confeſſo*, [as if the parties had confeſſed] whereas they had had *ſix weeks* allowed them; and therefore the court deſired them to ſhew cauſe, why ſentence ſhould not paſs upon them immediately (*x*). Dr Baſtwick, in particular, being aſked, why he did not bring his anſwer in due time? laid the blame on the cowardice of his Counſel, that durſt not ſign it, for fear of the Prelates; and then tendered an anſwer upon oath under his own hand: But the Lord-Keeper told him, they had no need of his anſwer. Whereupon Baſtwick ſaid, My Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech your Honours to accept of it; for it is pretended that it is taken *pro confeſſo*, as if we had failed on our parts, either out of contempt to the order, or negligence, both which on my part I am free from; and if your Honours ſhall refuſe it, then I proteſt before men and angels this day, that I will put this anſwer of mine in Roman buff (*), and ſend it through the whole Chriſtian world, that all men may ſee my innocency, and your illegal proceedings, and this I will do if I die for it; and then caſting it into the court, my Lord-Keeper ſaid, 'Dr Baſt-'wick, it ſeems we muſt have your anſwer.' After that, Baſtwick taking notice of the puniſhment, which he underſtood was deſigned for him and his fellow-ſufferers, added ——— I ſhall preſume to ſay unto your Honours, as Paul ſpake unto the Centurion, when they went about to whip him, What, ſaith he, will you whip a Roman? So, my good Lords, let me ſay unto your Honours, What, will you cut off a true and loyal ſubject's ears for doing his duty to his King and country? Will you cut off a ſcholar's ears? Will you cut off a Doctor of Phyſick's ears, able to cure Lords, Peers, Kings, and Emperors? Will you cut off a Chriſtian's ears? Will you make curs of Chriſtians, my Lords? Will you cut off a catholick, apoſtolick, a Roman's ears? Men, brethren, and fathers, what an age do we live in, that we muſt thus be expoſed unto the mercileſs fury of every malignant ſpirit (*y*). In the end, he, and Burton, and Prynne were cenſured, as ſcandalous, ſeditious, and infamous perſons (*z*); and condemned in a fine of five thouſand pounds each; to ſtand in the pillory in the Palace-yard at Weſtmiſter, and there to loſe their ears; and to perpetual impriſonment (*a*) in three remote places of the kingdom [*E*]. According to

(*g*) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 771.

(*r*) Ibid. & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. I. p. 380, edit. Lond. 1680. See alſo State Trials. and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 17, 27, &c.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 26. See Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 499, 500, 501, &c.

(*w*) New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. as above, p. 27. and Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 20.

(*x*) Fuller, ubi ſupra; and New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 40. and Relation of certain Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 12, &c.

(*) *i. e.* In *Latin*.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 24. Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, ubi ſupra p. 200.

(*a*) Baſtwick Cenſure, & 32. Clarendon, ibid. & Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 38

[*D*] *The perſons then in power were of too impatient a temper*, &c.] It appears from Ruſhworth (4), that June 6, 1636, all the Judges, and the King's counſel, met at Serjeant's-Inn to conſider, whether there were not divers paſſages in Baſtwick's and Burton's books that amounted to high-treaſon? But the Judges agreeing, that no indictment would be found good for treaſon, unleſs it was grounded upon the ſtatute 25 Edw. III. 'Tis probable that nothing could be found in their books that amounted to high-treaſon, according to that ſtatute.

(4) Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. I. p. 324.

[*E*] *In the end, Baſtwick, Burton, and Prynne, were cenſured*, &c.] At the paſſing of this cenſure, Archbiſhop Laud made a ſpeech, which was afterwards printed by the King's order. In the dedication to the King (5) he ſays, 'I muſt humbly beſeech your Ma-'jeſty to conſider, that 'tis not wee only, that is, the 'Biſhops, that are ſtrucke at, but through our ſides, 'your Majeſty, your honor, your ſafety, your re-'ligion, is impeached. ——— And again (6) — both 'myſelfe and my brethren have been very courſely uſed 'by the tongues and pennes of theſe men, yet ſhall I 'never

(5) Page 3.

(6) Page 9.

to this rigorous ſentence, the three unhappy perſons were ſet in pillories in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, on the 30th of June. Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech [F]. Soon after, he was ſent priſoner to Launceſton-caſtle in Cornwall; as Prynne was to Caernarvon, and Burton to Lancaſter-caſtle (b). But they finding means to hold a correſpondence together, and to have ſome of their virulent books diſperſed in London (c), the court thought fit to remove them at a greater diſtance from that city. Accordingly Baſtwick was ſent to St Mary's caſtle in Scilly iſland (d), Prynne to Jerſey, and Burton to Guernſey (e), whence they were not allowed to keep correſpondence with any one (f). And the wives of Baſtwick and Burton were not permitted, after many petitions, to have acceſs unto them, nor to ſet foot in the iſlands, where they were confined (g). As the puniſhment of theſe men was exorbitant, and diſproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath ever ſince, been looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced perſons with horror and deteſtation [G]. Their impriſonment was of no long continuance; for, upon the meeting of the Parliament in 1640, a petition was preſented by their wives and friends November 7, to the Houſe of Commons (h), wherein they requeſted, 'That the juſtice 'and rigour of their ſentence might be reviewed and conſidered; and their perſons 'brought from thoſe remote and deſolate places they were confined in, to London, that 'ſo they might be able to facilitate or attend their own buſineſs.' Whereupon the Houſe ordered, That they ſhould be removed from the foreign priſons they were in, to the places to which they were regularly firſt committed [H]. And for that purpoſe, warrants were ſigned by the Speaker to the Governors and Captains of the ſeveral caſtles, to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to London; which were ſent with all poſſible expedition (i). Baſtwick landing at Dover, on the 4th of December, had his charges borne all the way to London; was loaded with preſents, and received every where by vaſt numbers of people, with wonderful acclamations of joy; particularly, before he came to Southwark, he was met by great crouds of Londoners, with boughs and flowers in their hands [I], and conducted by them to his lodging in the city (k). The 21ſt of February following, the Houſe of Commons declared, That the ſeveral proceedings againſt him were illegal, unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of the ſubject: That the ſentence paſſed upon him be reverſed, his fine remitted, and he reſtored to his profeſſion [K]; and that, for reparation of his loſſes, he ought to have 5000 £. out of the eſtates of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the High-

July.

(b) Ibid. & Whitelocke, ubi ſupra.

(c) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(d) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col 436. The order was made in Auguſt 1637.

(e) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra. Dr Baſtwick landed in Scilly, Oct. 16, 1637. *New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c.* Part ii.

(f) Baſtwick's Dedicat. before his Flagellum, as above, p. 8. and Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Part iii. Vol. I. or Vol. IV. p. 20 and 80.

(g) Ruſhworth, ibid.

(h) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. IV. p. 20. Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 779, 780.

(i) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202. New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. p. 135.

(k) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202. Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, p. 41. 4to. Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 193, 203.

'never give your Majeſty any ſower counſell; I ſhall 'rather magnifie your clemencie, that proceeded with 'theſe offenders in a court of mercie as well as juſtice: 'Since (as the reverend Judges then declared) you 'might have juſtly called the offenders into another 'court, and put them to it in a way that might have 'exacted their lives, for their ſtirring (as much as in 'them lay) of mutinie and ſedition.' And in the ſpeech itſelf (7) —— 'This I will ſay, and abide by 'it, that the calling of Biſhops is *jure divino*, by di'vine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling.— 'But this takes nothing from the King's right or power 'over us: For though our office be from God and 'Chriſt immediately, yet may we not exerciſe that 'power, either of order or juriſdiction, but as God 'hath appointed us, that is — by and under the power 'of the King. ——— No man can libell againſt our 'calling (as thoſe men doe), bee it pulpit, print, or 'otherwiſe, but hee libels againſt the King and the 'State, by whoſe lawes wee are eſtabliſhed (8).'

(7) Page 6.

(8) Page 9.

[F] *Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech.*] It was to this effect: 'There are many that are this day 'ſpectatours of our ſtanding here as delinquents, yet am 'I not conſcious to myſelf wherein I have committed 'the leaſt treſpaſſe to take this outward ſhame, either 'againſt my God or my King. —— The firſt occaſion 'of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book 'againſt the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury ſaid I 'wrote againſt him, and therefore queſtioned me: But 'if the preſſes were as open to us, as formerly they 'have been, we would ſhatter his kingdom about his 'ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither 'be affrighted at our ſufferings; let none determine to 'turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight 'couragiouſly againſt Gog and Magog. I know there 'be many here who have ſet many days apart for our 'behalf (let the Prelates take notice of it), and they 'have ſent up ſtrong prayers to Heaven for us; we 'feel the ſtrength and benefit of them at this time.— 'In a word, ſo far am I from baſe fear, or caring for 'any thing they can do, or caſt upon me, that had I as 'much blood as would ſwell the Thames, I would ſhed 'it every drop in this cauſe. ——— As I ſaid be'fore, ſo I ſay again, had I as many lives as I have 'hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I 'would give them all up for this cauſe (9).'

(9) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 155. and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, p. 34, 35. Part ii.

[G] *The puniſhment of theſe men —— hath ever ſince been looked upon —— with horror, &c.*] My Lord Clarendon obſerves (10), 'That they were men of 'the three ſeveral profeſſions which had the moſt in'fluence upon the people, *tho'* none of them of in'tereſt or any eſteem with the worthy part of their ſe'veral profeſſions, having been formerly all looked 'upon under characters of reproach; yet when they 'were all ſentenced, and for the execution of that 'ſentence brought out to be puniſhed as common and 'ſignal rogues, expoſed upon ſcaffolds to have their ears 'cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot 'irons; men begun no more to conſider their manners 'but the men; and each profeſſion, with anger and 'and indignation enough, thought their education, and 'degrees, and quality, would have ſecured them from 'ſuch infamous judgments, and treaſured up wrath for 'the time to come.'

(10) Hiſtory, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 94.

[H] *To the places to which they were regularly firſt committed.*] It ſeems their firſt ſentence was, that they ſhould be committed to ſome priſons in London; but they were afterwards removed thence by an order of the Privy-Council, which was now looked upon as a violation of the ſentence; and therefore that order was reverſed without any ſcruple (11).

(11) See Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 201. and Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. or Vol. IV. p. 193.

[I] *He was met by great crowds of Londoners, &c.*] This could not be looked upon by impartial perſons, but as a very great affront to, and bold inſult upon legal authority: But, as Mr Hobbs judiciouſly obſerves (12), the parliament's deſign, in ſending for thoſe men to London, was, to try 'how the people would be 'pleaſed therewith, and, by conſequence, how their 'endeavours to draw the people's affections from the 'King had already proſpered. — So, by the people's 'flocking together to behold thoſe men, and receiving 'them with ſuch acclamations, and almoſt adoration, 'as if they had been let down from Heaven, the par'liament was now ſufficiently aſſured of a great and 'tumultuous party, whenſoever they ſhould have oc'caſion to uſe it.'

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of England, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 87.

[K] *And he reſtored to his profeſſion.*] June 11, 1641, it was ordered that Dr Baſtwick be reſtored to his place in the College of Phyſicians, and to the liberty of his practice as formerly (13). The former part of which order ſhews the miſtake of Lord Clarendon, when he ſays (14), that he was 'unknown to either Uni'verſity, or the College of Phyſicians.'

(13) Ruſhworth. Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 283.

(14) Vol. I. p. 199.

[L] *Where*

High-Commiſſioners, and thoſe Lords who had voted againſt him in the Star-Chamber. But the enſuing confuſion of the times prevented the payment of the money (*l*) However, to make him ſome amends, we find that in 1644, his wife had an allowance ordered for her own, and her huſband's maintenance (*m*): And October 24, 1648, there was a debate in the Houſe of Commons about Ordinances for him to have reparation for the illegal ſentence againſt him, in the Star-Chamber (*n*). What became of him, or how long he lived after that time, is not known; only 'tis very probable that he died in St Botolph's pariſh Colcheſter, where a niece of his was living within the memory of man [*L*].

(*l*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 385. edit. Lond. 1733.

(*m*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 107.

(*n*) Id. p. 345.

[*L*] *Where a niece of his was living*, &c.] Beſides the books abovementioned, Dr Baſtwick publiſhed, I. *Independency not God's Ordinance*; to which H. Burton wrote an anſwer under this title; 'Vindiciæ Veritatis: 'Truth vindicated againſt Calumny. In a brief An-'ſwer to Dr Baſtwick's two late books, intituled *Inde-'pendency not God's Ordinance*, Lond. 1645, 4to. (15).' II. *The utter routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the total overthrow of their Monarchy.* III. *Defence of himſelf againſt Lilburn.* C

(15) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 192.

BATE (GEORGE), an eminent Phyſician of the laſt century, was ſon of Mr John Bate of Burton or Bourton in Buckinghamſhire, and was born at Maid's-Morton near Buckingham in the year 1608. At fourteen years of age, he became one of the Clerks of New-college in Oxford; from whence he removed to Queen's-college for a time, and from thence to St Edmund's-hall. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded on the Phyſic line, and commenced Bachelor in that faculty in the year 1629; about which time, having obtained a licence, he practiſed in and about Oxford for ſome years, but chiefly among the Puritans, who at that time conſidered him as one of their party. In 1637, he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, and became more eminent in his profeſſion, eſpecially while King Charles I, to whom he was Principal-Phyſician, kept his court ſeveral years at Oxford, in the time of the rebellion. When the King's affairs began to decline, Dr Bate left Oxford, and ſettled in London; where, complying with the times for the ſake of intereſt, he became Phyſician to the Charter-houſe, and Fellow of the College; and afterwards Principal-Phyſician to Oliver Cromwell; nor did he ſtick (tho' he pretended to be a concealed Royaliſt) to flatter the Protector in the higheſt degree. At the Reſtoration, he ingratiated himſelf with the Royal party, by means of a report induſtriouſly ſpread by his friends, that he had ſecretly, by a doſe, haſtened the death of the Uſurper; whereupon he was made Principal-Phyſician to King Charles II, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Dr Bate wrote in Latin, *An Account of the late Commotions in England, together with a ſhort Narrative of the Regal and Parliamentary Privileges* [*A*], and

[*A*] *An Account of the late Commotions in England*, &c.] The Latin title is: *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia, ſimul ac Juris Regii et Parliamentarii brevis narratio.* It was printed at Paris in 1649, and at Francfort upon the Maine in 1650, in *quarto*. Before it went to the preſs, it was communicated to Dr Peter Heylyn, who made ſeveral obſervations on it greatly tending to the honour of the King and the Church. The firſt part of the *Elenchus* was tranſlated into Engliſh by an unknown hand, and printed at London in 1652, in *octavo*. The ſecond part, in which the author had the aſſiſtance of ſome papers communicated to him by the Lord Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was printed in Latin at London in 1661, at Amſterdam the year following in *octavo*, and reprinted with the firſt part at London in 1663, in *octavo* (1). A Learned Writer, having condemned George Hornius, Honorius Reggus, an anonymous Scotchman (2), and Salmonetus Scoto-Britannus (3), who have written very erroneouſly of our Engliſh affairs, aſſures us, Dr Bate is the only author, who has written in Latin concerning the late tranſactions, that deſerves to be read, tho' he is accuſed by an anonymous writer of leaning too much to the ſide of Puritaniſm. *Eorum omnium, qui hactenus de rebus apud nos nuper geſtis ſcripſerunt Latino idiomate, unus Bateus dignus eſt qui legatur; quanquam etiam ab anonymo ſcriptore propenſi nimium in Puritanos animi nuper eſt accuſatus* (4). There was publiſhed at London, in 1676, a third part of *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum*, &c. written in Latin by Thomas Skinner, Doctor of Phyſic, and publiſhed with the two former parts. But this part would have been much better performed, if Dr Bate had lived one year longer. In 1685 came out a Tranſlation into Engliſh of all the three parts by one A. Lovel, A. M. of Cambridge. The two parts publiſhed by Dr Bate having given offence, not only to the Papiſts, but to the Cavaliers likewiſe, on account of their favouring the Puritans; one Robert Pugh, who had been an Officer in the King's army, wrote an anſwer to them, intitled *Elenchus Elenchi*, printed at Paris in 1664, in *octavo*. Dr Bate replied thereto; but his anſwer was never publiſhed (5). The firſt part of Dr Bate's *Elenchus* is dedicated to King Charles II. In the Preface, the author gives us a Plan of his deſign. He tells us, 'He has touched upon ſuch particulars as may ſerve to 'ſettle the juſt boundaries between the Rights of the 'King, the Parliament, and the People; that he has 'briefly related the Cauſes, Progreſs, and Concluſion 'of our Civil Diſſenſions; that he has purpoſely omitted dwelling upon military affairs, chiefly to avoid 'prolixity; and that the facts he relates were not taken 'from the report of others, but from his own know-'ledge and experience, confirmed by Records, Parliament Rolls, and the authorities of the moſt eminent 'Lawyers; all which he had an opportunity of con-'ſulting in perſon.' He obſerves, that 'towards the 'end of this Tragedy, he was fired with indignation 'at the villanies he related, and his pen grew warm; 'but that he ſtrictly confined himſelf within the bounds 'of truth, and even treated thoſe horrid crimes and 'their actors in a milder ſtyle than they deſerved.' *Sub hujus Tragœdiæ finem, rerum atrocitate motus concepit flammas animus, et incaluit calamus; ſed intra veritatis metas religioſe ſe continuit, et ſcelera autoreſque mitiore ſtylo quam par erat perſtrinxit* (6). At the end of the firſt part (7), the Doctor tells us, the Manuſcript, before it went to the preſs, was reviſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Nicolas Oudart, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, Sir John Wederburn, Dr Richard Owen, Dr George Ente, and Fabian Philips the Lawyer; the laſt of whom aſſiſted him in ſearching Records, &c. The ſecond part is dedicated to King Charles II, and Edward Earl of Clarendon. The author tells us, it contains an account of King Charles IId's wonderful eſcape after the murther of his father, and a diſtinct account of the affairs, both civil and military, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And he promiſes a third part, if his health ſhould permit. Dr Skinner (as has been obſerved) executed this deſign. His performance is intitled *Elenchus*, &c. *Pars Tertia; ſive Motus Compoſiti. Ubi illuſtriſſimi G. Monchii Albemarliæ Ducis è Scotia Progreſſus; nec non Auguſtiſſimi Caroli 2di in Angliam Reditus, ejuſdemque regiæ majeſta-*

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425.

(2) Qui ſcripſit Hiſtoriam Motuum nuperorum in Scotia.

(3) Qui Gallicè ſcripſit de Rebus Anglicis.

(4) Joh. Durel's S. Eccl. Angl. Vindiciæ, Lond. 1669. c. 28. p. 332.

(5) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(6) Elench. Mot. nuperor. &c. edit. Lond. 1676. *Ad Lectorem.*

(7) *In* Epilogo.

and ſome other pieces [*B*]. He died at his houſe in Hatton-Garden, April the 19th, 1669, and was buried at Kingſton upon Thames in Surrey, near his wife Elizabeth, who died April the 17th, 1667 (*a*).

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 425, 426.

There was another GEORGE BATE, who wrote the *Lives, Actions, and Execution of the prime Actors, and principal Contrivers of that horrid Murther of our late, pious, and ſacred Sovereign King Charles* I, London, 1661, 8vo (*b*).

(b) Ibid.

tis per decennium geſta fideliter enarrantur. It is dedicated to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State to King Charles II. I cannot forbear giving the learned reader a ſpecimen of Dr Bate's Latin ſtyle, which I chuſe to do in his character of King Charles I. (8). *Nec ſane facile mihi eſt non hic immittere rudentes, non vela pandere, totoque ingenio vehi per virtutum ipſius Oceanum; quanquam hanc mihi licentiam compendii, cui jam incumbitur, ratio interdicat. Paucis itaque iiſdemque perobſcuris radiis hunc ſolem oſtendam. Princeps ſane erat inter optimos omnis retro ævi numerandus; magna ingenii vi, majoribus morum dotibus; omnium ſuffragiis (vel inimiciſſimorum) dignus imperio, ſi non imperaſſet. Qui omnium confeſſione illud magnum præſtitit, quod idem ubique fuerit, quod eundem virtutis et morum tenorem, eundem vultum tenere, in diverſiſſimis, quas expertus eſt, fortunis noſſet; quaſi è torrida in frigidam tranſmigraret Zonam, nil ad quicquam mutato pectoris temperamento. Qui vel invitis placuit, et quaſi incantamento quodam multorum odia lenivit, hoſtes in amicitiam conciliavit, convitia in laudes convertit. Qui tanta prudentia, tot heroicis plané virtutibus præpolluit, ut clarius per opprobria et calumnias emicuerit. Quem mentis inopem finxerant hoſtes, experti ſunt, non politicis modo, ſed et Theologicis ſelectiſſimis parem, ſi non et ſuperiorem: Quem timidum et ad omnia facilem, fluxæ fidei et muliebris inconſtantiæ, infamarunt, eundem in præliis milite promptiorem, minis, probris, periculis interritum, carcere et morte ſenſerunt inconcuſſum: Quem* Pontificium *affirmarunt,* Reformatam Apoſtolicam Religionem *ſcriptis viderunt nervosè confirmantem, nec fuſo tantum atramento, ſed et ſanguine vindicantem. Qui eum ut ſanguinarium et ſævum proſciderant, ad eam calumniandi licentiam ſolâ regis clementiâ perducti proceſſerunt, ad quam facilem nimis receptum ſibi promiſerant Rebelles; donec ultra veniæ metas aſpirante fortuna evecti, mallent tantæ clementiæ Principi veniam negare, quam eandem ab eo jam exarmato petere. Cui ſi revera quid objici poteſt, næ illud fuerit non eximii principis vitium aliquod, ſed corruptiſſimi ſæculi et alieni temporis intempeſtiva quædam et noxia virtus; nimia ſcilicet apud ſævos lenitas, apud prava ingenia candor, rigidumque* Honeſtum *vix regibus conceſſum; ac verecundia ſuis diffiſa viribus; animuſque tantopere à faſtu alienus, ut minus ſibi tribuerit in optimis conſultis, quam aliis in minus bonis, quaſi inimicorum de ſe convitiis crederet.* Magnum vivendi, majus moriendi exemplum: *quem, eâdem qua virtus ipſa ſorte, indignis modis habitum,*

(8) *Vide* Elench. p. 121, 122.

——————— incolumem odimus
Sublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi.

[*B*] *He wrote ſome other pieces.*] I. *The Royal Apology; or, The Declaration of the Commons in Parliament, Feb.* 11, 1647. Printed in 1648, in *quarto.* II. *De Rachitide, ſive morbo puerili, qui vulgo* the Rickets *dicitur.* Lond. 1650, in *octavo.* Mr Wood tells us (9), the Doctor was aſſiſted in this work by Francis Gliſſon, and Ahaſuerus Regemorter, Doctors of Phyſic, and Fellows of the College of Phyſicians; and that it was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by Philip Armin, and printed at London 1651, in *octavo*; and about the ſame time tranſlated by Nicolas Culpepper, who ſtyles himſelf *Student in Phyſic and Aſtrology*, and who was author of ſeveral books and Almanacks. III. After Dr Bate's death came out a *Diſpenſatory* in Latin, intitled *Pharmacopœia Bateana; in qua octoginta circiter pharmaca pleraque omnia è Praxi Georgii Batei Regi Carolo 2do Proto-medici excerpta.* Lond. 1688, and 1691. It was publiſhed by Mr James Shipton, Apothecary, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr William Salmon, under the title of *Bate's Diſpenſatory.* We have the following account of this Book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (10). 'The tranſlator of this work, in his Preface, gives firſt an account of the Original, that it is a collection of moſt excellent *Recipe's* made by Mr James Shipton, who was the preparer and maker-up of the greateſt part of them, tho' their author was the famous Dr Bate, whom to name is ſufficient, by whoſe knowledge and experience this work was produced. The firſt edition was ſo well received by the Learned, that they were ſoon preſented with a ſecond, with an addition of not only above 100 more of Dr Bate's *Recipe's*, but alſo of the *Arcana Goddardiana* from the author's own MS. which much advanced the value of the book, ſo that at leaſt 6000 of this Latin edition were ſold; which was digeſted into an alphabetical method, with the *Arcana Goddardiana* at the end thereof, which were only *nominal* without their preparations; whereas in this Engliſh Edition they are at large, and interſperſed in their proper places: The method of the book is likewiſe altered claſſically, according to the method and order of the chapters of the *London Diſpenſatory.* The work in the Latin being thus approved of by the Learned, and eſpecially Phyſicians, induced our author to publiſh this Engliſh edition, as he ſays, for it's more general uſe and entertainment; adding ſome preparations never before printed, as *Goddard's Drops*, *Ruſſel's Powder*, *Emplaſtrum Febrifugium*, with near 50 more valuable *Recipe's* out of the *Collectanea Chymica*, and other authors, of which he gives a catalogue both of the antient and modern which he has conſulted in this undertaking; which is not a bare tranſlation, a Comment being added upon each particular, eſpecially upon all the Chymical Proceſſes; which he has ſearched out from their original fountains, and explicated the Proceſs itſelf, adding as a Supplement a *Rationale* upon the ſame; and having examined the preſcripts of other authors, he ſhews wherein they chiefly differ from theſe, and gives their proceſſes at large, if new. —— He obviates ſome objections againſt the publiſhing this work in Engliſh, and diſcovering the ſecrets of the Art to the Vulgar, which he hopes he has made ſome amends for, by divulging ſeveral ſecrets not generally known even by the Learned; amongſt which is the *Prince's Powder*, once accounted a great ſecret, and ſold for above five pounds a doſe; the preparation whereof is *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 9. *Sect.* 80. *Pag.* 526. which happens to be omitted in the Table; and, as a general anſwer, adds, that all particular intereſts ſhould be ſacrificed to the common good, which ought to be preferred before any private one, how dear and valuable ſoever: And juſtifies himſelf in this by the examples of Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelſus, Celſus, and others, who all publiſhed a ſyſtem of Phyſic in their own languages; as likewiſe from the preſent uſage of the French, who now treat of all ſubjects in their own tongue; and, as he conceives, they are not to be imitated only in their vices.' T

(10) Vol. XVII. for the year 1693. N. 206.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

BATE, in *Latin* BATUS (JOHN), Prior of the monaſtery of Carmelites at York, in the fifteenth century, was born in Northumberland, and educated at York in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts; in which he was greatly encouraged by the favour of ſome perſons his patrons, who were at the expence of ſending him to Oxford, to finiſh his ſtudies in that univerſity. Bate abundantly anſwered the hopes conceived of him, and became an eminent Philoſopher and Divine, and particularly remarkable for his ſkill in the Greek tongue. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author [*A*]. The Carmelites of York were ſo ſenſible of his merit, that, upon a vacancy

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author.*] His works, as enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits, conſiſt of the following Treatiſes. I. *On the Conſtruction of the Parts of Speech.* II. *On* Porphyry's Univerſalia:

vacancy, they offered him the government of their houſe; which he accepted, and diſcharged that office with great prudence and ſucceſs (*a*). He died the 26th of January 1429, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI (*b*). Bale, who cannot refuſe him the character of a learned man, pretends he adulterated the word of God with falſe doctrines, to ſupport the blaſphemies of Antichriſt, and defiled his own writings with the filth of Paganiſm (*c*).

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 705.

(*b*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. c. 79.

(*c*) Ibid.

lia. III. *On* Ariſtotle's Prædicaments. IV. *On* Porretanus's Six Principles. V. *Queſtions concerning the Soul.* VI. *Of the Aſſumption of the Virgin.* VII. *An Introduction to the Sentences.* VIII. *The Praiſe of Divinity.* IX. *A Compendium of Logic.* X. *An Addreſs to the Clergy of Oxford.* XI. *Synodical Conferences.* XII. *Determinations on ſeveral queſtions.* XIII. *A Courſe of Sermons for the whole year.* XIV. *A Preface to the Bible.* T

BATECUMBE or BADECOMBE (WILLIAM), an eminent Mathematician (*a*), is ſuppoſed by Pits (*b*) to have flouriſhed about the year 1420, in the reign of Henry V. He ſtudied at Oxford (*c*), where he applied himſelf to Natural Philoſophy in general, but chiefly to the Mathematicks, in which he made a very great proficiency, as is evident by his writings in that ſcience [*A*], which introduced him to the acquaintance and intimacy of the greateſt men of thoſe times (*d*). It is not known when he died.

(*a*) Leland, de Script. Brit. n. 509. *et* Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. n. 67.

(*b*) De Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *ann.* 1420, n. 784.

(*c*) Bale, ibid.

(*d*) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ibid.

[*A*] *His mathematical writings.*] He wrote, I. *De Sphæræ Concavæ Fabrica et Uſu*; i. e. 'Of the 'Formation and Uſe of the Concave Sphere.' This treatiſe Bale ſaw in the library of Dr Robert Recorde, a learned Phyſician. II. *De Sphæra Solida*; i. e. 'Of 'the Solid Sphere.' III. *De Operatione Aſtrolabii*; i. e. 'Of the Uſe of the Aſtrolabe.' IV. *Concluſiones Sophiæ*; i. e. 'Philoſophical Concluſions (1).' T

(1) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

BATEMAN (WILLIAM) Biſhop of Norwich in the fourteenth century, and founder of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, was born at Norwich; being the ſon of a citizen of good repute in that place (*a*). He was, from his tendereſt years of a docile and ingenious diſpoſition (*b*). Having therefore made a good proficiency in learning, wherein he ſurpaſſed all his equals (*c*), he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge (*d*). And after having gone through the uſual circle of the ſciences, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, in which he took the degree of Doctor, before he was thirty years of age, a thing then uncommon (*e*). On the 8th of December 1328, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Norwich (*f*). Soon after which, he went and ſtudied at Rome, for his further improvement; and ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge [*A*] and exemplary behaviour, that he was promoted by the Pope to the place of Auditor of his Palace. He was likewiſe advanced by him to the Deanery of Lincoln (*g*); and ſo great an opinion had he of his prudence and capacity, that he ſent him twice as his Nuncio, to endeavour to procure a peace between Edward III, King of England, and the King of France (*h*). Upon the death of Antony de Beck, Biſhop of Norwich, the Pope did, by his uſurped proviſional authority, confer that biſhopric upon our William Bateman, on the 23d of January 1343, and conſecrated him with his own hands. He was confirmed the 23d of June 1344 (*i*). Being inveſted with that great dignity, he returned into his native country after many years abſence; and lived in a regular, and withal in a generous and hoſpitable manner (*k*). Of Pope Clement VI he obtained for himſelf and ſucceſſors, the firſt-fruits of all vacant livings within his dioceſe; which occaſioned frequent diſputes between himſelf and his clergy (*l*). In the year 1347 (*m*), he founded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws [*B*]; and another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary [*C*], for the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity (*n*). Being a perſon

(*a*) His father's name was William, and his mother's Margaret, Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 803.

(*b*) De Vitâ & Morte Rev. admodum Willielmi Batteman, &c. in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. vii. p. 1.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 490.

(*e*) See Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 217.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 145. and Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid. J. Le Neve, as above, p. 210. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Vid. Peck. & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Godwin, ubi ſupra. *Anglia Sacra*, P. i. edit. Lond. 1691, fol. p. 414.

(*m*) Camden ſays, that it was in 1353. *Britannia*, in Cambridgeſhire.

(*n*) Vide Peck, ut ſupra, p. 3. & Godwin, p. 490. & Anglia Sacra, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *And ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge.*] He was reckoned at the court of Rome, the moſt eminent Lawyer of his time. *In tanta vero juſtitie, equitate, & ſententie, ſoliditate in gradibus illis inflexibilis prepollebat, ut ipſius ſummi Pontificis, ac totius curie, aſſertione, utriuſque Juriſperitorum flos precipuus diceretur* (1).

(1) Peck's *Deſiderata*, &c. ut ſupra, p. 2.

[*B*] *He founded* Trinity-*Hall in* Cambridge, *for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon laws.*] In the place where he built it, there formerly flouriſhed a ſociety of ſtudents, who lived at their own expence. John Grandene, the twenty-ſecond Prior of Ely, purchaſed that houſe with his own money, in the reign of King Edward III, and converted it into an hôtel for the reception of the Monks of Ely, coming thither at their leiſure to improve in learning (2). To theſe beginnings, Richard Ling, Chancellor of the univerſity, Archembald Norwich, Simon Rekenghall, and Walter Elveden, Rector of Smitterton in Norfolk, added four tenements. Likewiſe Robert Stratton, John French, Walter Bakton, Walter Aldeley, and Peter Bittering, gave ſeven parcels of land and two meſſuages, one of which was called Drake's entry. All theſe Biſhop Bateman purchaſed of the aforeſaid Prior and Monks of Ely, giving ſome rectories in exchange for the ſame, and converted them into a Hall, in the year 1347, twenty-firſt of Edward III, which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity. He endowed it with the rectories of Briſton, Kymberley, Brimmingham, Woodalling, Cowling, and Stalling in the dioceſe of Norwich: And deſigned that it ſhould conſiſt of a Maſter, twenty Fellows, and three Scholars; to ſtudy the Canon and Civil law, with an allowance for one Divine. But being prevented by death, he left proviſion only for a maſter, three fellows, and as many ſcholars. However, by the munificence of ſeveral worthy perſons, it now maintains a maſter, eighteen fellows, and fourteen ſcholars. The chief benefactors thereto, have been Simon Dalling the third maſter, who gave two fellowſhips, and one ſcholarſhip; Walter Huke, the eighth maſter, who gave one fellowſhip; Robert Goodknape, once a fellow there, gave one fellowſhip; Richard Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, three fellowſhips and two ſcholarſhips; Laurence Maptid, fellow of the ſame, one fellowſhip; Gabriel Dun, Canon of St Paul's cathedral, London, one ſcholarſhip; Henry Harvey, the twelfth maſter, one ſcholarſhip; Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one ſcholarſhip, &c. (3)

(2) Hiſtoria Elienſis, in Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 650.

(3) J. Caii, Hiſt. Cantebrig. Academiæ, Lond. 1574, 4to, p. 62, 63. and A View of Cambridge, by Ric. Parker, 8vo, Lond. 1721, p. 65, &c.

[*C*] *And another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin* Mary.] This is what the writer of his life, publiſhed by Fr. Peck (4), affirms, in the following words. ——— *Duas aulas collegiatas in univerſitate* Cantebrigienſi, *propriis ſumptibus honorifice conſtruxit; unam, quam intitulavit S.* Trinitatis, *de ſtudentibus*

(4) In his *Deſiderata Curioſa*, ut ſupra.

a perſon of great wiſdom, eloquent, and of a fine addreſs; he was often employed by the King and Parliament in affairs of the higheſt importance; and particularly was at the head of ſeveral embaſſies, ſent on purpoſe to determine the great differences between the crowns of England and France. In 1354, he was, by order of Parliament, diſpatched to the court of Rome, with Henry, Duke of Lancaſter, and others; to treat (in the Pope's preſence) of a peace, then in agitation between the two crowns above-mentioned (o). This journey proved fatal to him; for he died at Avignon, where the Pope then reſided, on the 6th of January 1354-5, and was buried with great ſolemnity [D], in the cathedral church of that city (p). With regard to his perſon, we are told that he was of an agreeable countenance; and tall, handſom, and well made. He was, likewiſe, a man of ſtrict juſtice and piety, punctual in the diſcharge of his duty, and of a friendly and compaſſionate diſpoſition (q). But he was a ſtout defender of his rights, and would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one (r) [E]. He gave a cheſt with a hundred pounds to Trinity-Hall, to be lent to poor ſcholars (s).

(o) Peck, ubi ſupra. H. de Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, apud *Scriptores* X. edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2607. Tho. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. &c. edit. 1603, p. 170.

(p) Peck, ut ſupra.

(q) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 803. & Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 61.

dentibus in utroque jure; aliam vero Annunciationis B. Marie, *de vacantibus theologis & dialectis diſciplinis; quas poſſeſſionibus et proventibus — ditabat;* ——— i. e. 'He founded two collegiate halls in the univerſity of Cambridge, at his own expence; one called 'Trinity-Hall, for ſtudents in Law; and the other 'named of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, for 'ſtudents in Divinity and Philoſophy, which he en'riched with poſſeſſions and revenues.' Biſhop Godwin aſſerts the ſame (5), and adds, that he likewiſe adviſed one Gunvile to found the college that bears his name. The author of Biſhop Bateman's life in *Anglia Sacra* (6), thus expreſſes this fact: ——— *Hic etiam duo collegia in univerſitate* Cantabrigiæ *fundavit, viz. S.* Trinitatis *& Annunciationis B.* Mariæ *vocatum* Gunwyle-hale; *quæ ditavit redditibus & ædificiis* ——— i. e. 'He alſo founded two colleges in the univerſity 'of Cambridge, viz. Trinity-Hall, and that of the 'Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, called *Gunwyle-hale, &c.*' Upon comparing theſe ſeveral hiſtorians one with another, and examining every circumſtance, the truth ſeems to be this; Gonville-college was dedicated by it's founder, Edmund Gonville, to the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* (7); now, as Biſhop Bateman was executor to Gonville, and finiſhed and ſettled what the other had begun; hence viſibly aroſe the miſtake, and to this it was owing, that Biſhop Bateman came to be reputed, and called by ſome, the founder of Gonville-hall, or college. But, upon the ſtricteſt examination, it doth not appear, that he otherwiſe founded a diſtinct Hall of the *Annunciation*; eſpecially conſidering, how ſlender a foundation his own Hall of Trinity originally was.

(5) De Præſulibus, ubi ſupra.

(6) Part i. p. 414.

(7) Vide Caii Hiſtor. ut ſupra, p. 64.

[D] *And was buried with great ſolemnity.*] He was attended to his grave by the college of Cardinals, and by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other great men at the Pope's court. The funeral ſervice was performed by the Patriarch of Jeruſalem (8).

(8) See Peck, as above, p. 3.

[E] *And would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one.*] Of his reſolution in this point, we have this remarkable inſtance. Robert, Lord Morley having killed ſome deer in his parks, and miſuſed his ſervants, he made him do public penance for the ſame; that is, he obliged that nobleman to walk, uncovered and barefoot, with a wax-taper of ſix pounds in his hands, through the city of Norwich to the cathedral, and there to aſk his pardon. And all this was done notwithſtanding an expreſs order of the King to the contrary, and tho' his Majeſty had ſeized the Biſhop's revenues, for his obſtinacy. But the King was ſoon after reconciled to him (9).

(9) Anglia Sacra, ut ſupra, p. 415. & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

C

BATES (WILLIAM), an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine of the laſt century, was born in November 1625 (a); admitted in Emanuel-college in Cambridge, and from thence removed to King's-college in 1644; took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1647; and admitted Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters, dated November 9, 1660 (b). Soon after the Reſtoration, he was appointed Chaplain to King Charles II, and became Miniſter of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt; but was deprived of that benefice for Nonconformity (c). He was one of the Commiſſioners at the Conference in the Savoy, in 1660, for reviewing the publick Liturgy, and was concerned in drawing up the *Exceptions* againſt the *Common Prayer* (d). He was likewiſe choſen, on the part of the Miniſters, together with Dr Jacomb and Mr Baxter, to manage the diſpute with Dr Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, Dr Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and Dr Sparrow, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich (e). In 1665, he took the oath, required of the Nonconformiſts [A] by the Parliament, which ſat at Oxford during the plague at London. Dr Bates bore a moſt excellent character [B], and was honoured with the friendſhip of the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, the

(a) Dr Calamy's *Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, &c. ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration*, Vol. I. p. 73.

(b) Biſhop Kennet's *Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, p. 888.

(c) *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c.* L. i. P. ii. p. 229.

(d) Ibid. p. 307.

(e) Ib. p. 337.

[A] *He took the oath required of the Nonconformiſts.*] It was to this purpoſe; that they ſhould ſwear, 'that 'it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to 'take arms againſt the King; and that they abhorred 'the traiterous poſition of taking arms, by his autho'rity, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe, that are 'commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſ'ſion; and that they would not at any time endeavour 'any alteration in the government, either in Church 'or in State.' Thoſe who refuſed this Oath were to be reſtrained from coming (except upon the Road) within five miles of any city or corporation, or any place, which ſent Burgeſſes to Parliament, or where they had been Miniſters, or had preached ſince the Act of Oblivion. The Act, which impoſed this oath, openly accuſed the Nonconformiſt Miniſters of ſeditious doctrines and practices. Hereupon ſome of them ſtudied how to take the oath lawfully; and Dr Bates conſulted the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who promiſed to be preſent at the next Seſſions, and openly to declare from the bench, that by *Endeavour to change the Government in Church* was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*; which ſatisfying him, he thereby ſatisfied others; and accordingly twenty of them came in at the Seſſions, and took the oath. Dr Bates wrote a letter hereupon to Mr Baxter, repreſenting the caſe, and the reaſons upon which the Miniſters acted; but Mr Baxter, who gives us this account (1), tells us, that the arguments uſed in the letter ſeemed to him not ſufficient to enervate the force of the objections againſt their taking the oath.

(1) *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, &c. Part iii. p. 2, &c.

[B] *He bore a moſt excellent character.*] Mr Baxter (2) ſtiles him a *learned, judicious*, and *moderate* Divine. Mr John Howe, formerly Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, in his *Funeral Sermon* for him, has given his character at large. He repreſents him as a man of the moſt graceful appearance and deportment; of ſtrong natural abilities, and extenſive learning; of an admirable memory; a great collector and devourer of books; of the moſt agreeable and uſeful converſation; and remarkable for a peculiar ſpirit of Moderation, and zeal for union among Chriſtians (3).

(2) Ib. p. 94.

(3) Vid. *Funeral Sermon for that excellent Miniſter of Chriſt, the truly Reverend William Bates*, D. D. Lond. 1699.

[C] *The*

the Lord-Chancellor Finch, his ſon, the Earl of Nottingham, and Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who often converſed with him in private with great freedom (f). He had been offered, at the Reſtoration, the Deanry of Litchfield and Coventry, which he refuſed (g). He reſided for the latter part of his life at Hackney near London (h), and died July the 14th, 1699, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age (i). During his life, he publiſhed the *Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons* in Latin [C]; and, ſince his death, his *Works* [D] have been printed in one volume in *folio*; beſides a poſthumous piece of his in *octavo*, containing ſome *Sermons* on the everlaſting Reſt of the Saints (k).

(f) Ib. Part iii. p. 13.

(g) Ib. p. 283, 284.

(h) Dr Calamy's *Abridgment of Mr Baxter's Life*, p. 217.

(i) *Continuation*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 73.

(k) *Abridgment*, &c. p. 217, 218.

[C] *The* Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons, *in Latin*] They were written by different perſons; and the copies being grown ſcarce and valuable, Dr Bates collected them into one volume, intitled, *Vitæ Selectorum aliquot Virorum, qui doctrina, dignitate, aut pietate inclaruere*. London, 1681, 4to. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* (4) have diſtributed theſe *Lives* into three claſſes. The firſt contains the Lives of Princes, and men of ſuperior rank and quality. Among theſe are, The Funeral Oration upon Henry Prince of Wales, by Francis Neatherſole, Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge; Optitius's Funeral Oration upon Ulderic, the King of Denmark's ſon; Frederic Spanheim's Funeral Oration upon Frederic Prince of Orange; the Life of John Picus, Prince of Mirandula and Concordia, by John Francis, his ſon, Prince of Mirandula; John Hales's Funeral Oration upon Sir Thomas Bodley; and Gerard Voſſius's Commentary concerning the Life and Actions of Fabian a Dona. To the ſecond claſs are referred the Lives of men eminent in the Church; among which are, Dr Arthur Duke's Life of Henry Chichley, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; William Budden's Life of William Waynflete, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord-Chancellor of England; John de la Caſa's Life of Cardinal Bembo, and of Cardinal Gaſpar Contareni; the Life of Jerom Savanarola, by John Picus, Prince of Mirandula; Sir John Cheke and Nicholas Carr's Letters concerning the Death of Martin Bucer; the Life of Bernard Gilpin, by Dr George Carleton, Biſhop of Cheſter; and the Life of Archbiſhop Uſher, with a Catalogue of his Works. The third claſs contains the Lives of men diſtinguiſhed for their Learning; particularly, the Life of Eraſmus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by Rhenanus; of William Budæus, by Ludovicus Rhegius; of Chriſtopher Longolius; of Vincent Pinnellus, by Gualdus; of Scævola Sammarthanus, by Gabriel Michael Rupimalletus; of Julius Cæſar Scaliger, with an Account of his Writings; Daniel Heinſius's Letter to Iſaac Caſaubon concerning the Death of Joſeph Scaliger; the Life of Hugo Grotius, with an Account of his Writings; the Life of Peter Pithæus; an Elogium upon Janus Gruter, with a Catalogue of his Writings, by Balthaſar Venator; the Life of Julius Cæſar Lagalla, by Leo Allatius; of William Camden, by Degory Wheare; of Anthony Wallæus; of Peter Puteanus, by Rigaltius; of Dionyſius Petavius, by Henry Valeſius; of James Sirmondus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by the ſame author; of Peter Molinæus; and of Henry Valeſius, by his brother Hadrian.

(4) For *January*, 1682, p. 12.

[D] *His* Works] They conſiſt of *Sermons* and *Diſcourſes* on the moſt important Subjects, ſuch as *The Harmony of God's Attributes*, *The Final Happineſs of Man*, *The Four laſt Things*, &c. With regard to his manner of treating what he undertook, Mr Howe tells us (5), Biſhop Wilkins's Character of Mr Baxter might be applied to him, that *he cultivated every ſubject he handled*, and that, *if he had lived in an age of the Fathers, he would have been one*. His Panegyriſt particularly celebrates him for the Critical Exactneſs of his Method, and the inimitable politeneſs and refinement of his Style.

(5) Funeral Sermon, &c.

T

BATHE (HENRY DE), a learned Knight, an eminent and ſkilful Juſticiary of the thirteenth century (a), was a younger brother of an antient family of that name, (which we find variouſly written) [A] born, moſt probably at that antient ſeat of this family, called Bathe-houſe in the county of Devon; being a younger brother, it is not unnatural to imagine he might, upon that account, apply himſelf to the ſtudy and profeſſion of the laws of his country, in the knowledge whereof he grew ſo eminent, that he was advanced by King Henry III in 1238, to be one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (b); and in 1240, was conſtituted one of the Juſtices Itinerant, (as they were then called) for the county of Hartford (c); and in 1248 he was appointed the ſame for Eſſex and Surrey; in 1249 for Kent, Berks, Southampton, and Middleſex; and in 1250 for Lincolnſhire; at which time he had allowed him out of the Exchequer, by a peculiar favour, an hundred pounds a year for his ſuſtentation in the diſcharge of his office (d). But the year following he fell from the King's grace and favour; the occaſion of which were certain crimes laid to his charge, which if true [B], he cannot be juſtified; although upon a due examination of

(a) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 610.

(b) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 11.

(c) Matth. Paris, p. 538. n. 30.

(d) *Henry de Bath* habet C. L. annuatim percip. de Scac. ad ſe ſuſtentandum in officio Juſtiarii. *Liberate de anno*, 34 H. III. 1250, Chron. ſeri. p. 15.

[A] *A younger brother of an antient family of that name, which we find variouſly written*] We have three obſervations to make upon this paragraph, viz. 1ſt, *The various manners in which we find the name wrote*; 2dly, *The antiquity of the family*; and 3dly, *Of his being a younger brother*. The name appears among various authors very differently wrote, as DE BAA, DE BADA, DE BATHON, DE BATHOND, DE BATHONIA, DE BATH, DE BATHE, DE BASH, DE BACH, &c (1). Which name the family either took from, or left unto an antient ſeat of that name, called *Bathe-Houſe* (in the pariſh of North Taunton, in the heart of the county of Devon), the principal place of the family's reſidence, where we find it of ſo long ſtanding, that our author ſays (2) it ran ſo very far back, that he could not trace out and overtake the original; thereof he alſo adds, that the honour and reputation of it was not at all diminiſhed by Sir Walter de Bathon, Kt. who was High-Sheriff of Devon 1 Hen. III. 1217, and after that in the ſecond year of the ſame reign, he was again advanced to the ſame honourable office, in which he continued fourteen years together; unto which Sir Walter, adds our author, 'we take Sir Henry, of whom we are treating, to be a younger 'brother, being expreſsly ſaid to be a branch of this 'family *.'

(1) See Matth. Paris. Speed's Chron. Riſdon's Deſcript. MS. Mr Iſaac's Catalogue of Sheriffs, &c. Fuller's Worthies, &c.

(2) Danmonii Orientale Illuſtr. p. 50.

[B] *Which if true.*] There being very good reaſons to imagine this proſecution was incited and carried on by the intereſt of the court, at the inſtigation perhaps of a few, whom he might poſſibly have injured or diſobliged in the execution of his office, or the envy and malice of others, whom he then excelled in favour and fortune; nor is it at all to be wondered at that the King himſelf (as we find) ſhould be his chief enemy in this affair, ſince his beggarly circumſtances at this time was ſuch, that Hiſtorians inform us, he, his Queen, the young Prince, and his court, went about upon their own invitation from houſe to houſe, where, beſides their own entertainment, they generally expected large donatives; it was no wonder then if a Prince, thus needy and diſtreſſed, ſhould encourage any proceedings which could favour ſuch a charge (againſt ſo wealthy and envied a ſubject as de Bath was) as might infer treaſon and forfeiture of eſtate. For farther proofs of his innocency ſee the next note.

(*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 50.

of the matter we may obſerve, ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot them out [C] (e), he is however reported, unfortunately to have been of a narrow, ſqueezing diſpoſition, which was encouraged by the arts of an extravagant, rapacious wife, proud of her origin, as ſprung from the Baſſets and Sandfords, great men in thoſe days (f), ſo that what thro' his own natural diſpoſition, and her ſtrenuous encouragement, he, in a very ſhort time accumulated a prodigious eſtate; in one circuit only he is ſaid to have gotten land of inheritance to the value of 200 pounds, *per annum* (g). This charge, *viz.* That he had not exerciſed his office uprightly, but to his own private gain, having perverted juſtice through bribes, upon an occaſion of a ſuit betwixt him, and one Everard Trumpington, was chiefly ſupported againſt him by one Philip de Arcis, Knt. who alſo added treaſon to that of infidelity in his office. The accuſed was attached in the King's-Court; but one Manſel, who was now become a great favourite at court, offered bail for his appearance: King Henry refuſed this, the caſe, as he alledged, not being bailable, he terming him guilty of high-treaſon (b). Fulk Baſſet however, then Biſhop of London, and a great many of de Bathe's friends interceding, the King at laſt gave orders that he ſhould be bailed, twenty-four Knights becoming ſureties for his appearing and ſtanding to the judgment of the court; but de Bathe ſeems to have been conſcious of his own demerits, or the prepoſſeſſion of his Judges againſt him; for he was no ſooner ſet at liberty, than he wrote to all his relations either by blood or marriage, deſiring that they would apply to the King in his favour, at firſt by fair ſpeeches and preſents, and that if theſe did not prevail, they ſhould appear in a more warlike manner, thereby to intimidate the court (i); this they faithfully and unanimouſly promiſed to do, upon the encouragement given them by a bold Knight, one Nicholas de Sandford. But the King, imagining, that his own power and the intereſt of de Bathe's accuſers infinitely outweighed all the preparations of the others, appeared the more inexorable upon the intimation of theſe proceedings, he rejected all preſents from the friends of the accuſed, and put on an air as if nothing but his puniſhment ſhould ſatisfy his and the nation's juſtice. De Bathe knew well to what all this outward inflexibility tended; but was certain that if Henry perſiſted in his reſolution, he himſelf muſt periſh; he therefore had recourſe to more prudent meaſure, he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London, and other his ſpecial friends, and with a great poſſe of theſe goes to Richard, Earl of Cornwall (afterwards King of the Romans) (k), whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt [D]. The King continued deaf to all his remonſtrances, and about the end of February (l) de Bathe was ſummoned, and obliged to appear to anſwer what ſhould be laid to his charge; this he accordingly did, but ſtrongly defended by a great retinue of armed Knights, Gentlemen, and others, viz. his own and his wife's friends and relations, among whom was the family of the Baſſets and the Sandfords; a band as undaunted as his perſecutors were violent (m). We may, from what our hiſtorian has delivered upon this occaſion, conclude, that the aſſembly was divided between thoſe who depended upon the King for their poſts and preferments, and thoſe who (though a great majority) were ſo thoroughly exaſperated at the meaſures of the court, that they were reſolved not to find de Bathe guilty (n). It was not long before the King perceived this, and upon that occaſion, he made an unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation [E]. And a new charge was

(e) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 50.

(f) Matth. Paris, p. 811.

(g) Ubi ſupra, & Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 610.

(b) Matth. Paris, p. 811, 1250.

(i) Matth. Paris, p. 812. 1250.

(k) Ypodigma Neuſtriæ per. T. de Walſingh. p. 467, 45.

(l) The 13th of the Calends of March. Matth. Paris, Feb. 16. Hollinſhed.

(m) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(n) Hiſtory of England, by Guthrie, p. 757.

[C] *Although, upon a due examination of the matter, we may obſerve ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot out his crimes.*] Which we ſhall endeavour to prove from the following particulars, viz. That ſo great a number of perſons of the firſt quality took his part, powerfully defending him from any intended miſchief to his perſon. Another no inconſiderable circumſtance in behalf of his innocence is, that the King's own brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was ſo zealous an interceſſor for him, *urging the danger of the time, the diſcontentment of the kingdom, and how the proceeding in ſuch a manner with one of his Council, whom he had uſed in ſo great buſineſs, would diſcourage others to ſerve ſuch a maſter, who upon malicious accuſations ſhould ſo forſake them whoſe places were ever expoſed to envy and detraction* (3); concluding his ſpeech with theſe words: *We muſt not forſake gentlemen in their right, nor in preſerving the tottering peace of this kingdom* (4). The Biſhop of London alſo and ſeveral others became mediators in his behalf with the King, which, it is not natural to ſuppoſe they would, had he been ſo notorious a criminal. — Another argument of his innocence, or at leaſt of his not being ſo guilty as ſuſpected, may be gathered from hence, that after this ſtorm was blown over, the King took him again into his good grace and favour; —— but leſt it may be imagined, that this gentleman's reſtoration to ſo weighty a truſt ſhould be the act of the King's mere arbitrary pleaſure, we are informed it was done by the advice and proviſion of the Lords and great men of his council, as appears from this clauſe in the writ 'Hi omnes *(ſpeaking of Sir 'Henry and his aſſociates)* per proviſionem magnatum 'angliæ, qui ſunt de concilio regis ad meliorationem 'ſtatus totius regni, aſſignati erant (5). *Theſe all by the 'providing of the great men of the kingdom, who are of 'the King's council, were appointed for the better eſtate 'of this realm.*'—That this gentleman ſhould be re-admitted to the diſpenſation of public juſtice is a manifeſt argument, that he either was not guilty of the corruption he had been accuſed of, or that thoſe great men who entruſted him in that office were not innocent (6). All theſe arguments together, with note [B], do almoſt amount to a proof he was not guilty, or at leaſt not in ſo heinous a manner as is ſuggeſted in our chronicles.

(3) Daniel's Hiſt. of England, p. 166, 1250.

(4) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the reign of Hen. III. p. 610.

(5) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 19.

(6) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 52.

[D] *Whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt.*] The motives which determined the Earl to befriend the accuſed, proves the wretched ſituation of the kingdom at this juncture; for de Bathe ſwore by a ſolemn oath, that if the King ſhould attempt his life, or even the forfeiture of his eſtate, he would raiſe ſuch a diſturbance as ſhould not be in the power of the government to ſuppreſs (7); knowing that the diſaffection of the kingdom, at Henry's partiality to Foreigners, would render this the more practicable; the Earl was conſcious what great cauſes the people had of rebellion, and how ſmall a matter might kindle it. So that partly through fear, and partly, as our Hiſtorian ſays (8), through rich preſents, and the prayers and entreaties of De Bathe and his friends, he at laſt came entirely into the ſentiments of De Bathe's parties, and applied to the King in his favour.

(7) Matth. Paris, p. 812.

(8) Ut ſupra.

[E] *Upon that occaſion he made an unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation.*]

was now brought againſt de Bathe, and perhaps the chief and only one, at leaſt that had exaſperated King Henry, viz. he was impeached (not only on the former articles, but particularly) for alienating the affections of the Barons from his Majeſty, and creating ſuch a ferment all over the kingdom, that a general ſedition was now on the point of breaking out (*o*). This ſpeech was enforced from Bathe's Brother-Juſticiary, who declared to the aſſembly, that he knew the accuſed to have diſmiſſed without any cenſure, for the ſake of lucre, a convicted criminal (*p*). Many other complaints were urged againſt de Bathe, but they ſeem to have been diſregarded by all but the King and his party; who was ſo much exaſperated to ſee de Bathe likely to be acquitted, that he mounted his throne, and with his own mouth made proclamation, That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry de Bathe, ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs [*F*]; after which ſpeech he flung out of the room in a great paſſion. Many of the Royal party who were exceedingly keen upon this occaſion, would readily have executed the King's terrible doom, and were for diſpatching de Bathe in court; but his friend Manſel, one of the King's Council, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually that he was ſaved [*G*]; and afterwards, by the powerful mediation of his friends, (among whom was the Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and the Biſhop of London) and the application of a ſum of money, viz. 2000 marks † to the King, he obtained not only a pardon, but all his former places and favour with the King, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſame ſeat of judicature, as he was in before, and rather advanced him higher, for he was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench (*q*), after about three year's diſcontinuance from his office of a Judge, in which honourable poſt he continued for eight years after, till the time of his death, as Dugdale informs us (*r*); for in the year 1260, we find he was one of the Juſtices Itinerant for the counties of Huntington, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, which was the year before he died (*s*). Where his aſhes were laid, or what family or iſſue he left we do not find.

(o) Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(p) Hollinſhed, Speed, Matth. Paris, &c. ut ſupra.

(q) Dugdale, Chron. Scri. Juſtic. ad plac. coram Rege, 1253, 37 Hen. III. Henricus de Bathonia, Pat. 37 Hen. III. m. 5.

† 1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

(r) Chron. Scrip. p. 19.

(s) Henric. de Bathon. Defunctus, an. 45 Hen. III. Chronica Series, p. 19. Hollinſhed places his death in 1260.

clamation.] The King was ſo reſolved upon the downfal of De Bath, that he had public proclamation made, that *whoſoever had any action or complaint againſt Henry De Bath, ſhould come in, and they ſhould be heard* (9). 'A ſtrange encouragement this for envy and malice to 'break in upon and confound the greateſt innocence; 'though we do not find that any one thereupon urged 'any thing againſt him, which is no mean evidence 'that he was not ſo guilty as repreſented (10).' This however was a miſtake of Mr Prince's, for all the authors that mention this affair take notice, that there were many accuſations againſt him, though none of them were at all regarded; by which we may indeed imagine they were very inconſiderable, or far from being proved upon him.

(9) Daniel's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 160.

(10) Danmonii Illuſtr. p. 50.

[*F*] *That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry De Bath ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs* (11).] Hollinſhed (12) varies theſe words a little, viz. If any man will ſlea Henry De Bath, he ſhall not be impeached for his death, for I do here plainly declare him acquit and guiltleſs for the ſame. —— Others have it, Whoſoever ſhall kill Henry De Bath ſhall be quit of his death, and I do hereby acquit him. —— This is the neareſt the words of Matth. Paris (13), which are, 'Si 'quis Henricum de Bathionâ occidet quietus ſit a 'morte ejus, & quietum eum proteſtor.'

(11) Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, p. 757.

(12) Vol. I. p. 244.

(13) Page 814.

[*G*] *But his friend Manſell, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually, that he was ſaved*] Aſſwaging their fury with the following words (14). 'Domini mei et amici non eſt neceſſe, quod in ira 'præproperè dicitur, proſequamur, pœnitebit fortè dominum noſtrum, jam elapſo iræ tempore hæc intonuiſſe: Præterea ſi aliquid violentiæ ipſi Henrico intuleritis ecce epiſcopus Londinenſis qui ſpiritualem, et 'alii amici ejus militares, qui vindictam exercebunt 'materialem, &c.' Gentlemen, it is not all neceſſary that we ſhould put in immediate execution what the King has thus too haſtily commanded, which perhaps, when his paſſion is paſt, he may repent him of; beſides, if any violence or outrage be offered to De Bath, his friends are here ready to aſſiſt and revenge him, ſome by ſtrength of arms, and others by their prayers and good wiſhes, &c. R

(14) Matth. Paris, p. 815.

BATHE (WILLIAM). The family of the Bathes was heretofore of conſiderable conſequence in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and diſperſed into many branches [*A*]; but what by rebellions, extravagance of heirs, or one misfortune or other, has been reduced to narrow bounds, inſomuch that not one of them remains now of any rank in their country. The perſon who is now our ſubject was of a citizen's family, though deſcended from Bath of Dullardſton, and was born in Dublin in 1564 (*a*). We have it by tradition, that he was of a ſullen, ſaturnine temper, and diſturbed in his mind, that his family was reduced from it's antient ſplendor. His parents, who were Proteſtants, had a greater regard to the learning of their child, than his religion, and therefore put him in his green years under the tuition of an eminent Popiſh ſchoolmaſter, who thoroughly corrupted his principles, and fitted him for that ſtation of life, which he afterwards embraced. He removed to Oxford, where he ſtudied ſeveral years with indefatigable induſtry; but the inquiſitive

(a) Church Regiſter.

[*A*] *The family of the Bathes were diſperſed into many Branches.*] There were ſeven or eight families of conſideration of this name; as, I. Sir Luke Bath, Baronet, who had his eſtate ſeiſed and ſequeſtered in the Rebellion of 1641, but was reſtored to it by the Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement (1). —— II. Luke Bath of Athcarne, who was in like manner reſtored for his great ſervices to the King againſt the Pope's Nuncio — III. Bath of Dromconrath, near Dublin, of which James was Chief-Baron of the Exchequer in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and under that name had a grant (2) of the lands of Ballybought near Dublin, parcel of the poſſeſſions of Mary's abbey, made to him, on condition of maintaining a Foot-Archer, ſufficiently armed, on his lands of Dromconrath. — IV. Bath of Dullardſtoun, of whom William was active in the Rebellion of Thomas Fitz Gerald in 1534, and was that year attainted (3) of high-treaſon, and executed. — V. Bath, of Colper in the county of Meath, who furniſhed his quota of men at the general hoſting (4), at the hill of Tarah, on the 29th of September, 1593, equal to many men of rank of that county. — VI. Bath of Rathfeigh, who ſent as many to the ſaid hoſting as the Baron of Skrine. — VII. Bath of Caſhel and Morton. — And VIII. Bath of Laundeſton.

(1) Stat. Ir. 17, 18 Car. II. cap. ii.

(2) Pat 8 Dec. 3. Eliz.

(3) Irrot. in dorſo Rot. 3 Eliz. in Officio Cancel. Hib.

(4) MS. Jac. Waræi.

[*B*] *One*

quiſitive Anthony Wood (*b*), could not diſcover in what college or hall he ſojourned, or whether he took any univerſity degree. The ſame writer alledges (*c*), that growing weary of the hereſy profeſſed in England, (as he uſually called the Proteſtant faith) he quitted the nation and his religion together, and in the year 1596 was initiated among the Jeſuits, being then between thirty and forty years of age; though one (*d*) of his own order ſays, he was then but twenty-five, which certainly is erroneous. Having ſpent ſome time among the Jeſuits in Flanders, he travelled into Italy, and compleated his ſtudies at Padua; from whence he paſſed into Spain, being appointed to govern the Iriſh ſeminary at Salamanca. He is ſaid (*e*) to have had a moſt ardent zeal for the gaining of ſouls, and was much eſteemed among the people of his perſuaſion for his extraordinary virtues and good qualities; though he was of a temper not very ſociable. At length, taking a journey to Madrid to tranſact ſome buſineſs of his order, he died there on the 17th of June 1614, and was buried in the Jeſuit's convent of that city (*f*), bearing among his brethren a reputation for learning; which nevertheleſs from the titles of his books, as given in the remark [*B*], one would not judge to be his talent, but rather that of devotion.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 394.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Sotvellus, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſu ſub Gulielmo Batheo.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ibid.

(*f*) Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu ſub Batheo.

[*B*] *One would not judge of his learning by the titles of his books.*] Here follows a catalogue of them, as given by Allegambe (5), and Anthony Wood (6). I. *An Introduction to the Art of Muſick*; wherein are ſet down exact and eaſy rules, with arguments, and their ſolutions, for ſuch as ſeek to know the reaſon of the truth. London, 1584, 4to. He writ this treatiſe while he was a young ſtudent at Oxford, being then very fond of Muſick. — II. *Janua Linguarum: Seu modus maximè accommodatus, quo patefit aditus ad omnes linguas intelligendas. Salamanticæ*, 1611, i. e. An Entrance into the Languages. — This book was much uſed in Spain for the inſtruction of youth, and was publiſhed under the inſpection of the Jeſuits of Salamanca. — III. *A Methodical Inſtitution of the principal Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; with a Method annexed for the right exerciſe of General Confeſſion.* He publiſhed (7) this tract in Engliſh and Latin, but without his name; however, Allegambe (8) aſcribes it to him. — IV. He writ alſo in Spaniſh, and publiſhed it under the name of Peter Manrique, A Preparation for the Sacrament of Penance, intitled, *Aparejos para adminiſtrar el Sacramento de la Penitentia, con mas facilidad y fruto*; *en* Milan, 1604, 4to, rather 1614, as appears at the end of the work. D

(5) As before

(6) As before.

(7) Archdekin's Theologia Tripartita. Venet. 4*to*. p. 401.

(8) Allegambe, as before.

BATHURST (RALPH) an eminent Phyſician, Poet, and Divine, in the XVIIth century, was born in the year 1620 (*a*). He was the ſon of George Bathurſt of Howthorp in the county of Northampton, Eſq; and Elizabeth Villiers (*b*), daughter and coheir of Edward Villiers of Howthorp aforeſaid [*A*]. In what place he was educated in ſchool-learning, is not known. As for his academical education, it was in Trinity-college in Oxford, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity (*c*). But the times of confuſion coming on, in which there was no likelihood of any encouragement for the miniſterial function, he altered his deſign, and ſtudied Phyſic (*d*). Whereupon he was employed in the ſervice of the State, as Phyſician to the ſick and wounded of the Navy; which he managed with much diligence and ſucceſs, to the full ſatisfaction both of the Generals at ſea, and alſo of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty (*e*). June 21, 1654, he accumulated, that is, took together, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Phyſic (*f*). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II he returned to the ſtudy of Divinity, and entring into orders, was made Chaplain to the King; and alſo became Fellow of the Royal Society (*g*). On the 10th of September 1664, he was elected Preſident of Trinity-college, in the room of Dr Hannibal Potter deceaſed (*h*). And June the 28th, 1670, was inſtalled Dean of Wells (*i*). In the years 1673 and 1674, he ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford. In April 1691, he was nominated by King William and Queen Mary to the See of Briſtol (*k*), with liberty to keep his deanry *in commendam* (*l*). But intending to become a benefactor to his college, of which he afterwards rebuilt the chapel in a very neat and elegant manner, he refuſed to accept of that biſhoprick (*m*). He was a perſon of great learning, and particularly celebrated for his poetical genius. We ſhall give account of what few works he publiſhed, in the note [*B*]. He died June the 14th, 1704, in

(*a*) He was (in 1704, when he died) in the 84th year of his age, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1620, at leaſt in 1621.

(*b*) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Eſq; Vol. III. p. 442, Lond. 1733.

(*c*) Peerage of England, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. Faſti, col. 106.

(*f*) Wood, ibid.

(*g*) Wood, ibid.

(*h*) Wood, Hiſtoria & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 295.

(*i*) Idem, Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Ibid. col. 190.

(*l*) Ibid. col. 106.

(*m*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and coheir of Edw. Villiers.*] Her father, Edw. Villiers, was grandſon and heir of Edw. Villiers, Eſq; who died ſeiſed of the manor of Howthorp, &c. 26 June, 5 Henry VIII. and was fifth ſon of Sir John Villiers, of Brookeſby, Kt. grandfather of Sir George Villiers, father of George Duke of Buckingham. —— George Bathurſt had with her the manor of Howthorp, where he ſettled, and had iſſue twelve ſons and five daughters, ſeveral of which ſons died in the ſervice of King Charles I. during the Rebellion; and thoſe that ſurvived were — Ralph, of whom we are treating — Villiers — Moſes — Henry — and Benjamin, father of the preſent Lord Bathurſt (1).

(1) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, Vol. III. p. 442. See Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leed's, p. 13, 607.

[*B*] *We ſhall give an account of what works he publiſhed*] They are as follows: I. 'Newes from the 'Dead; or a true and exact Narration of the 'miraculous deliverance of Anne Greene, who being 'executed at Oxford, Decemb. 14, 1650, afterwards 'revived, and by the care of certain Phyſicians there, 'is now perfectly recovered; together with the man-'ner of her ſuffering, and the particular meanes uſed 'for her recovery. Whereunto are prefixed certain 'Poems, caſually written upon that ſubject.' This A. Greene was executed for murdering her baſtard child; and, after having hung almoſt half an hour, was brought to life again by Dr Petty, Mr Tho. Willis, Mr Bathurſt, and Mr Clerke. The tract here mentioned is ſaid, in the title-page, to be 'written by 'a Scholar in Oxford;' but Dr Derham informs us (2), that the author of it was Dr Bathurſt. It was printed at Oxford, 1651, 4to, and reprinted in the Phœnix, 2 Vol. 4to. II. He writ a Poem 'On the 'death of the learned John Selden,' which is inſerted in the third part of Miſcellany Poems (3). III. He alſo compoſed ſeveral Latin Poems, printed in the *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta*; namely, 1. *In Libellum Viri clariſſimi Tho. Hobii de Natura Hominis*, 1650 (4), i. e. 'On T. Hobbes's book of Human Nature.' 2. *Gratulatio Pacis cum Fœderato Belgio ſtabilitæ Cromwello Protectore*, 1654 (5). 'Upon the conclu-'ſion of the Peace by Oliver Cromwell with the Dutch 'in 1654.' This is an excellent Poem, and very nervous and elegant. 3. *In Sereniſſimum Regem Carolum* II. *Britanniæ ſuæ reſtitutum*, 1660 (6). 'Upon the Re-'ſtoration of King Charles II.' 4. *In obitum celſiſſimi Principis*

(2) Phyſ. Theology, edit. Lond. 1716, 8*vo*, p. 157. note.

(3) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 106.

(4) Edit. Lond. 1741. p. 16.

(5) Page 18.

(6) Page 20.

in the 84th year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, Oxon, which he had rebuilt at his own charge (*n*), as is mentioned above.

(*n*) Ar. Collins, ubi ſupra.

(7) Page 22. *Principis Henrici Ducis Gloceſtrenſis*, 1660 (7). 'On 'the death of Henry Duke of Glouceſter.' 5. *Gratulatio ob auſpicatiſſimum Sereniſſimæ Principis Catharinæ Luſitanæ, Regi Carolo* II. *deſponſatæ in Angliam appulſum*, 1663 (8). 'Upon the arrival of the Princeſs 'Katherine of Portugal, ſpouſe to King Charles II.' (8) Page 27.

C

BATMANSON (JOHN), a perſon of great piety and learning in the ſixteenth century, was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Prior of the Carthuſian monaſtery or Charter-houſe, in the ſuburbs of London (*a*). For ſome time he ſtudied Divinity at Oxford, but it does not appear he took any degree there in that faculty (*b*). He was intimately acquainted with, and a great favourite of Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York; at whoſe requeſt he writ againſt Eraſmus and Luther [*A*]. He died on the 16th of November 1531, and was buried in the chapel, belonging to the Charter-houſe (*c*). Pits gives him the character of a man of quick and diſcerning genius; of great piety, and learning, and fervent zeal; much converſant in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; and that led an angelical life among men (*d*). Bale, on the contrary, repreſents him as a proud, forward, and arrogant perſon; born as it were, for diſputing and wrangling; and ſays, that Eraſmus, in one of his letters to Richard Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtiles him an ignorant fellow, encouraged by Lee, and vainglorious even to madneſs (*e*). So oppoſite are the characters given by zealots of different parties! However, Bale in another place (*f*) calls him a very clear ſophiſt, or writer.

(*a*) Baleus, Scriptor. Brytanniæ, Centur. IX. n. 14. Pits, de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XVI. 1531, n. 942. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 27. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Petreius in Biblioth. Carthuſiana, edit. Colon. 1609, p. 157. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Baleus, Cent. XI. p. 75. n. 95.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra, Cent. IX. n. 14.

[*A*] *He writ againſt Eraſmus and Luther.*] Viz. I. *Animadverſiones in Annotationes Eraſmi in Novum Teſtamentum*; 'Animadverſions upon Eraſmus's Notes on 'the New Teſtament.' II. *A Treatiſe againſt ſome of M. Luther's writings.* Theſe two he afterwards retracted. The reſt of his works were, III. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis.* IV. — *in Cantica Canticorum*; 'Commentaries on the Proverbs of Solomon, 'and on the Canticles.' V. *De unicâ Magdalenâ, contra Fabrum Stapulenſem*; 'Enquiry whether there was only 'one Magdalen, againſt Faber Stapulenſis.' VI. *Inſtitutiones Noviciorum*; 'Inſtructions for Novices, or 'Youth.' VII. *De contemptu mundi*; 'Of the Con-'tempt of the World.' VIII. *De Chriſto duodenni*; 'A Homily on *Luke* ii. 42. IX. On the words *Miſſus eſt*, &c. (1)

C

(1) Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi ſupra.

BAXTER (RICHARD), a very eminent Divine amongſt the Nonconformiſts in the laſt century. His father was a freeholder in the county of Salop, an honeſt, religious man, who had an eſtate of his own, but a very ſmall one. His mother was of the ſame county, the daughter of Mr Richard Adeney: Himſelf was born at Rowton, near High-Ercal, in the hundred of South-Bradford, November 12, 1615 (*a*). There he ſpent his infancy, wherein he is ſaid to have given ſtrong indications of that piety and purity which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation [*A*]. In 1625 he was taken from his grandfather's houſe where he had hitherto lived, and brought home to his father's at Eaton-Conſtantine, a village within five miles of Shrewſbury, where he paſſed the remainder of his childhood (*b*). He was far from being happy in reſpect to his ſchoolmaſters, who were men no way diſtinguiſhed either for learning or morals, and miſſed the advantages of an academical education, through a propoſal made to his parents of placing him with Mr Richard Wickſtead, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow. The only advantage he reaped there was the uſe of an excellent library, which by his own great application proved of infinite ſervice to him. In this ſituation he remained about a year and half, and then returned to his father's (*c*). At the requeſt of the Lord Newport he went thence to Wroxiter, where he taught in the free-ſchool for ſix months, while his old ſchoolmaſter Mr John Owen lay in a laguiſhing condition (*d*). In 1633 Mr Wickſtead prevailed on him to wave the ſtudies in which he was then engaged, and to think of making his fortune at court. He accordingly came up to Whitehall with a recommendation to Sir Henry Herbert, then Maſter of the Revels, by whom he was very kindly received. But after a month's ſtay diſcovering no charms in this ſort of life, and having beſides a very ſtrong propenſity to undertake the miniſterial function, he returned to his father's, and reſumed his ſtudies with freſh vigour, till Mr Richard Foley of Stourbridge, fixed him as maſter of the free-ſchool at Dudley, with an uſher under him (*e*). In the time he taught ſchool there, he read ſeveral practical treatiſes, whereby he was brought to a due and deep ſenſe of religion, his progreſs therein being not a little quickened by his great bodily weakneſs and ill ſtate of health,

(*a*) Mr Baxter's Life, publiſhed by Mr Sylveſter, fol. p. 2. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 2, 3, 4.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2, 3.

(*c*) Baxter's Life, p. 3. Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.

(*d*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4.

(*e*) Ibid. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation.*] When he was yet very young, we are told his father ſaid, with tears of joy, to a friend, My ſon Richard I hope was ſanctified from the womb; for when he was a little boy in coats, if he heard other children in play ſpeak profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him (1). Yet it is certain, that at this time of life he was not altogether free from thoſe irregularities common to lads of his age; this we learn from himſelf: 'Though my 'conſcience, ſays he, would trouble me when I ſinned, 'yet divers ſins I was addicted to, and oft committed 'againſt my conſcience, which, for the warning of 'others, I will here confeſs to my ſhame. I was much 'addicted to the exceſſive gluttonous eating of apples 'and pears, which I think laid the foundation of the 'imbecility and flatulency of my ſtomach, which 'cauſed the bodily calamities of my life. To this 'end, and to concur with naughty boys that gloried in 'evil, I have oft gone into other men's orchards, and 'ſtolen the fruit, when I had enough at home.' There are ſix other retractions, at the end of which he concludes; 'Theſe were my ſins in my childhood, as to 'which conſcience troubled me for a great while before 'they were overcome (2).'

(1) Dr Bates's Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(2) Mr Baxter's Life, written by himſelf, publiſhed by Matthew Sylveſter, 1696, fol. p. 2.

health, which inclined him to think he ſhould ſcarce ſurvive above a year (*f*) [*B*]. However, having ſtill an earneſt deſire to the Miniſtry, he in 1638 addreſſed himſelf to Dr Thornborough, Biſhop of Wincheſter, for holy orders, which after examination he received, having at that time no ſcruples of conſcience which hindered from conforming to the Church of England (*g*) [*C*]. Being ſettled at Dudley, he preached frequently in that town, and in the neighbouring villages, with the approbation of all his hearers. In three quarters of a year he was removed to Bridgnorth, where he officiated as aſſiſtant to Mr William Madſtard, then Miniſter of that place, who treated him with great kindneſs and reſpect, and did not put him upon many things which he then began to ſcruple doing (*b*). When the *et cætera* oath came to be impoſed, Mr Baxter applied himſelf diligently to ſtudy the caſe of Epiſcopacy, and it fared with him as with ſome others, the thing which was intended to fix them to the Hierarchy, drove them into a diſlike of it (*i*) [*D*]. In the year 1640 he was invited to Kidderminſter by the Bailiff and Feoffees, to preach there for an allowance of ſixty pounds a year, which he accepted; and applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his ſacred calling, as had a very great effect in a ſhort time, upon a very diſſolute people. He continued there about two years before the Civil War broke out, and fourteen afterwards with ſome interruption (*k*). He ſided with the Parliament,

(*f*) Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897. Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4—10.

(*g*) Baxter's Life, p. 13. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 12.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 13—15.

(*i*) Id. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 898. Biſhop Hall's Memoirs, p. 43.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, p. 21. Id. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 898.

[*B*] *Scarce ſurvive above a year.*] We are told by Dr Calamy, that, from the age of twenty-one till twenty-three, he lived conſtantly as it were in the ſhadow of death; and, finding his own ſoul under ſerious apprehenſions of the matters of another world, he was very deſirous to communicate thoſe apprehenſions to ſuch ignorant, careleſs, preſumptuous ſinners, as the world abounds with. Although therefore he had his diſcouragements, through his ſenſe of the greatneſs and awfulneſs of the work of the Miniſtry, and his fear of expoſing himſelf to the cenſure of many, on the account of his wanting academical education, honours, and dignities; yet, expecting to be ſo quickly in another world, the great concernments of miſerable ſouls prevailed with him to engage in it; and finding in himſelf a thirſty deſire of men's converſion and ſalvation, and a competent perſwading faculty of expreſſion, which fervent affections might help to actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two ſouls might by his means be won to God, it would eaſily recompenſe any treatment he might meet with in the world (3).

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 11.

[*C*] *From conforming to the Church of England.*] We have a very diſtinct detail of the means by which he firſt came to alter his opinions in theſe matters; and it will be very proper to take notice of them here, becauſe they will ſerve to let the reader into the character of the man. Being ſettled at Dudley, he fell into the acquaintance of ſeveral Nonconformiſts, whom, though he judged ſevere and ſplenetick, yet he found to be both godly and honeſt men. They ſupplied him with ſeveral writings on their own ſide, and amongſt the reſt, with Ames's *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, which he read over very diſtinctly, comparing it with Dr Burgeſs's Rejoynder. And, upon the whole, he at that time came to theſe concluſions. Kneeling he thought lawful, and all meer circumſtances determined by the magiſtrate, which God in nature or ſcripture hath determined on, only in the general. The Surplice he more doubted of, but was inclined to think it lawful: And though he intended to forbear it till under neceſſity, yet he could not ſee how he could have juſtified the forſaking his Miniſtry meerly on that account, though he never actually wore it. About the Ring in Marriage he had no ſcruple. The Croſs in Baptiſm he thought Dr Ames had proved unlawful; and though he was not without ſome doubting in the point, yet becauſe he moſt inclined to judge it unlawful, he never once uſed it. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy he judged to be lawful, and in ſome caſes lawfully impoſed. The Engliſh Liturgy in particular he judged to have much diſorder and defectiveneſs in it, but nothing which ſhould make the uſe of it in the ordinary publick worſhip to be unlawful to them who could not do better. He ſought for Diſcipline in the Church, and ſaw the ſad effects of it's neglect; but he was not then ſo ſenſible as afterwards, that the very frame of Dioceſan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been chargeable only on the perſonal neglects of the Biſhops. Subſcription he began to think unlawful, and repented his raſhneſs in yielding to it ſo haſtily. For though he could uſe the Common-Prayer, and was not yet againſt Dioceſans, yet to ſubſcribe *ex animo*, that there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God, was that which he durſt not do, had it been to be done again. So that Subſcription and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the promiſcuous giving the Lord's Supper to all comers, though ever ſo unqualified, if they were not excommunicate by a Biſhop or Chancellor who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his judgment inclined to Nonconformity: And yet, even as to theſe things, he kept his thoughts to himſelf. He continued to argue with the Nonconformiſts about the points they differed in, and particularly kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he managed a diſpute with ſome of them in writing, till they did not think fit to purſue it any farther: He freely reproved them for the bitterneſs of their language againſt the Biſhops and their adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for patience and charity, but found their ſpirits ſo exaſperated by the hard meaſure they had met with, that they were deaf to his admonitions (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 15.

[*D*] *Drove them into a diſlike of it.*] In order to have a juſt idea of this matter, it is neceſſary to tranſcribe this famous oath at large; whence it will appear why ſome very honeſt men ſcrupled it, and why ſome as honeſt men took it without ſcruple. The oath ran thus: 'I A. B. do ſwear, that I do approve the doctrine and diſcipline, or government eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation: And that I will not endeavour by myſelf or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the government of the Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpation and ſuperſtitions of the See of Rome. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God, in Jeſus Chriſt (5).' Men of tender conſciences thought it hard to ſwear to the continuance of a Church government, which many of them diſliked; and yet theſe men for the Church's quiet would willingly have concealed their thoughts, had not this oath, impoſed under the penalty of expulſion, compelled them to ſpeak. Others complained of the *et cætera*, which, they ſaid, contained they knew not what, and might be extended to they knew not whom, but in all probability to the officers of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and to ſwear to them they thought not only a little extraordinary, but very far from being lawful. Mr Baxter ſeems to have underſtood this matter exactly right, for he took the oath to be a direct declaration in favour of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Prelates as then eſtabliſhed, which, tho' it might be ſubmitted to with little, he apprehended could not be ſworn to without much conſideration. This put him upon ſtudying the beſt books he could meet with on this ſubject; the conſequence of which was, that he utterly diſliked the oath, a thing which fell out to many others beſides him, who, but for this accident, had never diſturbed themſelves about ſo knotty a queſtion (6).

(5) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book ii. p. 169.

(6) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 16.

[*E*] *That*

ment, and recommendeded the Proteſtation they directed to be taken, to the people: This expoſed him to ſome inconveniencies, which obliged him to retire to Glouceſter, but he was ſoon invited back to Kidderminſter, whither he returned. His ſtay there was not long, but beginning to conſider with himſelf where he might remain in ſafety, he fixed upon Coventry, and accordingly went thither. There he lived peaceably and comfortably, preached once every Lord's day to the garriſon, and once to the town's people, for which he took nothing but his diet, though beſides thus exerciſing his function, he did great ſervice in repreſſing the Anabaptiſts (*l*). After Naſeby fight, when all things ſeemed to favour the Parliament; he, by advice of the Miniſters at Coventry, became Chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and in this quality he was preſent at ſeveral ſieges, but never in any engagement, ſo that there was not the leaſt grounds for that ſcandalous ſtory invented and trumpeted about by his enemies, viz. that he killed a man in cool blood, and robbed him of a medal (*m*) [*E*]. He took all imaginable pains to hinder the progreſs of the Sectaries, and to keep men firm in juſt and rational notions of religion and government, never deviating from what he judged in his conſcience to be right, for the ſake of making court to any, or from baſer motives of fear. But he was ſeparated from the army in the beginning of the year 1657, in a very critical juncture, juſt when they fell off from the Parliament, Mr Baxter being at that time ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe in ſo violent a manner, that he loſt the quantity of a gallon at once, which obliged him to retire to Sir Thomas Rouſe's, where he continued for a long time in a very languiſhing ſtate of health, which hindered him from doing that ſervice to his country, that otherwiſe from a man of his principles and moderation might have been expected. He afterwards returned to Kidderminſter, and reſumed the work of his miniſtry. He hindered, as far as it was in his power, the taking of the Covenant, he preached and ſpoke publickly againſt the engagement (*n*), and therefore it is very unjuſt to brand him, as ſome have done, as a trumpeter of rebellion [*F*]. When the army was marching to oppoſe King Charles II at the head of the Scots, Mr Baxter took pains both by ſpeaking and writing, to remind the ſoldiers of their duty, and to diſſuade them from fighting againſt their brethren and fellow-ſubjects (*o*). After this, when Cromwell aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not afraid to expreſs his diſſaffection to his tyranny, though he did not think himſelf obliged to preach Politicks from the pulpit. Once indeed he preached before Cromwell, but neither did he in that ſermon flatter, or in a conference he had with him afterwards, did he expreſs either affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite

(*l*) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 74—80. Id. Account of Miniſters filenced, Vol. II. p. 899.

(*m*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. i. p. 229. Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, p. 134.

(*n*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 104. Account of Miniſters, &c. Vol. II. p. 900.

(*o*) Id. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 109.

[*E*] *That he killed a man in cold blood, and robbed him of a medal.*] This ſtrange ſtory was firſt publiſhed to the world in a book written by Dr Boreman, of Trinity college in Cambridge; for 'til then it paſſed current in diſcourſe, but was often contradicted, and generally looked upon as a calumny. At length it was ſtated as a direct charge, on the credit of Major Jennings, the very perſon whom Mr Baxter left for dead. The ſubſtance of the ſtory was as follows: That Mr Baxter finding one Major Jennings in the war time among the bodies of the dead and wounded, looked on while Lieutenant Hurdman that was with him ran him thro' the body in cold blood; and that Mr Baxter took off with his own hand the King's picture from about his neck, telling him, as he was ſwimming in his Gore, that he was a Popiſh Rogue, and that, that, was his crucifix; which picture was, it is ſaid, kept by Mr Baxter 'till it was got from him, but not without much difficulty, by one Mr Somerfield who lived with Sir Thomas Rowſe, who reſtored it to the true owner, who was ſuppoſed to be dead of his wounds (7). And this narrative was ſubſcribed by Jennings himſelf, that it might paſs for the more authentick. Mr Baxter, in a piece publiſhed by him two years afterwards, abſolutely denies this, declaring that he took a voluntary oath it was falſe; that he was not near Major Jennings at that time, nor indeed ever ſaw him any where elſe to his knowledge in the courſe of his life. But in the houſe where he was, he did hear the ſoldiers tell how they wounded and ſtripped him, and took his medal (laughing at a ſilly ſoldier that called it a crucifix); and the man that took it offering it to ſale, Mr Baxter declares he gave him eighteen pence for it, and ſome years after ſent it Major Jennings freely, which it ſeems made him think, and raſhly affirm, tho' falſely, that it was Mr Baxter that took it from him (8).

(7) Life of Dr Peter Heylyn, by Mr Vernon, Rector of Burton, Lond. 1682, 8*vo*. Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. 1684, 8*vo*, p. 134.

(8) Catholick Communion doubly defended, by Richard Baxter, Lond. 1684, 4*to*.

(9) Mr Crandon in his book againſt Mr Baxter's Aphoriſms. Mr Young's Vindiciæ Anti-Baxterianæ, 1696, 12*mo*. Mr Long's Review of Mr Baxter's Life, 1697, 8*vo*. See alſo note [*N*].

[*F*] *As a trumpeter of rebellion.*] To enter into all the groſs things that have been ſaid of Mr Baxter by his enemies, would take up more room than we have employed in writing his life. It is ſufficient to note their names, and the pieces they have wrote, in the margin (9); adding, as a ſpecimen, the following ſpeech put into the mouth of Preſident Bradſhaw in Hell, who, in deciding on the merits of Mr Hobbs, Mr Nevill, and Mr Baxter, is made to ſpeak of the latter thus: 'If he, whoſe Faith is faction, whoſe 'Religion is rebellion, whoſe Prayers are ſpells, whoſe 'Piety is magick, whoſe Purity is the gall of bitterneſs, who can cant and recant, and cant again; who 'can transform himſelf into as many ſhapes as Lucifer '(who is never more a Devil than when an Angel of 'Light), and, like him (who proud of his perfections, 'firſt rebelled in Heaven), proud of his imaginary 'graces, pretends to rule and govern, and conſequently 'rebel on earth, be the greateſt politician; then make 'room for Mr Baxter: Let him come in, and be 'crowned with wreaths of ſerpents and chaplets of adders: Let his triumphant chariot be a pulpit drawn 'on the wheels of cannon, by a brace of wolves in 'ſheeps cloathing: Let the antient Fathers of the 'Church, whom out of ignorance he has villified; the 'reverend and learned Prelates, whom out of pride 'and malice he has abuſed, belied, and perſecuted; 'the moſt righteous King, whoſe murder (I ſpeak my 'own and his ſenſe), contrary to the light of all religion, laws, reaſon, and conſcience, he has juſtified, 'then denied, then again and again juſtified; let them 'all be bound in chains to attend his infernal triumph 'to his Saints Everlaſting Reſt. Then make room 'Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites, atheiſts, and politicians, for the greateſt rebel on earth, and next to 'him that fell from (10) Heaven.' Yet it is certain, that no man made more warm pretenſions to loyalty than Mr Baxter did, who, as we ſhall preſently ſee, had the courage to tell the Protector Cromwell to his face, that the old Engliſh monarchy was a bleſſing. He was at the deſire of King Charles II. appointed one of his Chaplains, and had ſome ſhare of royal favour as long as the King lived. But what ſeems to put this matter out of all queſtion is this, that after the ſeverè treatment he met with in the reign of King James, which might eaſily have ſowered his ſpirit, and after the Revolution, when he was under no neceſſity of keeping terms, he diſclaimed all ſuch ſentiments, declaring poſitively, that throughout the whole civil war he was always for the King and Parliament, and never againſt the King's perſon, power, or prerogative (11).

(10) Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. Lond. 1684, 8*vo*. p. 134, 135, 136.

(12) Penitent Confeſſion and neceſſary Vindication, by Mr Baxter, 1691, 4*to*, p. 21, 22.

[*G*] *Affection*

quite the contrary (p) [G]. He came to London, a little before the depoſition of Richard Cromwell. At that time Mr Baxter was looked upon as a friend to monarchy, and with reaſon, for being choſen to preach before the Parliament on the 30th of April 1660, which was the day preceding that on which they voted the King's return, he maintained, that loyalty to their Prince, was a thing eſſential to all true Proteſtants of whatever perſuaſion (q). About the ſame time likewiſe he was choſen to preach a thankſgiving ſermon at St Paul's, for General Monk's ſucceſs; and yet ſome have been ſo bold as to maintain, that he attempted to diſſuade His Excellency from concurring in, or rather from bringing about, that happy change (r) [H]. After the Reſtoration he became one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, preached before him once, and had frequent acceſs to his Royal perſon, and was always treated by him with peculiar reſpect. At the Savoy conferences, Mr Baxter aſſiſted as one of the Commiſſioners, and then drew up the Reformed Liturgy, which all who are competent judges allow to be an excellent performance. He was offered the biſhoprick of Hereford, by the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, which he refuſed to accept, for reaſons which he rendered in a reſpectful letter to his Lordſhip (s). Yet even then he would willingly have returned to his beloved town of Kidderminſter, and have preached there in the low ſtate of a Curate. But even this was refuſed him, though the Lord-Chancellor took pains to have ſettled him there as he deſired (t). When he found himſelf thus diſappointed, he preached occaſionally about the city of London, ſometimes for Dr Bates at St Dunſtan's in the Weſt, and ſometimes in other places, having a licence from Biſhop Sheldon, upon his ſubſcribing a promiſe, not to preach any thing againſt the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church (u). The laſt time he preached in publick was on the 15th of May, 1662, a farewel ſermon at Black-Friars. He afterwards retired to Acton in Middleſex, where he went every Lord's day to the publick church, and ſpent the reſt of the day with his family, and a few poor neighbours that came in to him. In 1665, when the plague raged, he went to Richard Hampden's, Eſq; in Buckinghamſhire, and returned to Acton when it was over. He ſtaid there as long as the act againſt conventicles continued in force, and when that was expired, he had ſo many auditors that he wanted room. Hereupon, by a warrant ſigned by two Juſtices, he was committed for ſix months to New-Priſon jail, but got an Habeas Corpus, and was releaſed and removed to Totteridge near Barnet (w) [I]. At this place he lived quietly and without diſturbance, but

(p) Baxter's Life. P. i. p. 100. Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 900.

(q) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. i. p. 219. Baxter's Life, P. i. p. 71—100. Account of ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. II. p. 900.

(r) Impartial Examination of the 4th Vol. of Mr Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, by Dr Grey, p. 256. Obſervator, No. 96.

(s) Baxter's Life, P. ii. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 139 to 181. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 900, 901.

(t) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 296—300.

(u) Id. ib. p. 300—304.

(w) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 906. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. I. p. 304—335.

[G] *Affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite the contrary*] The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Broghill were the perſons who drew him to preach before the Protector, and the words he made choice of were theſe: *Now I beſeech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment.* He levelled his diſcourſe againſt the diviſions and diſtractions of the Church, ſhewing how miſchievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain ſuch diviſions for their own ends, that they might fiſh in troubled waters, and keep the Church by it's diviſions in a ſtate of weakneſs, leſt it ſhould be able to offend them. Awhile after Cromwell ſent to ſpeak with him, and when he came he had only three of his chief men with him. He begun a long and tedious ſpeech to him of God's providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had continued ſpeaking thus about an hour, Mr Baxter told him, it was too great condeſcenſion to acquaint him ſo fully with all thoſe matters which were above him; but that the honeſt people of the land took their antient monarchy to be a bleſſing, and not an evil, and humbly craved his patience that he might aſk him how they had forfeited that bleſſing, and unto whom this forfeiture was made? Upon that queſtion he was awakened into ſome paſſion, and told him there was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleaſed him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him, and, eſpecially by name, at four or five members, which were Mr Baxter's chief acquaintance, whom he preſumed to defend againſt the Protector's paſſion. And thus were four or five hours ſpent, though to little purpoſe. Some time afterwards the Protector ſent for him again, under pretence of aſking his judgment about liberty of conſcience, at which time alſo he made a long tedious ſpeech himſelf, which took up ſo much time, that Mr Baxter deſired to offer his ſentiments in writing, which he did; but he ſays he queſtions whether Cromwell read them (12). We have alſo a character of this uſurper drawn by the pen of our author, too long to be inſerted here (13).

(12) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 109.

(13) Life of Mr Baxter, publiſhed by Mr Sylveſter, P. i. p. 100. See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER.)

[H] *From bringing about that happy change.*] The credit of this ſtory depends on the intelligence of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who, in one of his dialogues, introduces it thus. 'Tor. Prithee aſk Mr Baxter if he 'knew who it was that went with five or ſix more of 'his own cloth and character to General Monk, upon 'his coming up to London in 1659; and finding a great 'deal of company with him, told His Excellency that 'he found his time was precious, and ſo would not 'trouble him with many words; but, as they were of 'great weight, ſo he hoped they would make an anſwerable impreſſion on him. I hear a report, Sir, '(ſaith he) that you have ſome thoughts of calling 'back the King; but it is my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of 'the gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you 'ought not to do upon any terms; for profaneneſs is ſo 'inſeparable from the royal party, that if ever you bring 'the King back, the power of godlineſs will moſt certainly depart from this land (14).' To which charge Mr Baxter returned an anſwer in the following words: 'Dr Manton (and whether any other I remember not) 'went once with me to General Monk, and it was to 'congratulate him, but with this requeſt, that he 'would take care that debauchery and contempt of religion might not be let looſe upon any man's pretence of being for the King, as it already began with 'ſome to be. But there was not one word by me 'ſpoken (or by any one, to my remembrance) againſt 'his calling back the King, nor any of the reſt here 'adjoined: But as to me, it is a mere fiction. And 'the King was ſo ſenſible of the ſame that I ſaid, that 'he ſent over a proclamation againſt ſuch men, as 'while they called themſelves the King's party, did 'live in debauchery and profaneneſs; which proclamation ſo rejoiced them that were after Nonconformiſts, that they read it in publickly in the churches '(15).'

(14) Obſervator, No. 96.

[I] *Removed to Totteridge near Barnet*] In this affair, as Mr Baxter met with ſome hardſhip in the commitment, ſo he experienced the ſincerity of many of his beſt friends, who on this occaſion ſtuck by him very ſteadily. As he was carried to priſon, he called upon Serjeant Fountain to aſk his advice, who, when he had peruſed the mittimus, gave it as his opinion, that he might be diſcharged from his impriſonment by Law. The Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Mancheſter, the Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, mentioned the affair to the King, who was pleaſed to ſend Sir John Baber to him, to let him know, that though his Majeſty was not willing to relax the Law, yet he would not be offended, if by any application to the

(15) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. IV. p. 918.

but not without many marks of Royal favour. The King was reſolved to make ſome conceſſions to the Diſſenters in Scotland, and the Duke of Lauderdale, by his order, acquainted Mr Baxter, that if he would take this opportunity of going into that kingdom, he ſhould have what preferment he would there; which he declined on account of his own weakneſs and the circumſtances of his family. His opinion however was taken on the ſcheme for ſettling Church diſputes in that country (*x*). In 1671, Mr Baxter loſt the greateſt part of his fortune by the ſhutting up of the King's Exchequer, in which he had a thouſand pounds (*y*). After the indulgence in 1672, he returned into the city, and was one of the Tueſday lecturers at Pinner's-hall, and had a Friday lecture at Fetter-lane, but on the Lord's days, he for ſome time preached only occaſionally; and afterwards more ſtatedly in St James's market-houſe, where in 1674, he had a wonderful deliverance, by almoſt a miracle, from a crack in the floor (*z*). He was apprehended as he was preaching his lecture at Mr Turner's, but ſoon releaſed, becauſe the warrant was not, as it ought to have been, ſigned by a city juſtice. The times ſeeming to grow more favourable, he built a meeting-houſe in Oxenden-ſtreet, where he preached but once before a reſolution was taken to ſurprize and ſend him to the county-jail on the Oxford act, which misfortune he luckily eſcaped; but the perſon who preached for him was committed to the Gatehouſe, and continued there three months. Having been kept out of his new meeting-houſe a whole year; he took another in Swallow-ſtreet, but was likewiſe prevented from uſing that, a guard being fixed there for many Sundays together, to hinder him from coming into it. On Mr Wadſworth's dying, Mr Baxter preached to his congregation in Southwark for many months. When Dr Lloyd ſucceeded Dr Lamplugh in St Martin's pariſh, Mr Baxter made him an offer of the chapel he had built in Oxenden-ſtreet, for publick worſhip, which was very kindly accepted (*a*) [*K*]. In 1682, he ſuffered more ſeverely than he had ever done on account of his non-conformity. One day he was ſuddenly ſurprized in his houſe by many Conſtables and officers, who apprehended him upon a warrant to ſeize his perſon, for coming within five miles of a corporation, producing at the ſame time five more warrants, to diſtrain for one hundred and ninety five pounds for five ſermons. Though he was much out of order, being but juſt riſen from his bed, where he had been in extremity of pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Juſtice, to be ſent to jail, and left his houſe to their will (*b*). But Dr Thomas Cox meeting him as he was going, forced him again into his bed, and went to five Juſtices and took his oath, that he could not go to priſon without danger of death. Upon this the Juſtices delayed till they had conſulted the King, who conſented that his impriſonment ſhould be for that time forborn, that he might die at home. But they executed their warrants on the books and goods in the houſe, though he made it appear they were none of his, and they ſold even the bed which he lay ſick upon (*c*). Some friends paid them as much money as they were appraiſed at, and he repayed them. And all this was without Mr Baxter's having the leaſt notice of any accuſation, or receiving any ſummons to appear and anſwer for himſelf, or ever ſeeing the Juſtices or accuſers; and afterwards he was in conſtant danger of new ſeizures, and thereupon he was forced to leave his houſe, and retire into private lodgings (*d*). Things continued much in the ſame way during the year 1683, and Mr Baxter remained in great obſcurity, however, not without receiving a remarkable teſtimony of the ſincere eſteem, and great confidence, which a perſon of remarkable piety, though of another perſuaſion, had towards him: The reverend Mr Thomas Mayot, a beneficed Clergyman in the Church of England, who had devoted his eſtate to charitable uſes, gave by his laſt will 600 *l.* to be diſtributed by Mr Baxter to ſixty poor ejected Miniſters;

(*x*) See the article MAITLAND (JOHN) Duke of Lauderdale.

(*y*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 333.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 341.

(*a*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902, 915.

(*b*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 357.

(*c*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

the courts in Weſtminſter-hall he could procure his liberty; upon this a Habeas Corpus was demanded at the bar of the Common-Pleas, and granted. The Judges were clear in their opinion, that the mittimus was inſufficient, and thereupon diſcharged him. This exaſperated the juſtices, who committed him; and therefore they made a new mittimus in order to have ſent him to the county-gaol of Newgate, which he avoided by keeping out of the way. The whole of this perſecution is ſaid to have been owing to the particular pique of Dr Bruno Rives, Dean of Windſor and of Wolverhampton, Rector of Haſelly and of Acton, and one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary (16). The reaſon that he puſhed this matter ſo far was, becauſe Mr Baxter had preached in his pariſh of Acton, which he fancied ſome way reflected upon him, becauſe Mr. Baxter had always a large audience, though in truth this was in a good meaſure owing to the imprudence of the Dean, whoſe Curate was a weak man, and too great a frequenter of alehouſes.

(16) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 323—326.

[*K*] *Which was very kindly accepted.*] This was a fact publick enough in it's own nature, and which Mr Baxter had mentioned in his life-time; and yet, on it's appearing in Dr Calamy's Abridgment, a very conſiderable writer, in a work which makes no mean figure in the world, was pleaſed to tell his readers, *that this part of the relation, as to the offer of a chapel, is known to be falſe* (17), which occaſioned, as it well might, a ſtrict enquiry to be made. At firſt ſight, indeed the point might ſeem to be of no great importance; but when it is remarked that Mr Baxter had given it under his hand, *that Dr Lloyd and his pariſhioners had accepted it for publick worſhip, on the offer of himſelf and his wife* (18); it is plain, that admitting this to be a falſehood, muſt prove a ſtain on the character of the deceaſed, and ſuch a one as might make very diſadvantageous impreſſions on the minds of poſterity. Hereupon application was made to Dr Lloyd himſelf, then Biſhop Worceſter, who was, pleaſed in juſtice to truth, and to Mr Baxter's memory, to give it under his hand, 'that Mr Baxter, being diſturbed in 'his meeting-houſe in Oxenden-ſtreet by the King's 'drums, which Mr Secretary Coventry cauſed to be beat 'under the windows, made an offer of letting it to the 'pariſh of St Martin's for a tabernacle, at the rent of 'forty pounds a year; and that his Lordſhip hearing it, 'ſaid he liked it well, and that thereupon Mr Baxter 'came to him himſelf, and upon his propoſing the 'the ſame thing to him, he acquainted the veſtry, and 'they took it upon thoſe terms (19).' Thus this matter was fully and clearly made out beyond any poſſibility of a reply, and is a full proof that we ought not to take upon truſt, whatever haſty or partial men may think fit to ſet down in their hiſtories.

(17) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 412.

(18) A Breviate of the Life of Mrs Margaret Baxter, by Richard Baxter, 1681, 4*to*, p. 57.

(19) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 348.

ſters; adding, that he did it not becauſe they were Nonconformiſts, but becauſe many ſuch were poor and pious. But the King's-Attorney, Sir Robert Sawyer, ſued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord-Keeper North gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by order, and, as Providence directed it, there kept ſafe, till King William the third aſcended the throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, reſtored it to the uſe for which it was intended by the deceaſed; and Mr Baxter diſpoſed of it accordingly (*e*). In the following year, 1684, Mr Baxter fell into a very bad ſtate of health, ſo as to be ſcarce able to ſtand. He was in this condition, when the Juſtices of Peace for the county of Middleſex granted a warrant againſt him, in order to his being bound to his good behaviour. They got into his houſe, but could not immediately get at him, Mr Baxter being in his ſtudy, and their warrant not impowering them to break open doors. Six Conſtables however, were ſet to hinder him from getting to his bed-chamber, and ſo by keeping him from food and ſleep, they carried their point, and took him away to the Seſſions-houſe, where he was bound in the penalty of four hundred pounds to keep the peace, and was brought up twice afterwards, though he kept his bed the greateſt part of the time (*f*). In the beginning of the year 1685, Mr Baxter was committed to the King's-Bench priſon, by a warrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies, for his paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, and tried on the 18th of May in the ſame year in the court of King's-Bench, and found guilty, and on the 29th of June following received a very ſevere ſentence (*g*) [*L*]. In

(*d*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 361. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 902.

(*f*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 363.

(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 368—372.

[*L*] *Received a very ſevere ſentence.*] This trial of Mr Baxter was by much the moſt remarkable tranſaction in his life; and therefore, though we by no means affect long citations, yet in ſuch a caſe as this we are under a neceſſity of ſtating things from a perſon, who has given us the faireſt account of them, for the ſake of authority. On the 6th of May, being the firſt day of Eaſter Term, 1685, Mr Baxter appeared in the court of King's-Bench, and Mr Attorney declared he would file an information againſt him. On the 14th the defendant pleaded not guilty, and on the 18th, Mr Baxter being much indiſpoſed, and deſiring farther time than to the 30th, which was the day appointed for the trial, he moved by his counſel that it might be put off; on which occaſion the Chief Juſtice anſwered angrily, I will not give him a minute's time more to ſave his life. We have had (ſays he) to do with other ſorts of perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as ſinners. Yonder (ſays he) ſtands Oats in the pillory (as he actually did in the New Palace-yard), and he ſays he ſuffers for the truth, and ſo does Baxter; but if Baxter did but ſtand on the other ſide of the pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt rogues and raſcals in the kingdom ſtood there. On the 30th of May, in the afternoon, he was brought to his trial before the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies at Guild-hall. Sir Henry Aſhurſt, who could not forſake his own and his father's friend, ſtood by him all the while. Mr Baxter came firſt into court, and with all the marks of ſerenity and compoſure waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Juſtice, who appeared quickly after with great indignation in his face He no ſooner ſat down, than a ſhort cauſe was called, and tried; after which the clerk began to read the title of another cauſe. You blockhead you (ſays Jefferies), the next cauſe is between Richard Baxter and the King: Upon which Mr Baxter's cauſe was called. The paſſages mentioned in the information, were his paraphraſe on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* xii. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57. and *Acts* xv. 2. Theſe paſſages were picked out by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, and ſome of his fraternity. And a certain noted clergyman (who ſhall be nameleſs) put into the hands of his enemies ſome accuſations out of *Rom.* xiii. &c. as againſt the King, to touch his life; but no uſe was made of them. The great charge was, that in theſe ſeveral paſſages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of England, and ſo was guilty of ſedition, &c. The King's counſel opened the information at large, with it's aggravations. Mr Wallop, Mr Williams, Mr Rotherham, Mr Atwood, and Mr Phipps, were Mr Baxter's counſel, and had been feed by Sir Henry Aſhurſt. Mr Wallop ſaid, that he conceived the matter depending being a point of doctrine, it ought to be referred to the Biſhop, his Ordinary; but if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent and juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the inuendo's, for which there was no colour, there being no antecedent to refer them to. (i. e. no Biſhop or Clergy of the Church of England named) He ſaid the book accuſed, i. e. *The Comment on the New Teſtament*, contained many eternal truths; but they who drew the information were the libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of England, thoſe ſevere things which were written concerning ſome Prelates who deſerved the characters which he gave. My Lord (ſays he), I humbly conceive the Biſhops Mr Baxter ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip, if you have read Church hiſtory, muſt confeſs, were the plagues of the Church and of world. Mr Wallop, ſays the Lord Chief Juſtice, 'I 'obſerve you are in all theſe dirty cauſes; and were it 'not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who ſhould 'have more wit and honeſty, than to ſupport and hold 'up theſe factious knaves by the chin, we ſhould not be 'at the paſs we are.' My Lord, ſays Mr Wallop, I humbly conceive, that the paſſages accuſed are natural deductions from the text. 'You humbly conceive, 'ſays Jefferies, and I humbly conceive: Swear him, 'ſwear him.' My Lord, ſays he, under favour, I am counſel for the defendant; and, if I underſtand either Latin or Engliſh, the information now brought againſt Mr Baxter upon ſuch a ſlight ground, is a greater reflection upon the Church of England, than any thing contained in the book he is accuſed for. Says Jefferies to him, 'Sometimes you humbly conceive, and ſome-'times you are very poſitive: You talk of your ſkill 'in Church hiſtory, and of your underſtanding Latin 'and Engliſh; I think I underſtand ſomething of them 'as well as you; but, in ſhort, muſt tell you, that if 'you do not underſtand your duty better, I ſhall teach 'it you.' Upon which Mr Wallop ſat down. Mr Rotheram urged, that if Mr Baxter's book had ſharp reflections upon the Church of Rome by name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of England, it was to be preſumed that the ſharp reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of Rome. The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and perſon of Biſhops. Rotheram added, that Baxter frequently attended divine ſervice, went to the ſacrament, and perſwaded others to do ſo too, as was certainly and publickly known; and had in the very book ſo charged, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of England. Mr Baxter added, my Lord, I have been ſo moderate with reſpect to the Church of England, that I have incurred the cenſure of many of the Diſſenters upon that account. 'Baxter 'for Biſhops, ſays Jefferies, that's a merry conceit in-'deed: Turn to it, turn to it.' Upon this Rotheram turned to a place where 'tis ſaid, 'That great 'reſpect is due to thoſe truly called to be Biſhops 'among us,' or to that purpoſe. 'Ay, ſaith Jefferies, 'this is your Preſbyterian cant; truly called to be Bi-'ſhops; that is himſelf, and ſuch raſcals, called to be 'Biſhops of Kidderminſter, and other ſuch places: 'Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch factious, ſnivelling Preſby-'terians as himſelf; a Kidderminſter Biſhop he means: 'According to the ſaying of a late learned author, and 'every pariſh ſhall maintain, a Tithe-pig Metropolitan.' Mr Baxter beginning to ſpeak again, ſays he to him, 'Richard, Richard, doſt thou think we will hear 'thee poiſon the court, &c. Richard, thou art an 'old fellow, an old knave; thou haſt written books 'enough to load a cart, every one as full of ſedition

(I

In 1686, the King, by the mediation of the Lord Powis, granted him a pardon; and, on the 24th of November he was diſcharged out of the King's-Bench. Sureties, however were required for his good behaviour, but it was entered on his bail-piece by direction of King James, that his remaining in London, contrary to the Oxford act, ſhould not be taken as a breach of the peace. After this he retired to a houſe he took in Charter-houſe yard, contenting himſelf with the exerciſe of his miniſtry, as aſſiſtant to Mr Sylveſter, and though no man was better qualified than he, for managing the publick affairs of his party, yet he never meddled with them, nor had the leaſt to do with thoſe addreſſes which were preſented by ſome of that body to King James II on his indulgence (*b*). After his ſettlement in Charter-houſe yard, he continued about four years and a half in the exerciſe of publick duties, till he became ſo very weak as to be forced to keep his chamber. Even then he ceaſed not to do good, ſo far as it was in his power; and as he ſpent his life in taking pains, ſo to the laſt moment of it he directed his Chriſtian brethren by the light of a good example. He departed this life December 8, 1691. A few days after his corps was interred in Chriſt-church, being attended to the grave by a large company of all ranks and qualities, eſpecially miniſters, and amongſt them not a few of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who very prudently paid this laſt tribute of reſpect to the memory of a great and good man, whoſe labours deſerved much from true Chriſtians of all denominations (*i*). He was a man, to ſpeak impartially from the conſideration of his writings, who had as ſtrong a head, and as ſound a heart, as any of the age in which he lived. He was too conſcientious to comply from temporal motives, and his charity was too extenſive to think of recommending himſelf to popular applauſe by a rigid behaviour. Theſe ſentiments produced ſuch a practice as inclined ſome to believe he had a religion of his own, which was the reaſon that when Sir John Gayer bequeathed a legacy by will to men of moderate notions, he could think of no better expreſſion than this, that they ſhould be of Mr Baxter's religion (*k*) [*M*]. We need not wonder that a perſon ſo little addicted to any party ſhould experience

(*b*) Id. ibid. p. 375, 402, 402. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 903.

(*i*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 404.

(*k*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 932.

'(I might ſay treaſon) as an egg is full of meat. 'Hadſt thou been whipped out of thy writing trade 'forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pre-'tendeſt to be a preacher of the goſpel of peace, and 'thou haſt one foot in the grave; 'tis time for thee to 'begin to think what account thou intendeſt to give. 'But leave thee to thyſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as 'thou haſt begun; but, by the Grace of God, I will 'look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty party, and 'I ſee a great many of the brotherhood in corners, wait-'ing to ſee what will become of their mighty Don, 'and a Doctor of the party (looking to Dr Bates) at 'your elbow; but, by the Grace of Almighty God, 'I'll cruſh you all.' Mr Rotheram ſitting down, Mr Attwood began to ſhew, that not one of the paſſages mentioned in the information ought to be ſtrained to that ſenſe, which was put upon them by the innuendo's, they being more natural when taken in a milder ſenſe, nor could any one of them be applied to the Prelates of the Church of England without a very forced conſtruction. To evidence this he would have read ſome of the text: But Jefferies cried out, you ſhall not draw me into a conventicle with your annotations, nor your ſnivelling parſon neither. My Lord, ſay Atwood, I conceive this to be expreſsly within Roſwell's caſe, lately before your Lordſhip. You conceive, ſays Jefferies, you conceive amiſs; it is not. My Lord, ſays Mr Attwood, that I may uſe the beſt authority, permit me to repeat your Lordſhip's own words in that caſe. No, you ſhall not, ſays he. You need not ſpeak, for you are an author already; though you ſpeak and write impertinently. Says Attwood, I cannot help that my Lord, if my talent be no better; but it is my duty to do my beſt for my client. Jefferies thereupon went on, inveighing againſt what Attwood had publiſhed: And Attwood juſtified it to be in defence of the Engliſh conſtitution, declaring that he never diſowned any thing that he had written. Jefferies ſeveral times ordered him to ſit down, but he ſtill went on. My Lord, ſays he, I have matter of Law to offer for my client; and he proceeded to cite ſeveral caſes, wherein it had been adjudged that words ought to be taken in the milder ſenſe, and not to be ſtrained by innuendo's. Well, ſays Jefferies, when he had done, you have had your ſay. Mr Williams and Mr Phipps ſaid nothing, for they ſaw it was to no purpoſe. At length ſays Mr Baxter himſelf, My Lord, I think I can clearly anſwer all that is laid to my charge, and I ſhall do it briefly. The ſum is contained in theſe few papers, to which I ſhall add a little by teſtimony: But he would not hear a word. At length the Chief Juſtice ſummed up the matter in a long and fulſome harangue. 'Tis notoriouſly known (ſays he) there has been a deſign to ruin the King and the nation. The old game has been renewed, and this has been the main incendiary. He is as modeſt now as can be; but time was, when no man was ſo ready at bind your Kings in chains, and your Nobles in fetters of iron; and to your tents O Iſrael. Gentlemen, for God's ſake don't let us be gulled twice in an age, &c.' And when he concluded, he told the jury, that if they in their conſciences believed he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of England, in the paſſages which the information referred to, they muſt find him guilty; and he could mean no man elſe; if not, they muſt find him not guilty. When he had done, ſays Mr Baxter to him, Does your Lordſhip think any jury will pretend to paſs a verdict upon me, upon ſuch a trial? 'I'll warrant you Mr Baxter, ſays he, don't you trou-'ble yourſelf about that.' The jury immediately laid their heads together at the bar, and found him guilty. As he was going from the bar, Mr Baxter told my Lord Chief Juſtice, who had ſo loaded him with reproaches, and yet continued them, that 'a predeceſſor 'of his had had other thoughts of him:' Upon which he replied, 'That there was not an honeſt man in 'England but what took him for a great knave.' He had ſubpœnaed ſeveral clergymen, who appeared in court, but were of no uſe to him, through the violence of the Chief Juſtice. The trial being over, Sir Henry Aſhurſt led Mr Baxter through the crowd (I mention it to his honour), and conveyed him away in his coach. On June the 29th following he had judgment given againſt him. He was fined five hundred marks, to lie in priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for ſeven years. (20).

(20) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 368—372.

[*M*] *That they ſhould be of Mr Baxter's religion.*] Sir John Gayer did by his laſt will and teſtament bequeath a conſiderable ſum of money to perſons lately entered into the miniſtry, and young ſtudents for the miniſtry, with this reſtriction, that they ſhould be ſuch as were neither for domination nor unneceſſary ſeparation, but of Mr Baxter's principles. His Lady, being of the Eſtabliſhed Church, inclined to pay the legacy to ſuch as were within Sir John's deſcription of her own community. Upon this a Chancery ſuit was commenced, wherein it was proved, to the ſatisfaction of the court, that Mr Baxter was a Nonconformiſt; whereupon a decree went in favour of the plaintiffs (21). This was certainly a very ſingular caſe, and much for the honour of Mr Baxter, ſince it plainly appears that Sir John Gayer thought him a man of diſtinguiſhed piety and uncommon moderation; and, on the other hand, neither Church nor Diſſenters could be prevailed on to part with their right in him, but actually tried it in a court of equity.

(21) Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 932.

[*N*] *Againſt*

experience the bitterneſs of all, and in truth, no man was ever more ſeverely treated in this reſpect than Mr Baxter, againſt whom more books were written, than againſt any man in the age in which he lived [*N*]. His friends, however, were ſuch as the bare repetition of their names might well paſs for a panegyrick, ſince it is impoſſible they could have lived in terms of ſtrict intimacy with any other than a wiſe and upright man [*O*]. But the beſt teſtimony of Mr Baxter's worth may be drawn from his own writings, of which he left behind him a very large number [*P*]. Many indeed have cenſured them, though it is certain, that

[*N*] *Againſt any man in the age in which he lived.*] It is ſaid that in whole, or in part, no leſs than ſixty treatiſes were oppoſed to him and his writings; neither would it be difficult to make this good by a diſtinct citation of them; but, for brevity's ſake, perhaps the following ſuccinct account may do as well. He had for his adverſaries certain modern Sadducees, who were provoked by his ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. He was oppoſed by Materialiſts, on account of his maintaining the diſtinction between ſpirit and ſubſtance. By the Anti-trinitarians, for affirming their doctrines to be incompatible with the ſcriptures. By certain zealous Eccleſiaſticks, for repreſenting the old controverſies with the Neſtorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites, as capable of eaſier reconciliations than is allowed by fierce dividers. By Arians and Socinians, as judging too hardly of ſuch as deny the godhead of Chriſt. By Arminians, as holding ſpecial Election and differencing Grace. By hot Anti-arminians, for holding ſuch free-will and univerſal redemption, as Uſher, Davenant and Preſton, and other ſuch knowing men defended. By the Anabaptiſts, for writing ſo much and ſo warmly for Infant Baptiſm. By rigid diſſenting Separatiſts, for ſeparating no farther from the Conformiſts than they ſeparate themſelves from neceſſary truths, and for perſwading men to communion with the pariſh aſſemblies. By the Conforming Separatiſts, for not ſeparating from all ſave themſelves, and for owning thoſe to be faithful ſervants of Chriſt whom they reject. By Clement Writer, and the Seekers, for aſſerting the Certainty of Scripture Verity, as ſealed by the Spirit, by miracles and ſanctification; and for maintaining that there is yet a continuance of a true Miniſtry and true Churches. By Mr Liford, and ſome others, for taking the blaſphemers of the Holy Ghoſt to be fixed Infidels, judging Chriſt's miracles to be by the Devil. By Mr Henry Dodwell, for not taking the office of Preſbyters to be varied by the will of the Biſhop or Ordainer, without being determined by Chriſt's inſtitution; and for not denying the Preſbyters and Biſhops of the reformed Churches to be real miniſters, and not unchurching their Churches, who have not an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of canonical ordination by Dioceſans, as from the days of of the Apoſtles, and not inveighing againſt them as committing the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, in adminiſtring the ſacraments while but laymen, though he himſelf held ſuch as the French to be true miniſters. By the Eraſtians, for vindicating the power of the keys, and the neceſſity of miniſterial Church diſcipline. By the Independents, for being too much for a national Church, and againſt their unneceſſary covenanting terms of communion, and their giving too much power to popular votes. By the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, for being againſt the impoſition of their Covenant, and too much for Epiſcopacy. By zealous Churchmen, becauſe he was not entirely a Conformiſt, and particularly differed from them in his notions of Epiſcopacy. By eager Politicians, who ſought to repreſent him as a republican, and avowed enemy to monarchy, and to the Royal family. By looſe and licentious writers, who, through the ſides of Mr Baxter, were for ridiculing and expoſing religion and ſobriety, morality, and good manners (22). All theſe adverſaries purſued him with uncommon virulence in ſentiment and language; and he, on the other hand, defended himſelf with great vigour againſt them all, being ſeldom known to quit the field where his adverſary brought any other weapon to the diſpute than ſcurrility. To ſet down the names of all who made themſelves remarkable by contending with Mr Baxter would take up too much room, and therefore let it ſuffice, that we give an inſtance in one of the malice of the reſt; and this inſtance ſhall be an epitaph, or monumental inſcription, drawn up for him in his life-time, and publiſhed, that he might ſee how he was to be repreſented after his death. 'Hic jacet Richar-
'dus Baxter, Theologus Armatus, Loiolita Reformatus,
'Hæreſiarcha Ærianus, Schiſmaticorum Anteſignanus:
'Cujus pruritus diſputandi peperit, ſcriptandi cacoe-
'thes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturâ-
'vit eccleſiæ ſcabiem. Qui diſſentit ab iis, quibuſcum
'conſentit maximò: Tum ſibi cum aliis nonconformis
'præteritis, præſentibus, et futuris: Regum et Epiſco-
'porum juratus hoſtes: Ipſumque rebellium ſolenne
'fœdus Qui natus erat per ſeptuaginta annos, et octo-
'ginta libros, ad perturbandos regni reſpublicas, et ad
'bis perdendam Eccleſiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen
'excedit auſis. Deo gratias (23).' The ſenſe of which is, *Here lies* RICHARD BAXTER, *a militant divine, a reformed Jeſuit, a brazen Hereſiarch, and the chief of Schiſmaticks, whoſe itch of diſputing begat, whoſe humour of writing nouriſhed, and whoſe intemperate zeal in preaching brought to it's utmoſt heighth the leproſy of the Church. Who diſſented from thoſe with whom he moſt agreed. From himſelf as well as all other Nonconformiſts paſt, preſent, and to come; the ſworn enemy of Kings and Biſhops, and in himſelf the very bond of rebels: Who was born through ſeventy years and eighty books, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the ruin of the Church of England; in the endeavour of which mighty miſchiefs he fell ſhort. For which, thanks be to God.*

(22) Ibid. p. 905, 906.

(22) Review of Mr Baxter's Life, by Mr Thomas Long, p. 189.

[*O*] *With any other than a wiſe and upright man.*] We have already mentioned many of his court friends, to whom we ought to add the famous Duke of Lauderdale, the Earl of Balcarras, a Scotch nobleman of the name of Leſley, and at the head of the Preſbyterian intereſt in that kingdom. The great Chief Juſtice Hale, who honoured him with an intimate friendſhip, gave a high encomium of his piety and learning to all the Judges; when he was in priſon, on the Oxford act, left him a legacy in his will, and ſeveral large books, in his own hand-writing, on the matter of their converſations; Alderman Aſhurſt, Sir John Maynard, Sir James Langham, Sir Edward Harley, &c. He was likewiſe honoured with the correſpondence of many foreign Divines, ſuch as Mr Brunſenius, Chaplain to the Elector Brandenbourg; Dr Spencer, chaplain to the Elector of Saxony; the celebrated Monſieur Amyrald, and many others: Among whom we ought not to forget Dr John Tillotſon then Dean of St Paul's, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (24).

(24) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 405—410. Life of Sir Matth. Hale, by Biſhop Burnet, p. 39.

[*P*] *Of which he left behind him a large number.*] Dr Bates tells us that his books, which for number and variety of matter were ſufficient to make a library, contain a treaſure of Controverſial, Caſuiſtical, Poſitive, and Practical Divinity (25). Biſhop Wilkins affirms, that he has cultivated every ſubject he has handled (26). Dr Simon Patrick, Biſhop of Ely, commends him as a uſeful and pious writer (27). But the reverend Mr Long of Exeter, whom we have quoted more than once, ſays, that it would be well for the world if they were all burned (28). According to his computation, they were in number fourſcore: Dr Calamy ſays he wrote above one hundred and twenty (29). Neither of theſe computations are exact. The author of this note hath ſeen a hundred and forty-five diſtinct treatiſes of Mr Baxter's, whereof four were folio's, ſeventy-three quarto's, forty-nine octavo's, and nineteen in twelves and twenty-four's, beſides ſingle ſheets, ſeparate ſermons, and at leaſt five and twenty prefaces before other men's writings. The firſt book he publiſhed was his *Aphoriſms of Juſtification*, and the *Covenants*, printed in 1649, and the laſt in his life-time; *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, printed in 1691, ſo that he was an author two and fifty years. Amongſt his moſt famous pieces were his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*; his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which twenty thouſand were ſold in one year. It was tranſlated into all the European languages, and into the Indian tongue; his *Reformed Liturgy*, his *Catholick Theology*, his *Poor Man's Family Book*, his *Dying Thoughts*, and his *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*. His practical works have been printed altogether in four volumes in folio, and it is a pity

(25) In his Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Baxter.

(26) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 410.

(27) Aqua Genitalis, p. 471.

(28) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. II. p. 904.

(29) Id. ibid.

that ſome of his books met with as general a reception as any that ever were printed, and the judicious Dr Barrow, whoſe opinion all competent judges will admit, gave this judgment upon them, *his practical writings were never mended, his controverſial ſeldom confuted* (*l*). (*l*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 422.

nity the ſame care has not been taken of thoſe of another kind. On the whole, his books are like to ſhare always the ſame fate their author had while living, that is, to be mightily eſteemed by ſome, and mightily condemned by others. L

BAXTER (WILLIAM) nephew and heir of Mr Richard Baxter, mentioned in the laſt article (*a*), was an eminent Schoolmaſter and Critick, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century. His family was ancient and not inconſiderable [*A*], but (by what means we are not informed) his parents were but in very indifferent circumſtances (*b*). He was born in the houſe of his mother's father, at Llanlugany, an obſcure village in Shropſhire (*c*), in the year 1650 (*d*). No care, it ſeems, was taken of his education in his younger years: For, at the age of eighteen, when he firſt went to the ſchool at Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, where he was educated (*e*), 'he knew not one letter in a 'book, nor underſtood one word of any language but Welſh (*f*).' But he ſo well redeemed and improved his time, that he became a perſon of great and extenſive knowledge. His genius led him chiefly to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Philology, in which he compoſed ſeveral books. The firſt he publiſhed, was in 1679, a Grammar, intituled, *De Analogia ſeu Arte Latinæ Linguæ Commentariolus* [*B*]. Next, in 1695, a new and correct edition of Anacreon, with Notes; reprinted in 1710 with conſiderable additions and improvements [*C*]. In 1701 he put out an edition of Horace [*D*], which was reprinted in 1725, with additions. And in 1719 he publiſhed his curious and learned Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities [*E*]; of which a ſecond edition came out in 1733, after the author's deceaſe. His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities, which goes no further than the letter A, was publiſhed

(*a*) *Autoris Vita in gratiam filiorum ab ipſo conſcripta*; prefixed to his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britann.* Lond. 1731. 8vo. *N. B.* It is very imperfect.

(*b*) *Natus ſum* (as he ſaith himſelf in his Life) *— in tenui re — innocuis parentibus —*

(*c*) *Vita*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) This is evident from his age, at the time of his death.

(*e*) See his Scholia in *Horatii Epiſtol. lib.* i. xv. *— in ſacro iſto monte Muſas primum adivimus.*

(*f*) Of this he himſelf informed the Rev. Mr Moſes Williams. See General Dictionary, in the article BAXTER (WILLIAM).

[*A*] *His family was antient, and not inconſiderable.*] He derives his pedigree (like a true Cambro-Briton) through a long ſeries of anceſtors, from John Baxter, who, in the reign of Henry VI, ſettled at Shrewſbury. And he ſhews, that the name of *Baxter* ſignifies originally a Baker, in Saxon *Bæceſter*; and that it was given that family, becauſe they were *Bakers* to the antient Princes of Wales; in which poſt, according to the cuſtom of the antient Celtes and Greeks, the nobleſt perſons were employed. — *De more ſcilicet veterum Celtarum atque Græcorum, ut nobiliſſimi quique in famulatu eſſent Regio, domeſticiſque fungerentur officiis* (1).

(1) *Vita*, ubi ſupra, p. 1, 2, &c.

[*B*] *De Analogiâ*, &c.] The whole title is thus: *De Analogiâ, ſive arte Linguæ Latinæ commentariolus; in quo omnia, etiam reconditioris grammaticæ elementa, ratione novâ tractantur, & ad breviſſimos canones rediguntur. In uſum provectioris adoleſcentiæ. Operâ Wilhelmi Baxteri Philiſtoris.* Lond. 1679, 12mo. He is very ſhort upon the points of Orthography, Proſody, and Syntaxis, but dwells a great while upon Etymology; in which, among other peculiar notions of his own, he makes the firſt word of the imperative mood the theme, not only of the ſeveral declenſions of the verbs, but likewiſe of all the participles and verbal nouns. The ſeventh chapter is concerning the grammatical figures; and the eighth treats of the poetical metre, and the method of making Latin verſes.

[*C*] *A new and correct edition of Anacreon*, &c.] The title of which is as follows: *Anacreontis Teij carmina. Plurimis quibus hactenus ſcatebant mendis purgavit, turbata metra reſtituit, notaſque cum nova interpretatione literali adjecit Willielmus Baxter. Subjiciuntur etiam duo vetuſtiſſima poetriæ Sapphus elegantiſſima odaria, unâ cum correctione Iſaaci Voſſii, & Theocriti Anacreonticum in mortuum Adonin.* Lond. 1697, and 1710, 8vo. In the dedication he makes very free with the famous Tanaquil Faber, who formerly publiſhed an edition of that Poet, calling him a ſilly Frenchman, who rejects as falſe and ſpurious whatever he doth not underſtand; that he trifles every where, hath no acuteneſs nor critical diſcernment, but is a meer blockhead. J. Cornelius de Pauw, who publiſhed a new edition of Anacreon at Utrecht in 1732, 4to, is even with Mr Baxter, and treats him with as much contempt as he had done T. Faber; ſaying, that his, and Joſhua Barnes's Commentaries upon that poet, are full of the moſt ſilly and ridiculous trifles. Such is the common uſage of criticks to each other. See Dr Bentley's notes throughout.

[*D*] *In* 1701 *he put out an edition of Horace, which was reprinted in* 1725.] The ſecond edition was finiſhed by him but a few days before his deceaſe, and publiſhed under this title: *Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogæ, una cum ſcholiis perpetuiis, tam veteribus quam novis. Adjecit etiam, ubi viſum eſt, & ſua; textumque ipſum plurimis locis vel corruptum vel turbatum reſtituit* Willielmus Baxter, 8vo. In this ſome things are corrected, others altered, and ſeveral additions made. The notes are collected from the moſt eminent commentators on Horace, particularly thoſe two antient ones, *Helenius Acro*, and *Pomponius Porphyrio*; and alſo from the moderns, namely from Lambinus, Cruquius, Torrentius, Lubinus, Chr. Landinus, Anton. Mancinellus, Muretus, Henric. Stephanus, Heinſius, &c. As for Tanaq. Faber, he ſays he hath not one good note upon that poet. And, with regard to Dacier, he leaves the candid reader to judge, whether the want of fidelity or diligence is moſt to be complained of in that commentator. Then as to Dr Bentley, he ſeems in his opinion to have rather buried Horace under a heap of rubbiſh, than to have illuſtrated him. *Scriptorem iſtum videtur magis oppreſſiſſe quam adornaſſe.* To this ſecond edition are ſubjoined the third Satire of the ſecond book of Horace reſtored to it's original order, by Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-church, and an account of that poet's metre by Chr. Waſe.

[*E*] *In* 1719 *he publiſhed his* ——— *Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities.*] Under the title of *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, ſive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum veteris Britanniæ atque Iberniæ, temporibus Romanorum. Auctore Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum præfecto*, 8vo. Dedicated to Richard Mead, M. D. by whoſe advice it had been ſaved from the flames. In the dedication and preface the author obſerves, that by the help of his knowledge in the Britiſh, or Welſh tongue (which he affirms to be abſolutely neceſſary to a Britiſh Antiquary) he had corrected Camden in a great many paſſages, and added about two hundred names of antient places and rivers, which were not taken notice of in his Britannia; beſides the old appellations of Gods, Kings, and Generals, which he had explained according to the beſt of his abilities; and had compared occaſionally the ſurnames and expreſſions of Old Gaul, and other countries. Through the whole work he goes upon this ſuppoſition, that all the nations of Europe were *Heneti*, or *Brigantes*, and of an Aſiatic origin; and on account of their being *Foreigners* at firſt, were called *Galli* by other nations. In the ſecond edition are added ſome ſhort notes, in the beginning, by Dr W. Stukely, F. R. S. and, at the end, Mr Edw. Lhwyd's poſthumous obſervations on the names of the rivers, mountains, towns, &c. in Britain. By extracts of ſome letters publiſhed in the beginning of this book, it appears that the author was above twenty years about it.

published in 1726, by the reverend and learned Mr Moſes Williams [*F*]: who alſo put out propoſals in 1732 for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal [*G*]. He had likewiſe made notes on Perſius; which are at preſent either loſt or miſlaid. And tranſlated into Engliſh ſome of Plutarch's Lives, done ſome years ago by ſeveral hands (*). Our author was an extraordinary good Linguiſt, and a great maſter of the ancient Britiſh and Iriſh tongues; moſt particularly ſkilled in the Latin and Greek, and in the northern and Eaſtern languages. He kept a correſpondence with the learnedeſt men of his time, eſpecially with that eminent Antiquarian Mr Edward Lhwyd. Some of his Letters are publiſhed at the end of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*H*]. There are likewiſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*g*), two letters of his to Dr Harwood; one concerning the town of *Veroconium*, or Wroxeter, in Shropſhire (*b*); and the other concerning the *Hypocauſta*, or Sweating-Houſes of the Ancients. And another to Dr Hans Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society (*i*), containing an abſtract of Mr Edward Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, or Account of the Languages, Hiſtories, and Cuſtoms of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, *&c.* Mr Baxter was taken up for the moſt part of his life, with the toilſome employment of teaching youth. For he kept ſome years a boarding-ſchool at Tottenham-High-Croſs in Middleſex: from whence he was choſen maſter of Mercers ſchool, near Cheapſide in London (*k*). In this poſt he continued above twenty years (*l*); but reſigned it before his death, which happened on the thirty-firſt of May 1723, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*m*). Having had no thoughts of marrying in his younger days, and even rejected ſome advantageous offers, he took at laſt to wife a woman without a fortune, but of a very good character, named Sarah Carturit, by whom he had two ſons, and three daughters (*n*).

* He intended alſo to have written Commentaries upon Ovid's Metamorphoſes, but did not.

(*g*) No. 306. p. 2230.

(*b*) This Letter is only what he had written in his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britannic.* concerning Wroxeter; and is to be found there, in the article *Veroconium*.

(*i*) No. 311. p. 2438.

(*k*) To which is annexed a ſalary of 40*l.* a year, with a houſe. See Stow's and Strype's Survey of London, *&c.* Vol. I. book i. p. 169. edit. Lond. 1720.

(*l*) See *Vita*, as above, towards the end.

(*m*) See General Dictionary, under the article BAXTER (WILLIAM.)

(*n*) Vita, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities ——— was publiſhed in* 1726, *by Mr Moſes Williams.*] It was publiſhed under the title of *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, ſive Willielmi Baxteri opera poſthuma. Præmittitur eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum.* But the book, very likely, not ſelling under that title, it was republiſhed in 1731, with this title, *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum, A Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum Præfecto. Accedunt eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum, et ſelectæ quædam ejuſdem Epiſtolæ.* Lond. 8vo. The author intended, if God had granted him life, to have gone through the whole alphabet, but he was hindered from proceeding in this uſeful, though difficult, undertaking, by the diſcouragement he met with from the Bookſellers, to whom he offered the copy of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitat. Britannicarum*, when it was ready for the preſs (2). To ſatisfy the learned reader's curioſity we ſhall inſert one article, which will give a true notion of the author's method. 'A, *Au*, vel *Ab*, à 'Græco 'Aπ' vel 'Aφ' pro 'Aπὸ; veteribus Gothis *Af*, 'uti & Germanis; indigenis noſtris Av, unde & ϛερη-'τικὸν A, quod ſequente Vocali eſt 'Av, uti & Perſis, 'Armenis & veteribus Britannis; Anglis *Un*, & Latinis '*In*, etiam ſequente Conſona.' Moſt of the articles are long and learned Diſſertations.

(2) See an Advertiſement of the Editor's at the end of *Gloſſar. Antiq. Romanar.* p. 400.

[G] *Who alſo put out propoſals in* 1732 *for printing Mr Baxter's notes on Juvenal.*] Under this title, *Gulielmi Baxteri quæ ſuperſunt enarrationes & notæ in D. Junii Juvenalis Satyras. Accedit rerum & verborum obſervatione digniorum, quæ in iiſdem occurrunt, Index locupletiſſimus. Accurante Moſe Gulielmo A. M. R. S. Soc.*

[*H*] *Some of his letters are publiſhed at the end of his Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanorum.*] The firſt is a very curious one to Mr Edw. Lhwyd, in which he aſks his judgment of the account he there gives him of the antient language and alphabet. In the firſt place he takes it for granted, that no language is natural; and concludes, that as the ſounds, or *Poteſtates*, of the letters were firſt owing to the imitation of ſounds natural; ſo the firſt figures were contrived to ſignify, for the moſt part, the things from which thoſe ſounds were firſt learned. For inſtance, A wide is the voice of a Bull, which is therefore called by the Syrians *Alpha*, or *Ail appa*, *Huyes attes* in Phrygian, and in Latin *Liber pater*, in Egyptian *Ou Siri*, and ſometime only *Apis*, which is well known, was repreſented under the ſhape of a Bull. — B we learnt of the Sheep: The Tyrians therefore call it *Baita*, and Βαίτης is ſtill Greek for a Sheep-ſkin: And ſo on. He ſums up the whole by obſerving, that the whole Alphabet conſiſts firſt of Gutturals, which are the Vowels, with H. X. and N g, or *y*, which H being added to any Vowel or Conſonant, will make a ſecondary kind of Alphabet, as *Ha*, *Bha*, &c. He places theſe Gutturals firſt, becauſe they are moſt ſimple, and common to man with brutes. The ſecond ſort he calls Linguals, which are proper to mankind, and borrowed by imitation from animal and other ſounds. Palatins and Dentals are reduced to theſe. The third ſort are Labials, formed by the lips alone.

In another letter he ſays, that before the invention of letters, the heads of nails ſerved to count by, and that for a memorial of that antient uſage, they clavated their cups, chairs, hilts of their ſwords, and their very letters. At Rome they kept memorandums of years, by driving a nail in the Capitol, on the ides of September, as is well known.

In a third letter he obſerves, that Plutarch in his *Cato Uticenſis* makes Cicero the contriver of writing *per notas* (in characters or ſhort-hand) upon the ſcore of Catiline's conſpiracy. And that he uſed that way of writing is apparent from an epiſtle of his *ad Atticum*, lib. XIII. Dion. lib. LV. tells us, that Mecænas communicated the art to the publick by his freedman Aquila, as Euſebius in Chronicis ſaith Cicero did by his man Tyro. Notwithſtanding all this, it appears by Suetonius in his Cæſar, that Cæſar himſelf did write *per notas*. For my own part, ſaith Mr Baxter, I am very apt to believe this way of writing to have been univerſal before a Muſician invented the Alphabet. The antient marks, uſed both by Muſicians and Phyſicians, I take to be a remainder of theſe *Notæ*.

C

BAYLY (LEWIS), Biſhop of Bangor in the reign of King James I, and author of a celebrated piece called *The Practiſe of Piety* [*A*], was born in the town of Caermarthen in

[*A*] *He wrote a celebrated Treatiſe called* The Practiſe of Piety.] The title at length is, *The Practiſe of Piety, directing a Chriſtian how to walk that he may pleaſe God*; with this motto, *Piety hath the Promiſe.* 1 Tim. iv. 8. It is dedicated *to the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales*; and the author tells His highneſs, he had 'endeavoured to extract '(out of the Chaos of endleſs controverſies) *the old* '*practice of true Piety*, which flouriſhed before thoſe 'controverſies were hatched (1).' After the Epiſtle Dedicatory follows this diſtich, addreſſed to that Prince:

Ad Carolum Principem.

Tolle malos, extolle bonos, cognoſce teipſum;
Sacra tene, paci conſule, diſce pati.

The reader may judge of the reception this book has met with from the great number of editions it has run through; that in *octavo*, 1734, being the *fifty-ninth*. Mr Wood tells us, it was the ſubſtance of ſeveral ſermons, preached by Dr Bayly while he was miniſter of Eveſham; that it was tranſlated into Welſh, and into

(1) *Practiſe of Piety*, edit. 1734. Dedicat. p. 8.

French

in Wales, and educated at Oxford; but in what college we cannot ſay. We find only, that he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences, in the year 1611; about which time he was Miniſter of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, Chaplain to Prince Henry, and Rector of St Matthew, in Friday-ſtreet, London; and that he proceeded in Divinity two years after. Being an eminent Preacher, he was appointed one of King James's Chaplains; who promoted him to the See of Bangor, to which he was conſecrated, at Lambeth, December the eighth, 1616. On the fifteenth of July 1621, he was committed a priſoner to the Fleet: but what his crime was, we know not; unleſs, perhaps, it concerned Prince Henry's match with the Infanta of Spain. This Prelate died in the beginning of the year 1632, and was buried in the church of Bangor. He left behind him four ſons, Nicholas, John, Theodore, and Thomas *(a)*; the laſt of whom deſerves our particular notice *(b)*.

(a) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567.

(b) *See the next article.*

French in the year 1633; and that the fame of it was ſo great, that one John D'Eſpagne, a French writer, and preacher in Somerſet-houſe chapel, complained, that the generality of the common people looked upon it's authority as equal to that of the Bible (2). Lewis du Moulin denies Biſhop Bayly the honour of writing this book. He pretends (3), it was the compoſition of a Puritan miniſter, and purchaſed of the author's widow by Dr Bayly, who interpolated it in ſeveral places, and publiſhed it as his own; and that the ſtyle and ſentiments of the book being abſolutely puritanical, and yet a Biſhop's name being prefixed to it, occaſioned it to be equally ſought after by Puritans and Epiſcoparians. Others aſcribe the *Practiſe of Piety* to Mr Price, Archdeacon of Bangor. But Dr White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough (4), has put it beyond all queſtion, that our Prelate was the true author of this book, and that pretending the contrary was *a lying, malicious, puritan ſtory, invented by that proud phariſaical faction, who were not willing a book ſo well eſteemed ſhould be writ by a Biſhop.* T

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567.

(3) *Apud* Patronus bonæ fidæi: *in the chapter containing* Specimen contra Durellum, p. 48.

(4) In his *Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, Lond. 1728. *fol.* p. 350.

BAYLY (THOMAS), Doctor of Divinity, and ſon of Dr Lewis Bayly Biſhop of Bangor *(a)*, was educated at Cambridge; and, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was preſented by King Charles I, in May 1638, to the ſub-deanry of Wells, upon the promotion of Dr William Roberts to the See of Bangor. In 1644, he retired, among other loyal Miniſters, to Oxford, and, in the month of Auguſt that year, was created Maſter of Arts, and ſoon after Doctor in Divinity. In 1646, we find him with the Marquis of Worceſter in Ragland-Caſtle, which that nobleman defended for King Charles I, againſt the Parliament army. But that caſtle being ſurrendered on the nineteenth of Auguſt in the ſame year, upon good articles, moſtly of Dr Bayly's framing, he travelled into France and other countries; where having ſpent a conſiderable ſum of money, which he had gotten from the ſaid Marquis, he returned into England the year after the King's death. Having given offence by his writings *(b)*, he was committed priſoner to Newgate; out of which he ſoon made his eſcape, and retired to Holland; where he declared himſelf a Roman-Catholic, and became a great zealot for that cauſe, often breaking out into rage and fury againſt the Proteſtant religion, which he had before preached and profeſſed. Some time after, he left Holland, and ſettled at Douay; and at laſt went into Italy, where he died [*A*]. We ſhall take notice of him as an author in the remark *(c)* [*B*].

(a) *See the preceding article.*

(b) *See the remark* [*B*].

(c) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 567, 568, 569.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 569.

[*A*] *He died in Italy.*] Anthony Wood tell us (1) he was informed by ſeveral Roman Catholics, that Dr Bayly was received into the ſervice of Cardinal Ottoboni, and that he died in the Cardinal's family, whilſt his Eminence reſided at Ferrara as Nuncio from the Pope. But an Engliſh traveller aſſured our Biographer, that this was not true; that the Doctor was reduced to the neceſſity of turning common ſoldier; that he lived poor at Bononia; and that he ſaw his grave there. And this account was confirmed by Dr Trevor, Fellow of Merton-college (younger brother to Sir John Trevor, ſome time Secretary of State), who was in Italy in 1659, and who ſeveral times told Mr Wood, that Dr Bayly died obſcurely in an hoſpital, and that he had ſeen the place where he was buried.

[*B*] *He was an author.*] Soon after his return into England in 1649, he publiſhed a book, intitled, *Certamen Religioſum:* Or, *A Conference between King Charles* I, *and Henry late Marquis of Worceſter, concerning Religion, in Ragland-caſtle*, an. 1646. Printed at London, in *octavo*. The Doctor was blamed by the true ſons of the Church of England for publiſhing this piece, in which the Romiſh cauſe was ſet forth with great pomp; and it was looked upon by many as nothing elſe than a prologue to the declaring himſelf a Papiſt. Beſides, the orthodox party affirmed, that this *Conference* had nothing of the ſtyle of King Charles I in it, and that the Marquis of Worceſter had not abilities to maintain a diſcourſe of religious matters with the King. There was publiſhed in 1651, *An Anſwer, with Conſiderations on Dr Bayly's parenthetical Interlocution, by Hammond L'Eſtrange*; and C. C. i. e. Chriſtopher Cartwright of York, publiſhed *An Anſwer to* Certamen Religioſum, &c. *together with a Vindication of the Proteſtant Cauſe*. Printed at London, 1651, in *quarto*. About the ſame time Dr Peter Heylyn put out an advertiſement againſt it, as an impoſture, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to the collection of King Charles's works, intitled *Bibliotheca Regia*; in which the *Conference* is inſerted, but omitted in all other impreſſions of his Majeſty's works (2). The ſame year Dr Bayly publiſhed *The Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himſelf*, &c. To which he added *A Treatiſe, wherein is proved, that Epiſcopacy is* Jure Divino. It was afterwards reprinted at London, in 1656 and 1680, in *octavo*. In this piece, Mr Wood tells us, the Doctor, like an unſkilful builder, *diruit ædificat*; what he rears with one hand, pulls down with the other, and is guilty of many egregious errors, a ſpecimen of which may be ſeen in a book, intitled, *Legenda Lignea* (3). And, amongſt many ſtories of his travels, having railed with great freedom at all the governments in Europe, he at laſt falls deſperately on that newly eſtabliſhed in England; which provoked a ſtrict enquiry after the author, and ended in his diſcovery and impriſonment in Newgate. During his confinement he wrote a piece, intitled, *Herba Parietis:* Or, *The Wall-flower, as it grows out of the Stone-chamber belonging to the Metropolitan priſon; being an Hiſtory, which is partly true, partly romantic, morally divine; whereby a marriage between Reality and Fancy is ſolemnized by Divinity*. Printed at London, in 1650, in a thin *folio*; in the Preface to which the author falls foul upon Peter Heylyn, whom he calls *a fellow without a name*, for the advertiſement abovementioned. He alſo tells us of his great ſufferings in the late civil war, in which, he pretends, he had loſt not only a thouſand pounds *per annum*, but his blood and his liberty; and he brags of the nobility of his deſcent, his father being a Peer, and his mother a Knight's daughter. Whilſt he lived at Douay, he gave the public a book, intitled, *The End to Controverſy between the Roman*

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 568.

(3) Printed at London, 1653, 8vo, c. xxxvii. p. 165, 166.

man Catholic and Proteſtant Religions, juſtified by all the ſeveral manner of ways, whereby all kind of Controverſies, of what nature ſoever, are uſually, or can poſſibly, be determined. Printed at Douay in 1654, in *quarto*, and dedicated to Walter Montague, Abbot of Nanteuil, and afterwards of Pontoiſe. There alſo goes under Dr Bayly's name, *The Life and Death of the renowned John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter.* Printed at London in 1655, in *octavo*. But the true author of this work, Mr Wood aſſures us (4), was one Richard Hall, Doctor of Divinity, ſome time Fellow of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge (of which Biſhop Fiſher was a member), afterwards Canon and Official of the cathedral church of St Omers; who leaving it behind him at his death in 1604, it was eſteemed a curious piece, and as ſuch repoſited in the library of the Engliſh Benedictins at Dieuward in Lorrain. Afterwards ſeveral copies of it getting abroad, one of them fell into the hands one Weſt; from whom it came into the poſſeſſion of *Francis a Sancta Clara* in 1623, and from him (as Mr Wood was aſſured from his own mouth) to Sir Wingfield Bodenham; who, keeping it in his hands ſeveral years, with an intention to print it in the name of the true author, communicated it for ſome time to Dr Bayly; who, taking a copy thereof, and making ſome alterations in it, ſold it for a ſmall ſum of money to a Bookſeller, who printed it at London under the name of Thomas Bayly, D. D. Mr Wood adds, that he had ſeen a manuſcript life of Biſhop Fiſher, beginning thus; *Eſt in Eboracenſi Comitatu, octogeſimo à Londino lapide, ad aquilonem, Beverlei oppidum*, &c. Who the author was, he knew not; but thinks it not unlikely Hall had ſeen it, having been written before his time. There is another work aſcribed to our author, intitled, *Golden Apophthegms of King Charles* I, *and Henry Marquis of Worceſter.* Printed at London in 1660, in one ſheet *quarto*. But Mr Wood tells us, they were taken entirely from another piece, intitled, *Witty Apophthegms delivered at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions, by King James, King Charles* I, *and the Marquis of Worceſter.* Lond. 1658, 8vo. without the author's name. T

(4) Ubi ſupra, col. 569.

BAYNES (Sir THOMAS), an eminent Phyſician, and Profeſſor of Muſick at Greſham-college in London, was born about the year 1622, and educated at Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of the learned Dr Henry More, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts about the year 1642 (*a*). In 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*), after which time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſick. He went into Italy in company with Mr Finch (afterwards Sir John) with whom he had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip [*A*]; and at Padua they were both created Doctors of Phyſick [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II, in 1660, Mr Baynes and Mr Finch returned into England (*c*), and the ſame year their Grace was paſſed at Cambridge, for creating them Doctors of Phyſick in that univerſity (*d*). On the twenty-ſixth of February following, Mr Baynes, together with Sir John Finch (*e*), was admitted a Fellow-Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London [*C*]. Dr Petty having reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Muſick in Greſham-college, Dr Baynes was choſen to ſucceed him, the eighth of March 1660; and the twenty-ſixth of June following, he and his friend Sir John Finch were admitted Graduates in Phyſick at Cambridge, in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before [*D*]. The winter following, this inſeparable pair

(*a*) *Communicated by the Rev.* Mr Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college*, folio, Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(*b*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

(*c*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 228.

(*d*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

(*e*) *He had been knighted the 10th of the preceding month.*

[*A*] Mr Finch —— *with whom he had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip.*] This gentleman was of the ſame college with Mr Baynes, and a pupil likewiſe of Dr More's; and the lives and fortunes of theſe fellow-collegians were ſo interwoven, as to render their hiſtory in a manner inſeparable. They have a tradition at Chriſt's-college, that while Mr Finch was a ſtudent there, Mr Baynes, who was then his Sizar, took the liberty to admoniſh him with great tenderneſs of ſome miſconduct in his behaviour, which at firſt he reſented, but afterwards complied with his advice, and made him his conſtant and boſom-friend. Mr John Finch was younger brother of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and born about the year 1626. His admiſſion at Chriſt's-college does not appear by their regiſter, which is very imperfect (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2) he was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Edward Sylveſter at Oxford, became a gentleman-commoner of Baliol-college about the fifteenth year of his age, and after he had taken one degree left that univerſity, upon the coming of the viſitors the year following. It appears by the Oxford regiſter, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts there the 22d of May, 1647. But it is certain from his epitaph, that he was pupil to Dr More at Cambridge, as well as Mr Baynes. And therefore there is ſome difficulty in reconciling theſe two accounts, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that, in the year 1642, when Oxford was a garriſon, Mr Finch might for a time remove to Cambridge, and afterwards returning to Oxford, and taking his firſt degree in Arts there in 1647, leave it again the year following, and go back to Cambridge. Mr Finch purſued the ſtudy of Phyſick with Mr Baynes; and their friendſhip had then ſo firmly united them, that it is very probable they determined to proceed together through the ſeveral ſteps and advancements of life, ſo far as was conſiſtent with their reſpective circumſtances; for which reaſon Mr Baynes, who did not take the ſecond degree till ſeven years after the firſt, might probably defer it till Mr Finch by his ſtanding could do it with him (3).

(1) *Communicated by the Rev.* Mr Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college*, folio. Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(2) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 58.

(3) Ward, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *They were both created Doctors of Phyſick at Padua.*] Mr Finch was made Conſul of the Engliſh nation there, and likewiſe a Syndic of the univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was honoured with a marble ſtatue, and the great Duke made him public profeſſor at Piſa (4). The like honours were afterwards paid by that univerſity to another Engliſh Phyſician, Dr William Stukeham (5).

(4) Ward, ibid. p. 228.

[*C*] Mr Baynes *and* Sir John Finch *were admitted Fellows-Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London.*] The order for their admittance being ſomewhat ſingular, I ſhall give it in the words of the regiſter. *Ob præclara Doctoris Harvæi, nobis nunquam ſine honore nominandi, ejuſque fratris germani Eliabi, in collegium merita, placuit, ſociis omnibus præſentibus, præterquam quatuor, Dominum Johannem Finch et Doctorem Thomam Baines (Patavii Doctorali laurea ornatos) adaucto tantundem in eorum gratiam ſociorum numero, in collegium ceu ſocios extraordinarios adſciſcere. Ea tamen lege et conditione, ne res hæc facile in exemplum trahatur*; i. e. 'In conſideration of the great 'ſervices done to the college by Dr Harvey, whom 'we ought never to mention without honour, and his 'brother Eliab, it is reſolved, in the preſence of all 'the fellows, excepting four, to elect into the College, 'as fellows-extraordinary, Sir John Finch and Dr Tho-'mas Baynes, created Doctors at Padua, the number 'of fellows being increaſed meerly for their ſakes; but 'on condition that this proceeding ſhall not be drawn 'into a precedent.' The reaſon of their admiſſion as *Fellows-Extraordinary*, with the condition annexed that this *inſtance ſhould not be drawn into a precedent*, ſeems to have been, that the number of fellows, which at that time was limited to thirty, was then full: But by their new charter, granted by King Charles II, in 1663 (wherein the names of Dr Baynes and Sir John Finch were both inſerted), the number was enlarged to forty (6); which in the reign of King James II was increaſed to eighty: And ſince that time they have been limited to no certain number, but remain candidates a year before their admiſſion as fellows (7).

(5) Stowe's *Survey of London*, B. vi. p. 89. edit. 1720.

(6) Dr Goodall's *Royal College of Phyſicians of London*, p. 70.

(7) Ward, ibid.

[*D*] —— *in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before.*] The reaſons aſſigned for this grant

pair of friends designed to have made a second tour into Italy [*E*], but did not execute their design. The twentieth of March 1663, they were elected Fellows of the Royal Society, upon the first choice made by the Council, after the grant of their charter, of which they had been members before (*f*), and, 'May 15, 1661, had, with several others, been nominated a Committee for a library (at Gresham-college) and for examining of the generation of insects (*g*).' In March 1664, Dr Baynes accompanied Sir John Finch to Florence, where that gentleman was appointed his Majesty's Resident, and returned back with him into England in 1670. Towards the end of the year 1672, Sir John being appointed the King's Embassador to the Grand Seignor, Dr Baynes was ordered to attend him as his Physician, and, before he left England, received from his Majesty the honour of knighthood. Nine years after, Sir Thomas still continuing in Turkey, the Gresham Committee, taking into consideration his long absence without supplying the duty of his place, thought fit to dismiss him from his professorship, and, on the ninth of August 1681, chose Mr William Perry in his room. The news of this dismission could not reach Sir Thomas Baynes; for he died at Constantinople [*F*] the fifth of the following month, to the inexpressible grief of his dear and constant friend Sir John Finch, who did not long survive him [*G*]. Their epitaph [*H*], written by Dr Henry More, is yet to be seen in the chapel of Christ's-college; and therein it is said, that they jointly left four thousand pounds to that college (*b*) [*I*].

(*f*) Ward, ibid. p. 229.

(*g*) *Journals of the* R. S. Vol. I. p. 18.

(*b*) Ward, ib. & p. 230, 231.

grant of the university are so much to the honour of both of them, and express the great esteem they had gained abroad in so full a manner, that I shall here insert them in the original words. *Cum vir eximie nobilis Johannes Finch eques auratus, et Pisæ magni ducis Hetruriæ professor publicus, et diligentissimus etiam vir Thomas Baynes, duodecim abhinc annis admissi fuerint apud nos Cantabrigienses ad gradum magisterii in artibus, deinde in externas regiones profecti, diuque apud Patavinos commorati, non sine summo eorum applausu, et Anglicani nominis honore, gradum doctoratus in medicina ibidem adepti sint; in patriam demum reversis superiori anno iisdem gratia concessa est, ut hic apud nos admitterentur ad eundem gradum, statum, et honorem, quibus apud Patavinos prius insigniti fuerant: At vero cum ipsimet in personis propriis ob importuna negotia, quibus impliciti et detenti sunt, adesse non possint: Placeat itaque vobis, ut vir nobilis Johannes Finch admissionem suam recipiat ad dictum gradum, sub persona Doctoris Carr, in Medicina Doctoris; et Thomas Baynes suam itidem, sub persona Johannis Gostlin, inceptoris in medicina; et ut eorum admissio stet eisdem pro completis gradu et forma* (8). The high reputation they had gained at Padua, and the honour they did to the English name, are here assigned as the reasons of their admission to the same degree at Cambridge, which had been conferred upon them in that foreign university. We learn also from this Grace, that they were admitted to their degree at that time by proxy; Mr Finch being represented by Dr Carr a Physician, and Dr Baynes by Mr John Gostlin, Inceptor in Physick.

(8) Regist. Academ. Cantabr.

[*E*] *They designed to have made a second tour into Italy.*] For this purpose they had desired and obtained the consent of the College of Physicians, as appears by the following minute in the register. *Sept.* 30, 1661, *Dominus Johannes Finch et Doctor Baines summa cum urbanitate veniam abeundi in Italiam a Domino Præside petierunt, obtinueruntque.*

[*F*] *Sir* Thomas Baynes *died at Constantinople.*] His body was embalmed, and the bowels interred there, with a monument over them, by order of Sir John Finch; who soon after returning into England, brought the body with him, and sent it to Cambridge, where it was deposited in the chapel of Christ's-college, Sir John himself making a funeral oration in honour of the deceased (9).

(9) Ward, ib. p. 230.

[*G*] *Sir* John Finch *did not long survive him.*] He died the 18th of November, 1682, at London, and, according to his own desire, was carried down to Cambridge, and interred in the same grave with his beloved friend, being unwilling to be separated from him at death, who had been his constant companion, and the partner of his fortunes so many years while living (10).

(10) Id. ibid.

[*H*] *Their Epitaph.*] It is as follows. *Effare, marmor, cuja sunt hæc duo quæ sustentas capita? Duorum amicissimorum, quibus cor erat unum unaque anima, D. Johannis Finch, et D. Thomæ Bainesii, equitum auratorum, virorum omnimoda Sapientia, Aristotelica, Platonica, Hippocratica, rerumque adeo gerendarum peritia plane summorum, atque hisce nominibus, et ob præclaram immortalis amicitiæ exemplum, sub amantissimi tutoris Henrici Mori auspiciis, hoc ipso in collegio initæ, per totum terrarum orbem celebratissimorum. Hi mores, hæc studia, hic successus; genus vero si quæris et necessitudines, Horum alter D. Heneagii Finchii equitis aurati filius erat, Heneagii vero Finchii comitis Nottinghamiensis frater, non magis juris quam justitiæ consulti, regiæ majestati a consiliis secretioribus, summique Angliæ Cancellarii; viri prudentissimi, religiosissimi, eloquentissimi, integerrimi; Principi, patriæ, atque Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ charissimi; ingeniosa, numerosa, prosperaque prole felicissimi: Alter D. Johannis Finchii viri omni laude majoris amicus intimus, perpetuusque per triginta plus minus annos fortunarum et consiliorum particeps, longarumque in exteras nationes itinerationum individuus comes. Hic igitur peregre apud Turcas vitæ functus est, nec prius tamen quam alter a sereniss imo rege Angliæ per decennium legatus præclare suo functus est munere; tunc demum dilectissimus Bainesius suam et amici Finchii simul animam Byzantii efflavit, die V Septembris H. III. P. M. A. D. MDCLXXXI, ætatis suæ LIX. Quid igitur fecerit alterum hoc corpus anima cassum, rogas: Ruit sed in amplexus alterius, indoluit, ingemuit, ubertim flevit, totum in lachrymas, nisi nescio quæ utrique animæ relliquiæ cohibuissent, defluxurum: nec tamen totus dolori sic indulsit nobilissimus Finchius, quin ipsi quæ incumberent solerter gesserit confeceritque negotia; et postquam ad amici pollinctu ram quæ spectarent curaverat, viscera que telluri Byzantinæ addito marmore eleganter a se pieque inscripto commiserat, cunctasque res suas sedulo paraverat, ad reditum in optatam patriam, corpus etiam defuncti amici a Constantinopli usque (triste sed pium officium) per longos maris tractus, novam subinde salo e lachrymis suis admiscens salsedinem, ad sacellum hoc deduxit; ubi funebri ipsum Oratione adhibita mœstisque sed dulcissimis threnodiis, in hypogæum tandem sub proxima area situm, commune utrique paratum hospitium, solenniter honorificeque condidit. Hæc pia Finchius officia defuncto amico præstitit, porroque cum eo in usus pios quater mille libras Anglicanas huic Christi Collegio donavit, ad duos socios totidemque scholares in collegio alendos, et ad augendum libris quinquagenis reditum magistri annuum: cui rei ministrandæ riteque finiundæ Londini dum incumberet, paucos post menses in morbum incidit, febrique ac pleuritide, maxime vero Amici Bainesii desiderio, adfectus et afflictus, inter lachrymas, luctus, et amplexus charissimorum, diem obiit, spe que beatæ immortalitatis plenus, pie ac placide in Domino obdormivit, Die XVIII Novembris H. II. P M N. A. D. MDCLXXXII, Ætatis suæ LVI, Londinoque huc delatus ab illustrissimo D. Domino Finchio Heneagii Comitis Nottinghamiensis filio primogenito, aliisque ejus filiis ac necessariis comitantibus, eodem in sepulchro quo ejus amicissimus heic conditus jacet, ut studia, fortunas, consilia, imo animas vivi qui miscuerant, iidem suos defuncti sacros tandem miscerent Cineres* (11).

(11) Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, Vol. III. p. 6.

[*I*] *They jointly left four thousand pounds to Christ's-college.*] With that money were purchased in farm-rents two hundred pounds a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows, each to receive sixty pounds a year; and two Scholars, each to receive twelve pounds a year; and fifty pounds a year towards the augmentation of the mastership. Sir John was presumed to pay most of the money, though he was willing that Sir Thomas should share with him in the honour of this donation, as in all other his laudable actions (12).

(12) Mr Baker, *apud* Ward, ubi supra, p. 232.

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (James), Archbiſhop of St Andrews in the reign of King James V. This famous Prelate was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, that came originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland (*a*) [*A*]. His father was John Beaton of Balfour, and his mother Mary, daughter to Sir David Boſwell of Blamuto (*b*). We have no certain account of his birth, or of the manner of his education, except that being a younger brother, he was from his nonage deſtined for the Church, and with that view kept to his ſtudies (*c*). He had great natural talents, and having improved them by the acquiſition of all that ſort of learning faſhionable in thoſe times, he came early into the world, under the title of Provoſt of Bothwell; a preferment given him through the intereſt of his family (*d*) [*B*]. When he was once put into the road, he made a very quick progreſs in his journey, for having ſtept into his firſt benefice in 1503, we find him the very next year advanced to the rich and honourable preferment of Abbot of Dumferling, which abbacy became void by the death of the moſt noble Prince, James Stuart, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, Duke of Roſs, and Chancellor of Scotland (*e*). A very ſhining teſtimony this was of his maſter's favour, but in 1505 he received ſtill a greater; for upon the death of Sir David Beaton, his brother, his Majeſty honoured him with the ſtaff of High-Treaſurer, and he was thenceforward conſidered as one of the principal Miniſters of the King his maſter (*f*). In 1508 he was promoted to the biſhoprick of Galloway, on the death of Biſhop Vauſs, and before he had ſat a full year in that cathedral chair, he was removed to the archiepiſcopal See of Glaſgow, vacant by the death of Dr Blackader, upon which he reſigned the Treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed on Dr Hepburn, Biſhop of the Iſles (*g*). This was in the year 1509, and his Grace ſeems to have taken this ſtep, in order to be more at leiſure to mind the government of his dioceſe; and indeed it is univerſally acknowledged, that none more carefully attended the duties of his functions than Archbiſhop Beaton while he continued at Glaſgow, and he has left there ſuch marks of concern for that church, as have baffled the ſtrong teeth of time, and, which is ſtill keener, the rage of a diſtracted populace (*h*). In a word, the monuments of his piety and publick ſpirit which he raiſed at Glaſgow, yet remain and juſtify this part of his character [*C*]. It does not appear that he had any hand in thoſe fatal counſels, which drove the unfortunate King James IV into his laſt war with England,

(*a*) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par du Cheſne.

(*b*) Lives and Characters of the great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, by G. Crawfurd, p. 61.

(*c*) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(*d*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 61.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.

(*f*) Charta in Rotulis, Jac. IV.

(*g*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(*h*) See Crawfurd's Account of his benefactions while Archbiſhop, in Note [*C*].

[*A*] *Originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland.*] This noble family takes it's name from the town of Bethune on the little river of Brette in Artois, five leagues from Aire, and ſix from Liſle; and the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of theſe Lords of Bethune, informs us, that Robert the Firſt founded the collegiate church of St Bartholomew in the year 999. He had ſix ſucceſſors of his own name, the laſt of which left his title and eſtates to William, ſirnamed the *Red*, father of Daniel and Robert the VIIth. The latter left behind him an only daughter Maud, who married Guy de Dampierre Earl of Flanders, who had by her Robert the IIId, ſirnamed de Bethune, who bore his father's title (1). William de Bethune, Lord of Locres, ſettled in France, where he died Auguſt 24, 1243, and from him deſcended the Dukes of Sully, D'Orval, and Charoſt, and all the families of the ſame name in France (2). It is a point out of diſpute, that the Scotch family are deſcended from the ſame ſtock with the French, but it is at the ſame time very certain, that the French writers are in the wrong to ſuppoſe that James de Bethune, who lived in the XVth century, was the founder of this family, ſince it appears, that Robert de Bethune was poſſeſſed of lands in Scotland in the reign of King William; and Sir David Bethune, who probably was his ſon, was living in 1296 (3). From him deſcended Robert de Bethune, who was of the houſhold to King Robert II, and marrying the daughter and heireſs of Sir John Balfour, chief of that family, obtained with her the lands of Balfour in the county of Fife; from whence this family has been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of Bethune, or, as it it is commonly written in Scotland, Beaton, of Balfour. This, it ſeems, was their principal Seat, and the family gained an eſtabliſhment by marrying this heireſs, but they retained nevertheleſs the name of Bethune, and quartered the arms of Balfour with their own, viz. quarterly 1ſt and 4th *azure* a *Feſs* between three *Maſcles Or*, 2d and 3d *Argent* on a *Cheveron ſable*, an *Otter's* head eraſed of the *firſt* for Balfour, Supporters, two *Otters* proper, and and an *Otter's* head for creſt, with the word *Debonnaire* (4). Beſides this, there have been ſeveral conſiderable families of this ſirname in Scotland, ſuch as the Beatons of Creigh, of Baudon, of Blebo, &c. but as they all derive themſelves from Beaton of Balfour, it is needleſs to dwell upon them.

(1) André Hojus de Bruges, Deſcription, de Bethune.

(2) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par Du Cheſne.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. VII. p. 358. See alſo the Commentary upon Ragman's Roll, at the end of Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 14, 29.

(4) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 213.

[*B*] *A preferment given him through the intereſt of his family.*] He was remarkably happy at his ſetting out, for his brother, Sir David Beaton of Criegh, a very learned, wiſe, and prudent gentleman, was then a great courtier, and ſo much beloved by his maſter King James IV, that he raiſed him to the honour of being Comptroller of his houſhold; and on the death of Sir Robert Lundin of Balgony, in 1502, he made him Treaſurer of Scotland (5). But beſides the aſſiſtance derived to our Divine, by the intereſt of this brother, he was alſo in great credit with the powerful houſe of Dowglas, from whom he received his firſt preferment, which was that of the Provoſtſhip of Bothwell. It may not be amiſs to ſhew what the nature of this preferment was, and how the family of Angus came to have the beſtowing of it. The reader then is to know, that there were in Scotland before the Reformation many collegiate churches of ſecular prieſts, and he who preſided over theſe canons was ſtiled Provoſt (6). The church of Bothwell was one of theſe, and belonged to the potent family of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell. But Archibald Dowglas, Earl of Angus, one of the moſt potent noblemen in Scotland, making uſe of this ſaying, That when the King was angry he had nothing to do but to retire to his hermitage in Liddeſdale; King James IV ſwore there was no keeping the kingdom in order while the Earl of Angus was poſſeſſed of that country, of which the Earl was no ſooner informed, than he reſolved to ſacrifice his own eaſe to the ſatisfaction of his maſter, and therefore conſented that his eldeſt ſon and heir, George, according to the Scots cuſtoms, ſtiled Maſter of Angus, ſhould exchange the lands of Liddeſdale for thoſe of Bothwell, which, with the King's conſent, was accordingly done in the year 1492 (7). And thus the Earl of Angus became patron of the college of Bothwell, which, upon the firſt vacany, he beſtowed upon Dr James Beaton; a plain proof that he came into the world under the powerful protection of this noble family, with which however he had very high differences afterwards, as in it's proper place the reader will be informed.

(5) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(6) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 237.

[*C*] *Still remain and juſtify this part of his character.*] It may be juſtly obſerved, that there is no hiſtory of any country written with ſo much inaccuracy and confuſion as that of Scotland, in reſpect to which, even thoſe who might have been beſt acquainted with it, have committed ſtrange miſtakes. As for inſtance, Archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us expreſsly, that our Archbiſhop

England, which ended with the battle of Flodden-field, wherein the King loſt his life. With him fell the flower of his Nobility, and amongſt them Alexander, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, his natural ſon, of whom Eraſmus has ſpoken with ſo much honour (*i*). By this fatal blow the kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, all minding rather their private advantages, than how to repair the publick loſs. The Queen, by a very haſty and indecent marriage with the Earl of Angus, loſt the regency, about which the Nobility could not agree, and the Clergy who ought to have interpoſed their good offices, were all together by the ears about the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrews; ſo that, for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, it was found requiſite to ſend for John Duke of Albany, the young King's great uncle from France, and to declare him Regent (*k*). He was a very wiſe and moderate Prince, but at the ſame time, one who loved to make uſe of his authority, by which means he reſtored order and quiet in the State, and for a time ſatisfied every body. Among thoſe particularly diſtinguiſhed by his favour, was our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, whom he raiſed to the office of High-Chancellor, and conferred on him other benefits, which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him (*l*) [*D*]. Some time after, when the Regent thought proper, or perhaps found it requiſite to go to France, he appointed (amongſt other great men) our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, one of the Governors of Scotland in his abſence; and to prevent, if it had been poſſible, all diſputes amongſt them, they had different provinces aſſigned them (*m*). This was in 1517, but it did not anſwer the Duke-Regent's intention, for they quickly broke into parties, and this brought on ſuch confuſion, that they were content to devolve their whole power upon the Earl of Arran, nearly allied in blood to the King, and one of the moſt worthy Noblemen in the kingdom (*n*). Upon this, at his inſtance, and in order to reform the diſorders that were crept into the Government, a Convention of Eſtates was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520. On which day, the Earl of Arran, with the chief of the Nobility of the Weſt, aſſembled together in Archbiſhop Bethune's houſe, at the bottom of Black-friar-wynde; where, before the ſitting of the Convention, they reſolved to apprehend the Earl of Angus, alledging that his power was ſo great, that ſo long as he was free they could not have a free parliament (*o*). But as ſoon as the Earl was informed of their deſign, he ſent his uncle, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, then Chancellor, offering if he had failed in any point of his duty to the reſt of the Lords, he would moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf to the cenſure of the Convention, which was going then to meet, and the Biſhop himſelf, earneſtly beſought the Chancellor, that he would uſe his beſt endeavours with his friends to compromiſe matters, and prevent as much as poſſible the ſhedding of blood, which in a conteſt of that kind would be inevitable. The Archbiſhop, though he was as deep in the deſign as any of the party, and had put on armour to aſſiſt them in perſon, or at leaſt, to animate others by his example, made the beſt apology for himſelf he could, and laid the blame wholly upon the Earl of Arran, who, he pretended, was diſobliged

(*i*) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. viii. Drummond's Hiſtory, p. 227. Eraſm. in Adag. concluding thus 'In ſumma, nemo fuit dignior 'quiex Rege, & ex 'illo Rege, naſce-'retur.'

(*k*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 242, 243.

(*l*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(*m*) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 256, 257.

(*n*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(*o*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 263.

biſhop Beaton ſat in this See twenty-two years (8); if ſo, he muſt have been Archbiſhop in the year 1500, that is about three years before he had any preferment at all. But the truth is, that, he was only fourteen years Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, during which ſpace he did many things for the honour of that church, and the convenience of his ſucceſſors, as a very careful writer tells us in the following words. 'While Archbiſhop 'Beaton was in the See, he incloſed his epiſcopal pa-'lace in the city of Glaſgow with a noble and magnifi-'cent ſtone wall of aiſler work towards the eaſt, ſouth 'and weſt, with a baſtion on one corner, and a tower 'on the other fronting the high ſtreet, whereupon are 'fixed in different places his coat of arms, viz. quar-'terly firſt and fourth as the Heralds blazon it, a feſs 'betwixt three lozenges, two in chief, and one in baſe; 'ſecond and third a chevron charged with an Otter's 'head coupee, ſurmounted by a ſalmon fiſh, the arms of 'the See, and his archiepiſcopal croſs inſtead of a mitre 'and croſier, and the word *Miſericordia* for his motto. 'But this was not all his benefactions to the See while 'he ſat here, for he augmented the altarages in the 'choir of the cathedral, over which he cauſed to be af-'fixed his arms emblazoned in their proper tinctures, 'where they are ſtill to be viewed by the curious. He 'laid out alſo a good deal of money in building and re-'pairing of bridges that were gone to decay at different 'places within the regality and about the city of Glaſ-'gow, whereupon are his arms engraven, which will re-'main as perpetual monuments of his charity (9).' At the time he ſat here, the famous Dr Gawen Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, and brother of the Archbiſhop's firſt patron, George, Maſter of Angus, was promoted to the See of Dunkeld, which being a ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Dr Douglas went thither to be conſecrated; this was in 1515; and our Prelate, to ſhew how much he reſpected the new Biſhop and his family, entertained him and all his attendants magnificently, and moſt generouſly defrayed the whole expence of his conſecration (10).

(8) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(9) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(10) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.

[*D*] *Which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him.*] He gave him for the ſupport of his dignity the two rich abbies of Killwinning and Arbroth, which he held with his Archbiſhoprick *in commendam*, and by this means drew him over from the faction of the Douglas's to his own party (11). But though this might ſatisfy both him and the Duke-Regent, yet it was ſo far from quieting the troubles and diſturbances in Scotland, that, on the contrary, it contributed to increaſe them. The Lord Hume, who had been the principal perſon in bringing over the Duke-Regent, was ſo ill treated by him, that he was forced to join with the Earl of Angus, and the Earl of Arran was alſo not very well affected to the adminiſtration. After many confuſions however (in ſome of which the Queen for her own ſafety fled to England, and her huſband reconciled himſelf to the Regent) things ſeemed to go better, and there was ſome appearance of the publick tranquillity being ſettled, when ſuddenly, and without any cauſe, proportioned to ſuch an effect, he ſummoned the Lord Hume and his brother, under colour of certain offences, and with the formality of Law cut off their heads. This ſo diſguſted the nobility, that the Duke-Regent finding himſelf hated by the common people, and his commands ſlighted by the Peers, repented he ever came thither, and reſolved to return to France; hoping that in his abſence they might forget what had lately happened, and recover that ſpirit of cordial love and affection towards him, which they had ſhewn when he firſt aſſumed the government, and which he thought he ſhould not have loſt by putting the Humes to death, ſince whatever the pretence might be, the true cauſe of that ſeverity certainly was the common fame, that the late King James IV. did not fall in battle, but was traiterouſly murdered by the Humes afterwards, which ſuppoſed fact he thus revenged (12).

(11) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſtis Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 241, 242.

(12) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

[*E*] *Very*

obliged with the Earl of Angus upon many accounts, and after he had reckoned up the chief of them, he in the end concluded, *There is no remedy! Upon my conſcience, I cannot help it.* And in the heat of his aſſeveration he beat on his breaſt with his hand, which made the iron plates of the coat of mail under his caſſock return a rattling ſound, which Biſhop Douglas perceiving, he gave his brother, the Archbiſhop, this ſevere and juſt reprimand. *How now, my Lord, methinks your conſcience clatters: We are Prieſts; and to put on armour, or to bear arms, is not conſiſtent with our character (p).* But the good Biſhop Douglas, perceiving he was able to do little with the Archbiſhop, who ought, upon this occaſion, to have been a promoter of peace, but, inſtead of that, as Mr Buchanan aſſures us, flew up and down like a firebrand of ſedition, left him: And thereupon enſued a hot ſkirmiſh, in which the Earl of Angus's party had the better. The martial Archbiſhop ſeeing the day loſt, and his friends defeated, fled for ſanctuary to the Black-friars church, and was there taken out from behind the altar, his rochet torn off him, and would certainly have been ſlain, if Biſhop Douglas, from a tender regard he had for his character, had not interceded for him and ſaved his life (q). One hiſtorian indeed ſays, that the Archbiſhop fled on foot to the Queen; which poſſibly may be true, but then it muſt have been after he recovered his liberty, in the manner we have juſt now related (r). But from theſe diſtreſſes he was happily relieved the next year, 1521, by the return of the Duke-Regent from France, who very ſoon reſtored the face of affairs, and ſome kind of order in the government, obliging the Earl of Angus to conſent, for the ſake of the publick peace, to remain for a year in France (s). Affairs might have after this gone on well enough, if the Regent and the Clergy had not been bent upon involving the nation in war with England, to ſerve the purpoſes of the French, which, together with the ſuggeſtions of the Biſhop of Dunkeld, and other Scotch exiles, greatly incenſed King Henry VIII againſt the Regent, the Chancellor, and all their party (t). In the midſt of theſe confuſions died Dr Andrew Forman, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, which opened a fair path for Dr Beaton to ſet himſelf at the head of the Clergy (u), who were very well inclined to him, and very deſirous that he ſhould ſucceed; but however a great ſtruggle there was before he could bring his deſign to bear, and in order to it, he is charged (though I think, without reaſon) which acting very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld (w) [E]. At laſt, in 1523, he became Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, not only by the favour of the Duke-Regent, but with the full conſent of the young King, who was at that time, and indeed all his life, chiefly governed by the Archbiſhop's nephew, David Beaton, for whom this great Prelate had ſuch a regard, that ſoon after his promotion he reſigned to him the rich abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothock (x). But this fair weather did not laſt long, for in the ſame year the power of the Regent was abrogated by parliament, the Earl of Angus returned from France, and by degrees made himſelf maſter of the government, and of the King's perſon (y). He was extremely incenſed againſt the Archbiſhop, drove him from court, and diſpoſſeſſed him of the office of Chancellor, obliging the King for that

(p) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 245.

(q) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 264.

(r) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 247. where he ſays the Chancellor fled on foot to Linlithgow.

(s) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(t) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 266.

(u) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(w) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 241. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

(x) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariæ, &c. Vol. I. p. 340.

(y) Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas.

[E] *Very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld.*] This is charged very home upon the Archbiſhop's memory by Mr Crawfurd, who, ſpeaking of the generous behaviour of Biſhop Douglas, when he delivered the Chancellor from the power of the mob, he proceeds thus; 'For which he made him afterwards a very ungrateful requital; for having an eye towards the Biſhoprick of St Andrew's upon the death of Archbiſhop Forman, he was afraid of no competitor ſo much as of Biſhop Douglas, and therefore, to be rid of him, writes a letter to the King of Denmark, wherein he repreſents him as a perſon diſaffected to the government, and going about to infringe the privileges granted to the Scots nation by the holy See, endeavouring to be preferred to the Archbiſhoprick by the intereſt of the Emperor and the King of England, then publick enemies to Scotland, and therefore he intreats that King, that he would write to his miniſters at Rome, to inform his Holineſs that the Biſhop was under a ſentence of baniſhment becauſe of his demerits, and thereby put a ſtop to his ambitious deſigns (13).' This letter, which has been hinted at by ſeveral other authors, was long preſerved among other pieces relating to the hiſtories of thoſe times in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, which letters are now made publick. This is dated from Edinburgh, April the 8th, 1522 (14), and the contents of it are as before ſet forth; but then it is to be conſidered, that the Archbiſhop was Chancellor of the kingdom, and therefore the only perſon that could write this letter by the order of the Council; that the facts mentioned therein were ſtrictly true, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was at that time a fugitive in England, was actually practiſing to reſtore the affairs of his party by the aſſiſtance of the King of England, and was endeavouring to obtain the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's and the Primacy of Scotland, not only without the conſent, but in ſpite of the will of his Prince and the States of the kingdom, by whoſe direction this letter was written to induce the King of Denmark to interpoſe at the court of Rome on behalf of the King of Scots, his nephew, to prevent the Pope from making Douglas Archbiſhop at that juncture (15). Such was the fact, and ſuch the circumſtances that attended it. The reader will therefore judge between theſe two Prelates, who, in point of ambition, ſeem very nearly to have reſembled each other, and at the ſame time he will remember, that the Chancellor muſt have written this letter in right of his office, whether he had any private intereſt in the affair or not; beſides all which it is certain, that but a very little before this the Earl of Angus and his faction had forced the Archbiſhop to fly for his life. Whatever his motives might be, moſt certain it is the letter produced no effect, for before it could reach the hand of the King of Denmark, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was in his grave (16), which perhaps might facilitate the Chancellor's ſcheme of becoming Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. Yet, with all the care I have been able to take, I have not been ſo happy to diſcover when he was promoted to this See: Only this is certain, that it was between the months of April and December 1523, ſince in the firſt he ſubſcribed himſelf Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Archbiſhop of St Andrew's in the latter (17). It is certain, that his promotion was very critical, ſince the Duke-Regent loſt his authority ſo ſoon afterwards, which had he done before, there is no doubt but that Dr Dunbar would then have ſupplanted him in the Primacy, as he afterwards did in the Chancellorſhip, when the King was at full liberty, and diſpoſed of the offices of ſtate at his own pleaſure (18).

(13) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers of State, p. 62.

(14) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, Jacob. V, & Mariæ Reg. Scot. Edit. 8vo, 1722, p. 333.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 268, 269.

(16) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 446.

(17) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV, &c. p. 338, 342.

(18) See the article DUNBAR (GAWEN) Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

that purpoſe to write him a letter, demanding the Great-Seal, which he very reſpectfully delivered, and ſome time after took upon himſelf the office of Chancellor (z) [F]. The Archbiſhop afterwards found means to revenge, in ſome meaſure, this uſage, by giving a ſentence of divorce, at the inſtance of the Queen, againſt the Earl of Angus; about the circumſtances of which the hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain (a) [G]. When the Douglaſſes were driven from court, and the King recovered his freedom, the Archbiſhop came again into power, but did not recover his office of Chancellor, which was beſtowed upon Gawen Dunbar, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had been the King's tutor (b), and ſtood very high in his favour. Our Archbiſhop reſided from this time forward in his own palace at St Andrew's, where, by the arts of the Clergy, and chiefly by the influence of his nephew, he was drawn to proceed violently in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, and actually cauſed the Abbot of Ferne to be burnt for a heretick, which drew upon him great odium (c) [H]. He went on afterwards in the ſame courſe as long as he lived;

(z) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 67.

(a) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(b) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 76.

(c) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 63. Knox's Hiſtory.

[F] *Took upon himſelf the office of Lord-Chancellor.*] It was in the ſpring of the year 1523, that the Duke-Regent returned for the third and laſt time into France. Soon after which his authority was taken away by an act of parliament; for the Earl of Angus returning, quickly came to have ſuch an influence, notwithſtanding the ill terms upon which he ſtood with the Queen-Dowager his wife, that all things were directed by him and his creatures, and ſuch an intereſt he had in parliament, that on the 25th of February, 1525, an act paſt, devolving the ſupreme authority upon a council of ſeven (19), viz. The two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblain, the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, and himſelf, into which Council the Queen was to be admitted, and nothing was to be done without her advice. But it was not long that he was ſatisfied with this regulation, with which, while it laſted, he never complied, but managed all things at his own will; and therefore, by another act of parliament, dated the 17th of June, 1526, the King was declared of full age though but eighteen, and the adminiſtration placed entirely in his hands; that is, in the hands of the Earl of Angus, who kept him in his cuſtody, and made him the engine of his will (20). One of the firſt things he made him do after this alteration took place, was appointing a new Privy-Council, in which the Archbiſhop of St Andrews was left out, and ſoon after the ſeal was taken from him, as is ſaid in the text, but the Earl did not aſſume to himſelf the title of Lord-Chancellor before the month of Auguſt, 1527, after he had entirely new modelled the court (21). It was no wonder that in this plenitude of power, the Earl ſhould perſecute a man whom he hated, whoſe parts he feared, and whoſe intereſt was very great, his neice having lately married the Earl of Arran, who was looked upon as the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. All this time King James V was very little better than a cloſe priſoner, and though in publick he profeſſed himſelf very affectionate to the Earl of Angus, yet he privately excited two attempts to reſcue himſelf out of that Nobleman's hands; one by the Laird of Buccleugh, in which ſome blood was ſpilt; the other by the Earl of Lenox, which likewiſe failed, and in which that noble Lord was killed: And as the Earl of Angus foreſaw what afterwards fell out, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from being called to an account for his conduct, by procuring an act of parliament in ſupport of it (22). But ſoon after the King made his eſcape from Faulkland, and rode directly to the caſtle of Stirling, where the Queen, his mother, was; and from thence he preſently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the Earl to act any further in the government, taking from him all his places, and forbidding him, or any of his adherents, to come within twelve miles of the court. And in a parliament held the next year, he, and two of his neareſt relations, were adjudged guilty of high-treaſon (23), which put an end to his power during that reign, though he recovered it after the King's death. But as this has nothing to do with the preſent article, we ſhall not purſue it any farther, as deſiring only to ſhew how the Archbiſhop loſt his credit and power, and how, in ſome meaſure, he afterwards recovered them.

(19) See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, MS. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

(20) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(21) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(22) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 253. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(23) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, ubi ſupra.

[G] *About the circumſtances of which, though Hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain.*] The riſe of this divorce was very early, for the Queen of Scotland, like her brother Henry VIII, was very apt to grow weary of the conjugal yoke; and this humour, though reſembling his own, that Monarch much diſliked in her, which contributed to retard this affair for ſome years. The firſt ground of the quarrel between the Queen and the Earl, was upon their retiring out of Scotland, at the time the Duke of Albany became Regent, when her Majeſty went to London, and the Earl remained on the borders: That is, in the year 1518, when it ſeems he had an amour with one Mrs Stewart, daughter to the Lord Traquair, by whom he had a daughter, who was afterwards married to the Lord Ruthen; of which the Queen having notice, ſhe was much incenſed againſt him; tho', for her own purpoſes, ſhe frequently aſſiſted him even afterwards with her intereſt (24). However, coming at laſt to know, that the Earl's correſpondence with Mrs Stewart, was earlier than her marriage, ſhe ſuggeſted that there was a pre-contract between the Earl and this lady, which rendered her marriage void (25). Upon this, a ſuit was commenced, in the Conſiſtorial Court of the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, who, after mature deliberation, and no doubt, upon due proofs, pronounced a judicial ſentence of divorce, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning; but by an expreſs clauſe, the legitimacy of the daughter the Queen had by the Earl was ſaved, becauſe born under a marriage *de facto*, and contracted *bona fide* on the Queen's part. As ſoon after as this divorce could be confirmed by a Bull from Rome, the Queen-Dowager married Henry Stewart, brother to the Lord Evandale, who, on account of this marriage, was created Lord Methuen, the charter for erecting that barony being dated at Edinburgh the 7th of July, 1528 (26). Hence it appears, that Mr Hume was miſtaken when he aſſerted, that the Queen did not prevail in her ſuit before the Pope, becauſe what ſhe alledged could not be proved; and that this increaſed her ſpite and hatred againſt the Earl, and ſet her to contrive by all the means ſhe could, how to deſtroy him (27): For it is impoſſible to conceive how the Queen could openly marry a third huſband in the life-time of her ſecond, if ſhe had not obtained ſuch a divorce. It is indeed true, that her brother, King Henry, was very much offended with her upon this account; but then this aroſe from two cauſes, the firſt, That he held that ſcandalous in a woman, which he thought tolerable in a man; the ſecond, that this leſſened the intereſt of the Earl of Angus, to whom he always wiſhed well, and who was both the moſt proper, the moſt ſteady, and the moſt uſeful friend he had in Scotland (28).

(24) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(25) Anderſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(26) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 66.

(27) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(28) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, ubi ſupra.

[H] *Which drew upon him great odium.*] The clergy of Scotland at this time were all in the French intereſt, and bitter enemies to England, becauſe they looked upon King Henry VIII as a friend to the Reformation (29). The Abbot of Aberbrothock, who governed at this time both his uncle the Archbiſhop, and the King his maſter, was zealous for the religion, and for the court of Rome, which induced him to aim at ſtopping the growth of the new opinions, as they were called, by a vigorous proſecution. This was a thing to which neither his maſter nor his uncle was inclined; but his power was ſo great, and he had ſuch an aſcendency over both, as enabled him to carry his deſign into execution, with the aſſiſtance however of many of the Biſhops, who began to think that the Church was in the utmoſt danger, and came therefore very readily into that method, which this cunning and ambitious man perſuaded them would effectually anſwer the end, and tear up Hereſy by the roots; though it proved uneaſy to the Archbiſhop, fatal to the King, and in the end alſo, notwithſtanding all his artifices, no leſs fatal to himſelf, as the reader in the next article will ſee at large. The firſt that was called in queſtion was Maſter Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, a man nobly deſcended, (for he was nephew to the Earl of Arran

(29) Petrie's Church Hiſtory, p. 171.

lived, though probably, againſt his inclination, for, as one of his ſucceſſors tells us, he was naturally indifferent enough about religious diſputes (*d*): But as to eſſential points, and the promoting piety and learning, he ſhewed a real concern, by founding the New-college in the univerſity of St Andrew's, which he did not live to finiſh, and to which, though he left the beſt part of his eſtate, yet after his death it was miſapplied, and did not come, as he intended, to that foundation (*e*). One of the laſt acts of his life was the being preſent at the baptiſm of the young Prince, born at St Andrew's the very year in which he died (*f*). His nephew acted for ſeveral years as his co-adjutor, and had the whole management of affairs in his hands; but the King retained to the laſt ſo great an affection for the Archbiſhop, that he allowed him to diſpoſe of all his preferments, by which means, his relation, George Dury, obtained the rich abbey of Dumfermling, and one Mr Hamilton of the houſe of Roplock, became Abbot of Killwining (*g*). Our Archbiſhop deceaſed in 1539, and was interred in the cathedral church of St Andrew's before the high altar (*b*). He enjoyed the Primacy of Scotland ſixteen years, and his character is very

(*d*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*e*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 450.

(*f*) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 318.

(*g*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by the mother) and not much above twenty-three years of age (30). This young gentleman had travelled in Germany, and falling into a familiarity with Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Francis Lambard, and other learned men, was by them inſtructed in the knowledge of true religion; in the profeſſion whereof he was ſo zealous, that he was reſolved to come back into his country, and to communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereſoever he came, he ſpared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to ſhew the errors crept into the Chriſtian religion, to all which many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all ſorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of St Andrew's, and when he came thither appointed Fryar Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to uſe the beſt perſuaſions he could to divert him from his opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Fryar acknowledged that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in moſt of the points, his mind was rather confirmed than in any ſort weakened. Thus, having ſtaid ſome few days in the city, whilſt he ſuſpected no violence to be uſed, in the night, he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried priſoner to the caſtle. The next day he was preſented before the Biſhop, and accuſed for maintaining the articles following, viz.

(30) Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in the Realm of Scotland, p. 4. Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 171. Spotſword's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62, 63.

I. That the corruption of ſin remains in children after their baptiſm.

II. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.

III. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth.

IV. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the ſtate of grace.

V. That a man is not juſtified by works, but by faith only.

VI. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works, yet the ſame ill works truly repented make not an ill man.

VII. That faith, hope, and charity, are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.

VIII. That God is the cauſe of ſin in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but ſin.

IX. That it is a deviliſh doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remiſſion of ſin is purchaſed.

X. That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation.

XI. That there is no purgatory.

XII. That the Holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion.

XIII. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt has as much power as the Pope.

It being demanded of him what he thought of theſe articles, he anſwered, that in his judgment the firſt ſeven points were undoubtedly true; that the reſt were diſputable, but that he could not condemn them without hearing better arguments offered againſt them, than any he had yet met with. Theſe propoſitions therefore were delivered to the Rector of the univerſity, and twelve other Divines, who, on the ſecond of March, 1527, delivered them back again to the Judges, with their certificate that they were heretical. Upon this judgment they founded their ſentence, which was ſubſcribed by the two Archbiſhops, three Biſhops, ſix Abbots and Fryars, and eight Divines. The very ſame day he was transferred to the ſecular Judge, and by his order burnt that very afternoon (31). He ſuffered with great courage and conſtancy, and his death was ſo far from anſwering the intentions of the Clergy, that it promoted the Reformation exceedingly, ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace afterwards many publickly profeſſed their opinion, that Patrick Hamilton ſuffered unjuſtly, though for ſaying ſo one was burned (32). The Clergy however were for going on in the ſame track, and for ſtopping the mouths of ſuch as preached what they diſliked, in the ſame manner as they had done Hamilton's. The Archbiſhop moved but heavily in theſe kind of proceedings; and there are two very remarkable ſtories recorded to have happened about this time, which very plainly ſhew he was far enough from being naturally inclined to ſuch ſeverities. It happened at one of their conſultations, that ſome who were moſt vehement preſſed for going on with the proceedings in the Archbiſhop's court, when one Mr John Lindſey, a very merry man, and in great credit with the Archbiſhop, delivered himſelf to this purpoſe: *If you burn any more of them*, ſaid he, *take my advice, and burn them in cellars, for I dare aſſure you, that the ſmoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon* (33). The other was of a more ſerious nature; one Alexander Seton, a black Fryar, preached openly in the church of St Andrew's, that, according to St Paul's deſcription of Biſhops, there were no Biſhops in Scotland, which being reported to the Archbiſhop, not in very preciſe terms, he ſent for Mr Seton, and reproved him ſharply for having ſaid, according to his information, *that a Biſhop who did not preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock, but fed his own belly*. Mr Seton ſaid, that thoſe who had reported this were lyars, upon which witneſſes were produced, who teſtified very poſitively to the fact. Mr Seton, by way of reply, delivered himſelf thus: 'My Lord, 'you have heard, and may conſider, what ears theſe 'aſſes have, who cannot diſcern between Paul, Iſaiah, 'Zachariah, Malachi, and Fryar Alexander Seton. 'In truth, my Lord, I did preach that Paul ſaith, it 'behoveth a biſhop to be a teacher. Iſaiah ſaith, that 'they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the 'Prophet Zechariah ſaith, that they are idle Paſtors 'Of my own head I affirmed nothing, but declared 'what the Spirit of God before pronounced; at whom, 'my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot juſtly 'be offended with me.' How much ſoever the Biſhop might be incenſed, he diſmiſſed Fryar Seton without hurt, who ſoon afterwards fled out of the kingdom (34). It does not appear, that from this time forward the Archbiſhop acted much in theſe meaſures himſelf, but choſe rather to grant commiſſions to others that were inclined to proceed againſt ſuch as preached the doctrines of the Reformation, a conduct which ſeems very fully to juſtify the remark of Archbiſhop Spotſwood upon our Prelate's behaviour. *Seventeen years*, ſays he, *he lived Biſhop of this See, and was herein moſt unfortunate, that under the ſhadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cauſe of religion, though he himſelf was neither violently ſet, nor much ſollicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church* (35).

(31) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſtoria, lib. xiv.

(32) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 65.

(33) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 16.

(34) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 64. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 172.

(35) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

very differently repreſented, according to the diſpoſitions of thoſe who have mentioned him in their writings (*i*) [*I*].

(*i*) Bachanan, Leſley, Spotſwood, &c.

[*I*] *Who have mentioned him in their writings.*] It may be eaſily conceived, that a perſon ſo many years in ſo high a ſtation, and in ſuch factious times, muſt have provoked many, and yet we do not find that even thoſe who were leaſt his friends could lay much to his charge. Mr Hume, who diſliked all that were no friends to the family of Douglas, does not for all that bear very hard upon the Archbiſhop. Except in the buſineſs of the riot at Edinburgh, of which we have given an account before, and in ſpeaking of the Earl of Angus attacking the caſtle of St Andrew's, and pillaging it, he adds, *He could not apprehend the Fox himſelf, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked ſecretly amongſt his friends* (36). The famous George Buchanan, who was obliged to fly for Hereſy a little after Mr Hamilton was burnt, has no where ſpoken with heat or vehemence of the Archbiſhop; on the contrary, he ſtiles him a very prudent man; and ſpeaking of the violence with which the Earl of Angus perſecuted his enemies, he adds (37), *Neither did the* Douglaſſes *exerciſe their revenge and hatred leſs fiercely upon* James Beton, *for they led their forces to* St Andrew's, *ſeized upon, pillaged, and ruined his caſtle, becauſe they counted him the author of all the projects the Earl of Lenox had undertaken; but he himſelf went about in various diſguiſes, becauſe none durſt receive him openly, and ſo eſcaped.* The famous John Knox, who was no friend to Biſhops, mentions him frequently, and gives him this character: 'He was more careful of the world 'than to preach Chriſt, or yet to advance any religion 'but for the faſhion only, and, as he ſought the world, 'it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once 'he was Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Abbot of Dun'fermling, Aberbrothe, Kylwinning, and Chancellor 'of Scotland (38).' Yet ſays nothing of him elſewhere particularly, except it be inſinuating that he had a leproſy (39), of which there is not a word mentioned by any other writer. Archbiſhop Spotſwood's character of him has been before given; but in another place he mentions ſome circumſtances relating to the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which ought not to be omitted. 'The Archbiſhop, James Beaton, ſays he, committed 'the charge of all Church-affairs to his nephew the 'Cardinal (who ſucceeded in his place), for he was 'aged and ſickly himſelf, and not ſeen often abroad. 'In his laſt days he began to erect the new college in 'St Andrew's, and ſet men at work to build the ſame: 'But neither lived he to finiſh the work, nor was the 'money he left in ſtore to that uſe rightly beſtowed. 'Some conteſting, ſome few years before he and the 'Clergy had with the King, becauſe of the impoſition laid upon the Prelates for the entertainment of 'the Senators of the College of Juſtice, ſo that the 'matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawen 'Dunbar, Biſhop of Aberdeen, appointed to proſecute 'the ſame. But this ceaſed upon an accord made, 'which was, that the Senate ſhould conſiſt of fourteen 'Ordinaries, with the Reſident, ſeven of the Spiri'tuality, and as many of the Temporality, the Preſi'dent always being of the ſpiritual eſtate, and a Pre'late conſtitute in dignity. According to this ap'pointment a Ratification paſſed in Parliament, anno '1537, and the Abbot of Cambuſkennoth was elected 'Preſident of the new Senate in the year 1539 (40).' But, as might be well expected, Dr John Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, gives our Archbiſhop the higheſt character in his hiſtory; where, ſpeaking of his death, he ſays, That after having long, with great reputation, enjoyed the higheſt offices in the State, the Archbiſhop, in a very advanced age, paid his laſt debt to nature, and was honourably interred in the cathedral of St Andrew's. That while he was yet alive, he diſpoſed of all the benefices which he enjoyed, which the King did not oppoſe, but ſuffered thoſe to whom he gave them freely to remain in poſſeſſion, that he might not ſeem to controvert the will of him dead, whoſe opinion he had always followed while living. That he began to build the new college at St Andrew's, and left wherewithal to have finiſhed it in the moſt beautiful manner, if the money had not been (to ſay no worſe) applied to other uſes than thoſe of the college. But this character, as drawn by it's author, has ſomething in it ſo elegant, that we cannot better cloſe this life than by adding the author's own words, which muſt neceſſarily ſuffer by any tranſlation. 'Jacobus Betonius Archiepiſcopus 'Sanctandreapolitanus, qui maximis reip. honoribus, 'ſummaque gloria, apud nos quàm diutiſſime floruerat, 'ætate jam grandio naturæ concedebat, ac in æde 'Sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic 'Antiſtes quoſdam, quos egregiè caros habuit, vivus 'conſtituebat, ut in beneficio ſibi mortuo ſufficerentur. 'In Epiſcopatum autem Sanctandreapolitanum, ac 'in Abbatium Arbrothenſam, vir ſumma, prudentia, 'et animi magnitudine præſtans David Betonius Cardinalis, ejus ex fratre nepos, in Abbatiam vero Dun'fermlingenſem Georgius Durius, in alia denique alii: 'quam illius voluntatem Rex non impedivit, quo mi'nus illi, quos Archiepiſcopus ante obitum conſtituerat, 'beneficiis liberè fruerentur: ne cujus vivi mentem 'ſemper laudaverat, ejus mortui voluntatem malitioſè 'videretur recidiſſe. Hic Archiepiſcopus præcipuam 'illius Collegii, quod Novum Sanctandreapoli dicitur, 'partem ſuo ſumptu excitavit, ac maximam pecuniæ 'vim, qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, teſtato 'reliquit. Verùm pecunia illa in alios uſus poſtea tra'ducta, Collegio jus (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat '(41).'

(36) Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 256.

(37) Rer. Scot. Hiſtor. lib. xiv.

(38) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 4.

(39) Id. ibid. p. 22.

(40) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(41) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450.

X

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (DAVID) Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, and Cardinal of the Roman Church. He was nephew to the Archbiſhop his predeceſſor, being the ſon of his elder brother John Beaton, or Bethune, of Balfour, by Iſabel his wife, daughter of David Moniepenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife (*a*). He was born ſome time in 1494, and had all imaginable care taken of his education while at home, where having paſſed through the ordinary diſcipline of the ſchools, and of the univerſity of St Andrew's, he began to diſcover a pregnancy of wit, and an application to learning, which gave his relations great hopes of his becoming a conſiderable perſon (*b*). His uncle therefore being very deſirous to compleat his education, ſent him over to France, where, in the univerſity of Paris, he perfected himſelf in the Civil and Canon Laws, and applied diligently likewiſe to Divinity, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſervice of the Church, and as ſoon as he attained to a proper age, entered into holy orders (*c*). His long ſtay in France was no way prejudicial to his preferment, for it gave him an opportunity of entering very early into the favour and ſervice of John Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V, by whom he was employed in ſeveral affairs of conſequence, in which he diſcharged his duty with ſuch diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his place, Reſident at the Court of France, in the year 1519 (*d*). About the ſame time his uncle, then Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, beſtowed upon him the rectory of Campſay, though he was only in Deacon's orders, as appears plainly by the Act of Preſentation, in which he is ſtiled barely Clerk of the dioceſe of St Andrew's, ſo that he was beneficed in the Church, and a Miniſter of State at the age of twenty-five (*e*). In the year 1523, his uncle being now Archbiſhop of St

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 44. Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. II. p. 213.

(*b*) Hay's Panegyrick on Cardinal Bethune.

(*c*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88. Sir David Lindſay of the Mount's Tragedy of Cardinal Bethune. Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 19.

(*d*) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers in Church and State, p. 78.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 68, 69.

St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Commendator of Arbroath, reſolved to reſign the abbacy in favour of his nephew, and for that end he prevailed with the Regent Duke of Albany, to write in the moſt preſſing manner, both in the young King's name and his own, to Pope Adrian VI, to expede and diſpatch the Bulls of his inveſtiture, and and withal, requeſting his Holineſs, that by the plenitude of his apoſtolick power, he would be pleaſed to diſpenſe with Mr Bethune's taking on him, what they call the Habit, for the ſpace of two years, which the Pope, to gratify the King, granted (f) [A]. Theſe two years Mr Bethune continued in France, and upon his return in 1525, we find him taking his place and ſeat in Parliament, as Abbot of Arbroath (g). Almoſt all the writers of the Hiſtory of Scotland, and even ſuch as have undertaken to give us the particular memoirs of this great man, have repreſented him, as falling ſome way under a cloud after this time, through the great power of the Earl of Angus, into which they were led, by conſidering that nobleman's bitter hatred againſt his uncle the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's (b). But how probable ſoever this might make it appear, yet the fact, beyond all queſtion, is far from being true, ſince it appears from the very Act of Parliament, which conſtitutes the Earl of Angus one of the Regents, the following perſons were appointed to attend upon, and to remain in the ſervice and company of the King, *viz.* the Biſhop of Orkney, the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Holy-Rood-Houſe, the Lord Seaton, and our Abbot of Arbroath (i); ſo that it is plain, he had either wrought himſelf into ſome degree of confidence with the family of Douglas, or ſtood at that time in ſo great credit with the King, that even this powerful party did not think proper to remove him; which, as it is a circumſtance of his hiſtory not generally known, ſo it is certainly a very high proof of his eminent abilities (k). It does not appear, that in any of the ſubſequent changes of government, he was ever obliged to leave the perſon of his royal maſter, with whom he grew into ſuch a high degree of favour, that in 1528, on the reſignation of Biſhop Crichton of Dunkeld, he was promoted to the dignity of Lord Privy-Seal (l). In this capacity he aſſiſted the King with his counſels, and was looked upon to be the perſon in whom the King confided moſt. And there is good reaſon to believe, that it was by his perſuaſion the King inſtituted a College of Juſtice in 1530, after the manner that Philip IV of France, had eſtabliſhed a court of the like kind (m). He was alſo intruſted in the year 1533, with a very important commiſſion, which obliged him to return to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erſkine, with directions to give the Moſt Chriſtian King, the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their maſter's, King James's, reſolution, to adhere ſteadily to the alliance concluded between the two crowns at Rochelle, and to demand in marriage for him the Princeſs Magdalen, daughter to the French King, which marriage however did not then take effect, becauſe the Princeſs was at that time in a very bad ſtate of health (n). The Abbot of Arbroath, was likewiſe entruſted with ſome other ſecret

(f) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol. I. p. 339—342.

(g) Records of Parliament.

(b) Mackenzy's Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 19. Crawfurd's Great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, p. 78. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(i) Records of Parliament, in which this reſolution bears date July 17, 1526.

(k) See his Character, from the Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. in note [O].

(l) Crawfurd's Lives of great Officers, p. 78.

(m) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 297. Supplement to Dempſter.

(n) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 303. The Commiſſion itſelf, which is ſtill extant, dated *Ex Regia noſtra Falklandiæ* 22° Februarii 1533.

[A] *Which the Pope, to gratify the King granted.*] The Duke of Albany, while Regent of Scotland, had as many cares and difficulties to ſtruggle with, as any Prince that ever was intruſted with the management of the publick affairs of a kingdom (1). His father had been baniſhed into France, where he was born; and it does not appear that he had intermeddled with the concerns of Scotland, or had any great intercourſe with the Nobility, before he was called upon by them to take upon him that high office, which he is allowed to have executed with great diligence and capacity (2). He depended very much upon the French King Francis I, and promoted, as far as in him lay, the intereſt of that monarch in Scotland, which was the only objection that was ever made, even by his greateſt enemies, againſt his adminiſtration. The oppoſite party were ſupported by, and acted wholly in favour of, King Henry VIII of England, uncle to their King James V, and who profeſſed much tenderneſs and regard for his nephew. Thus the Nobility of Scotland were almoſt wholly divided into two factions (3); the *French*, at the head which was the Regent, with whom ſided almoſt all the Clergy, and the greateſt part of the common people; and the *Engliſh*, of whom the principal perſon was the Earl of Angus, and to him many of the active nobility were inclined. The former of theſe factions charged the latter, with having little reſpect for their King, and ſtill leſs for their country, promoting their private intereſt by procuring penſions from King Henry, and implicitly obeying his commands to obtain them. On the other hand, the latter charged the former with being the abſolute creatures of a foreign power, enemies without any cauſe to the Engliſh nation, and ready to involve the King, tho' in his minority, in a very unequal as well as unnatural war againſt his uncle, purely to gratify France. It muſt be allowed, that the greateſt part of both theſe charges was true, and conſequently it muſt be owned, that there were many ſelfiſh Stateſmen on both ſides, and but very few patriots on either (4). I thought this explanation of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, at the time of this great man entering upon buſineſs, neceſſary, to give the reader a juſt notion of his future conduct; for by this the reader ſees, that he was brought up in, and brought in by, the French faction, in the ſervice of which he acted from his firſt ſetting out, and for which at length he ſacrificed his life. The procuring him this rich Abbacy was one of the laſt acts of the Regent, as it was one of the firſt of his uncle's after his coming to the See of St Andrew's. The letter written for the King to Pope Adrian VI, is conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and therein the higheſt character is given of Abbot Bethune, who is ſaid to have given ſuch proof of his capacity and probity in the ſervices rendered to the Regent, during the time of his reſidence in France, and management of affairs there, as made him truly worthy of the King's favour and liberality; and therefore out of reſpect to the man's merit, the King moſt earneſtly deſires his Holineſs would yield to his requeſt (5). The Archbiſhop likewiſe in his letter preſſes the matter very warmly, and recommends his nephew very ſtrongly to his Holineſs's favour, both in this and in other reſpects. In the firſt letter he is ſtiled Prothonotary of the dioceſe of St Andrew's, and the King's Counſellor and domeſtick ſervant; and in the Archbiſhop's letter, he is called Chancellor of the Church of Glaſgow. It ſeems the Duke-Regent was very deſirous of having this young man provided for, as being both his own pupil and the King's favourite, and the perſon already fixed upon to have the principal management of the affairs of Scotland, at the courts of France and Rome (6), which he looked upon as of much conſequence to himſelf, tho' in reality, it did him little or no ſervice, as he never returned to Scotland afterwards, but continued in France; where he received marks of favour from the King, and the higheſt proofs of gratitude from our Abbot, who always conſidered him as his patron, and the author of all his fortunes (7).

(1) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 16.

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. ix. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(3) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of his Negociation addreſſed to King Henry VIII.

(4) Drummond's Hiſt. of James V.

(5) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, P. 339.

(6) This appears from thoſe Letters before cited.

(7) Epiſtolæ David. Cardin. S. Andreæ. MS.

[B] *Both*

ſecret commiſſion at the French Court, where he continued for ſome time, and gave his maſter ſuch intelligence from thence, as enabled him to ſecure his peace with his uncle, at the ſame time that he was complimented and careſſed in the moſt extraordinary manner, by the Emperor and the Pope, both violent enemies to King Henry (o) [B]. It was during the time he was thus employed at the French court, that our Abbot laid the foundation of all his greatneſs, entering ſo deeply into the good graces of King Francis I, that he granted him many, and thoſe too very ſingular, favours; from whence it has been conjectured, that he was now admitted into the whole ſyſtem of the French Politicks, and engaged to keep his maſter cloſe up to the ſame plan, which, if true, it is no wonder the French monarch ſhould, by virtue of his prerogative, grant him all the privileges of a native of France, and afterwards confer upon him a biſhoprick, favours not frequently beſtowed on ſtrangers, and never by ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis I, without juſt cauſe (p) [C]. To ſay the truth, theſe were not ſo much encouragements as rewards, for

(o) Supplement to Dempſter.

(p) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 78. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

[B] *Both violent enemies to King Henry.*] The bold ſtep taken by King Henry VIII, in marrying Anne Bullen, alarmed all Europe, particularly the Emperor Charles V, and the Pope (8). They were both great Politicians, and therefore we need not wonder at their both thinking at once of the ſame expedient for diſtreſſing King Henry; which was to excite the King of Scots to take up arms againſt him, and attack his dominions on one ſide, while they were preparing ſeveral Princes on their ſide the ſea to attack him on the other. It was with this view that the Emperor in 1534 ſent Godeſcallo Errico, a Sicilian, round by Ireland into Scotland, to renew the antient treaties between the Emperor and King James, to carry him the order of the Golden Fleece, and to offer him his choice of three Ladies for a wife (9), *viz.* Mary the Emperor's ſiſter, widow of Lewis King of Hungary; Mary, Infanta of Portugal, his niece, by his ſiſter Eleanora; and his other niece, Mary of England, daughter of King Henry VIII, by Queen Catherine the Emperor's ſiſter alſo. But the real and great deſign of his negotiation was to preſs the three following points, *viz.* To engage King James to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Emperor againſt King Henry, to irritate him againſt thoſe that were called Hereticks, and to engage him to aſſiſt in the ſcheme then on foot, of calling a general council to ſupport the cauſe of the Pope againſt the King of England. As this embaſſy did great honour to the King of Scots, he treated the Ambaſſador with all the marks of reſpect poſſible; and in regard to what he propoſed, he teſtified the utmoſt eſteem for the three Ladies, but more eſpecially for Mary of England; and yet ſuggeſted, that the Emperor had another neice, Iſabella, daughter to the King of Denmark, more ſuitable in age and temper to become his conſort; at the ſame time he offered to act as a mediator between the Emperor and the King of England his uncle; aſſured him of his great zeal for the Catholick religion, and promiſed to ſend his Clergy to the general council, in caſe that council ſhould diſcover a truly Chriſtian ſpirit for reforming abuſes in the Church (10). In the mean time King Henry VIII, perſiſting in his reſolution of throwing off the yoke of papal tyranny, had cauſed Dr Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to be tried, condemned, and put to death, for denying his ſupremacy (11). This induced Pope Paul III to ſend to the King of Scotland John Antonio Compeggio. This Legate finding King James at Faulkland, the 22d of February 1535, there with many ceremonies and apoſtolical benedictions, delivereth him a cap and a ſword conſecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour (12), 'which the fame of his valour, and 'many Chriſtian virtues, had moved his maſter to re'munerate him with. Alſo *(ſaith the original)*, that 'it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked 'neighbouring Prince, againſt whom the ſword was 'ſharpened.' The Pope's letter, which accompanied this preſent, was conceived in a very ſubmiſſive ſtile towards the King, though full of ſharp and indecent expreſſions againſt his uncle; alledging, that King Henry 'was a deſpiſer, a ſcorner, one who ſet at 'naught the cenſures of the Church, an Heretick, 'Schiſmatick, a ſhameful and ſhameleſs adulterer, a 'publick and profeſſed homicide, murderer, a ſacri'ligious perſon, a Church-robber, a rebel, guilty of 'leſe Majeſty divine, outrageous, many and innumerable 'ways a felon, criminal by all laws, therefore juſtly 'to be turned out of his throne; praying the King of 'Scotland, for the defence of the Church, would 'undertake ſomething worthy a Chriſtian King, and 'that he would endeavour to ſuppreſs Hereſy, and de'fend the Catholick Faith from thoſe againſt whom the 'juſtice of Almighty God and judgments were now 'prepared, and ready to be denounced.' The King of Scots entertained this miniſter very kindly, and gave him very good words, but without promiſing any thing more than to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his uncle to reconcile himſelf again to the Church, and in the mean time to uſe his power to aboliſh and extinguiſh Hereſy in his own dominions (13). The Abbot of Arbroath, then in France, and in the higheſt credit with the King, who was a firm friend and ſteady ally to Henry VIII, took care to adviſe his maſter, that this was all artifice, and that the Emperor and the Pope aimed only at making him ſubſervient to their views, and a thorn in the ſide of his uncle (14). This induced King James to ſend back the Ambaſſadors as they came, with much ſhew of friendſhip, fair promiſes, and nothing elſe. But as he was ſenſible that King Henry could not fail of hearing of both theſe embaſſies, and of doubting their conſequences, he immediately, after the departure of the Legate, diſpatched Lord Ereſkine to London, to give his uncle a fair account of what had paſſed, and to give him likewiſe the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his living with him, not only in the moſt peaceable, but the moſt friendly manner poſſible (15). This gave his Majeſty ſuch ſatisfaction, that he immediately ſent his nephew the order of the Garter, and alſo diſpatched Lord William Howard as his Ambaſſador into Scotland, who, finding the King at Stirling, propoſed a meeting between him and his uncle at York, promiſing, that if he would condeſcend to this, and a few other points there to be mentioned, the King would give him his own daughter Mary, create him Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. But the Council expreſſing ſome diſlike to that match, as the Lady Mary was but a child, and the King the laſt heir male of his family; and at the ſame time doubting, whether it would be altogether ſafe for him to proceed ſo far as York, Lord William Howard took upon him to chide, browbeat, and even threaten the Lords with his maſter's diſpleaſure. This rude behaviour proved fatal to both nations; it gave King James an ill opinion of the interview, and Lord William, on his return to London, infuſed into King Henry ſuch bad impreſſions of his nephew, as could never afterward be effaced (16).

(8) Herbert's Hiſtory of the reign of Henry VIII, in Kennet's Collection, Vol. II. p. 168, 183. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 126. Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. IV. p. 480.

(9) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(10) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 302, 303.

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 198.

(12) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, P. 304, 305.

(13) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(14) Supplement to Dempſter.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307.

(16) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307. Sadler's Letters, p. 47, 48.

[C] *By ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis* I, *without juſt cauſe*] The Kings of France, ſo long as Scotland remained an independent kingdom, affected to live upon very good terms with it's Monarchs, and indeed it was their intereſt ſo to do, becauſe it afforded them an opportunity of creating powerful diverſions whenever they were attacked by the Engliſh. The deſire therefore of gaining to his intereſt a perſon who was known to have the ear of his maſter, was very natural to ſuch a Prince as Francis the Firſt, who had great deſigns, and underſtood perfectly well how to make a fit choice of ſuch inſtruments as were neceſſary to be employed in the execution of them (17). It was with this view that he always careſſed Dr Beaton extreamly, and perceiving that he was fond of being conſidered as deſcended of a French family, he laid hold of that circumſtance to bring him over wholly to his intereſt; and therefore in November, 1537, he made him a grant, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France; in the ſame year he beſtowed upon him the Biſhoprick of Mirepoix, a city in the county of Foix in Upper Languedoc, ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe (18), a very conſiderable preferment

(17) P. Daniel Hiſt. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 925, 926.

(18) St Marthe Gall. Chriſt.

for the Emperor having invaded France in 1536, King James reſolved to go with the flower of his nobility to his aſſiſtance, and knowing that this would be attended with much oppoſition, he kept his deſign ſo cloſe a ſecret, that though he was twice forced back by contrary winds into his own ports, yet he embarked a third time, and arrived ſafely at Dieppe in Normandy, before his deſign was ſuſpected either at home or in England (*q*). He went immediately to viſit the Lady Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke de Vendoſme, to whom the French writers ſay he was already contracted. He did not deſire that this lady ſhould know him on his firſt arrival, but it ſeems ſhe was adviſed by letters from the Abbot of Arbroath, of the King's intention, and of the means by which ſhe might diſcover him, as ſhe did at firſt ſight. But it appears his Majeſty was not ſo well pleaſed with her as ſhe expected, and therefore continued his journey towards the French camp, but was met upon the road by the Dauphin, who conducted him to Paris, where he had all the honours paid him that he could deſire, and what he ſeemed to wiſh moſt, the Princeſs Magdalen, for whom he had ſent two embaſſies in vain, was given to him in perſon, whom with great pomp he eſpouſed, on the firſt of January 1537 (*r*). The Abbot of Arbroath returned with the King and Queen to Scotland, where they landed on the twenty-ninth of May, but before the rejoicings were well over for her arrival, the Court was thrown into the deepeſt mourning for her death, which happened in the month of July following (*s*). It was not long after this, that our Abbot, in conjunction with one Maxwell, was ſent over again to Paris, to negociate a ſecond marriage for the King, with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and the widow of the Duke de Longueville, in which ſome time was ſpent, and it was during his ſtay at this time in the kingdom of France, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Mirepoix, which was to make way for that higher dignity that was perhaps already intended him (*t*). All things being at length ſettled, in the month of June 1538, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, where after great hazard of being taken by the Engliſh, they ſafely arrived, and, in the month of July, their nuptials were celebrated at St Andrew's (*u*). Our Biſhop had now all the power and authority of the Archbiſhop, though he was no more in title than Coadjutor of St Andrew's; but this being thought inſufficient for the ends which he had undertaken to promote, he was, by Pope Paul III, raiſed to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St Stephen *in Monte Cælio*, on the twentieth of December 1538 (*w*) [*D*].

(*q*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 309, 310, 311.

(*r*) Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Vol. IV. p. 598.

(*s*) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond.

(*t*) Supplement to Dempſter.

(*u*) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. Reb. Geſt. Scot. l. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 318.

(*w*) Dempſter, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 88.

In preferment in every reſpect, the revenue being no leſs that 10,000 Livres *per ann.* which at that time of day was a large ſum, and enabled the Biſhop to make a great figure (19). Neither was this all, for we find that on the 30th of June, 1539, he had a new grant made him in conſideration of ſervices already done, and which he might afterwards do his Majeſty, allowing him all the privileges of a native of France, and permitting his heirs to ſucceed to his eſtate in France, notwithſtanding they might be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and this without their having any particular letter or act of naturalization for that purpoſe. This grant, which was made after he was Cardinal, and which recites the grant formerly made him in 1537, ſtill remains in his family, and there is an authentick copy of it preſerved in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh (20). I have mentioned all theſe favours from the French King in one note, though granted at different times, that we might not be obliged to repeat matters relating to the ſame ſubject. There is a tradition in the Cardinal's family, that he obtained all theſe extraordinary marks of eſteem and confidence, in virtue of his perſonal intereſt with King Francis I (21); but I conceive that they were beſtowed upon him rather from political motives, and, as the grant expreſſes, for ſervices done, and to be done, for the crown of France; and this I am the rather inclined to believe, becauſe he received none of them 'till after King James's voyage to France, and his marriage with Queen Magdalen, nor indeed 'till after her death, when the French King ſtood more in need of his ſervices in Scotland. As to his being made Cardinal, which all our Hiſtorians attribute alſo to the intereſt of the French Monarch, I muſt confeſs I doubt of the fact, not that I believe he might not have obtained that King's recommendation had it been neceſſary; but becauſe I apprehend there were other and more powerful motives which induced the court of Rome to grant him that and other favours, as will be more fully ſhewn in the ſucceeding note; wherein I hope I have ſet the true cauſes of his being promoted to that dignity in their proper light.

(19) Nouv. Deſcription de la France, par P. la Force, Tom. VI. p. 30.

(20) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 44.

(21) Supplement to Spotſwood.

[*D*] *By the title of St Stephen in Monte Cælio, December* 20, 1538.] It is very ſtrange that none of the authors of the Hiſtories of Scotland ſhould have given themſelves the trouble to enquire into the cauſes of our Prelate's being raiſed to the rank of a Cardinal, which was certainly a thing extraordinary enough to merit their attention, ſince, as far as I could ever learn, they had of their nation but one Cardinal before (22). I the rather wonder at this, and at the aſcribing his promotion to the influence of the King of France, becauſe I think it may be eaſily proved that the crown of Scotland had at that time credit enough at Rome to procure him this promotion. There was nothing the Pope ſo much aimed at, as attaching the Clergy both of England and Scotland ſtrictly to himſelf, and it was this that put him but a very little before upon making Dr Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, a Cardinal. When England was loſt, there was the more need to take care of Scotland, where the old Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, of whom we ſpoke in the former article, was equally unfit and uninclined to undertake ſuch a perſecution of Hereticks as the Pope deſired; and as for the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, he was ſtill leſs inclined to ſuch warm meaſures than the Primate. It was neceſſary therefore to give the Popiſh Church of Scotland another head, and this could be no way done but by raiſing one of their Clergy to the rank of a Cardinal, and for this there was none ſo fit as our Prelate. He was then Coadjutor of St Andrew's, and from his capacity alone had acquired the entire management of the affairs of the Church; was of all the Clergy the beſt known to the court of Rome, and moſt truſted by it. Beſides all this, he had the entire confidence of the King his maſter, and therefore was of all others the fitteſt for this dignity. But if it ſhould be objected, that theſe are conjectures only, I ſhall deſire the reader to conſider the following paſſage from a letter of the Cardinal to Mr Andrew Oliphant, his Agent to the court of Rome, which will put the matter out of queſtion, by ſhewing that he owed his promotion ſolely to the circumſtances of affairs, and to the neceſſity the Pope was under of managing the King his maſter (23).

(22) Buchanan, Drummond, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Mackenzy, &c.

(23) Sadler's Letters, p. 17, 18, 19.

'We have received an inſtrument of poſſeſſion of 'our title, *ſub Stephano in Cælio monte*, and we likewiſe have received our Bull of proviſion thereto, ſent 'to us lately by Mr James Salmond, and have received 'all other letters and miſſives ye make mention of in 'your ſaid letters. As to the matter of Legation we 'deſire, and that the King's grace deſires to be granted 'to us, we underſtand perfectly your diligence with 'the Pope's Holineſs, and the Cardinal of Chinciis in 'that behalf; and how ſome of our own country-

'men

In the February following, Queen Mary was ſolemnly crowned, with great ſplendor and magnificence, in the abbey church of Holy-Rood-Houſe. It was not long after this, the Cardinal ran a great hazard of being turned out of his maſter's favour; for his uncle King Henry VIII, having good intelligence of the deſign upon which he was made Cardinal, ſent about this time a very able Miniſter of his to King James, with particular inſtructions to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace, in order to which that King had contrived a very deep and ſubtle ſcheme, which however had not the ſucceſs that he expected (x) [E]. A few months

(x) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of this Negociation in his Letters.

'men have done, and do, that they may by their 'private informations and perſwaſions for their own 'particular weal and money, that they get in theſe 'parts by particular commiſſions, *in conductionibus et locationibus in emphyteoſin*, and not having any regard 'to the common weal of the King's grace, his realm 'and ſubjects, to ſtop and make impediments that the 'ſaid Legation be not granted to us. And therefore 'in this matter, touching the ſaid Legation, ye ſhall 'have yourſelf ſecret from all Scotſmen, and labour 'therein, 'till by yourſelf and others our friends, *viz.* 'by the Cardinal of Chinciis, to whom the King's 'grace and we write preſently, in that behalf of the 'whilk ye ſhall receive the copy *cum præſentibus*; 'and alſo have written to Monſieur *Lymoges Langtah*, 'Ambaſſador there preſently, for the King of France, 'and likewiſe to *Latinus de Juvenalibus*, our good 'friends, to do for the King's grace effectuous deſire 'in this matter to have the ſaid Legation granted to 'us. And we aſſure you the King's grace has this mat-'ter right high in head and mind, for the common 'weal of his realm and ſubjects. And this, conſider-'ing the great parts, he keeps to the ſiege apoſtolick 'and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the Faith 'Catholick in this his realm, now in this moſt perilous 'time, that his Grace ſhould not be denied of his juſt 'and reaſonable deſires, whilks tend all utterly to the 'auctorization of the holy ſiege apoſtolick, and obe-'dience of the Pope's Holineſs, as head of the Kirk 'Catholick. And hereafter with the firſt ſhips his 'Grace will write of new to the Pope's Holineſs here-'upon, that it may be underſtood perfectly, that this 'Legation is deſired by his Grace ſpecially, and not 'principally, by us; therefore do diligently herein, 'as we doubt not but ye will, as ye have begun, and 'write reſolutely to us hereupon in your firſt writings.'

Upon this letter we ſhall make but a very few obſervations. It appears to be entirely of a private nature, and therefore is the beſt authority with regard to the temper and ſentiments of the man; and from hence it very clearly appears, that tho' he thought he might claim the aſſiſtance of the French King's miniſter at Rome as a friend, yet it was not upon that, but chiefly upon the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, his own ſervices, and the King's influence, that he relied. It is to be obſerved, that the point he labours about the Legatſhip in this letter, was no more than this, that he might have a ſpecial faculty for the execution of that office as Archbiſhop Forman had, and not truſt barely to the Legantine authority annexed to the See of St Andrew's. It ſeems the court of Rome was a little ſtiff in this point, and did not come into it ſo readily as the Cardinal expected, which obliged him to write in the manner he did to his Agent, and the reaſon of this ſtiffneſs may very eaſily be gueſſed at. The Pope was liberal of his favours while he was only Coadjutor of St Andrew's, becauſe he thought them neceſſary to give him weight in Scotland, and to enable him to do the buſineſs of the Papacy; but now he was become Archbiſhop, Primate, and *Legatus natus*, he thought he had power enough, and what the Cardinal aims at in his letter, is to ſhew that this was a miſtake, and that the additional power he wanted did not ariſe from his own ambition, but was really requiſite to enable him to do what the Pope expected from him; and that this was the opinion of the Clergy in Scotland, and the deſire of the King himſelf. He therefore inſtructs his Agent to inſiſt upon the granting him this faculty, as a thing not of grace but of right, as it was for the good of the Church, and no more than one of his predeceſſors had obtained, and obtained upon the ſame reaſons from which he expected it ſhould be granted to him. Beſides this letter, we have another expreſs authority to prove that he obtained his promotion to the rank of Cardinal not by the mediation of the King of France, but from the immediate good will and pleaſure of Paul III, which is that of Biſhop Leſley (24), whoſe authority is good as an Hiſtorian, but is more particularly of weight in this caſe, becauſe he had a better opportunity of knowing things of this nature, as being intimately acquainted with the politicks of the court of Rome, as well as with the ſtate of affairs in Scotland at that time. This point I have taken ſo much pains about, ſets the character of our Prelate in it's true and proper light, and ſhews him to have been a man of ſuch parts and penetration, as to have raiſed himſelf to the higheſt dignities, of which his profeſſion was capable, not by the little arts of fawning and flattering, which it does not appear he ever uſed, but by his doing ſuch real ſervices as commanded thoſe rewards he received, and which therefore he regarded not in the light of favours beſtowed, but of preferments acquired by his merit and abilities. How far this was right, or how ſtrong evidences theſe may be of the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and of that boundleſs ambition with which many writers charge him, muſt be left with the reader to determine; all I aim at is, to ſhew him as he was, and to draw his character neither better nor worſe than as facts direct. There are men riſe by little arts, by low ſubmiſſions, and by a dirty kind of cunning; and there are others who arrive at the higheſt preferment by a more direct road, which is always the mark of a ſuperior genius; and of this kind that age produce various inſtances, ſuch as Cardinal Wolſey, and his ſucceſſor Thomas Lord Cromwell, men as proud and as ambitious as our Cardinal, and men, who, like him, forced their paſſages to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, by the ſervices they rendered to thoſe from whom their honours were received.

(24) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. P. 447.

[E] *Which however had not the ſucceſs he expected.*] By the publication of Sir Ralph Sadler's original Inſtructions and Letters, we are let entirely into the ſecret of this negotiation, the main point of which was to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace. In order to this King Henry, in his inſtructions, directs his Miniſter to repreſent to King James V, that the Cardinal held a correſpondence with traitors, was endeavouring to render himſelf in a manner independent of his maſter, by the powers he laboured to procure from Rome, and was entirely devoted to that See; in proof of which he was to produce a letter of the Cardinal's (cited in the former note), which if King James was much moved on the reading, he was to deliver, otherwiſe he was to pretend he had no commiſſion to part with it. How well this was executed, appears clearly from Sir Ralph's own account of the matter, which is ſo full, and ſo fully ſhews the temper of both theſe Kings, and the true nature of this tranſaction, that though it is of ſome length, and penned in the rough ſtile of thoſe times, I am perſwaded the reader will be glad to ſee it. We find it in a letter addreſſed to the King his maſter by Sir Ralph, which appears to have been written in the month of February, 1540, and the paſſage (25) runs thus:

(25) Sadler's Letters, P. 31—36

'The firſt thing, quoth I, that I have to declare 'unto your Grace, my Sovereign Lord and Maſter the 'King's Majeſty your uncle, requireth you to keep it 'ſecret, unleſs ye ſhall determine and promiſe to pro-'ceed thereupon, to the puniſhment of thoſe perſons 'which ſhall be detected according to your Laws; 'and if your Grace ſhall ſo determine when ye have 'heard the matter, then the King's Majeſty, your uncle, 'is content to leave the opening thereof to your ar-'bitry; but otherwiſe, his Majeſty would be loath to 'ſeem author of any ſuch thing, if your Grace ſhould 'not weigh it, and take it in heart, as he doth; for 'be ye aſſured, quoth I, whatſoever toucheth your 'Grace, or your honour, his Majeſty weigheth it as 'his own. Here he ſeemed to be very deſirous to 'know the matter, and ſaid, *I pray you what is it! 'for I aſſure you, whatſoever he be that doth offend 'us, or our Laws, he ſhall well know that we ſtand 'not in awe to ſee him puniſhed.* Sir, quoth I, this is 'the matter: It fortuned late, that a ſubject of your's, 'being ſervant as is reported to your Cardinal here,

was

months after, the old Archbiſhop dying, the Cardinal ſucceeded in the Primacy, whereby he

'was, by the rage and tempeſt of the ſea, driven 'a-land in the north parts of England, and very like to 'have been drowned. *Yea*, quoth he, *that was* Brun-'ſtoun, *he is now newly come home*. Yes, Sir, quoth 'I, the King's Majeſty my maſter had advertiſed you 'of the matter afore this time, but he reſpited the 'ſame until the return of the man, becauſe your Grace 'ſhould both be ſure of the parties, and be advertiſed 'of the matter all at once. This Brunſtoun, quoth I, 'when he was thus on land, by chance left certain pri-'vate letters and copies behind him. *No*, quoth he, '*the letters were taken from him by the King mine 'uncle's officers*. Indeed, Sir, quoth I, the letters 'were found by the King my Maſter's officers, and 'ſent up to his Majeſty. *Well*, quoth he, *it is no 'force*. Now and it pleaſe your Highneſs, as I paſſed 'by Bamburgh, I met with John Horſley, Captain of 'the ſame, who, in communication, told me, that he 'had taken a packet of letters from certain Scotiſh 'men which were driven a-land there by tempeſt, and 'named the ſaid Brunſtoun to be one of them; and 'therefore knowing the ſame by that means, when the 'King of Scots told me that the ſaid letters were taken 'away from the ſaid Brunſtoun, I would not wade too 'far in the defence thereof, but thought to paſs it over, 'and proceed to the matter as I did, and ſo ſaid unto 'his Grace, that when the letters came unto your Ma-'jeſty's hands, and that your Grace had peruſed them, 'there appeared ſuch ſtrange matter in them, that your 'Majeſty could no otherwiſe think, but that God had 'ſent them to your hands for the ſurety and commo-'dity of his Grace; for, quoth I, it appeared unto 'the King's Majeſty your uncle, by a letter ſubſcribed 'with your Cardinal's own hand here, that under co-'lour to ſerve your Grace, being his Sovereign Lord, 'he laboureth to bring into his own hands, not only 'the whole ſpiritual juriſdiction of your realm, but 'under colour of it alſo the temporal, taking for cloak 'the Biſhop of Rome's uſurped power, which may 'ſerve him for a ſword, if he be ſuffered to enjoy the 'ſame: So that the juſt power and authority given you 'by God, as to a King, ſhould thereby in few years 'be little or nothing at all. And, Sir, for a plain 'declaration of his intent herein, he ſheweth himſelf 'to be a friend and fautor of your Grace's traitors, de-'viſing how to compaſs himſelf by a crafty mean, un-'der the colour of the Biſhop of Rome's power, to be 'their judge, to the intent he might deliver them. '*Which traitors I pray you*, quoth he. Marry, Sir, 'quoth I, as I conceive by the Cardinal's ſaid letters 'your Grace committed to ward one Hutchenſon and 'one Harvy for their treaſons and offences committed 'againſt your Grace, and to theſe your Cardinal, 'ſeemeth to be a great friend; and as it ſhall evidently 'appear to your Grace by his letter, he deviſeth to 'make himſelf their Judge, to the intent he would 'deliver them, and all for that he would ſeem to be a 'good workman for his chief Captain the Biſhop of 'Rome, for whoſe ſervice he is only meet, which 'meaneth nothing elſe than to uſurp Princes powers, 'and to diminiſh the ſame. And, quoth I, as this 'matter may declare unto you, the crafty dealing of 'thoſe Prelates, ſo by opening thereof your Grace 'may well perceive that the King's Majeſty your uncle 'doth both love and truſt you, and wiſheth to God 'that your Grace knew as well as he doth, to what 'ruin thoſe Prelates do labour to bring the ſtate of 'Kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep Princes 'in their own realms, as their Miniſters and Deputies; 'or elſe by moſt deteſtible and impudent boldneſs vin-'dicate the depoſing of them, and making of new at 'their pleaſure. In the declaration hereof I obſerved 'well his countenance, and perceived that he gave me 'an attentive ear, and ſomewhile looked very ſteadily 'on me, and with grave countenance; ſomewhile he 'bit the lip, and bowed his head. And when I had 'ſaid, and waited what he would ſay, he anſwered 'theſe words: *By my truth*, quoth he, *there are two 'laws, the Spiritual Law and the Temporal. The 'cure of the one pertaineth to the Pope's Holineſs, and 'the ſpirituality; the other to Kings, Princes, and the 'Temporality; and, for my part, I truſt I ſhall do my 'duty to God in the diſcharge of ſuch things as pertain 'to the Temporal power within my office and rule with-'in this realm. But as for the Spiritual Law, in good 'faith we take no regard thereof, but commit that to 'the Pope's Holineſs, and other ordinary Miniſters of 'the Kirk within our realm*. Sir, quoth I, it may 'pleaſe your Grace to conſider, that God hath called 'you to be a King, and hath not only committed unto 'your charge, to ſee his Laws executed within your 'office and realm, as ſupreme head thereof, but alſo 'hath put the ſword into your hands for the puniſh-'ment and reformation of the tranſgreſſions of the 'ſame. And thinks your Grace, that if the Miniſters 'of the Spiritual Laws within your realm, for that 'they know your Grace taketh no regard thereof, ſhall 'not do their duty, ſo that your people in their default 'ſhall periſh for lack of juſtice, and run headlong in 'blindneſs and ignorance of God's word, for lack of 'doctrine and true preaching of the ſame, by your 'Prelates and Clergy of your realm, think you, quoth 'I, in that caſe, if your Grace do not your Kingly 'office to redreſs the ſame, and appoint every man to 'ſerve in his vocation, that ye ſhall not yield a juſt 'reckoning thereof unto God. *Marry*, quoth he, *I 'truſt God ſhall give me Grace to do my duty to him; 'and whatſoever he be in Scotland, that we may know 'doth not his duty both in the execution of God's Laws 'above all, and alſo in the miniſtration of indifferent 'juſtice to our Lieges: By God*, quoth he, *if we may 'know him, we ſhall not lett to puniſh him, be he Spi-'ritual or Temporal, in ſuch ways as appertains, and 'that (ye ſhall trow me) they know all full well. 'But by my truth*, quoth he, *I thank God Scotland was 'never in better love and obedience to no King of the 'ſame than they are unto me; and, I dare ſay, that 'there is no man in Scotland, either high nor low, but 'will do willingly and gladly whatſoever is my will 'and commandment. For*, quoth he, *they do both love 'and dread me. And for this matter which the King 'mine uncle hath advertiſed me of, touching this Cardi-'nal, ye ſhall well know, that if he hath, or ſhall in 'any ways offend our Laws, we ſhall not ſtand awe of 'any man to puniſh him as he merits. But*, quoth he, '*I know not but that he wrote to Rome to his Agent 'there for the procuring of a Legation, which, in good 'faith, ſhould be a benefit to our ſubjects, and we alſo 'did write to the Pope's Holineſs in the ſame*. Sir, 'quoth I, the King's Majeſty my Maſter hath ſent 'with me the original letter of the ſaid Cardinal, to 'the intent I ſhould read the ſame to your Grace, 'whereby you ſhall perceive all his crafty pretence; 'and, quoth I, if your Grace will ſee the letter, I 'have it here ready, and will myſelf read it unto you. '*No*, quoth he, *keep the letter ſtill, we will take 'another time for it*; and that he ſpake to me very 'ſoftly, which I think he did becauſe the Cardinal 'was preſent in the chamber. And again he ſaid, *Let 'this matter paſs at this time, we ſhall talk more of it 'at our next meeting*.' ——— The Ambaſſador took care to put King James in mind of his promiſe, and to give King Henry an account of what paſſed at it, which he does thus (26).

(26) Ibid. p. 55—57.

'Quoth I, your Grace may well perceive by the ad-'vertiſements that he hath now ſent you by me, and 'alſo by his friendly advices and counſels, that his 'Grace doth both love and truſt you. *By my ſoul*, 'quoth he, *I have adviſed me of the matter his Grace 'has advertized me of by you at this time touching the 'Cardinal here; and*, quoth he, *I can find no default 'in him, for when his letters were taken and holden in 'England, we heard of it, and aſked him thereof; 'and by God*, quoth he, *he had the doubles and copies of 'them, and ſhewed them all to us, and we remember 'not that any thing was amiſs in them*. Sir, quoth I, 'did your Grace ſee the double of a letter wrote to 'his Clerk and Agent at Rome. *Yea marry*, quoth 'he, *to one, that is all his doer there*. Well, Sir, 'quoth I, if your Grace do ſee the very original, then 'ſhall ye perceive if the double and it agree. Quoth 'he, *Have ye the original here upon you?* Yea, quoth 'I, that I have. *Take it out privately*, quoth he, '*as though it were ſome other paper, and let me ſee 'it*. (The Cardinal was in the chamber, and there-'fore think I he bad me take it out ſecretly.) I took 'it forth of my boſom, and he took it, and read it 'ſoftly every word, from the beginning to the end; 'and in one place of the letter, *the Cardinal biddeth 'his Agent ſollicit, that nothing be done that might in*

'any

he was inveſted with as great or greater power, than ever any churchman had enjoyed in that kingdom. And it was very ſoon after his promotion to the archbiſhoprick, he diſcovered himſelf of a moſt warm and perſecuting temper (*y*). For to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe who oppoſed the eſtabliſhed religion, he brought a great confluence of quality, both clergy and laity, to St Andrew's, and there in the cathedral he made a ſpeech, to acquaint them with the increaſe of Hereſy, how the Catholick faith was inſulted, that Heterodoxy was openly maintained, and too much encouraged within the Court particularly, he mentioned one Sir John Borthwick, who had been cited to St Andrew's, for diſperſing heretical books, and holding ſeveral opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church (*z*) [*F*]. Sir John Borthwick appearing neither in perſon nor by proxy, the charge was taken for confeſſed, upon which he was declared a Heretick, his goods confiſcated, burnt in effigie,

(*y*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 69. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Catholick Church. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 10.

(*z*) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 23. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

'*any wiſe irritate the King's Grace and his Council againſt the liberties of the Holy Kirk, conſidering the time is perilous.* When the King did read theſe words, *By God,* quoth he, *they dread me.* Sir, quoth I, they know their own abuſes, and they fear leaſt your Grace ſhould find them. *By my truth,* quoth he, *if they do not well, ye ſhall ken that I will redreſs them.* When he had read the whole letter, he took it me again. And, quoth he, *In good faith I have ſeen the double of it word by word: But I have good cauſe to thank the King mine uncle, for I ſee well,* quoth he, *if his Grace ſhould ſee any thing that ſhould be to my diſpleaſure or diſhonour, he would adverti ſe me of it; and by God,* quoth he, *I ſhall do ſicklike to him.* Sir, quoth I, doth not your Grace perceive by this letter the crafty pretences of the Cardinal. *Why,* quoth he, *wherein?* Marry, quoth I, he ſheweth himſelf to be a great friend to your rebels and traitors, and deviſeth to be their judge becauſe he would deliver them; and ſo your Grace may eaſily ſee how he laboureth to bring into his own hands both the ſpiritual, and alſo the temporal juriſdiction of your realm. *No, no,* quoth he, *I warrant you we ſhall uſe him and all his fellows well enough; if they do not their duties, I may tell you,* quoth he, *they may dread me. And as for thoſe men, Hutchenſon and Harvy, which ye name traitors to us, in good faith,* quoth he, *they are but ſimple men, and it was but a ſmall matter and we ourſelf made the Cardinal the Miniſter both to commit them to the caſtle, and alſo to deliver them.* Sir, quoth I, the matter is as ye pleaſe to take it; but it ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the King's Majeſty your uncle, and in ſuch wiſe to touch your honour and ſurety, that he could not but advertiſe your Grace thereof. And if your Grace, quoth I, think ye may juſtly take any advantage thereof, ye may at your pleaſure; if not, the King's Majeſty prayeth you to compreſs it, and keep it ſecret to yourſelf. *Yes,* quoth he, *I warrand you his Grace ſhall hear no more of the ſame.* I aſſure your Majeſty he excuſed the Cardinal in every thing, and ſeemed wonderous loath to hear of any thing that ſhould ſound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praiſe.'

[*F*] *Contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Church.*] He was no ſooner become Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and Primate, than he reſolved to give the ſtrongeſt proof of his attachment to the religion and intereſts of Rome, and therefore in May 1540, he went to St Andrew's in that pomp and ſplendor as certainly no Primate of Scotland ever uſed before. He was attended by the Earls of Huntley, Arran, Marſhal, and Montroſe; the Lords Fleming, Lindſey, Erſkine, and Seaton, with many other perſons of diſtinction that were laymen; and he had alſo with him Gawen, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow and Lord High-Chancellor, with five other Biſhops, four Abbots, and a vaſt train of Clergy beſide. In the preſence of theſe witneſſes he held, in wonderful ſtate and grandeur, a kind of viſitation or enquiry after Hereticks, in which this Sir John Borthwick was condemned for Contumacy on the 28th of May, 1540, and his effigies was publickly burnt the ſame day in the market-place of St Andrew's, and a week after at Edinburgh (27). This proceeding of the Cardinal's did not very well anſwer his purpoſe, and therefore he had ſoon after recourſe to another method, which was to engage the King to iſſue a commiſſion for enquiring after Hereticks, and to place at the head of it Sir James Hamilton, baſtard-brother to the Earl of Arran, a man of a barbarous and bloody temper, whom the King 'till this time had always hated (28) for many reaſons, but more particularly for his having killed the Earl of Lenox, when he had taken arms by the King's expreſs direction to reſcue him out of the hands of the Earl of Angus, as the reader has ſeen in the former article. The great point the King is ſaid to have had in view by ſetting up this terrible court was, the obtaining large ſums of money by the conviction of ſuch as were diſcovered to be favourers of the new opinions, that is, of the doctrines of the Reformation. The truth ſeems to be, that the King was very deſirous to increaſe his revenue, that he might be able to defend himſelf in caſe of being attacked, and to make a greater figure in Europe than any of his predeceſſors (26). To enable him to do this, there had been two ſchemes propoſed to him, one by his uncle Henry the Eighth, and the favourers of the Reformation, which was by ſuppreſſing monaſteries, and ſeizing the eſtates of the Clergy. The other by the Clergy themſelves, to defeat this project of their enemies, and to engratiate themſelves with the King; to which end they were for eſtabliſhing this dangerous court of Inquiſition, and of this it ſeems the King made choice, as being more agreeable to his ſentiments than the other. We are informed by a very good author, that the Clergy perſwaded the King he might by this means add to his income one hundred thouſand crowns of annual rent, by annexing the lands of Hereticks convict to thoſe of the Crown; but in caſe this ſcheme of theirs failed, the Clergy offered to grant him fifty thouſand crowns *per ann.* out of their own eſtates for the preſent, and more if his neceſſities ſo required (30). It was upon this occaſion that the famous roll was made, which is mentioned in the text, containing the names of ſuch as were ſuſpected and might be proſecuted, in order to fix the King in a belief of the mighty advantages that were promiſed him from the execution of this barbarous deſign. That ſuch a roll there really was, and that the Earl of Arran was the firſt named therein, is beſt proved by the Earl's own teſtimony, who told this to Sir Ralph Sadler (31), but that it was found in the King's pocket after his deceaſe is a little improbable, conſidering that the Cardinal is on all hands allowed to have been with his Majeſty at the time he died, and who one would think ſhould have ſecured this roll for his own ſake. But be this as it will, moſt certainly the ſcheme came to nothing, for Sir James Hamilton, while buſy in proſecuting others for Hereſy, was himſelf accuſed, convicted, and ſoon afterwards executed for high-treaſon; and with him ended all endeavours to bring this project of the Clergy to bear, the King himſelf growing out of humour with it, and expreſſing upon many occaſions a ſtrong ſenſe of the ſeverity and baſeneſs of ſuch proceedings (32). Yet the Cardinal always found means to ſhift ſuch things from himſelf, and to keep as much in the King's favour as ever, in order to which he ſcrupled not doing any thing that might flatter the King's humour and gratify his deſires, though in doing this he acted ſo cautiouſly, that he ſeemed to be rather obliged to do what he did from a principle of duty to his Prince, than to carry into execution any of his own advices (33). But notwithſtanding all his arts, many of the Nobility who began to fear the King, and conſequently to hate him, looked upon the Cardinal as the great author of all theſe miſchiefs, and probably would have made him feel the weight of their reſentment, if he had not had ſo much addreſs as to keep a ſtrong party of the Nobility attached to himſelf; ſo that even after the King's death, by which he ſeemed to be expoſed to all his enemies, he made it clearly appear, that he had a ſuperior intereſt, and was able to do more with all ranks of people than any other perſon in Scotland, as the reader will ſee in it's proper place.

(29) Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 83. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 329, 330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(30) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 12.

(31) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(32) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib xv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 319, *& ſeq.* Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 30.

(33) Buchanan, Leſley, Drummond, Spotſwood, Keith, *&c.*

(27) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 69, 70.

(28) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 310, 381.

effigie, and all perſons prohibited to entertain or relieve him, under the penalty of excommunication. Being informed of theſe proceedings againſt him, he retired into England, where he was well received by King Henry, and honoured with a publick character to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany. But Sir John Borthwick, was not the only perſon the Cardinal proceeded againſt for Hereſy, for quickly after this he proſecuted ſeveral others, ſome of them perſons of quality, for what he called the ſame crime, as Andrew Cunningham, ſon to the maſter of Glencairn, James Hamilton of Livingſton, and Mr George Buchanan the celebrated Poet and Hiſtorian; and they would all of them have certainly died, if they had not made their eſcape out of priſon; for the King having abſolutely left all men to the mercy of the Cardinal, one knows not what lengths he might have gone, if Providence had not prevented the execution of his bloody deſigns, by the death of the King, ſince it is ſaid, he had preſented to him a roll of three hundred and ſixty of the chief Nobility and Barons, as ſuſpected of Hereſy. In which black roll the firſt man was the Earl of Arran, and though ſeveral attempts were made to bring the Cardinal into diſgrace, or at leaſt to deprive him of his large and unlimited power, yet they were all unſucceſsful, for no mark or evidence appears, that the King did ever leſſen his affection to him to the hour of his death (*a*). On the contrary, it was by his influence that the King directed his troops to invade England, whereupon followed the diſmal overthrow of the army at Solway Moſs, which broke his heart, and occaſioned his death (*b*). But then it muſt be allowed, that the Cardinal acted ſo artfully, that though the general courſe of his conduct manifeſted ſufficiently his intentions, yet he hardly left it in the power of any of his adverſaries, to make any thing out againſt him by proofs or particular facts (*c*) [G]. The King had none ſo near him when he died as the Cardinal, which gave him an opportunity of forging a will for him, or at leaſt afforded a pretence for ſuggeſting that he forged it, which occaſioned it's being ſet aſide, though he cauſed it to be ſolemnly proclaimed over the croſs at Edinburgh, in order to eſtabliſh the Regency in himſelf, the Earls of Argyl, Huntley, and Arran (*d*); and beſides loſing his deſign, the imputation has remained upon his memory, though perhaps there is no ſufficient authority to prove it [H]. By this means he was entirely excluded from the government, and

(a) Puchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland. Drummond's Hiſtory of the five James's. Sadler's Letters.

(b) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 79.

(c) See the proofs of this in the notes [G], [H], and [K].

(d) Buchan. Rer. Scot Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood, Knox, Petrie.

[G] *Make out any thing againſt him by proofs of particular facts.*] It was a maxim with this great Politician, from which he never digreſſed, *to run no needleſs hazards, and to decline none when they became neceſſary.* It was his conſtant adhering to that rule which preſerved him from ſuffering, as he otherwiſe would have done, in the various revolutions which he lived to ſee in the government of Scotland. It was report only that faſtened upon him the buſineſs of the roll, mentioned in the former note, for the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, told the Engliſh Ambaſſador *Sadler*, that it was the King himſelf, not the Cardinal, who procured that roll to be written (34). In like manner the common opinion was, that the Cardinal perſwaded the King his maſter not to go to the meeting at York, which occaſioned a great difference between him and King Henry. But when Sir Ralph Sadler was ſent a ſecond time into Scotland, the Cardinal ſent a meſſage to him, aſſuring him, that this fact was falſe; that he was able to prove it ſo; that he had always had as juſt a ſenſe of the great advantages that would reſult to both kingdoms, from the preſerving peace and friendſhip between them, as any man in Scotland, and had been as far from ſeeking to deſtroy them; and that, if he had an opportunity of paying his reſpects to King Henry, he did not doubt being able to ſatisfy his Majeſty in that reſpect (35). It is certain, that throughout the whole reign of the King his maſter, though his enemies at home and abroad were continually labouring to bring him into diſgrace, and in order thereto ſuggeſted many things againſt him, yet they were able to prove none (36). As for the capital imputation, that he meant to eſtabliſh the Pope's power over the Clergy, and to exerciſe it in Scotland himſelf, independent of the King, it never could make any impreſſion, becauſe his Maſter very well knew that it was by his own intereſt and interpoſition, that the Cardinal had obtained the power which he poſſeſſed, and that the great point he laboured with the Clergy, was to perſwade them it was better to grant a part of their revenues to the Crown for it's protection and ſupport, than to rely on the ſole authority of the Church (37). It was likewiſe imputed to the Cardinal, that he gave the King a diſtaſte to his antient nobility, adviſed him to leſſen their power, and to cut off the moſt potent; but whoever conſiders the great intereſt he had with the beſt families in Scotland in the life-time of that King, the ſteadineſs with which they adhered to him through all his troubles after the death of that Monarch, and his influence upon them to the very time of his own death, muſt be ſatisfied that they did not apprehend this charge to be well founded, or at leaſt that it could be proved, for if they had, no doubt they would have exerted themſelves to his deſtruction when they had him in their power, and not have laboured as they did to reſtore him not only to his liberty, but alſo to his former, and even greater, authority (38). But it is time to part with this ſubject at preſent, the rather, becauſe in the ſubſequent notes we ſhall be able to ſet this point in a ſtill clearer light; from whence it will appear, that how often or how loudly ſo ever he was accuſed, yet he was never proved guilty of any thing laid to his charge. We except only his ſeverity againſt the favourers of the Reformation, which, as it cannot be denied, ſo it ought not to be excuſed; but in other parts of his life he ſeems to have acted with very ſingular addreſs, and in that, as well as other parts of his character, very nearly reſembled Cardinal Wolſey, made uſe of the ſame precautions, and with the ſame effect, that is to ſay, both defended themſelves from being in danger of capital puniſhments by legal proſecutions (39). In this indeed Cardinal Beaton ſeems to have had the better, that even his greateſt enemies never thought it in their power to procure any ſentence againſt him by a parliament; but whether this might not be owing rather to his influence over his judges than to his innocence, may very well be made a queſtion (40). In his life-time, however, this circumſtance made wiſe and thinking men wonder much, as appears from what Sir Ralph Sadler tells his maſter King Henry VIII, at the time the Cardinal was in priſon, and the cry ſtrongeſt againſt him, that he could never learn from his bittereſt enemies *what it was they had againſt him* (41). So much it is in the power of a great man to guard againſt conviction, though he cannot avoid clamour.

(34) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(35) Puchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 28. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 154, 155.

(36) Supplement to Dempſter.

(37) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 325, 326.

(38) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(39) See the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by Mr Cavendiſh, MS. differing from the printed copies.

(40) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 291.

(41) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

[H] *Though perhaps there is not ſufficient evidence to prove it.*] This is one great crime with which the memory of the Cardinal is ſtained, but it ſo falls out, that we have no very clear teſtimony to prove that he was really guilty of forging the King's will. The author, upon whoſe authority this has been chiefly believed, delivers himſelf thus (42). 'As for the Cardinal, he thinking that in theſe publick calamities he 'might have an opportunity to aggrandize, that he 'might ſhew himſelf ſomebody, both to his own order, and alſo to the French faction, attempted a 'thing both bold and impudent. For, by the hired 'aſſiſtance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary Prieſt, he 'forged a falſe will of the King's, wherein he himſelf 'was

(42) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. p. 281, edit. Edinb. 1715, fol.

and before the close of the year 1542, the Earl of Arran was declared sole Regent during the minority of Queen Mary, then but a few days old. This was done chiefly by the Lords inclined to the English interest, who being desirous also of complying with a proposal made by Henry VIII, for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to their young Queen, judged it necessary, before this came to be discussed in Parliament, to procure the Cardinal

'was nominated to the supreme authority with three 'of the most potent of the Nobility to be his assessors. He was in great hopes that his project would 'succeed from the dispossession of the Earl of Arran, 'one of his assessors and partners in the government, 'who was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to be easy 'and quiet. And besides, he was near of kin to him, 'for he was son to the Cardinal's aunt. Moreover, 'the opportunity to invade the supreme power seemed 'to require haste, that he might be possessed of it be'fore the exiles and captives returned out of England, 'that so they might have no hand in conferring this 'honour upon him, for he was afraid of their power 'and popularity. Neither did he doubt their minds 'were alienated from him upon the score of a different 'religion. This was the cause, that presently after 'the King's death he published an edict concerning the 'chusing four governors of the kingdom.' He then proceeds to give us an account of King Henry's sending back the Scots prisoners, and of the recalling the exiles, and then he resumes his former subject thus. 'The Cardinal who saw this storm gathered against 'him, making no doubt but the prisoners and the 'exiles would be both his opposers in the Parliament, 'had taken care to be chosen Regent before their 'coming, but he enjoyed that honour not long, for 'within a few days his fraud in counterfeiting the 'King's will and testament being discovered, he was 'thrown out of place, and James Hamilton, Earl of 'Arran, made Regent, through a desire which some 'had to engratiate themselves with him as the next 'heir to the crown. Others foresaw so long before 'the cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of religion, 'and therefore provided against it by lessening his 'power.' There is a very different account in this matter in a book of good authority, generally ascribed to John Knox, and part certainly written by him, where, speaking of the King's last sickness, he writes thus (43). 'In the mean time, in his great extre'mity, comes the Cardinal (a fit comforter for a despe'rate man). He cries in his ear, Take order, Sir, 'with your realm who shall rule during the minority 'of your daughter. Ye have known my service, what 'will ye have done? Shall there not be four Regents 'chosen? and shall not I be principal of them? What'ever the King answered, documents were taken that 'so it should be, as my Lord Cardinal thought expe'dient. As many affirm a dead man's hand was made 'to subscribe one blank, that they might write above 'what it pleased them best. The Cardinal having 'hired one Henry Balfour, a Priest, to make a false 'testament, which was done accordingly, but in vain. 'This finished, the Cardinal posted to the Queen, 'lately before delivered as is said.' Bishop Lesley says nothing more than that the Cardinal opposed the setting up the Earl of Arran as sole Regent, because the King by his testament had appointed four (44). We have seen that Buchanan says also there were four, of whom he names only the Cardinal, and the Earl of Arran; in Knox's history, mention is made of the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Murray (45). And Archbishop Spotswood agrees with this, though he quotes Buchanan, who says no such thing (46). Most certain it is, that the common reports charge not only the forging the King's will, but the King's death upon the Cardinal. We find it in the margin of Knox's history, *that some did not stick to say the King was hastened away by a potion* (47), which is however inconsistent with that history, wherein it is more than once said, that the King foretold his own death, Drummond mentions this as a groundless rumour (48), but Melvil is clear that the fact was true, *viz.* that the King was poisoned by the Clergy (49). Sir James Balfour is as clear, that there was nothing of poison in the case, but that the King died of a Lent fever (50). Of this therefore we may fairly acquit the Cardinal, especially since neither Buchanan nor Knox so much as suggest that he was guilty. As for the Forgery of the will there is assertion, but no proof; and upon comparing the several accounts, I hope to be able to give a more satisfactory relation of this affair than we find in any of our modern Historians, though they would be thought to have taken great pains in sifting the matter (51). After the rencounter at Sollway Moss, in which a great body of Scots suffered themselves to be defeated and made prisoners by a handful of English, because they had a person appointed to command them whom they did not like; King James the Fifth died of meer vexation for what had happened at Falkland in the county of Fife, which lies twelve miles west from St Andrew's, and about ten from the river of Frith, on the 13th of December 1542 (52). He was during the time of his sickness attended by the Cardinal, who, when he found him so near his end, desired to know how he would have the affairs of the kingdom settled, and caused his answers to be set down and subscribed a few moments before he fell into the agonies of death (53). On the 14th the Cardinal brought over the King's body to Edinburgh, and with the Earls of Argyl, Marshal, Rothes, and Arran, assisted at his funeral. On the Monday following the Cardinal caused himself and the other Lords to be proclaimed Governors, of whom, without doubt, the Earl of Arran was one (54). But Mr Kirkaldy of Grange advised the Earl of Arran to call an assembly of the Nobility, and therein to demand his right of being Governor alone, as he was next heir, if the young Queen died, to the crown, which accordingly he did; and though this was most vehemently opposed by the Cardinal and his friends, it was carried notwithstanding, and the Earl of Arran thereupon declared sole Regent (55). But so little notion was there then amongst those who were well acquainted with the thing, that the Cardinal had forged the King's will, that it was amicably resolved that he and the other Lords should have free pardons granted them by the Governor for what they had done, which agreement was made December 25, 1542 (56). In the month of March following came Sir Ralph Sadler, and found the Cardinal a prisoner, and the Governor at least in appearance, bent upon his destruction. But notwithstanding this, he some time afterwards granted him more liberty, though he did not care to own that, but pretended that it was done against his will, and therefore he enquired the English Ambassador Sadler's opinion, what he should do with the Cardinal if he came to Edinburgh; and in the conversation upon this subject, which we have in Sadler's letters, there is an account of this matter, which, from what has been said before, may be very easily understood, and sets the whole in a very clear light (57). 'My Lord, 'quoth I, I am not able to give you advice; but if it 'may please you to tell me what ye have to charge him 'withal, and for what cause he was apprehended, I 'will tell you, quoth I, mine opinion. Marry, quoth 'he, the principal matter whereupon he was taken, 'was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my 'Lord Warden, my Lord Lysle, quoth he, that the 'Cardinal had procured the Duke of Guise to come 'hither with an army to subdue this realm, and take 'the government of the same, whereof now, quoth 'he, we have no proofs; nor we perceive not, quoth 'he, that the same was true; nevertheless, quoth he, 'we have other matters to charge him with, for he 'did forge, quoth he, the late King's testament; and 'when the King was even almost dead, quoth he, took 'his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank 'paper; and besides that, quoth he, since he was pri'soner, he has given special and secret command to his 'men to keep his hold and castle of St Andrew's 'against us, which, quoth he, is a plain disobedience 'and rebellion. I engrieved these crimes as much as I 'could, and told him that I heard say he had forgiven 'and pardoned the Cardinal of that crime in forging 'of the King's testament, as indeed, communing yes'terday with the Lord Summervile in that matter, he 'told me it was so; nevertheless the Governor assured 'me, that he never gave the Cardinal remission for the 'same.'

(43) History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(44) Lesl. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(45) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(46) Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

(47) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(48) Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 345.

(49) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(50) *apud* Keith, ubi supra.

(51) Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 25.

(52) Buchanan, Lesley, &c.

(53) Melvil's Memoirs. p. 6.

(54) History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(55) Lesl. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(56) Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(57) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

Cardinal to be ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Blackneſs, after which they conducted all things at their pleaſure, and ſettled publick affairs as they thought fit (e). But this did not laſt long, for the Cardinal, though confined, raiſed ſo ſtrong a party, that the Regent ſcarce knew how to proceed; and, which was ſtill more extraordinary, had gained ſo many of thoſe about him, that the Regent began to diſlike his former ſyſtem, and at laſt deſerting it, releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal (f) [I]. This was undoubtedly

(e) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, p. 71, 169.

(f) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. xv.

[I] *Releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal.*] The dates, and even the facts, in this part of the hiſtory are ſo perplexed and differently told, that there cannot be a more difficult taſk than to endeavour to ſet them in a plain light. In the text we have ſhewn, that the Governor was perſuaded by the partizans of King Henry, whom the Scotiſh writers call, *the Engliſh Lords*, to ſeize upon the Cardinal, and ſend him priſoner to Blackneſs, on the ſouth ſide of the river Forth, ten miles from Leith, in the cuſtody of the Lord Seaton, where he continued during the time the Parliament was held, and the treaty with England for the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots, was concluded (58). The Queen Dowager however, and many of the Nobility, ſhewed great concern for him, and laboured all they could to prevail upon the Governor to ſet him at liberty. In the mean time, the Cardinal took better methods himſelf, for he offered the Lord Seaton a conſiderable gratification, and his conſtant friendſhip, if he would transfer him to St Andrew's, which before the end of the month of March 1543, he did with the conſent of the Governor; notwithſtanding the Engliſh Ambaſſador had laboured to have the Cardinal ſent into England (59). At St Andrew's he was at full liberty, and actually called there an aſſembly of the Clergy, which met upon the 25th of May, and was adjourned to the firſt of June, for which he had the Governor's permiſſion, though the latter pretended he had not. In this aſſembly of the Clergy, the Cardinal ſhewed them, that nothing could preſerve the Church as it was then conſtituted, but their raiſing a ſum of money ſufficient to defeat the intended match with England, which in conſequence of his arguments, he obtained (60). When this was done, the Earls of Huntley, Argyl, Bothwell, and Murray, raiſed a force ſufficient, and coming down to Linlithgow, carried off the two Queens to Sterling, and endeavoured to prevent the meeting of the Parliament, which the Governor had ſummoned for the 25th of Auguſt, which however they could not do; but the Governor, and ſuch as were of his party actually met, and ratified the two treaties of peace and marriage with the crown of England, under the Great Seal (61). But the very day after he had done this, the Governor ſet out for St Andrew's, pretending that he would force the Cardinal to a ſubmiſſion, or puſh all things againſt him farther than ever; and accordingly upon his coming to St Andrew's, and the Cardinal not coming out of his caſtle to meet him, he cauſed him to be proclaimed a rebel openly in his town of St Andrew's; which had ſuch an effect upon Sir Ralph Sadler, that he really expected that a civil war would have broke out, and therefore wrote very earneſtly into England, to procure aſſiſtance for the Governor (62). In a very few days, however, it appeared very clearly that all this was a mere contrivance, for upon the third of September, the Governor having received a meſſage from the Cardinal, by Sir James Campbell of Lundy and the Abbot of Pittenweem, gave out that his Lady was fallen in labour at Blackneſs, and under that pretence went out of town the next day to Calendar, where the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray met him, and after a long conference they ſet out together for Sterling, where they entered into the cloſeſt engagements with each other, and from that time forward the Cardinal had the ear and confidence of the Governor, as much as he ever had of the King, his maſter (63). Theſe are the plain facts. But to enter a little behind the curtain, and penetrate as far as we may, into the cauſes of them, which were no other than the arts of the Cardinal, who, ſtep by ſtep, increaſed his own power, and diminiſhed that of thoſe who oppoſed him, till for their own ſakes they were glad to come to an agreement with him, to have that Head on their ſide, which had been too hard for all their force. As ſoon as he had drawn over the Lord Seaton to his party, he adviſed him to inſinuate to the Governor, that it was for his intereſt, the Cardinal ſhould go to St Andrew's, becauſe this would put him in poſſeſſion of that caſtle, and all the wealth that he had in it: When he was got thither, he gave the Governor to underſtand, that as he was ſenſible he conſented to the late treaties with England through want of power and of money, ſo if he would conſent to an aſſembly of the Clergy there, it might be a means of procuring for him ſuch a ſupply, as might enable him to act as he thought proper (64). In the mean time, he had ſent for two perſons over from France, one or other of which he knew muſt anſwer his purpoſe. The one was the Earl of Lenox, ſon to that Earl of Lenox, who had been killed endeavouring to reſcue his maſter, King James, out of the hands of the Douglaſſes, which induced that Prince to have ſuch a kindneſs for his ſon, as to promiſe that he would ſettle the crown upon him, in caſe his own iſſue failed. The other was Mr John Hamilton, Abbot of Paiſly, the Governor's natural brother, a down-right creature of France, and wholly devoted to the Cardinal. The firſt of theſe two the Cardinal carried to Sterling, gave him hopes of marrying the Queen-Dowager, and made him believe himſelf the moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom. The other he ſent to the Governor, to let him know he did this very unwillingly, that the Cardinal and his friends were ambitious of nothing ſo much as his friendſhip, and that by coming over to them he would have the whole kingdom at his devotion (65). The Abbot repreſented farther to his brother, that he would find no real ſupport from England; ſince King Henry did not acknowledge him in quality of Governor, but ſtiled him in his letters, the *Earl of* Arran *occupying the place of Governor*; that by deſiring to have the young Queen and the Cardinal delivered up to him, he meant to deprive him of all power, and to render him odious to the Nobility, and to the common people; that while he depended thus upon England, he muſt ever remain in a dangerous and precarious ſituation; whereas, by joining with the Cardinal, he would have the whole Scotch nation at his devotion, and might be ſure of what ſupport he pleaſed from France. The Governor having once reliſhed theſe notions, ſuffered the Cardinal to make trial of what force he could raiſe, and when he ſaw that the aſſembly at Sterling was become very powerful, he threw off his diſguiſe, and went directly into the Cardinal's meaſures (66). At their firſt conference at Calendar the Cardinal ſhewed the Governor, that by ſiding with the friends of the Reformation, he was ruining himſelf and his family; for as there were two divorces in his family, the one of his father, and the other of his grandmother, which depended entirely upon papal authority, if that ſhould once be taken away, his claim to the crown might be queſtioned, and even his title to the earldom of Arran, and his private eſtate, both which would devolve upon the Earl of Lenox, who, upon the Governor's joining the Cardinal, had gone over to the Engliſh party, and was ſo well received by King Henry, who gave him his neice, the Lady Margaret Douglas in marriage, that the Governor ſaw plainly it was impoſſible for him to retreat (67). Thus the reader ſees clearly, that by his ſuperior knowledge of men and things, by his great art in turning every circumſtance and event to his advantage; and his prodigious dexterity in applying to the paſſions and intereſts of mankind, the Cardinal extricated himſelf out of all his difficulties, and in the ſpace of eight months, from being the Governor's priſoner at Blackneſs, became maſter of the Governor and of the whole kingdom, for on the twenty-third of January 1542-43, the Council came to a reſolution of ſeizing his perſon, and on the third of September 1543, the Governor left Edinburgh to go and join the Cardinal, and the Lords of his party, at Sterling, and thus in as few words as poſſible, we have unravelled as dark an intrigue as is to be met with in the hiſtory of Scotland.

(58) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

(59) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 265. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 39, 40. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 123.

(60) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 41. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 70.

(61) Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. l. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74.

(62) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 350, 351.

(63) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 336, 337. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 31.

(64) Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Keith, &c.

(65) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, and Keith.

(66) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 42. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 356, 357.

(67) Theſe facts are already mentioned ſeparately, and by different authorities ſupported.

undoubtedly one of the moſt ſingular turns that ever happened in any government, and is very expreſſive of this great Stateſman's genius and character, who knew how to court and manage factions ſo well, that, from being excluded the Court and impriſoned, he, upon the young Queen's coronation, was again admitted of the Council, and, at the requeſt as well as by the conſent of the Regent, aſſumed the high office of Chancellor, out of which the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was turned to make way for him. Some authors indeed ſuggeſt, he ſhewed uncommon haughtineſs, or rather inſolence, in the manner of his accepting this great office (*g*), but this ought to be regarded as a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny [*K*]. His intereſt was now ſo great with the Regent, and ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he might be ſaid to have as much influence over him as he had over the King, which manifeſtly appeared, by his procuring him to ſollicit the Court of Rome, to extend his already almoſt boundleſs authority, by appointin ghim Legate *à latere* from the Pope, which was done accordingly, and in all probability was leſs a favour then, than it is uſually accounted, as being with no other view procured, than to ſuſtain and promote the cauſe of the religion and See of Rome (*b*). As ſoon as he obtained this new dignity, he ſhewed plainly enough, to what end it had been both ſought and granted; for he immediately proceeded to a moſt ſevere perſecution of thoſe he ſtiled Hereticks, to countenance which he had addreſs enough to procure ſuch numbers of perſons of high rank and diſtinction to be preſent at, and to attend him in, his judicatories, that inſtead of appearing an act of his own, or the effect of his intrigues, it looked rather as a thing impoſed upon him, and in which he acted with the approbation of the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy of the kingdom. Such was the wonderful dexterity of this man, and ſuch the zeal with which, to the very utmoſt of his power, he promoted the cauſe of Popery (*i*) [*L*]. It was with a view

(*g*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 80.

(*b*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Geſt. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(*i*) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45.

[*K*] *As a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny.*] The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had continued Chancellor of Scotland from the time that the ſeals were given him, upon the retreat of the Earl of Angus into England, to the latter end of the year 1543, and then we are told that they were taken from him in a very ungracious manner, to put them into the hands of the Cardinal. We find ſeveral authors hinting this, but Mr Crawfurd affirms it more poſitively than any of the reſt, and attempts to prove it by record. His words are theſe (68). 'The Cardinal having now all the ſway, that he might 'the more eaſily carry his deſigns, and have the greater 'authority in the kingdom, the Archbiſhop of Glaſ'gow was laid aſide from being Lord Chancellor, and 'the Cardinal came in his place in a very haughty 'manner; for both before and ſince that time, when 'any alterations were made in that high office, the 'record bears ſuch a perſon to have been made Chan'cellor; but ſuch was the pride and ambition of the 'Cardinal, that it is entered in the record of Parlia'ment, *That my Lord Cardinal has* accepted *the office 'of Chancellor in and upon him, at the deſire of my 'Lord Governor and Lords of Council* though I ſee he 'gave his oath *de fideli* upon the delivery to him of 'the great ſeal, *liely (honeſtly), and truly to mini'ſter in the ſaid office during the time he ſhall happen 'to haif (have) the ſamin.*' Tho' this is ſeemingly very clear, and very poſitive, yet perhaps there may be good cauſe ſhewn why none of theſe facts ſhould be conſidered as certain. For firſt, as to the Chancellor Dunbar, his office might be, and probably was, inconvenient and troubleſome to him in many reſpects, ſo as that he might be well enough pleaſed to part with it; and this will have the greater appearance of truth, if we conſider that the two Archbiſhops continued very good friends ever afterwards, which could ſcarce be ſuppoſed if the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had been ſo ill treated in the buſineſs of having the ſeals taken from him. In the next place, as to the pride and haughtineſs expreſſed by the Cardinal in his manner of taking the great ſeal, we ſhall the better know what to think of it when we have caſt our eyes upon the entry in the publick records, of the delivery of the great ſeal to George Earl of Huntley in full parliament (69), June the 10th, 1546. 'The whilk day 'my Lord Governor, in preſens of the Queenis Grace 'and Lordis of Counſaile, has choſen George Earle of 'Huntlie Chancellor of the realme of Scotland, wha 'has *accepit* the ſaid office in and upon him, and has 'ſworne that he ſall leilely and treulie miniſter in the 'ſaid office after his wit, cunyng and knowlage, like 'as outher Chancelluris has done, and uſit the ſaid of'fice in tymes biganis, and the Queenis Grace and 'Lordis of Counſale thought him able therfor, and in 'ſigne and takin thereof my ſaid Lord Governor has in 'preſence of the Queenis Grace and Lordis forſaids, 'deliver it to the ſaid Earl our Sovereign Ladyis grete 'ſele, and has ordainit the Kingis quarter ſele, whom 'God aſſolize (pardon) to be broken, off the whilk 'that ane half was cuttit in preſens of the Queenis 'Grace and my Lordis of Counſale.' It appears very clearly from hence, that there was nothing of arrogance or preſumption in the manner of the Cardinal's accepting of the great ſeal, but that he received it in the ordinary form, and had thereupon the ſame entry made on the records as was uſual, though it muſt be confeſſed, that at the firſt reading, the words, in which his receiving the great ſeal are entered, ſeem very lofty and aſſuming. But the bottom of the buſineſs was certainly this, the Governor was deſirous that his brother the Abbot of Paiſley ſhould have ſome good employment, and he had no leſs a mind that the Cardinal ſhould be Lord Chancellor; upon receiving which high office he willingly reſigned his former poſt of Lord Privy-Seal to his friend the Abbot of Paiſley, as the reward of that pains and diligence he had uſed, in bringing about the agreement between his brother the Governor and the Cardinal, and the daily endeavours uſed by him to ſerve the latter with the former, and hinder the ſtories told by his enemies to the Governor from making any impreſſion (70).

(68) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 80.

(69) See the Records of Parliament, preſerved at Edinburgh.

[*L*] *He promoted the cauſe of Popery.* It is a full proof that the Cardinal had gained an entire aſcendency over the Governor, ſince he was able to engage him to apply to the court of Rome, in order to his being promoted to the rank of Legate *à Latere*, to which he had always aſpired, but which he could never obtain 'till now. The Bull for this promotion is ſtill extant, but there ſeems to be ſome diſpute about the date (71). In the printed copy we have it in words at length 1543, which, as it does not at all agree with hiſtory, ſo it is likewiſe inconſiſtent with the other part of the date in the Bull itſelf, for it is ſaid to be in the tenth year of the Pontificate of Paul III; now that Pope being created October 12, 1534, it is very evident that January 30, 1543, was in the ninth, and not in the tenth year of his reign. It may not be amiſs to take notice in this place of the different kinds of Legates, in order to render this note the clearer. A *Legate*, ſimply taken, is an Ambaſſador or Repreſentative of the Pope. The *Legate à latere*, i. e. from the Pope's ſide, is always a Cardinal, veſted with the fulleſt powers that can be given him, and in ſome meaſure capable of doing as much in the name, and by the authority, of the Pope, as if his Holineſs were preſent he could do himſelf. The *Legate de latere* has, or may have, the ſame power, but is not a Cardinal; and as to the *Legati nati*, or Legates born, they are ſo only *virtute officii*, or in right of their dignity in the church, as our Cardinal was from his being Archbiſhop of St Andrew's (72). It is plain therefore, that by obtaining this dignity the Cardinal reached the utmoſt ſtep of preferment, unleſs he had acquired the papacy itſelf; and there is no doubt, that when it was deſired from the

(70) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Keith, Crawfurd, &c.

(71) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 271.

(72) Antiquit. Eccleſ. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 13.

view to ſerve this cauſe ſtill more effectually, that he ſummoned, in the beginning of 1546, a Provincial aſſembly of the Clergy, at the Black-Friars in Edinburgh (*k*). He propoſed to himſelf doing great things at this meeting of the Clergy, and at the opening thereof he made a ſpeech, in which he ſhewed, that Religion was in great danger from the prevailing of Hereſy, for which he ſaid he knew but two remedies, the firſt of theſe was, to proceed vigorouſly againſt ſuch, as either adhered to, or encouraged the new opinions; and the other was, to reform the ſcandalous and immoral lives of the clergy, which gave the greateſt pretence for men to ſeparate from the Church (*l*). How far they proceeded in that affair remains altogether uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the Cardinal was diverted from the purpoſes he had then in hand, by the information he received, that Mr George Wiſhart, the moſt famous Proteſtant preacher in Scotland, was then at the houſe of Mr Cockburn, of Ormiſton in Eaſt Lothian. The Cardinal upon this immediately applied to the Governor, to cauſe him to be apprehended, with which, after great perſuaſion, and much againſt his will, he complied. The Cardinal went in perſon with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to ſee him apprehended, and ſtaid about a mile from the place, while the Earl went and took him into cuſtody (*m*). After this was done, the Cardinal procured an order, or, as they call it in Scotland, an Act of Council, requiring the Earl of Bothwell to deliver his priſoner to the Lord Governor (*n*). Purſuant to which, he was firſt carried to the houſe of Elphinſton, where the Cardinal then was, from thence to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and by the Queen-Dowager's perſuaſion, the Governor cauſed him to be transferred to the caſtle of St Andrew's (*o*). As ſoon as the Cardinal had him there, he reſolved to proceed without delay to his tryal, and in order thereto, ſummoned the Prelates to meet in the city beforementioned, on the twenty-ſeventh of February following. When they were accordingly met, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow very wiſely and prudently adviſed, that they ſhould apply to the Governor to grant a commiſſion, to ſome man of quality, to try ſo famous a priſoner, that the whole blame might not fall on the clergy, to which the Cardinal agreed, and application was accordingly made (*p*). The Governor at firſt made no great ſcruple of the thing, but Mr Hamilton of Preſton interpoſing, ſhewed him ſo clearly the folly of taking the thorn out of another man's foot, to thruſt it into his own, that in the end he returned the Cardinal this anſwer, *That he would do well not to precipitate this man's tryal, but delay it until his coming, for as to himſelf, he would not conſent to his death before the cauſe was very well examined, and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make proteſtation, that the blood of this man ſhould be required at his hands.* When the Cardinal received this meſſage, he was equally angry and perplexed; yet determined however to go on, and therefore ſent this return to the Governor: *That he had not wrote to him about this matter, as ſuppoſing himſelf to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a deſire that the proſecution and conviction of Hereticks, might have a ſhew of publick conſent, which ſince he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way, which to him appeared the moſt proper* (*q*). Accordingly he went on to try Mr Wiſhart upon eighteen articles, notwithſtanding his appeal, as being the Governor's priſoner, to a temporal judicatory, and having condemned, cauſed him to be burnt at St Andrew's, on the ſecond of March, forbidding likewiſe all perſons to pray for him, whom he ſtiled an obſtinate Heretick, under pain of incurring the ſevereſt cenſures of the Church (*r*). He died with great firmneſs, conſtancy, and Chriſtian courage, and, if we may believe many of the writers of thoſe times, propheſied in the midſt of the flames, not only the approaching death of the Cardinal, but the circumſtances alſo that ſhould attend it; which however has been called in queſtion by others, who

(*k*) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*l*) Supplement to Dempſter.

(*m*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 78. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 178.

(*n*) This order dated January 1545-6, is extant in Keith's Hiſtory.

(*o*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(*p*) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(*q*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(*r*) Spotſwood, Petrie, and Keith.

the court of Rome, there was a promiſe made that the Cardinal ſhould make good uſe of the power beſtowed upon him for the ſervice of the Church. So indeed he did, for in the cloſe of the year 1545, he went in the moſt ſolemn manner to viſit his dioceſe, agreeable to a law of his own procuring, as well as to the promiſe made, as before-mentioned, to the court of Rome. He was attended in this viſitation by the Lord Governor, the Earl of Argyl, Lord Juſtice-General, the Lord Borthwick, the Biſhops of Dumblain and Orkney, Sir John Campbel of Lundy, and ſeveral other gentlemen (73). When they came to Perth ſeveral perſons were accuſed of Hereſy, being indicted particularly for breaking the act of parliament of 1542-3, by which the people were forbidden to argue or diſpute concerning the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and theſe following were condemned to die, *viz.* William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon, and Helen Stark his wife. Mr Knox tells us, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, that they were convicted of nothing but only a ſuſpicion of having eaten a gooſe on a Friday (74). Great interceſſion was made for a pardon, but nothing would prevail, ſo that the men were executed by hanging, and the woman drowned, though, as Buchanan informs us, ſhe was then big with child (75). 'Perhaps, ſays Mr 'Keith, the Cardinal was the more inexorable, that he 'might caſt a copy for the other Prelates what they 'ought to do in their ſeveral dioceſes; or perhaps he 'thought by this exemplary puniſhment, to put an ef-'fectual ſtop to the growing of Hereſy throughout the 'kingdom, ſeeing that town, and the country there-'abouts, was more infected therewith than other 'parts of the nation (76).' Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed, and the Lord Ruthven, Provoſt of the town, was removed from his office as a favourer of the Reformers. He likewiſe cauſed John Rogers, a black Friar, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus and Mearns, to be murdered in priſon at St Andrew's, as Knox ſays (77), or as Spotſwood (78) relates it, he was charged therewith, becauſe the body of this man was found at the bottom of a wall behind the place of his confinement; but he leaves it doubtful whether he fell in the endeavour to make his eſcape, or, as the report went, was murdered. By this viſitation, we very plainly diſcover to what end all the honours our Cardinal received were heaped upon him, as every acceſſion of power produced alſo freſh inſtances of clerical ſeverity, inconſiſtent with true Chriſtianity.

(73) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, p. 42, 43. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183.

(74) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 44. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 75.

(75) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(76) Hiſt. of the Church and State in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 41.

(77) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 45.

(78) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 76.

who treat it as a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death (s) [M]. The boldneſs of

(s) See this point diſcuſſed in the notes.

[M] *As a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death.*] It muſt be allowed, that the diſcuſſing of this fact is one of the moſt curious points in the hiſtory of our Cardinal, and therefore it ſeems but requiſite to give as clear and fair account of it as may be. And as we find none in any of our authors which can anſwer this purpoſe ſo well, we ſhall preſent the reader with that of Mr George Buchanan, of which indeed moſt of the reſt ſeem to be but copies, and thoſe too, in all reſpects, very far inferior to their original. Our author, having given an account of the manner in which Mr George Wiſhart ſpent the morning of his execution, proceeds thus (79). 'Awhile after two 'executioners were ſent to him by the Cardinal, one 'of them put a black linen ſhirt upon him, and the 'other bound many little bags of gunpowder to all 'the parts of his body. In this dreſs they brought 'him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Go'vernor's outer-chamber, and at the ſame time they 'erected a wooden ſcaffold in the court before the 'caſtle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows 'and balconies over againſt it were all hung with ta'peſtry and ſilk hangings, with cuſhions for the Cardi'nal, and his train to behold, and take pleaſure in 'the joyful ſight, even the torture of an innocent 'man. Thus courting the favour of the people as the 'author of ſo notable a deed. There was alſo a great 'guard of ſoldiers, not ſo much to ſecure the execu'tion, as for a vain oſtentation of power. And be'ſide, braſs guns were placed up and down in all 'convenient places of the caſtle. Thus, while the 'trumpets ſounded, George was brought forth, mounted 'the ſcaffold, and was faſtened with a cord to the 'ſtake, and having ſcarce obtained liberty to pray for 'the Church of God, the executioners fired the wood, 'which immediately taking hold of the powder that 'was tied about him, blew it up into flame and ſmoke. 'The governor of the caſtle, who ſtood ſo near that 'he was ſinged with the flame, exhorted him in a few 'words to be of good chear, and to aſk pardon of God 'for his offences. To whom he replied, This flame 'occaſions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in 'no wiſe broken my ſpirit. But he who now ſo 'proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place '(pointing to the Cardinal), ſhall ere long be as ignomini'ouſly thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at 'his eaſe. Having thus ſpoken, they ſtraitened the 'rope which was tied about his neck, and ſo ſtrangled 'him, his body in a few hours being conſumed to 'aſhes in the flame. The Biſhops being yet mad with 'heat and rage, forbad every body, upon great pe'nalties, to pray for the deceaſed.' We have the ſame ſtory told at large by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, more briefly by Petrie, but it is evident that they copied all they ſay from Buchanan. On the other ſide the queſtion, the reverend Mr Keith ſuggeſts that the ſtory is very doubtful, if not plainly falſe. As this is a very tender point, and ſeems to bear very hard, not only upon the authority of Buchanan, but upon the judgment of all the writers that have tranſcribed him, I ſhall cite the words of my author, that I may not either weaken or ſtrengthen his arguments by a different manner of expreſſing them (80). 'I confeſs I give but ſmall 'credit to this, and to ſome other things related of thoſe 'perſons that ſuffered for religion in our country, and 'which upon that account I have all along omitted to 'narrate. I own I think them ridiculous enough, and 'ſeemingly contrived, at leaſt magnified, on purpoſe to 'render the judges and clergymen of that time odious 'and deſpicable in the eyes of men. And as to this 'paſſage concerning Mr Wiſhart, it may be noticed, that 'there is not one word of it to be met with in the firſt 'edition of Mr Knox's hiſtory; and if the thing had 'been true in fact, I cannot ſee how Mr Knox, who 'was ſo good an acquaintance of Mr Wiſhart's, and no 'farther diſtance from the place of his execution than 'Eaſt Lothian, and who continued ſome months along 'with the murderers of Cardinal Beton in the caſtle of 'St Andrew's, could neither be ignorant of the ſtory, 'nor neglect to inſert in his hiſtory ſo remarkable a 'prediction. And it has even it's own weight, that 'Sir David Lindſay, who lived at that time, and 'wrote a poem, called *The Tragedy of Cardinal Beton*, 'in which he rakes together all the worſt things that 'could be ſuggeſted againſt this Prelate, yet makes no 'mention either of his glutting himſelf inhumanly 'with the ſpectacle of Mr Wiſhart's death, nor of 'any prophetical intermination made by Mr Wiſhart 'concerning the Cardinal; nor doth Mr Fox take no'tice of either of theſe circumſtances; ſo that I am 'much of the mind, that it has been a ſtory trumped 'up a good time after the murder.' The language of this author is a little uncouth, but his obſervations are very weighty. As to the hiſtory aſcribed to Mr Knox, it is undoubtedly none of his, but was ſo called becauſe in ſome meaſure a hiſtory of his actions, and becauſe taken from his books, papers and ſermons (81). It was firſt printed in octavo, in 1570, and ſuppreſſed by order of Queen Elizabeth, next in quarto (82), and again in folio in 1644, where we have this very paſſage at full length, which ſhews evidently the liberties taken with this *Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland*, which in the main however is a very uſeful work, and contains many things from Knox. I therefore think that the want of theſe paſſages, in the firſt edition is a good proof that John Knox knew nothing either of the Cardinal's looking out of the window, or of Mr Wiſhart's prophecy. His arguments from Lindſay and Fox are likewiſe very ſtrong, for Sir David Lindſay hated the Cardinal, who drove him from court, was a friend to the Reformation, and a hearer of Wiſhart's, and wrote immediately after the Cardinal's death. As for Fox, he had the beſt informations from Scotland that could be, and he always quotes them, ſo that theſe paſſages being wanting in his work, is very ſtrong evidence they were not then heard of in Scotland, if they had, unqueſtionably they would have been ſent to him. But there is ſtill ſomething more to be added on this head, that will add to the weight of Mr Keith's objection, which is this, that our famous John Bale has given us an article of Cardinal Beaton (83), in which the burning of Mr Wiſhart, and the murder of the Cardinal are both mentioned, but not one word of the Cardinal's beholding the execution, or of the Martyr's prophecy. Yet John Bale wrote his fourteenth Century of learned men to include the Scots, dedicated it to Alexander Ales and John Knox, of whoſe friendſhip to him, and their communications in a litterary way, he makes honourable mention, having had their company long in exile, into which John Knox was driven for adhering to the Cardinal's murderers. This ſeems a very ſtrong proof that neither he nor they ever heard of this wonderful prophecy, or the manner in which it was ſo ſurprizingly fulfilled; ſince, if they had, ſuch as are acquainted with the characters of the men and their writings, will ſcarce believe they could be omitted. But there is ſtill one circumſtance more, which ſeems abſolutely concluſive. Bale has added to his article of Cardinal Beaton an appendix, for the ſake of giving us from Hall an account of his firſt viſitation, when he condemned Sir John Borthwick, May 28, 1540, for Hereſy; and in the cloſe of this account we are told, that by the juſt judgment of God, ſix years afterwards, the ſaid Cardinal on the ſame month, day, and hour, was killed, and afterwards ſhamefully hanged out at a window of his own caſtle, in all the pompous habiliments of his dignity. *Sed ecce mirum divinæ providentia judicium ſexto poſt anno eiſdemq; menſe die et hora, occiſus præfatus Cardinalis fuit, probro expoſitus, et ad feneſtram ſuis caſtri, in ſolenni Cardinalatus apparatu ſuſpenſus ut dictum eſt.* Bale printed this, as appears by the colophon of his book in February 1559, which is but thirteen years after the fact, and in that ſpace he had converſed long with John Knox, who acted as paſtor and preacher to thoſe, who after they had killed the Cardinal held out the caſtle of St Andrew's againſt the Government, and who knowing both Bale's deſign of writing, and all the circumſtances of the Cardinal's death, would never have ſuffered him to make ſuch a miſtake as this about the judgment viſible therein. On the other hand, however, ſome who favoured the Cardinal, to combat this prophecy of George Wiſhart the martyr, have invented a ſtory that he was privy to the conſpiracy formed to murder him, and ſo might foretel his end without inſpiration (84). A notion as indifferently ſupported by proof, though as roundly aſſerted as the former.

(79) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. p. 294.

(80) Hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(81) See the preface to the laſt edition of Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(82) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 123.

(83) Scriptor. Brit. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

(84) Mackenzy's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. p. 23.

[N] *According*

of this proceeding made a mighty noiſe throughout the whole kingdom, ſuch as were zealous Papiſts, magnifying the ſpirit and ſteadineſs of the Cardinal, manifeſt in this execution; others of more moderation cenſured it, as a raſh and very imprudent action, which could not but be attended with very diſmal conſequences; and the friends to the Reformation openly declared, that as it was done without due courſe of law, it ought to be conſidered as a murder (*t*), which if unqueſtioned by the State, private men might revenge. As for the Cardinal, he did not ſeem to be highly concerned at the rumours which his conduct in this matter had raiſed, he was ſo much perſuaded in himſelf of his great intereſt among the nobility, that he did not apprehend any ſort of danger from the Governor's diſpleaſure; and, on the other hand, he thought, that having embarked the whole clergy of Scotland in the ſame cauſe with himſelf, by engaging them ſo deeply in this proſecution, he was ſure of their aſſiſtance, and of all the intereſt they had among the people (*u*). There is a circumſtance mentioned by ſeveral hiſtorians, which very plainly proves, that the Cardinal was at this time at the height of his fortune and wiſhes, and that he was intent upon nothing, but the means of adding to and ſecuring this proſperity for the future. For it was in order to this, he went, ſoon after the death of Mr Wiſhart, to Finhaven, the ſeat of the Earl of Crawfurd, to ſolemnize a marriage, between the eldeſt ſon of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret, which was performed with great pomp and ſplendor (*w*). This fact is the cleareſt proof that the Cardinal had no dread or terror upon his mind, but thought his ſtate and condition as ſafe and ſecure, if not more ſo, than ever; and it likewiſe proves, that he ſtood in very high credit with the principal nobility of Scotland, when he was able to marry his natural daughter, to the heir apparent of one of the moſt antient and honourable families in that kingdom. But while he was thus employed, and in the midſt of their rejoicings occaſioned by this match, he had intelligence that an Engliſh ſquadron was upon the coaſt, and that conſequently an invaſion was to be feared. The Cardinal upon this returned immediately to St Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry of that country, which is very open, and much expoſed to the ſea, to meet and conſult about the proper means of raiſing ſuch a force, as might be ſufficient to ſecure them from any attempt of that nature (*x*). He began likewiſe to ſtrengthen the fortifications of his own caſtle at that city, into which he was at any time able to put a garriſon of his own, ſufficient to defend it. But the time of meeting not being come, and no farther news being heard of the Engliſh fleet, he was more intent upon rendering this caſtle tenable againſt a foreign force, than ſollicitous about aſſembling ſuch a number of men, or taking ſuch other precautions, as might ſecure him from being ſurprized by his enemies at home, of which, for any thing that appears in Hiſtory, he does not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion (*y*). But while he was buſy about theſe matters, there came to him the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Rothes, Mr Norman Leſley, a gentleman with whom he had a very intimate friendſhip, and who expected from him on that account ſome favour, which the Cardinal abſolutely refuſed him, and provoked him thereby to ſuch a degree, that they parted in great diſpleaſure (*z*). It happened that this gentleman's uncle, Mr John Leſley, was one of the moſt violent enemies the Cardinal had in the world, and he knowing his nephew's paſſionate temper and daring ſpirit, repaired to him immediately, aggravated the injury done him by the Cardinal, and brought with him ſeveral other perſons who thought themſelves wronged by that Prelate; and after a ſhort conference together, it was reſolved to cut him off. There were but a very few concerned in this conſpiracy, and of them the principal perſons were, Norman Leſley, John Leſley, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melvile (*a*). The ſcheme they laid, was to meet at St Andrew's with as much privacy as it was poſſible, and to ſurprize the caſtle in a morning, before the Cardinal's ſervants were ſtirring, and they entered into an agreement under their hands, to be at that city on the twenty-eighth of May, and to behave in the mean time in ſuch a manner, as to afford no room for ſuſpicion. Accordingly, at the time agreed on, Norman Leſley came, with no more than five perſons, and went to the place where he uſually lodged; William Kircaldy was there a day before; but John Leſley, becauſe he was known to be the Cardinal's avowed enemy, did not come till it was almoſt dark. On ſaturday morning the twenty-ninth of May, they met in the abbey church-yard about three o'clock, being no more than twelve in all (*b*). There they agreed, that Kircaldy ſhould take ſix perſons with him and ſecure the gate, that the reſt might enter, which he accordingly did, entertaining the porter with ſome diſcourſe, about the time when the Cardinal would be ſtirring and might be ſpoke with; then came Norman Leſley and two more; and laſtly John Leſley with the other two, upon the ſight of whom, the porter made towards the draw-bridge, but they ſeized him, took the keys from him, and ſecured the gate (*c*). The next thing they did, was to ſend four perſons to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; they afterwards went and called up the ſervants, to whom they were very well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out at the gate, as they did above an hundred workmen employed in repairing the caſtle, but the eldeſt ſon of the Regent, who was with the Cardinal, they kept for their own ſecurity. All this they did with ſo little noiſe, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door, upon which he cried out, Who is there? John Leſley anſwered, My name is Leſley; Which Leſley? replied

(*t*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 336, 337. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(*u*) Buchan. ubi ſupra. Lell. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 42.

(*w*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 82. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(*x*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(*z*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 88.

(*a*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood's Church Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory. P. ii. p. 183.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*c*) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 183.

replied the Cardinal, Is it Norman? Anſwer was made him, That he muſt open the door to thoſe who were there; inſtead of doing which he ſecured it the beſt he could (*d*). They then called for fire, and while it was fetching he conferred with them; and upon promiſe made him that no violence ſhould be uſed towards his perſon, he opened the door; when ruſhing in with their ſwords drawn, they without any regard to their promiſe given immediately murdered him (*e*). Thus fell the great Cardinal of St Andrew's, by a ſmall number of private enemies, after he had managed, in a manner abſolutely, all the affairs of Scotland for ſeven years, and had overcome ſeveral powerful oppoſitions formed againſt him. The circumſtances of his death have been differently reported, and variouſly cenſured, according to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded (*f*) [*N*]. As for the

(*d*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*e*) Sir David Lindſay's Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*f*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hiſt. of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, p. 71, 72. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 183, 184. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 43.

[*N*] *According to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded.*] In the account of the Cardinal's death we have given in the text, we depend chiefly on the authority of Archbiſhop Spotſwood, which agrees very well with that of Buchanan, except that there are ſome ſtrokes of bitterneſs in the one, which are very prudently left out in the other. It is however very material to ſee the colours which Buchanan gives to this action, becauſe there is no doubt that he, who was well acquainted with the principal perſons concerned therein, had as good intelligence as it was poſſible both of the real grounds upon which this action was committed, and the pretences given out to ſave appearances in the world, and to juſtify the conduct of thoſe concerned in it, as far as poſſible. Buchanan having related the manner of Wiſhart's ſuffering, and the reputation the Cardinal acquired thereby with the popiſh party, proceeds thus (85). 'This luxuriant and ſuperlative joy 'of the prieſts for their obtained victory, rather irri-'tated than diſcouraged the minds not only of the 'promiſcuous vulgar, but even of ſome great and 'noble perſons too. They fretted that things were 'come to that paſs by their puſilanimity and cowardice, 'and now they thought ſome bold act or other was 'to be attempted and hazarded, or elſe they muſt re-'main ſlaves for ever. Led by this ſame motive, 'more company came in to them, whoſe grief forced 'them to break out into complaints againſt the Car-'dinal, ſo they encouraged one another to rid this 'Prieſt out of the way, and either to recover their 'liberty, or loſe their lives. For what hopes of 'thriving, ſaid they, can there be under ſo arrogant a 'prieſt, and ſo cruel a tyrant, who makes war againſt 'God as well as man, and thoſe not his enemies only, 'as were all ſuch as had eſtates, or were any way pious, 'but for a ſmall grudge he will haul a man as a hog out 'of the ſty to be ſacrificed to his luſts? And beſides, 'he is a publick encourager and maintainer of war 'both at home and abroad, and in his private capacity 'he mixeth the love of harlots with lawful marriages, 'legitimate wedlock he diſſolves at pleaſure, at home 'he wallows in luſt among his minions, and abroad he 'ravages to deſtroy the innocent.' As for Biſhop Leſly, he gives but a very ſhort account of the matter; but, however, he obſerves that the murder was committed by men who, whatever they might pretend of zeal for the publick good, were in reality highly incenſed againſt the Cardinal from private and particular motives (86). Norman Leſly was angry becauſe the eſtate of Eaſter Weems was taken from him upon Lord Colvin's being pardoned, which had been given to him upon that Lord's forfeiting. John Leſly had borne an old grudge againſt the Cardinal, and had publickly vowed revenge. As for Kircaldy of Grange, he was moved to it by his reſentment for his father's being removed from the poſt of treaſurer in the late King's reign, which he had executed with great advantage to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to the people. In reſpect to Carmichael, he too had a diſpute with the Cardinal about lands, for which he hated him mortally. As for the reſt of the people concerned in the fact, they were either dependants upon, or ſervants to, the gentlemen beforementioned, and at their command would have done the ſame thing againſt any other perſon. The account of the Cardinal's death, which is inſerted in his hiſtory of his own times by the famous Preſident de Thou, better known by his Latin name Thuanus, is taken from Buchanan, upon whoſe credit he relates at large the circumſtance of Mr Wiſhart's prophecy, and the accompliſhment of it in ſuch a manner, as very plainly ſhews that he firmly believed it (87). But it is very remarkable, that William Harriſon, or whoever compiled the hiſtory of Scotland, which is inſerted in the firſt volume of Hollinſhed's Chronicle, tho' he takes the whole of the ſtory from Buchanan, yet omits that circumſtance (88); and tho' in another place he gives ſome account of the life of Cardinal Beaton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, yet he ſays nothing therein either of Wiſhart's foretelling his death, or of it's being looked upon as the judgment of God on the Cardinal for that pious man's ſuffering (89), which is the more extraordinary, becauſe Buchanan inſiſts ſo much upon it, and makes it the chief reaſon why the people of St Andrew's diſperſed and raiſed the ſiege of the caſtle immediately after the fact was committed (90). In *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, which, as we have ſaid, is commonly aſcribed to John Knox, as being for the moſt part taken from his papers, there is a very full relation of this tranſaction, and with circumſtances ſo different from thoſe that are contained in the other accounts, that it deſerves the reader's particular notice, the rather becauſe it is this very paſſage which induced Archbiſhop Spotſwood to maintain, that great injury was done to Mr Knox in publiſhing that book under his name (91). But if it be conſidered, that Mr Knox of his own accord went into the caſtle of St Andrew's, and preached for many months to the perſons concerned, we can hardly ſuppoſe that if he left any papers relating to the hiſtory of the Church, he ſhould omit ſo remarkable a paſſage as this, with the particulars of which ſcarce any man could be ſo well acquainted as himſelf. The account before-mentioned (92) runs thus. 'Many purpoſes 'were deviſed how that wicked man might have been 'taken away, but all failed 'till Friday the 28th of 'May, 1546, when the aforeſaid Norman came at 'night to St Andrew's, William Kirkaldy of Grange 'Younger was in the town before, waiting upon the 'purpoſe; laſt came John Leſly aforeſaid, who was 'moſt ſuſpected. What concluſion they took that 'night it was not known but by the iſſue that fol-'lowed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, 'the 29th of May, were they in ſundry companies in 'the Abbey church-yard, not far diſtant from the 'caſtle. Firſt, the gates being open, and the draw-'bridge let down for receiving of lime and ſtone, and 'other things neceſſaries for building (for Babylon was 'almoſt finiſhed), firſt, we ſay, aſſayed William Kir-'kaldy of Grange Younger, and with him ſix perſons, 'and getting entry, held purpoſe with the porter if 'my Lord Cardinal was waking? Who anſwered, No; 'and ſo it was indeed, for he had been buſy at his ac-'counts with Mrs Marion Ogilby that night, who was 'eſpied to depart from him by the privy poſtern that 'morning, and therefore quietneſs, after the rules of 'phyſick, and a morning ſleep, was requiſite for my 'Lord. While the ſaid William and the porter talked, 'and his ſervants made them to look to the work and 'the workmen, approached Norman Leſly with his 'company, and becauſe they were no great number, 'they eaſily got entry. They advanced to the midſt 'of the court, and immediately came John Leſly 'ſomewhat rudely, and four perſons with him. The 'porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge, but the 'ſaid John being entered therein, ſtaid it and leaped 'in, and while the porter made him for defence, his 'head was broke, the keys were taken from him, and 'he caſt into the ditch, and ſo the place was ſeized. 'The workmen, to the number of more than an hun-'dred, run to the walls, and were without hurt put 'forth at the wicket-gate. The firſt thing that ever 'was done, William Kircaldy took the guard of the 'privy poſtern, fearing that the fox ſhould have eſcaped. 'Then go the reſt to the gentlemen's chambers, and 'without violence done to any man, they put more 'than fifty perſons to the gate. The number that en-'terprized,

(85) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(86) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 481.

(87) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. lib. iii.

(88) Hollinſhed's Hiſt. of Scotland, in his Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 359.

(89) Id. ibid. p. 452.

(90) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

(91) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 85.

(92) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71, 72.

the character of this famous man, it may beſt be collected from his actions. That he had great parts is certain, and that his pride and ambition were boundleſs is no leſs certain; that he was a zealous friend to the Popiſh religion cannot be doubted, and that this zeal of his altered his natural temper is very probable; for except in matters of religion, he was ſo far from acting with ſeverity, that he ſeems to have carried every thing rather by perſuaſion than by force. Though he was not remarkable for his learning by any writings that he publiſhed, yet he was very far from being deficient in that point; and though he is grievouſly

'terprized, and did this, was but ſixteen perſons. The 'Cardinal waking with the ſhouts, aſked from his win-'dow, What meant that noiſe? It was anſwered, 'That Norman Leſly had taken his caſtle; which 'underſtood, he run to the poſtern, but perceiving 'the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly 'to his chamber, and took his two-handed ſword, and 'cauſed his chamberlain to caſt cheſts and other im-'pediments to the door. In the mean time came 'forth John Leſly unto it, and bids *open*. The Car-'dinal aſking, *Who calls?* He anſwered, *My name is 'Leſly*. He demands again, *Is that Norman?* The 'other ſays, *No, my name is John. I will have Nor-'man*, ſays the Cardinal, *for he is my friend. Content 'yourſelf with ſuch as are here, for others ſhall you get 'none*. There were with the ſaid John, James Mel-'vin, a man familiarly acquainted with Maſter George 'Wiſcharde, and Peter Charmichael, a ſtout gentle-'man. In the mean time, while they force at the 'door, the Cardinal hides a box of gold under coals 'that were laid in a ſecret corner. At length he aſks, '*Will ye ſave my life?* The ſaid John anſwers, *It 'may be that we will. Nay* (ſaid the Cardinal), *ſwear 'unto me by God's wounds, and I will open you*. Then 'anſwered the ſaid John, *It that was ſaid is unſaid*, and 'ſo cried, *Fire! fire!* (for the door was very ſtrong), 'and ſo was brought a chimney full of burning coal, 'which perceived, the Cardinal, or his chamberlain '(it is uncertain), opened the door, and the Cardinal 'ſat down in a chair, and cried, *I am a Prieſt! I 'am a Prieſt! ye will not ſlay me*. The ſaid John 'Leſly (according to his former vows) ſtroke him 'once or twice, and ſo did the ſaid Peter. But James 'Melvin (a man of nature moſt genteel and moſt mo-'deſt) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, 'and ſaid, *This work and judgment of* God *(although 'it be ſecret) ought to be done with greater gravity*; 'and preſenting unto him the point of the ſword, ſaid, '*Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially 'of the ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtrument 'of* God, *Mr* George Wiſcharde, *which albeit the 'flame of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it for 'vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to re-'venge it; for here, before my God, I proteſt, that nei-'ther the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor 'the fear of any trouble thou could have to me in par-'ticular, moved or moveth me to ſtrike thee, but only 'becauſe thou haſt been, and remained an obſtinate 'enemy againſt* Chriſt Jeſus *and the holy goſpel*. And 'ſo he ſtroke him twice or thrice through with a ſtag 'ſword, and ſo he fell, never heard word out of his 'mouth, but *I am a Prieſt! Fie! fie! all is gone!* 'While they were buſied with the Cardinal, the fray 'roſe in the town, the Provoſt raiſed the commonalty, 'and comes to the houſe ſide, crying, *What have you 'done with my Lord Cardinal? Where is my Lord Car-'dinal? Have ye ſlain my Lord Cardinal?* They that 'were within, anſwered gently, *Beſt it were for you to 'return to your own houſes, for the man ye call the 'Cardinal has received the reward, and in his own 'perſon will trouble the world no more*. But then they 'more inragedly cry out, we ſhall never depart 'till 'we ſee him, and ſo was he brought to the Eaſt Block-'houſe head, and ſhewed dead over the wall to the 'faithleſs multitude, which would not believe before 'they ſaw, and ſo they departed without, *Requiem æter-'nam et requieſcat in pace*, ſung for his ſoul. Now be-'cauſe the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye 'have heard) and his funerals could not ſoon be pre-'pared, it was thought beſt to keep him from ſtink-'ing to give him great ſalt enough, a cope of lead, 'and a corner in the bottom of the ſea tower (a place 'wherein many of God's children have been impriſoned 'before), to wait what exequies his brethren the Bi-'ſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write 'merrily, but we would that the reader ſhould ob-'ſerve God's juſt judgments, and how he can depre-'hend the worldly wiſe in their own opinion, make 'their table to be a ſnare to trap their own feet, and 'their purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtruc-'tion. Theſe are the works of our God, whereby he 'would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the 'end he will be revenged of their cruelty what ſtrength 'ſoever they make to the contrary. But ſuch is the 'blindneſs of man (as David ſaith), that the poſterity 'doth ever follow the footſteps of their wicked fathers, 'and principally in their impiety, for how little dif-'fers the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called 'Biſhop of St Andrew's, from the cruelty of the for-'mer, we will after hear.' It ſeems from this laſt paſſage, that this account was written very ſoon after the thing happened, and while all the circumſtances were freſh in the writer's mind, which renders it ſo much the more probable it was really penned by John Knox; and another circumſtance which makes it ſtill more likely is, that the whole relation is found in the firſt octavo edition. But whereas in that edition againſt the recital of James Melvin's killing the Cardinal, there was this marginal note 'the *goldly* fact and words of 'James Melvin;' the word *goldly* in the quarto and folio editions is left out. We muſt conſider this how-ever as a compliance with the milder diſpoſition of the times, for Mr Fox the Martyrologiſt ſcruples not ſay-ing, *the gentlemen were ſtirred up by the Lord* (93). Mr Calderwood (94) alſo tells us, in the ſame ſpirit with Mr Fox, *the* Cardinal *intended further if the* Lord *had not ſtirred up ſome men of courage to cut him off in time*. Upon theſe inſinuations the reverend Mr Jeremy Col-lier reflects very ſeverely, and ſays it is ſtrange to aſtoniſh-ment men ſhould defend ſuch things (95). The right reverend Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks of this tranſaction thus (96). 'This fact was differently cenſured, ſome juſti-'fied it, and ſaid it was only killing a mighty robber; 'others, that were glad he was out of the way, yet 'condemned the manner of it as treacherous and in-'human; and though ſome of the preachers did af-'terwards fly to that caſtle as a ſanctuary, yet none of 'them were neither actors or conſenters to it. It is 'true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find 'that any of them juſtified it. The exemplary and 'ſignal ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any 'of them dying an ordinary death, made all people 'the more inclined to condemn it.' It is not at all ſtrange, that even men of ſenſe and learning ſhould differ in their opinions of this fact; but it is very ſtrange, that amongſt all the Hiſtorians that have men-tioned it, there are ſcarce two that fix it upon the ſame day. To begin with Buchanan: He ſays the days were then very long, for it was about the Nones, i. e. the 7th of May. Biſhop Leſly places it on the 30th of May. Dempſter tells us he ſuffered on the 28th of May. John Bale ſays the ſame. Petrie, in his Church Hiſtory, ſays poſitively it was on the 7th of May in the morning. In Hollinſhed's Chronicle he is ſaid to have been killed on the 13th, but in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland*, both the day of the week and the day of the month are fixed, *viz.* Saturday, May the 29th, which is followed by Archbiſhop Spotſ-wood, and by Mr Keith. I am the rather inclined to think that this is a right date, becauſe I find that the 29th of May fell that year upon a Saturday, and that the Cardinal was killed on that day of the week, is ſet down in ſeveral collections of thoſe times. The reader will the leſs wonder at this, when he is told that the death of King James V, and indeed the moſt remark-able dates in the Scotch hiſtory, are not at all better fixed than this; ſo that there cannot well be a more troubleſome taſk aſſigned, than to put the memoirs of any remarkable perſon of that nation into tolerable order, more eſpecially if the facts relating to him are mentioned by ſeveral Hiſtorians, who in this, as well as in other points, ſeldom or never agree.

(93) Martyrolo-gy, Vol. II. p. 621.

(94) Hiſt. of the Church, p. 2.

(95) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 209.

(96) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

grievouſly cenſured by ſome, as well as highly extolled by others, yet it ſeems to be a thing agreed by all, that his abilities were no way inferior to his fortune (g) [O]. He was a great friend to his family, and though a Prieſt, left behind him poſterity, which yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country (b) [P]. He was ſo well beloved by the

(b) See this explained in the note [P].

(g) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Paul. Jovius Deſcrip. Scot.

[O] *His abilities were no way inferior to his fortune.*] It has been already ſhewn, in what light Buchanan would have the Cardinal conſidered in the deſcription he gives us of him, before he proceeds to the account of his death (97). Biſhop Leſly ſpeaks of him with great reverence and reſpect, but without giving us any large or full character of him (98). In the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, he is repreſented as a moſt barbarous and bloody man, and he is ſcarce mentioned in that book without ſome mark of infamy and reproach. It is hinted that he poiſoned his maſter, it is ſuggeſted that he had an intrigue with the Queen, it is poſitively affirmed he more than once contrived to have Mr Wiſhart murdered (99). But there is ſo much heat and paſſion expreſſed, that it is impoſſible to give any great credit to what is aſſerted there without proof. Spotſwood, though he relates his actions largely, yet declines ſaying any thing of his conduct or behaviour, except where he condemns him for cruelty, for perſecuting the favourers of the Reformation. Paulus Jovius, in his deſcription of Scotland, ſpeaking of St Andrew's, delivers himſelf thus (100). *In which See* David Beaton *at preſent preſides, honoured with the purple, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of his great actions, and the ſuperiority of his genius.* John Bale beſtows on him a very indifferent character, but ſuch an one as it is the reader ſhall have it in his own words (101). 'David Beaton, 'deſcended from no extraordinary family in Scotland, 'was, at his ſetting out in the world, a young man of a 'bold and wicked ſpirit, and, firſt in his own county, 'afterward in Paris, gave himſelf over entirely to flat'tery, ambition, and luxury, and the finding out ſome 'means for the ſupport of theſe. He wrought in ſuch 'a manner, that after ſome embaſſies to Francis I, and 'Paul III, he was preferred to be Archbiſhop of St 'Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, that he might 'extinguiſh the goſpel of Chriſt, which began to be 'preached there by thoſe who came out of England. 'Such was his behaviour in this ſtation, and he ſo 'perſecuted the godly, that by the ſame Paul III he 'was made Cardinal Prieſt, and Apoſtolick Legate, 'Sc.' Dempſter only ſays, *That having merited exceedingly of the Catholick religion, and of his country, 'he was promoted to theſe dignities.*' But I have ſeen a ſupplement to Dempſter, in which there is the following account of this great man, which in my judgment comes very near the truth. 'It frequently happens, 'that the ſame great qualities of mind which enable 'a man to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſplendor of his 'virtues, are ſo over-ſtrained or corrupted, as to render 'him no leſs notorious for his vices. Of this we have 'many inſtances in antient writers, but none by which it 'is more clearly diſplayed, than in the character of the 'Cardinal Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, David Beaton, 'who from his very childhood was extremely re'markable, and whoſe violent death had this in it 'ſingular, that his enemies knew no way to remove 'him from his abſolute authority but that. When he 'was but ten years of age he ſpoke with ſo much eaſe 'and gravity, with ſo much good ſenſe, and freedom 'from affectation, as ſurprized all who heard him. 'When he was little more than twenty, he became 'known to the Duke of Albany and to the court of 'France, where he tranſacted affairs of the greateſt 'importance, at an age when others begin to be ac'quainted with them only in books. Before he was 'thirty he had merited the confidence of the Regent, 'the attention of the French King, and the favour of 'his maſter, ſo that they were all ſuitors to the court 'of Rome in his behalf. He was ſoon after made 'Lord Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament 'to attend the young King at his Majeſty's own de'ſire. Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his 'age he was Biſhop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal 'of the Roman Church, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, 'and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he 'added, before he was fifty, thoſe of Lord High-'Chancellor, and Legate *à latere*. His behaviour 'was ſo taking, that he never addicted himſelf to the 'ſervice of any Prince or perſon, but he abſolutely 'obtained their confidence, and this power he had 'over the minds of others, he managed with ſo much 'prudence and diſcretion, that his intereſt never 'weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the 'Regent Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V, 'as long as they lived, and the French King and the 'Governor of Scotland equally regretted his loſs. He 'was indefatigable in buſineſs, and yet managed it 'with great eaſe. He underſtood the intereſts of the 'courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than 'any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted 'with the temper, influence, and weight, of all the no'bility in his own country. In time of danger he 'ſhewed great prudence and ſteadineſs of mind, and in 'his higheſt proſperity diſcovered nothing of vanity or 'giddineſs. He was a zealous churchman, and thought 'ſeverity the only weapon which could combat He'reſy. He loved to live magnificently, though not 'profuſely; for at the time of his death he was rich, 'and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But 'his failings were many, and his vices ſcandalous. 'His pride was ſo great, that he quarrelled with the 'old Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in his own city, and 'puſhed this quarrel ſo far, that their men fought in 'the very church. His ambition was boundleſs, for 'he took into his own hands the entire management of 'the affairs of the kingdom, civil and eccleſiaſtical, 'and treated the Engliſh Ambaſſador as if he had been a 'ſovereign Prince. He made no ſcruple of ſowing diſ'cord amongſt his enemies, that he might reap ſecu'rity from their diſputes. His jealouſy of the Go'vernor was ſuch, that he kept his eldeſt ſon as a 'hoſtage in his houſe, under pretence of taking care 'of his education. In point of chaſtity he was very 'deficient, for though we ſhould ſet aſide as calum'nies, many of thoſe things which his enemies have 'reported of his intrigues, yet the poſterity he left 'behind him, plainly proves that he violated thoſe 'vows to gratify his paſſions, which he obliged others 'to hold ſacred on the penalty of their lives. In a 'word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had 'his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had 'been leſs fatal, and his memory without blemiſh. As 'it is, we ought to conſider him as an eminent in'ſtance of the frailty of the brighteſt human faculties, 'and the inſtability of what the world calls Fortune.'

(97) See the quotation from Buchanan, in the remark [N].

(98) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450. lib. x. p. 481.

(99) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34, 42, 47, 50, 53.

(100) In Deſcrip. Scot.

(101) De Script. Britan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

He wrote, if we may depend upon Dempſter (102), *Memoirs of his own Embaſſies, a Treatiſe of* Peter's *Primacy*, which had been ſeen by William Barclay, and *Letters to ſeveral perſons*; of theſe laſt there are ſtill ſome copies, ſaid to be preſerved in the library of the French King.

(102) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

[P] *Yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country.*] The lady who lived with the Cardinal as his concubine, was Mrs Marion Ogilby, by whom he had ſix children; three ſons, to each of whom he gave a good eſtate in land; and three daughters, who were married into three as good families as any in Scotland (103). Mrs Ogilby was of that family, which has ſince born the honourable title of Earls of *Airly*, and lived many years after the deceaſe of the Cardinal, in great credit and reſpect. One of the ſons was Mr Alexander Bethune, Arch-Deacon of Lothian, and Laird of Carſgouny, who turned Proteſtant, married and eſtabliſhed the family of Nether-Tarvit, who bear quarterly, *firſt* and *fourth* azure, on a *feſs* between *lozenges* Or, *a leaf of betony* (alluding to the name Bethune) *ſlipped* Vert, *ſecond* and *third*, the arms of *Balfour*; creſt, *a Phyſicians ſquare-cap*; motto, *Reſolutio cauta* (104): From whence it ſhould ſeem, that Mr Petrie was miſ-informed, as to the falling of all theſe families to decay. The eldeſt daughter married the ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Crawfurd, and the marriage contract is ſtill in being, dated at St Andrew's, April the 10th, 1546; in which the Cardinal expreſsly ſtiles the bride, *my daughter* (105). The fortune he gave with her, was 4000 marks Scots, which muſt have been a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days, ſince King Henry VIII gave his neice, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, by the Earl of Angus, when he married her to Matthew

(103) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 184.

(104) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 214.

(105) Mackenzy's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. III. P. 28.

the people of St Andrew's, that as ſoon as they knew the caſtle was ſeized, they roſe in hopes of delivering him, but his dead body being expoſed from a window, their hearts failed them, and they diſperſed. The conſpirators in the caſtle were ſoon joined by many of their friends, who enabled them to hold out for a long time, and to make a tolerable capitulation at laſt, in conſequence of which they were tranſported to France, but the caſtle was afterwards demoliſhed, the true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes (*i*) [*Q*]. What Dempſter ſays, as to the apparent judgment of God upon Norman Leſley, is evidently falſe, and was no doubt contrived to pleaſe the Romaniſts, and to pay his court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſticks (*k*) [*R*]. But Archbiſhop Spotſwood, though he does

(*i*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(*k*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p 88.

thew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, no more than 6800 marks (106). But then it is to be conſidered, that the proportion between Engliſh and Scotch money was not the ſame that it is at preſent; for whereas the Scotch mark is now but thirteen pence and one third of a penny, it was then three ſhillings and four pence, or in other words, whereas eighteen Scotch marks now make a Scotch pound ſterling, there were then in it no more than ſix; ſo that the Cardinal gave his daughter a thouſand marks ſterling, which is ſix hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence. His other two daughters married into the houſes of Nairn and Kelly, which, if we may depend upon Mr Petrie, were ruined and come to nothing in his time (107). All theſe obſervations of his are calculated to ſhew, that the wrath of heaven purſued the Cardinal's family, which is a notion equally irreconcilable to the principles of the Chriſtian religion, to thoſe of common ſenſe, or to maters of fact.

(106) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 31.

(107) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church, P. ii. p. 184.

[*Q*] *The true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes.*] The evening of that day in which the Cardinal was killed, there came in about one hundred and forty perſons to join thoſe concerned in the action, and to aſſiſt them in defending the place, congratulating them upon the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and applauding them as the deliverers of their country (108). On the other hand, the government of Scotland ſummoned them to appear, and anſwer in a judicial way, for what they had done. In this ſituation things remained from May to November, when the Governor, wearied out by the clamours of the Queen and of the Clergy, marched at length with a body of forces to beſiege the caſtle, which he did for ſomewhat more than three months, but to no purpoſe; and therefore he raiſed it, in order to go to Edinburgh to hold a convention of the Eſtates, which he had ſummoned to be held in February. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſo ſmall a body of men, ſhould be ſo long able to hold out ſuch a place againſt the force of a whole kingdom; but then we are to conſider, that at the very time they ſeized it, the Cardinal had juſt repaired and fortified the place, and had filled the magazines, that it might be in a condition to reſiſt the Engliſh, in caſe they ſhould land upon that coaſt. Beſides this, they were very well ſupplied from England, whither they ſent Mr Henry Balnaves as their agent, and they had alſo another ſecurity againſt the Governor, which was their finding his eldeſt ſon in the caſtle, whom they kept for their ſecurity, and in the nature of a hoſtage, as the Cardinal had formerly done for his (109). But that theſe men were not ſuch virtuous and godly people, as the hiſtory of the Reformation, and ſome other writers repreſent them, appears very clearly from what Mr Buchanan tells us of their behaviour, after the Governor had raiſed his ſiege. 'They who held the caſtle, 'ſays he, being thus out of all fear of their enemy, 'did not only make frequent excurſions into the neigh-'bouring parts, and commit depredations with fire 'and ſword all round, but as if the liberty gotten by 'their arms, were to be ſpent in whoredom, adul-'teries, and ſuch vices, they ran into all wickedneſs 'which idle perſons are ſubject to; for they meaſured 'right or wrong by no other rule but their own luſt, 'neither could they be reclaimed by John Knox, who 'then came to them, and often warned them that God 'would not be mocked, but would take ſevere pu-'niſhments on thoſe who were violators of his laws, 'even by thoſe whom they leaſt dreamed of; yet his 'exhortations could not ſtop the courſe of their im-'piety (110).' The ſucceſs they had in defending themſelves, did not hinder their liſtening to propoſitions made them for ſurrendring the place upon reaſonable conditions, amongſt which one was, that they ſhould have an abſolution from Rome, which came over in June 1547, conceived, in other reſpects, in very ſtrong terms, but becauſe the crime of which they had been guilty was ſtiled, *irremiſſible*, they refuſed to accept it, alledging, that if the crime was unpardonable, they could reap no benefit from a pardon. The truth of the matter was, that they had now from England ſettled pay for the ſoldiers in the caſtle, at the rate of 1180 *l.* for the half year, beſides good penſions for the principal perſons, ſo that they thought there was no haſte neceſſary in making terms (111). But it was not long before they changed their opinion, for, when they leaſt expected it, a fleet arrived from France, commanded by Leon Strozzi, who blocked up the caſtle on one ſide, as the Governor did with his army on the other. They were now in earneſt to reduce the place, and therefore planted ſome of their artillery in the ſteeples, which had a terrible effect, and what increaſed their calamity was, the breaking out of the plague in the place itſelf, by which many were carried off. Theſe misfortunes drove them to ſuch diſtreſs, that by the end of July they were content to ſurrender, but choſe to do it by capitulation with the French, who granted them no other terms than preſerving their lives and carrying them over to France, where they were to be ſet at liberty to go where they would (112). By this agreement the French became poſſeſſed not only of all the Cardinal's wealth and rich furniture, but of all that many of theſe people had in the world, which from a notion of ſecurity they had brought into the caſtle. As ſoon as they had evacuated the place, and the French fleet was ſailed, the caſtle of St Andrew's, in purſuance of an act of council, was demoliſhed, out of reſpect, as was generally given out, to an injunction of the canon law, which directs, that the place where a Cardinal has been ſlain ſhall be ruined and laid level with the ground; but the Governor and Council however proceeded on a much better and more ſubſtantial reaſon, which was an apprehenſion that the Engliſh, who at this time invaded their country both by land and ſea, might make themſelves maſters of this fortreſs, and from thence infeſt and deſtroy all the neighbouring country, which was very open and defenceleſs (113).

(111) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 8.

(112) Buchan. Leſl. Keith, Burnet.

(113) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church, p. 88.

[*R*] *His court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſticks.*] The humour of diſcovering God's judgments in all remarkable events was very ſtrong at this time, as has been largely ſhewn in the courſe of this article; but it muſt be allowed that Dempſter outdoes all the attempts of this kind in the following inſtance (114). 'This great Prelate, as he tells us, being 'ſlain by barbarous Hereticks in his bed-chamber, his 'principal perſecutor *Leſly* piſſed in his mouth, and 'afterwards cauſed his dead body, in his Cardinal's 'robes, to be hanged againſt a wall, and expoſed it to 'ſacrilegious inſults; for which, however, God after-'wards inflicted due puniſhments, ſince none of theſe 'wicked murderers eſcaped a violent death: As for 'Leſly himſelf falling dead from his ſteed, the horſe, 'which was a wonderful thing, ſtaled in his mouth, 'ſhewing thereby the certainty and ſeverity (though 'ſometimes delayed) of divine vengeance.' It falls out, not a little unluckily for Dempſter, that he fixes on the only perſon, who, ſuppoſing this doctrine to have ſome foundation, was moſt likely to have eſcaped ſuch a particular judgment, and that for this plain reaſon; that, ſo far as we know, he was the only one concerned in the Cardinal's murder, who gave publick marks of his ſincere repentance. For Biſhop Leſley (115) tells us, that he was wrought on while in heat of paſſion to reſolve upon this action, and that being ever afterwards diſturbed with a remorſe of conſcience, he laboured by all means poſſible to atone for what was paſſed, by doing good to the friends and relations of the deceaſed Cardinal. But to ſhew the falſehood of the fact, and thereby remove entirely the credit of this ſtrange ſtory, it

(114) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(115) De Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 482.

(108) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 73.

(109) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 87, 88. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337, 338. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 47.

(110) Buchan. Rer. Scot Hiſt. lib. xv.

does not ſpeak at all favourably of the Cardinal, ſeems to give into this opinion, concluding his account of that great Prelate's death with this obſervation (*l*). *Indeed, few or none of thoſe who had an hand in that work eſcaped an extraordinary judgment, God thereby declaring, that howſoever it pleaſe him, in the execution of his judgments, to uſe ſometimes the miniſtry and ſervice of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked diſpoſition, and for the moſt part, faileth not to reward them with the ſame, or the like, that they do unto others.*

(*l*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 84.

it will be requiſite to give a ſhort account of what became of Norman Lord Leſly to the time of his death. While he remained in the caſtle, he had a penſion allowed him by King Henry VIII of two hundred and eighty pounds, which he alſo enjoyed during the reign of King Edward VI, but upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary an order of council was made, not only to ſtop the payment of all Scotch penſions, but alſo to oblige ſuch as had received them to leave the kingdom by a day certain, upon which he ſent over a gentleman to offer his ſervice to King Henry the Second of France in his wars againſt the Emperor (116), which was readily accepted on account of his known reputation for perſonal courage; and Biſhop Leſley tells us expreſsly, that he did this with a view to wipe off the ſtain he had brought upon his family, by being engaged in the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, for which his father the Earl of Rothes had been brought to his trial, and acquitted. In theſe wars he diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt remarkably, and we have the following account of the manner of his death from Sir James Melvil *, a man of great honour, and an eye-witneſs of it. 'The Conſtable of France, 'ſays he, having beſieged the city of Reny, and the 'Emperor having come to their relief, Norman Leſly, 'Maſter of Rothes, won great reputation, for with 'thirty Scoſtmen he rode up the hill upon a fair grey 'gelding; he had above his coat of black velvet his 'coat of armour, with two broad white croſſes, the 'one before, and the other behind, with ſleeves of 'mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he 'was known and ſeen afar off by the Conſtable, the 'Duke of Anguin, and the Prince of Conde, where 'with his thirty he charged upon ſixty horſe with culverines, followed but with ſeven of his number. He 'in our ſight ſtruck five of them from their horſes 'with his ſpear before it broke, then he drew his 'ſword, and run in amongſt them, not valuing their 'continual ſhooting, to the admiration of all the beholders. He ſlew divers of them, and at length, 'when he ſaw a company of ſpearmen coming down 'againſt him, he gave his horſe the ſpurs, who carried 'him to the Conſtable, and there fell down dead, for 'he had many ſhots, and worthy Norman was alſo 'ſhot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteeen days 'after. He was firſt carried to the King's own tent, 'where the Duke of Anguin and Prince of Conde told 'his Majeſty, That Hector of Troy was not more 'valiant than the ſaid Norman, whom the ſaid King 'would ſee dreſſed by his own Chirurgeons, and made 'great moan for him, and ſo did the Conſtable and all 'the reſt of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to 'the camp the next day after.' But as we have mentioned Sir James Melvil's memoirs upon this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to give an account from them, alſo of the death of the Cardinal, which he poſitively aſcribes to King Henry the Eighth, who, he ſays, perceiving clearly that all his deſigns on that kingdom were defeated by that man (117), 'he, to be revenged 'on that Cardinal, dealt with Sir George Douglas 'and the Earl of Angus, who were but lately returned 'out of England, where they had reſided during the 'time of their baniſhment till the death of King 'James V. Theſe two brothers appearing to be of 'the Reformed Religion, perſuaded Norman Leſly, 'Maſter of Rothes, the young Laird of Grange, and 'John Leſly of Park-hill, who had been perſecuted 'by the ſaid Cardinal for religion, after he had taken 'their preacher Mr George Wiſhart, and burnt him at 'St Andrew's. Theſe, I ſay, were eaſily ſtirred up 'to ſlay him, whom they were perſuaded to be an 'enemy to the true religion, to the welfare of the 'country, and to themſelves in particular. This 'proud Cardinal was ſlain then in his caſtle of St 'Andrew's, ſo ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for his pretences, and 'ſudden death.' If we may give credit to this, the putting the Cardinal to death was no act of patriotiſm, as Buchanan repreſents it, but a downright conſpiracy againſt a man that ſtood in their way, by a few bold Politicians who had very little, if any, religion. This was Archbiſhop Spotſwood's opinion, who, though he was too honeſt a man to frame, like Dempſter, a falſe ſtory to ſerve his purpoſe, yet he has made no ſcruple of treating the death of Sir William Kircaldie of Grange, who in 1573 was hanged in the graſs-market of Edinburgh, for holding out the caſtle againſt the Earl of Morton, then Regent, as a judgment upon him for the ſhare he had in the death of the Cardinal. His words, which are very remarkable, are theſe (118). 'Such was the end of Sir William Kirkaldie 'of Grange, a man full of valour and courage, who 'had ſometimes done good ſervice to his country 'againſt the French, and purchaſed by that means 'great honour. But ſeeking ambitiouſly to raiſe his 'fortunes, and hearkening to perverſe counſel, he did 'break his faith to the Regent who had put him in 'truſt, and thereby loſt all his former eſteem, and 'drew upon himſelf theſe troubles, wherein he periſhed. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it when he was in his beſt eſtate, 'many did foredeem that he ſhould not eſcape ſome 'misfortune' Biſhop Burnet ſeems to have been governed in his opinion of this action by the ſame kind of obſervation, for having ſtated very fairly what was ſaid for and againſt it, he concludes (119), *The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people more inclined to condemn it.* X

(116) Mackenzy's Lives of Scot. Writers, Vol. III. p. 28.

(*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 17.

(117) Id. ibid. p. 7.

(118) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 252.

(119) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 337.

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (JAMES) Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, nephew to the former, being the ſon of his elder brother, Mr Beaton or Bethune of Balfour (*a*); a Prelate of great prudence, moderation, and learning, as appears by the high character given him by all his contemporaries, though many differed from him in ſentiments, both with reſpect to Politicks and Religion. He was educated with great care both at home and abroad, but chiefly at Paris, under the eye of Abbot Bethune, then Reſident or Miniſter from James V to Francis I (*b*). By this means he came very early into buſineſs, and was employed in matters of the greateſt importance by his uncle, when he came in a manner to govern Scotland. Yet it does not appear, by what intermediate ſteps he was raiſed to the great preferment of Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to which he was conſecrated in 1552, as ſome writers tell us, at Rome, whither very probably he was ſent, to lay before the Pope an account of the ſituation of eccleſiaſtical affairs after the murder of his uncle (*c*). The authors of the common Hiſtories of Scotland, mention him as the immediate ſucceſſor of Gawen Dunbar in that See, in which they are right, but it was after a long vacancy, of which they take not the leaſt notice. For Archbiſhop Dunbar died June 30, 1547 (*d*), ſo that our Prelate did not ſucceed him till five years afterwards. He was no ſooner advanced to this dignity, than he began to be conſidered as one of the ableſt, and at the ſame time one of the moſt powerful, perſons in the king-

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 125.

(*b*) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(*d*) This appears by a donation to the Lord Somerville of the baliffwick of Lileſclewther, in the crown by the Archbiſhop's demiſe.

dom (*e*). He had the confidence of the Earl of Arran then Regent; his neice, Mrs Mary Beaton, was the Queen's favourite in France; and in regard to his uncle's memory, as well as his own perſonal merit, he was highly eſteemed by the Queen-Dowager, who was endeavouring to gain the regency of the kingdom, to which, before herſelf, no woman had ever aſpired (*f*). In order to carry this point, it was judged neceſſary to procure the conſent of the States, to the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin, which was accordingly done, though ſecretly oppoſed by the Regent, and in the month of December 1557. the ſame Parliament which had conſented to the marriage, appointed alſo certain Commiſſioners to be preſent at it (*g*). Theſe Commiſſioners were James Beton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; David Panter, Biſhop of Roſs, then Secretary of State; Robert Reid, Biſhop of Orkney, then Preſident of the Seſſion; George Leſly, Earl of Rothes, of the Privy Council; Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caſſills, Lord High-Treaſurer; James Lord Fleming, High-Chamberlain; George Lord Seton; James Stewart, Prior of St Andrew's, the Queen's baſtard brother; and James Ereſkine of Dun (*h*). They had very large and ſtrict inſtructions given them, in reference to the contracts, and other inſtruments that were to be ſigned before the marriage, and moſt evident it is from them, that the States conſidered this as one of the moſt arduous commiſſions, and of the greateſt conſequence to the nation, ever entruſted to any ſubjects [*A*]. In diſcharge of this commiſſion, moſt of the perſons beforementioned, embarked at Leith the February following, and, not without ſuffering ſome loſs, and being expoſed to much danger, arrived at Paris, where, after many diſputes, they were preſent, at laſt, at the propoſed marriage, between Francis Dauphin of France, and Mary Queen of Scots, which was celebrated April 24, 1558, in the cathedral church of *Nôtre Dame*, the ceremony being performed by the Archbiſhop of Rouen (*i*). On the twenty-eighth, the Commiſſioners took an oath of allegiance to King Francis and Queen Mary, but when the French Court endeavoured to draw them into farther compliances, they ſhewed a juſt firmneſs to their truſt, and could not by any means be brought to yield in any thing, to what was inconſiſtent with their inſtructions; by which ſteadineſs of theirs all the French ſchemes were entirely defeated (*k*) [*B*]. After all

(*e*) Buchan, Leſl. Spotſwood, Knox, Keith, &c.

(*f*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 518. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 478.

(*g*) Keith's Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 72.

(*h*) Buchan. Leſl. Spotſwood.

(*i*) Pere Daniel Hiſt. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 136.

(*k*) See this matter explained in note [*B*].

[*A*] *Of the greateſt conſequence to the nation ever intruſted to any ſubjects.*] We muſt, in order clearly to comprehend this, conſider the ſituation of things in that kingdom when this commiſſion was given, and next the nature and deſign of the commiſſion itſelf. The young Queen Mary was the laſt of the line of Stuart, and by her marriage the kingdom was either to obtain much good and a powerful ally, or muſt be expoſed to many and great dangers. We find the States agreed to her marriage with Francis, Dauphin of France, and the buſineſs was to provide, that this ſhip might procure as many benefits, and expoſe the kingdom to as few inconveniencies, as poſſible; to which end theſe commiſſioners were choſen and inſtructed. Their commiſſion, which is ſtill preſerved, bears date the 14th of December, 1557, and is ſubſcribed by the Governor, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, many of the Nobility, and ſome of the Commons; and the principal points in their inſtructions were, I. To obtain from their ſovereign Lady Queen Mary, by and with the conſent of her Curators, before the marriage, and by and with the advice and conſent of the King of France her father-in-law, and the Dauphin her huſband afterwards, a full and ample ratification of the act paſſed in the Parliament held in the convent near Haddington, July 7, 1548, for the transferring the perſon of her Majeſty to France. II. To obtain from the King of France a ratification of the promiſes made to the Duke of Chaſtelherault, for ſo the Governor James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had been created in that kingdom, for ſupporting him in his claim to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the Queen's Majeſty ſhould chance to die without children; to obtain farther, after the marriage, a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the Queen and her huſband the Dauphin, as alſo a full diſcharge to the ſaid Duke for the diſpoſitions he had made of the publick money, &c. during the time of his regency. III. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a promiſe, in the moſt ample form, to preſerve and keep all the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the ſame, whole and entire, as in the days of her Majeſty's royal anceſtors, Kings of Scotland. IV. To obtain from the Queen and her future huſband, an ample commiſſion for a Regent to govern the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, according to the laws and privileges above-mentioned. Theſe they did accordingly obtain, in as full and ample manner as they were inſtructed But ſuch was the baſeneſs and perfidy of the French court, in the midſt of all this ſeeming candour and fair dealing, that they contrived to defeat theſe very grants and conceſſions while they were making. For notwithſtanding all the ſolemn declarations made by that King, and his ſon the Dauphin, to the Queen, yet in one day, *viz.* the 4th of April, they made the poor young Queen ſubſcribe the three following papers, *viz.* one, wherein ſhe makes over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in caſe ſhe ſhall happen to die without children. Another, in which ſhe is made to aſſign to the King of France the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland, after her deceaſe without children, until he ſhall be reimburſed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any great ſum that he ſhall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education during her abode in France. And a third (the worſt of all), by which the Queen declares, that although both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the deſire of her Parliament, ſhe ſhall ſign a declaration touching the lineal ſucceſſion of her Crown; yet ſhe proteſts that the genuine ſenſe of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers. There are authentick copies of all theſe inſtruments in a large fair manuſcript, preſerved in the Advocate's library in Edinburgh, which manuſcript contains all the treaties and other publick tranſactions between the Crowns of France and Scotland, and was by the order of Louis XIV tranſcribed from the publick records, for, and beſtowed on, the Lord Viſcount Preſton when Ambaſſador to him from King Charles II, in lieu of a conſiderable (but uſual) preſent in gold offered him at his departure, and by him ſo depoſited, for preſerving theſe memorable pieces for the ſatisfaction and benefit of lateſt poſterity.

[*B*] *All the French ſchemes were entirely defeated.*] The French upon this, as well as other great occaſions, affected a great ſhew of candour and good faith in publick tranſactions, though at the ſame time they meant nothing leſs. Thus, ſoon after the arrival of the commiſſioners, they proceeded to ſign with them the marriage-contract, agreeable to a new commiſſion granted them by the Queen for that purpoſe, that her own and the Parliament's commiſſioners for this great affair might be the ſame. This contract bears date, April 19, 1557 (1), and appoints the Sunday following, *viz.* the 24th, for the celebration of the marriage, upon which day it was accordingly performed. The jointure aſſigned by it to the Queen is 60,000 Livres, in caſe the Dauphin ſhall die King of France, or a greater ſum if ſuch ſhall be found to have been ever given to a Queen of France. And it provides

(1) See a copy of this contract in Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, in the Appendix.

all their buſineſs was diſpatched, they began to provide for their return to Scotland, but before they were able to proceed from Dieppe, they loſt no leſs than four of their number, and many likewiſe of their ſervants, which happening in a very healthy ſeaſon, and when there was no ſickneſs in the country, occaſioned a very ſtrong ſuſpicion of poiſon, and the more ſo, as thoſe died, who declared themſelves with moſt heat againſt the projects of the French Miniſtry (*l*). The Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the ſurviving Commiſſioners, arriving on the ninth of October 1558, at Montroſe, a Parliament was immediately ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of November following. To this Parliament the Archbiſhop and his three colleagues repaired, and exhibited to the States, the ſeveral inſtruments they brought with them from France, as alſo, a general Act of Naturalization in favour of all Scotſmen; which papers being read and conſidered, an Act paſſed for the general naturalization of the French in Scotlend, and then an Act declaring the Parliament's entire and abſolute approbation of the Commiſſioners conduct in every reſpect (*m*). The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, after his return, acted as a Privy-Counſellor to the Queen-Dowager, appointed Regent of the kingdom of Scotland by her daughter, and laboured all he could to maintain peace by fair and equal meaſures, to which, according to the accounts given us by the beſt hiſtorians, that Princeſs was ſincerely inclined. But by the arts of ſome, and the open violence of others, the kingdom for the ſpace of three years after, was a ſcene of fury, faction, fraud, and folly, ſo that all things ran into confuſion, and this chiefly on the ſcore of religion, for which, while in words both ſides expreſſed much zeal, their actions ſhewed it was little regarded by either. For the Papiſts on one hand, did all they could to blow up again the flames of perſecution, and on the other, the Reformers proceeded with ſuch violence, that they ſeemed bent upon deſtroying all monuments of antiquity, under colour of rooting out ſuperſtition (*n*). It was from this diſpoſition, that the Duke of Chaſtelherault, whom Cardinal Beaton drew from the Reformers, and who was now gone over to them again, came with a great force to Glaſgow, in the month of November 1559, and under pretence of pulling down images committed great havock in the cathedral, and alſo took poſſeſſion of the caſtle (*o*). But the Archbiſhop, with the aſſiſtance of a few French ſoldiers, ſoon recovered the place, but perceiving (that conſidering his principles) it was not probable he ſhould be able to remain there long in quiet, he began to prepare for a retreat into France, reſolving to carry with him the treaſures and records of his archiepiſcopal See, which accordingly he did, in the month of July 1560 (*p*), and carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris [C]. On his arrival in France, he was extremely well received by Queen Mary,

(*l*) Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray.

(*m*) See the Records of Parliament, in which all that regards this tranſaction is ſtill extant.

(*n*) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 117, *&c.* Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 146.

(*o*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 140. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 136.

(*p*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 141. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

now

vides 30,000 livres in caſe her huſband ſhall die, being only Dauphin. The eldeſt ſon of the marriage to be King of France and Scotland. The eldeſt daughter (in caſe there be no ſons) to be Queen of Scotland only, and to be given in marriage by the advice of the King of France and the Eſtates of Scotland, and beſides her inheritance of this kingdom, to have, as a daughter of France, 400,000 crowns in portion, and each younger daughter 300,000 crowns. After the death of her huſband, the Queen to be at liberty either to remain in France, or to return into Scotland at her pleaſure, and to carry along with her her ſervants, cloaths, jewels, and ſuch other things as belong to a Queen of France, and to have her jointure duly paid her in what place ſoever ſhe ſhall chuſe to abide. The commiſſioners from Scotland to give preſently after the marriage, in name of the Eſtates of Scotland, an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin during the ſubſiſting of the marriage, and the Dauphin ſhall bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and have his arms quartered with thoſe of Scotland, and when he comes to be King of France ſhall bear the title and arms of the two kingdoms of France and Scotland united under one crown. And to this all parties concerned did likewiſe promiſe and ſwear. The marriage being celebrated, it was now thought time to try what might be done with the commiſſioners, in order to bring them to promote the great deſign of the Guiſes, which was under colour of this marriage to gain the entire poſſeſſion of Scotland. The whole is ſuccinctly related by a great Hiſtorian thus (2). 'The court of France, ſays he, for 'ſome days being tranſported with the nuptial revels, 'when they came to themſelves called the Scots Ambaſſadors into council, where the Chancellor of 'France dealt with them to produce the crown and the 'other enſigns of royalty, and that the Queen's huſ'band ſhould be created King of Scotland according 'to cuſtom. To whom the Ambaſſadors anſwered in 'ſhort, That they had received no commands concern'ing thoſe matters. The Chancellor replied, That 'no more was deſired of them at preſent than what 'was in their power, *viz.* That when this matter 'came to be debated in the parliament of Scotland, 'they would give their ſuffrages in the affirmative, and 'give it under their hands that they would do ſo. 'That demand ſeemed to be fuller of peremptorineſs 'than the former, and therefore they thought it beſt 'to reject it with great vehemence and diſguſt, inſo'much that their anſwer was, *That their embaſſy was 'limitted by certain inſtructions and bounds, which they 'neither could or would tranſgreſs; but if they had 'been left free without any reſtriction at all, yet it 'was not the part of faithful friends to require that 'of them which they could not grant without certain in'famy and treachery, tho' there were no danger of life 'in the caſe. That they were willing to gratify the 'French, their old allies, as far as the juſt laws of 'amity required, and therefore they deſired them to 'keep within the ſame bounds of moderation in making 'their demands.*' This is a very clear teſtimony to the honour and fidelity of the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the commiſſioners, and from the ſame author we have a farther account of what happened to them afterwards, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (3). 'Thus the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed (3) Id. ibid. 'the court, and though they haſtened home as ſoon 'as they could, yet before they went a ſhipboard, 'four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George 'Leſly, Robert Reid, and James Fleming, all brave 'men and true patriots, departed this life, as did 'likewiſe many of their retinue, not without ſuſpicion 'of poiſon. It was thought that James, the Queen's 'brother, had alſo taken the ſame doſe, for although, 'by reaſon of the ſtrength of his conſtitution and his 'youth, he eſcaped death at that time, yet he lay un'der a conſtant weakneſs of ſtomach as long as he 'lived.'

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi.

[C] *Carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris.*] It was certainly a very wiſe and prudent ſtep in the Archbiſhop to ſecure his church-plate from being plundered under pretence of Reformation. The violences of thoſe times were ſuch, that it was with much difficulty private property was preſerved, and as to publick offices and preferments, they were coveted only for the ſake of what went along with them; and though there might be many zealous

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now Sovereign alſo of that country, and by all the Court of France to whom he was before known. Immediately after his departure, the Proteſtants in Scotland named Mr John Willock to preach at Glaſgow, ſeized all the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, and afterwards proceeded againſt the perſon of our Prelate (*q*). As his return to his own country was by this means rendered in a manner impracticable, and as his fidelity and capacity were well known to the Queen his miſtreſs, ſhe reſolved after the death of the King her conſort, and her going back to her hereditary dominions, to leave her affairs in France in his hands (*r*). Accordingly, in 1561, he was declared her Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, and on the firſt of June 1564, that commiſſion was renewed (*s*), under which he acted as long as her Majeſty lived, and having moſt carefully preſerved her letters, thoſe of her Miniſters, and other papers of ſtate communicated to him during that time; theſe form at once the moſt complete, the moſt curious, and moſt authentick memoirs of that unfortunate reign, that are ſtill any where remaining (*t*). The publiſhing this collection entire, would be unqueſtionably a great and acceptable ſervice to the lovers of true and genuine Hiſtory [*D*]. While he remained at Paris in quality of Ambaſſador of

(9) Supplement to Spotſwood.

(r) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 579. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

(s) This Commiſſion is ſtill extant amongſt the Archbiſhop's MSS.

(t) See this explained and ſupported in note [*D*].

in words, yet very few in their hearts had any real concern for the good of their country. The Archbiſhop ſaw and conſidered this, which induced him to take advantage of the going over of the French troops out of Scotland, in purſuance of a ſolemn agreement for that purpoſe, to tranſport himſelf, his effects, and the treaſury of his church, which it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable for him to have carried away at another time (4). It is impoſſible for us to give any exact account of what was then taken away, but the beſt writers agree, that the church of Glaſgow was very rich in plate of all ſorts, and we are particularly told that they had an image of Jeſus Chriſt made of gold, and the twelve Apoſtles in ſilver (5). Beſides the plate, he carried away all the writings, evidences, and records, belonging to his See, which by this means were preſerved from deſtruction: Amongſt theſe there were two chartularies, one of which, from it's character, as well as it's contents, is judged to be above 500 hundred years old; and the other, commonly called *The Red Book of Glaſgow*, was certainly written in the time of King Robert III. There were beſides many original charters, particularly one of King David I, with the ſeal well preſerved, as alſo bulls from the Popes, and the grants to and from the Biſhops of of this See, from the time of it's firſt erection (6). All theſe the Archbiſhop, ſoon after his arrival in France, placed in the monaſtery of the Carthuſians, founded by a Biſhop of Murray in 1325, and which has been ſince known to the world by the name of the Scotch college at Paris, to which he was himſelf ſo liberal a benefactor, that he has been eſteemed a ſecond founder, and beſides what he beſtowed in his life-time, beſtowed upon it at his death no leſs a ſum than 80,000 livres for the maintenance of poor ſcholars of his own nation (7). Theſe are certainly very ample and authentick, marks of a diſpoſition in that Prelate very ſuitable to his dignity, and it was this behaviour that gave him ſuch credit at the French court as he could never have obtained by leſs honeſt arts. This procured for him a rich abbey in Poictou, the treaſurerſhip of St Hilary the Great in the capital of that province, and the priory of St Peter's, which furniſhed him with the means of living decently, and affording ſome aſſiſtance to ſuch of his countrymen as were driven by the confuſions at home to ſeek for ſafety and a ſubſiſtence abroad (8). His behaviour in all reſpects was ſo prudent, and ſo free from any imputations of pride, ſelf-intereſt and revenge, that though he always continued faithful to the Queen his miſtreſs, and expreſſed the greateſt zeal upon all occaſions for her ſervice, yet we find little or nothing ſaid to his prejudice by ſuch as were enemies to her and to all her adherents, which is a manifeſt proof that virtue is it's own reward, and that men who behave with duty to their benefactors, moderation towards the reſt of the world, and are charitable in their opinions of ſuch as differ from them, may not only ſecure peace and tranquillity in the place of their exile, but alſo raiſe to themſelves a reputation equal, if not ſuperior to what would have waited upon them in better fortune. There is one thing ought to be added before I cloſe this note, which is, that the Archbiſhop, at the time he depoſited the valuable effects of his See with the Carthuſians at Paris, took care to make a declaration that it was in truſt only, and and for the benefit of his ſucceſſors, in caſe that any time thereafter the Romiſh religion ſhould prevail in Scotland (9), of which he was too wiſe a man to have any great hopes then; and as there is no ſort of probability of it now, it would be well if the papers there, of a publick nature, were committed to the preſs, the only way by which they can be made uſeful.

(4) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. x.

(5) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(6) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotch Library, p. 77.

(7) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 165.

(8) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(9) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 151.

[*D*] *To the lovers of true and genuine hiſtory.*] As the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow reſided in quality of Ambaſſador from Queen Mary and King James, from 1560 to 1603, and was all that time in the higheſt confidence with thoſe Princes, it might well be ſuppoſed that his papers would afford a curious and authentick collection, of the moſt important facts relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times, from which moſt of the printed hiſtories might receive, what it is plain they very much want, correction; and in this reſpect our Prelate was no leſs careful, than he had been with regard to the records of his Church, though it ſhould ſeem that equal attention was not paid to this laſt collection of papers, by which they have ſuffered much, though they are ſtill very valuable, and are capable of affording us many particulars not to be met with elſewhere. The beſt account that can be given the reader of theſe memoirs, in the condition they are now in, is the following letter from a perſon reſident in the Scotch college to the reverend Mr Keith, dated Paris, May 25, 1733 (10).

(10) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Appendix to the firſt Volume, p. 146.

'For your farther information as to the remains of the 'laſt Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, our ſecond founder, I 'muſt tell you, that though all or almoſt all his papers 'and letters of negotiations ſhould naturally have come 'to this houſe, to which he left the ſmall remains of 'his fortune, to wit, his moveables, yet it happens 'that many of theſe papers were ſcattered and want-'ing before our time by ſeveral chances, and 'tis even 'much that there is even ſo many remaining as yet. 'The firſt time I had occaſion to ſee them here, in or 'about *A. D.* 1686 or 1687, they were lying in con-'fuſed heaps or bundles in old trunks without locks, in 'a wardrobe expoſed to all hands, and thus they had 'lain for about eighty years after the Archbiſhop's 'death; and beſides that, many of them were carried 'off by curious or unſkilled people during that time, 'as I found by ſome important papers found in a 'Scots gentleman's houſe in the country, the remains 'of which I recovered. Beſides, I ſay, accidents 'which happened to them ſince the Archbiſhop's 'death, *I find* by Counſellor Blackwood's letter to the 'Archbiſhop, that he had the uſe of many important 'pieces concerning Queen Mary in the Archbiſhop's 'own time, whilſt he was writing at Poictiers the apo-'logy for that Queen, and ſo of others. But as I 'formerly wrote to you to prevent farther dilapidations 'of theſe papers in time to come, after reading them 'all over, and ranging them in order of time, we have 'cauſed to bind them up in volumes, and cyphered the 'pages. The chief reaſon why I take notice to you 'of the loſs made before our time of many of them, 'by the little concern and care our predeceſſors had of 'them, is to anſwer an objection made to me more 'than once, That it would ſeem that Queen Mary's 'cauſe was not ſufficiently juſtifiable, ſince there were 'no more important pieces for her juſtification to be 'met with now among the Archbiſhop her truſtee's pa-'pers. And I doubt not but that there were many 'and more important pieces among them when the

'Archbiſhop

of Scotland, he received very little, if any thing, from thence; for we find Mr James Boyd appointed Superintendant of that dioceſe after the death of Mr Willock, and upon the death of Mr Boyd in 1578, it was beſtowed on Mr Robert Montgomery, who, tho' a zealous Proteſtant, was ſo perſecuted by his brethren for accepting a biſhoprick, that in 1587 he reſigned it to Mr Ereſkine, by whom the beſt part of the revenues of the See, were granted away to the family of Lenox (*u*). But not long after, King James VI becoming of age, and having a full account of our author's fidelity to his mother, reſtored him both to the title and eſtate of his archbiſhoprick, of which he had been ſo long deprived. Before this, however, he had obtained ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments in France (*w*), for the ſupport of his dignity, which he enjoyed as long as he lived, King James continuing him there as his Ambaſſador, to whom he rendered many, and thoſe too important ſervices. He was univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed for his learning, loyalty, and hearty affection to his country (*x*). He was uniform in his conduct, ſincere in his religion, and unblamable in his morals. He was unfortunate in many reſpects, but more eſpecially in being driven from the cathedral chair, and from his country; but wonderfully happy in this, that he lived in credit abroad, beloved and admired by all parties, and left his memory unſtained to poſterity [*E*]. He died April 24, 1603, aged eighty-ſix, and was ſucceeded in his See by that grave and worthy Prelate Mr John Spotſwood.

(*u*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 364.

(*w*) Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(*x*) Con. de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scot. lib. ii. p. 165. Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125, 126. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

'Archbiſhop died than now remain.' We ſhall have frequent occaſion to make uſe of ſeveral of theſe letters in different parts of this work, that will ſufficiently ſhew both the nature and the value of this collection, which certainly deſerves the character that is given it by a learned and ingenious Prelate, who has done great juſtice to the hiſtories and antiquities of Scotland, and who, ſpeaking of the papers in the Scots college at Paris, makes uſe of theſe words, *viz.* (11) 'There are alſo letters and minutes 'of the ſaid Archbiſhop (digeſted in a good orderly 'manner), which might furniſh out a valuable hiſtory 'of the troubled face of affairs during all his miniſtry, 'and (conſequently) afford ſome of the beſt lights for 'the hiſtory of a couple of reigns which were both 'full of extraordinary occurrences.' It might be added, that from theſe papers moſt of the dates in which the printed hiſtories are ſo remarkably perplexed and deficient, may be ſet right, which alone would be a ſingular conveniency, and would contribute more than could well be imagined to the clearing up things within that period of time, by ſhewing what facts might poſſibly be true, and what could not be ſo, let there be what authorities there will to ſupport them. For the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, writing moſtly in a declamatory ſtile, very frequently join facts of a like nature, though long ſpaces of time intervened between them.

(11) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotiſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 77.

[*E*] *Left his memory unſtained to poſterity.*] If our Archbiſhop was reſtored to the revenues of his See, as ſome writers ſuggeſt, for the ten or twelve laſt years of his life, he might have grown rich, ſince, according to the beſt accounts I have been able to meet with, thoſe revenues might amount at that time to about four thouſand pounds a year Scots money; but I rather believe that he received but a part, and that the family of Lenox kept the reſt. His benefices in France muſt likewiſe have ſuffered during the civil wars in that kingdom, and without doubt his intereſt was not ſo great under the reign of Henry IV, upon account of his connections with the houſe of Guiſe, from which, by the mother's ſide, the Queen his miſtreſs was deſcended. His age and experience made him, however, reſpected to the laſt, for in theſe he had ſcarce any equal, as his epitaph takes notice (12). For he had ſat Archbiſhop of Glaſgow fifty-one years, and had been forty-two honoured with a publick character at the court of France, where he had ſeen a ſucceſſion of ſix Kings, and had tranſacted publick affairs under five of them. He was likewiſe ſo fortunate as to ſee that accompliſhed which had been long the object of his wiſhes, that is to ſay, the ſucceſſion of King James to the crown of England, very ſoon after which he died. The popiſh writers give him, as we may naturally expect, a very high character; but that which ſeems to do him moſt honour, is, the account, which remains of him in his ſucceſſor Archbiſhop Spotſwood's writings (13). 'A man, *ſays he*, honourably diſpoſed, faithful to the 'Queen while ſhe lived, and to the King her ſon; a 'lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, 'to all his countrymen. In his laſt will he bequeathed 'all his means to pious uſes, leaving, as was ſaid, ten 'thouſand crowns for the education of poor ſcholars, 'being Scotſmen born. The evidences, veſſels, and 'ornaments to the See of Glaſgow, he conſigned in 'the hands of the Carthuſians of Paris, appointing 'the ſame to be re-delivered how ſoon Glaſgow ſhould 'become catholick, and this year, being the ſixty-ſixth 'of his age, departed peaceably this life.' The reader will obſerve, that here is a miſtake of no leſs than twenty years as to the age of our Prelate, who, at the time of his deceaſe, inſtead of *ſixty* was *eighty-ſix*, and faults of the like kind occur very frequently in the works of this author, which however are not to be aſcribed to any negligence in him, but to the books being printed from a very incorrect copy, that which the Archbiſhop had prepared himſelf for the preſs, and which is ſtill preſerved, being remarkably fair and perfectly exact. Mr Middleton, who wrote an appendix to Spotſwood's hiſtory, ſpeaks therein of Archbiſhop Beaton in the following terms (14). 'He was a perſon honourably 'diſpoſed, faithful to Queen Mary while ſhe lived, 'and to King James, whoſe Ambaſſador he was, a 'lover of his country, and liberal, according to his 'means, to all his countrymen. He died 1613, a 'full jubilee of years from his conſecration.' We might add many more authorities of the ſame kind if they were neceſſary. As he had much time upon his hands, eſpecially in the latter part of his life, he compoſed ſeveral books, which are ſtill preſerved, tho' none of them have been ever publiſhed. Their titles are (15), I. *Commentary on the* Books *of* Kings. II. *A Lamentation for the Kingdom of* Scotland. III. *A Book of* Controverſies *againſt the* Sectaries. IV. *Obſervations upon* Gratian's *Decretals*. V. *A Collection of* Scotch Proverbs. Theſe we have upon the credit of Dempſter, who was very likely to be well acquainted with what relates to this Prelate, conſidering how long he reſided himſelf at Paris, and the opportunities he had of enquiring into all the facts he has ſet down concerning him. Thus we have given the reader a much larger and more diſtinct account of this remarkable family of the Beatons, than hath been until now any where publiſhed, and have ſet a great many facts, that have hitherto been miſrepreſented, in their proper lights, which we hope will be ſo much the more ſatisfactory to the learned and inquiſitive reader, as we have thereby had an opportunity to clear up many perplexed points of hiſtory within the compaſs of one hundred years, which will therefore excuſe the length of theſe articles, as they could not have been curtailed without omitting many uſeful and curious particulars that lay ſcattered in a multitude of books that required much time to peruſe, and could not have been collected without difficulty. X

(12) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(13) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(14) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 9.

(15) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 126.

BEAUCHAMP, in Latin *de Bello Campo*, a very noble Engliſh family, tranſ-
(a) Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 95. planted hither from Normandy at the Conqueſt (a). One of the firſt of this race mentioned in our Hiſtories, is Hugh de Beauchamp, who received from Duke William, after he ſubdued this kingdom, lands of great extent, for by the general ſurvey it appears, that he was poſſeſſed of Belinghou, in Hertfordſhire; Linclade, Solebery, and Catebery,
(b) Domeſd. in iiſdem Com. in Buckinghamſhire; and of forty-three lordſhips in Bedfordſhire (b). Another nobleman of this family was Walter de Beauchamp, who had likewiſe large grants made him, and whoſe capital ſeat was Elmley in Worceſterſhire. This Walter, as we learn from an author of good credit, was related to the Conqueror, who therefore enriched him, as he did
(c) Leland. in Collectan. Tom. III. p. 127. others of his countrymen, at the expence of the Engliſh (c). There ſeems indeed to be no doubt, that Hugh and Walter de Beauchamp were of the ſame family, and they appear to have been equally favoured by Duke William their maſter; yet their fortunes were very different, for the family of the former ſoon extinguiſhed in the male line of the eldeſt branch, and the deſcendants of a younger branch, ſo divided and diminiſhed the lands that came to them from their anceſtors, as to loſe the degree of Barons, ſo that we know very
(d) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 225. little or nothing of their poſterity (d). But in regard to Walter de Beauchamp, he married a lady of the name of Talbot, and by her had ſeveral children, whoſe poſterity came
(e) Leland, ubi ſupra. Dugdale, as before. to have large eſtates, and to be honoured with many high titles (e) in this kingdom, though the male line ſeems to be now extinct. We might be thought inexcuſable if we ſhould take no notice of the great men of this family, who at ſeveral times bore the titles of Earls and Dukes of Warwick, Lords Bergavenny, Powyke, Holt, Bletſho, St Amand, Eſſex, and Hacch, and at the ſame time, if we ſhould pretend to give an exact account of all theſe, it would ſwell this work beyond it's due bounds. We ſhall therefore endeavour to avoid both theſe inconveniencies, by giving a conciſe account of ſuch of this noble family, as make the greateſt figure in our Hiſtories, and refer the reader for an account of the reſt, to
(f) Vol. I. p. 223—254. Sir William Dugdale, who has treated of them largely in his *Baronage of England* (f).

BEAUCHAMP (RICHARD DE) Earl of Warwick, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom in the XVth century, was deſcended from a ſeries of illuſtrious anceſtors both by father and mother, and enjoyed, in virtue of that deſcent, very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom (a) [A]. He was born January 28, 1381,
(a) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 243. Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 405. Hiſtory of the Earls of Warwick.

[A] *Very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom.*] In order to keep this article as much within bounds as it is poſſible, we have choſen to give an account of this noble Earl's deſcent in a note. Walter de Beauchamp, of Helmely-caſtle, mentioned in the former article, had a ſon named William, who in the wars, after the death of King Henry I, adhered to the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen. He was hereditary Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, which deſcended to him from his mother, and he had a grant of the town and caſtle of Tamworth in Warwickſhire for the good ſervices he did the Princeſs before-mentioned. He was alſo in great favour with King Henry the Second, and executed various high offices in his reign (1). He was ſucceeded
(1) Henr. Huntingd. p. 226. by his ſon of the ſame name, of whom we find nothing remarkable. His ſon Walter, in the time of King John, was Governor of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire, but afterwards took part with the Barons againſt that Prince, and his ſon King Henry III, but was at
(2) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I. Wigorn. length reconciled to him, and died in the year 1236 (2). He was ſucceeded in all his poſſeſſions by his ſon William, who was in great favour with King Henry. This William de Beauchamp married Iſabella, ſiſter to William Mauduit Earl of Warwick, and by her had iſſue another William de Beauchamp, who upon the death of the ſaid Earl took the title of Warwick in his father's life-time, which Sir William Dugdale thinks was by the King's ſpecial favour, for that otherwiſe he could not have borne it 'till the death of his mother
(3) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 223. Cartular. War. Com. fol. 131. a. (3). We do not know exactly the time of this Lord Beauchamp of Helmely's death, but we find, that on the 9th of February, 1268, William Earl of Warwick did homage to King Henry III, for the lands deſcended to him by his father's death. (4). This Earl, during
(4) Rot. Fin. 52 Hen. III. m. 9. the reign of King Edward I, was principally employed in awing the Welſh, with whom he had many engagements, and in the year 1295 gave them a great defeat
(5) MS. in Bibioth. Bodl. K. 84. near Montgomery (5). He afterwards ſerved the King in his wars againſt the Scots and French with great reputation. He married the daughter of Richard Fitz-John, Juſtice of Ireland, and had by her ſeveral manors in Wiltſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Bucks, beſides a large eſtate in Thomond (6). He departed this
(6) Rot. Fin. 27 E. I. m. 1, 3. life in May, 1298, leaving his ſon Guy, ſo called no doubt from the famous Saxon Guy Earl of Warwick, aged 26 years. He, the very ſame year that his father died, attended the King into Scotland, and was preſent at the battle of Falkirk, where he behaved ſo well, that the King gave him all the lands, of which three Scots Lords were poſſeſſed, on the day upon which it was fought, which was the 22d of July (7). He
(7) Thom. Walſingh. p. 42. ſerved that Monarch ſeveral years after in that country with ſuch fidelity and ſucceſs, that, as a reward for his ſervices, he obtained a grant to himſelf and his heirs of Bernard-caſtle in the Biſhoprick of Durham, together with the town and lordſhip, with the manor of Middleton and the chaces thereto belonging, and the manor of Gainsford, which lands were held for life by the wife of Hugh de Baliol, as alſo all the lands held by the wife of Alexander de Baliol, which were to have deſcended to John de Baliol, then the King's ene-
(8) Cartular. War. Com. fol. 172. a. my and rebel (8). In the reign of King Edward II he was one of the nobility who ſeized Piers Garveſton, the King's favourite, at Scardeburgh, of which the King having notice, he ſent to deſire they would ſpare his life, which the Lords, at the requeſt of the Earl of Pembroke, agreed to do, and thereupon delivered him into the hands of that Earl, who ſent him to Wallingford, from whence he was again taken by our Earl Guy, who carried him back to Warwick-caſtle, where, having conferred with ſome of the Lords, and perſuaded them they could not be ſafe while this man lived, he cauſed him to be conveyed to Blacklow-hill, about a mile from Warwick, and there cut off his head. It ſeems this great favourite had a particular ſpleen to the Earl, and was wont to call him in deriſion *the Black Dog of Arden*, for which, as we have
(9) Thom. Walſingham, p. 76. ſeen, he paid with his life (9). The Earl thought fit notwithſtanding this bold ſtep, to demand a pardon from the King, who was obliged to grant it him, but never loved him afterwards (10). They did not how-
(10) Pat. 7 E. II. p. 1. m. 15. in cedula. ever live long together, for on the 12th of Auguſt, 1315, the Earl died at his caſtle of Warwick, as ſome inſinuate, of poiſon (11). He left behind him by
(11) Thom. Walſingham, p. 78. Rot. Johan Rous. Alice his wife, ſiſter and heir of Robert de Tony (by whom another great eſtate was brought into the family), ſeveral children, particularly two ſons, Thomas and John, the former of which was ſcarce two years old at his father's death, and therefore the King's great favourite, Hugh le Deſpenſer, had the cuſtody of his lands, and probably of his perſon; but after the ruin of that great favourite, in the beginning of the next reign, the Lord Mortimer obtained the cuſtody of Warwick-caſtle, and the reſt of this young Lord's lands,

1381, at the manor-houſe of Salwarpe in the county of Worceſter, and had for his godfathers, King Richard II, and Richard Scroope, then Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*b*). He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Henry IV, in the year 1399 (*c*), and in the fourth year of the ſame reign he had livery of his lands, and was retained to ſerve the King one whole year, with one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers (*d*). The next year which was 1404, on the coronation of the Queen, he kept, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, Juſts, in which he behaved himſelf very gallantly. He was called the ſame year to do the crown more ſerious ſervice, in that dangerous rebellion raiſed by Owen Glendowr, againſt whom he behaved bravely, and took his ſtandard in open battle. He was likewiſe in the famous battle at Shrewſbury, againſt the Percies, where he gained great honour (*e*), and was, not long after, made Knight of the Garter (*f*). In 1408, he obtained a licence from King Henry IV, to viſit the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, in purſuance of a vow he had made, and ſet out with a ſplendid retinue for that purpoſe. He took the Court of Bar in his way, the Duke being his couſin, by whom he was nobly entertained for a week, and then that Prince accompanied him to Paris (*g*), where he was very graciouſly received by Charles VI, King of France, with whom he dined on a high feſtival, and at his departure was attended by a Herald, who was charged to conduct him ſafely through that realm (*h*). Upon his entering Lombardy, he was met by another Herald from Sir Pandulph Malacet, or Malet, with a challenge to perform certain feats of arms with him at Verona, upon a day aſſigned, for the Order of the Garter, which he accepted, and having performed his pilgrimage at Rome, returned to that city, where, in the preſence of Sir Galeot of Mantua, he firſt engaged Sir Pandulph with ſpears, and afterwards with battle-axes, in which combat Sir Pandulph received a dangerous wound on the ſhoulder, and had been killed out-right, if Sir Galeot had not interpoſed and cried *Peace* (*i*). He went from thence to Venice, where he was moſt nobly entertained by the Doge; and then purſued his journey to Jeruſalem. He had much reſpect ſhewn him in that city by the Patriarch's Deputy, and having performed his devotions and offerings at the Holy Sepulchre, he ſet up his arms on the north ſide of the Temple, where they long after remained (*k*). He was alſo very reſpectfully treated by the Soldan's Deputy, and between them there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs [*B*]. From Jeruſalem he

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus in Biblioth Cotton.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Thom. Walſingham, p. 407.

(*e*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Id. ibid. but this I take to be an error, ſee note [*G*].

(*g*) Clauſ. 9 Hen. IV. m. 17.

(*h*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid.

lands, on account of a marriage intended between him and a daughter of that Lord's (12). And two years afterwards the King received his homage by ſpecial favour, as if he had been of full age, though only in his ſeventeenth year, when he took upon him his hereditary offices of Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer (13). Before he was twenty the King made him Governor of Guernſey, and the little iſlands adjacent (14). He attended the King in his wars in Scotland and in France, and was preſent and did great ſervice in the famous ſea-fight in 1340 (15). In the eighteenth of Edward III he was conſtituted Sheriff of Warwick and Leiceſterſhire for life, and the very ſame year was created Earl Marſhal of England (16). At the famous battle of Creſſey he commanded the van of the Engliſh army, and afterwards, for the great ſervice he performed at the ſiege of Calais, he had a thouſand marks a year granted him during life. He was preſent after this in the famous battle of Poictiers, where the King of France was taken priſoner, and where our Earl fought ſo long, that his hand was extremely galled with uſing his ſword and poll-axe, but he had the good fortune to take priſoner William de Meleun, Archbiſhop of Seinz, for whom he received as a ranſom eight thouſand pounds (17). He attended Edward the *Black Prince* in ſeveral campaigns after this, and in the year 1360 he paſſed through France with a train of ſix hundred horſe in his paſſage to the eaſt, where he made war againſt the Infidels for three years, and at his return into England brought with him the ſon of the Prince of Lithuania, who was chriſtened at London by the name of Thomas, the Earl being his godfather (18). This noble Earl and his brother John were two of the firſt Knights of the Garter, and we find that he continued in high favour with the Sovereign, and in the exerciſe of his military virtues, to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on November 13, 1369, of the Plague, at the time that he commanded the King's army in France (19). He had by his Counteſs Catherine, daughter of Roger Earl of March, five ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon Guy died in his life-time; the third ſon, Reynburne, died a little after him; William, his fourth ſon, was created Lord Bergavenny, and married the ſiſter and co-heireſs of Thomas Earl of Arundel; his fifth ſon, Roger, died young. Seven of his daughters married into the greateſt families in the kingdom, Catherine, the youngeſt but one, became a Nun at Wroxhall, and Juliana died a maid (20). Thomas, his ſecond ſon, who ſucceeded him as Earl of Warwick, ſerved King Edward III in his wars with great reputation, and ſucceeded his father as Governor of the iſland of Guernſey. In the third year of Richard II he was choſen by the Commons in parliament to be Governor of the King, who was then young (21), and when that Prince afterwards took the government into his own hands, he treated this noble Lord ſo ill, that he was conſtrained to join with Thomas Earl of Glouceſter, the King's uncle, to compel him to rule by law, in which, though he ſucceeded at that time, yet the King gave him afterwards ſuch marks of his diſpleaſure, as induced him to retire to his own eſtate (22). At this time he built the ſtately tower at the north-eaſt corner of Warwick-caſtle, the coſt of which amounted to (23) *three hundred ninety-five pounds, five ſhillings and two-pence.* But though he no longer intermeddled with publick affairs, yet the hatred the King bare him was ſo ſtrong, that having by an invitation to dinner got him into his power (24), he intended to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Earl of Saliſbury to ſend him priſoner to the Iſle of Man, from whence he was very ſoon removed to the tower of London, and the King granted his fine caſtle of Warwick to Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey (25). After King Richard was depoſed, he recovered his liberty, was reſtored to his eſtate, and had a grant of all the goods, which the Duke of Surrey had at Warwick (26). This noble Earl, who was alſo a Knight of the Garter, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, having a great reputation for his valour, publick ſpirit, piety, and charity, as ſaith John Rous the Hiſtorian of this family, and departed this life, April 8, 1401 (27), lying buried under a noble monument in the ſouth part of the collegiate church at Warwick, built by himſelf, and wherein alſo lies his Counteſs Margaret, daughter of William Ferrers, of Groby (28), by whom he had Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, his only ſon, who is the ſubject of this article, to whom deſcended all the great eſtates this family had acquired by marriage, and which by the ſame means he much augmented, as will be ſhewn in it's proper place.

[*B*] *Between whom there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs.*] This part of the ſtory is thus given us by Sir William Dugdale, from the memoirs of John Rous

(12) Pat. 11 E. II. p. 2. m. 24. Rot. Fin. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 23.

(13) Clauſ. 4 E. III. m. 4. Ibid. m. 42.

(14) Pat. 5 E. III. p. 2. m. 2.

(15) Thom. Walſingh. p. 134.

(16) Rot. Fin. 18 E. III. m. 21. Pat. 18 E. III. p. 1. m. 18.

(17) Thom. Walſingham, p. 162, 164. Pat. 37 E. III. p. 1. m. 25. MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. Cantuar. Kent, 123.

(18) Hiſt. MS. Johan. Rous.

(19) Thom. Walſingham, p. 178.

(20) See the Accurate Genealogical Table of this Family, in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 387, 388.

(21) Thom. Walſingham, p. 243.

(22) Plac. Parl. coram Rege 21 R. II. n. 12.

(23) Ex comp. Ball. War. Com. *An.* 17 Richard II. penes S. Archer. Equ. Aurat.

(24) Thom. Walſingham, p. 364.

(25) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. m. 112.

(26) Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 14.

(27) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. &c.

(28) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 404.

he came back to Venice, and was there nobly received. Thence travelled he into Ruſſia, Lithuania, Poland, Pruſſia, Weſtphalia, and ſome countries of Germany, ſhewing great valour in divers tournaments whilſt he was in thoſe parts (*l*). And no ſooner returned into England, but that he was, by indenture dated 2 October, 12 Hen. IV, retained with Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards King by the name of Henry V, to ſerve him as well in times of peace as war, both in this realm, upon, and beyond the ſeas, and two hundred and fifty marks *per annum*, to be paid out of the Prince's Exchequer at Caermarthen, at Eaſter and Michaelmas, by even portions: and whenſoever he ſhould be in that Prince's Court, to have four Eſquires and ſix Yeomen with him, and diet there for them all; provided that the Prince, in ſervice of war, ſhould have the third part of what he got in battle, and the third of the thirds of what his men at arms ſhould gain; and in caſe he took any great commander, fort, or caſtle, the Prince likewiſe to have them, giving him reaſonable ſatisfaction (*m*). He was alſo appointed, in conjunction with the Biſhop of Durham and others, the ſame year, to manage a treaty with the King of Scots (*n*). At the ceremony of the new King's coronation, he was conſtituted Lord High-Steward, as the patent expreſſes it, *for his known wiſdom and indefatigable induſtry* (*o*). One would have imagined, that by theſe great employments he ſhould have been ſufficiently employed, and yet in this ſame year 1413, we find him one of the King's Commiſſioners into France, to treat of a ſolid peace between the two kingdoms, to be ſtrengthened and cemented by a marriage, between the King his maſter, and the Princeſs Catherine, daughter to the King of France (*p*). In the ſecond year of Henry V, when the Lollards, as they were then called, created ſome diſturbances, he, amongſt others of the nobility, took up arms on that occaſion, and was very inſtrumental in reducing them to their duty (*q*). In the year 1415, he was declared Captain of Calais, an office of great truſt and honour in thoſe days, and never conferred but upon a man of known abilities as a ſoldier, and of a clear unqueſtionable character in point of fidelity; and in ſuch caſe, there was a contract in writing between the King and this Captain, whereby the former undertook to pay, and the latter to keep in conſtant order and readineſs, ſuch a garriſon as was thought requiſite, by which means it was very eaſy to diſcover where the fault lay, if any miſcarriage happened; and, on the other hand, a Governor had it always in his power to demonſtrate his innocence, if maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct (*r*) [*C*]. While the Earl of Warwick commanded in Calais, there was a report, that the French were drawing troops together with a view to beſiege that fortreſs, which occaſioned his putting himſelf haſtily into a poſture of defence, but learning afterwards that this was an alarm only, and that the French forces were actually marched another way, he, to cover his former preparations, and to prevent the French from perceiving his miſtake, gave out, that he meant no more than to exerciſe ſome feats of chivalry, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and ſo turned this accident into a means of acquiring great honour and reputation (*s*) [*D*]. The Council of Conſtance ſitting during the time of

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Penes Cler. Pell.

(*n*) Rot. Scacc. 12 Hen. IV. m. 6.

(*o*) Pat. 1 Hen. V. p. 1. m. 36.

(*p*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*q*) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xvi. p. 31. T. Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici V, p. 7. Thom. Walſingham, p. 430.

(*r*) See this explained in the note [*C*].

(*s*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(29) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 243.

Rous (29). 'At the time of his being thus at Jeruſalem, a noble perſon, called Baltredam (the Soldan's Lieutenant), hearing that he was deſcended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whoſe ſtory they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace, and royally feaſted him, preſented him with three precious ſtones of great value, beſides divers cloaths of ſilk and gold given to his ſervants, where this Baltredam told him privately, that he faithfully believed, as he did, though he durſt not diſcover himſelf, and rehearſed the articles of the Creed. But on the morrow he feaſted Sir Baltredam's ſervants, and gave them ſcarlet, with other Engliſh cloth, which being ſhewed to Sir Baltredam, he returned again to him, and ſaid he would wear his livery and be marſhal of his hall. Whereupon he gave Sir Baltredam a gown of black peak furred, and had much diſcourſe with him, for he was ſkilful in ſundry languages.' I muſt confeſs there are many circumſtances in this ſhort tale that render it in my opinion fabulous, and therefore I did not inſert it in the text. But the reader will the better judge what credit is due to this and other relations from the ſame author, if he conſults our article of this John Rous, who was Chaplain at Warwick-caſtle, and is therefore ſuppoſed to have wrote from good memoirs.

[*C*] *If maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct.*] It may not be amiſs to give the reader an inſtance of this manner of proceeding from the preſent caſe. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by indenture (30) bearing date June 19, in the third of Henry V, covenanted to ſerve the King to February 3, 1416, as Captain of Calais, and to have with him in the time of truce or peace, for the ſafeguard thereof, thirty men at arms, himſelf and three Knights, accounted as part of that number, thirty Archers on horſeback, two hundred Foot-ſoldiers, and two hundred Archers, all of his own retinue, beſides ten men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, belonging to the treaſurer of Calais, for which ſervice he was to receive for himſelf ſix ſhillings and eight-pence *per diem*, for his Knights two ſhillings apiece, for the reſt of the horſe twelve-pence, for every Archer on horſeback and Foot-ſoldier eight-pence, and for every Archer on foot ſix-pence *per diem* for their wages: In which town there was alſo to be at the King's charge forty croſs-bow men, twenty Carpenters, and five Maſons, beſides Bowyers, with other officers and penſioners; and in time of war, to have one hundred and forty men on horſeback, himſelf, and ſixty Knights, accounted part, and one hundred and fifty Archers on horſeback, one hundred Foot-ſoldiers, one hundred and eighty-four Archers on foot, and four Scouts on horſeback, for his own retinue, over and above twenty men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, as alſo ten Archers on foot, belonging to the ſame Treaſurer, beſides Baliſters, Carpenters, &c.

(30) Ex Autograph. penes Cler. Pell.

[*D*] *A means of acquiring great honour and reputation.*] The reader cannot help perceiving, by what has been already related, that this was an age in which knight-errantry flouriſhed, and when even the greateſt perſons in the kingdom, and thoſe too diſtinguiſhed by prudence and conduct, as well as intrepidity and courage, thought fit to diſtinguiſh themſelves in this way; and indeed as this was the caſe, the Earl of Warwick was to be commended for deceiving the French by ſo well contrived a ſtratagem, rather than allow them to think they could not march a body of troops on any ſide, without alarming the Governor, of Calais. The method he took was this (31). He cauſed three ſheilds to be made, and in each of them a Lady painted, the firſt harping at the end of a Bed-ſtead, with a grate of gold on her left ſleeve, and her Knight, called the *Green Knight*, with a black quarter, who was ready to juſt with any Knight of France, twelve Courſes having two ſhields of Purveyance, and

(31) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus.

his

of his reſidence in Calais, and the King's ſending thither the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Hereford, and St David's, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, Prior of Worceſter, and other learned men; the Earl of Warwick, for their greater honour, eſcorted them thither, their whole train conſiſting of eight hundred horſe (*t*). While he remained at Conſtance, he received a challenge from a great Duke for his Lady's ſake, ſlew the Duke in juſting, whereupon the Empreſs took his livery, *viz.* the *Bear* from one of his Knight's ſhoulders, and for great favour to him ſet it on her own ſhoulder. But he having notice thereof, made one of pearl and precious ſtones, which being preſented to her, ſhe received with great reſpect (*u*). Here alſo it was, that the Emperor Sigiſmund gave him his ſword to bear, and offered him the heart of St George (the Engliſhman's tutelary Saint) to bring over into this realm, but hearing the Emperor ſay, that he would come in perſon into England, he reſtored it to him again, ſaying, *That the delivery thereof with his own hand, would be much more acceptable.* Nor was it long after, that the Emperor did come over accordingly, and being then inſtalled Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, offered the holy heart at Windſor, which was there kept in great eſteem. Upon whoſe paſſage hither and return, he was ſumptuouſly entertained at Calais by the Earl, then Captain there, whoſe behaviour was ſuch, that the Emperor told King Henry, 'That no Chriſtian Prince had ſuch another Knight, for 'wiſdom, courtlineſs, and manhood; adding, that if all courteſie were loſt, yet might it 'be found again in him.' Inſomuch as ever after, by the ſame Emperor's authority, he was called *the Father of Courteſy* (*w*). In his return from Calais at that time, he took at ſea two great carricks. In 4 Henry V, his commiſſion for Captain of Calais, and Governor of the Marches of Picardy was again renewed. In the ſame year he was one of the chief commanders at the ſiege of Caen in Normandy, the King himſelf being there with a great army (*x*). In 1417, he was conſtituted one of the King's Commiſſioners for ſettling the capitulation of that caſtle, the ſame year he was likewiſe empowered to reduce and receive into the King's obedience ſeveral other ſtrong places in that country, which he likewiſe performed to the great ſatisfaction of the King, and with great credit to himſelf (*y*). In the ſame year he attended Thomas, Duke of Clarence, General of the King's army into France, where he gave freſh marks of valour, and did ſeveral eminent ſervices, for having taken Dampfront, he was the firſt who entered Caen, which was taken by ſtorm, and ſet the King's and the Duke of Clarence's enſigns on the walls (*z*). Then he laid ſiege to Caudebeck on the river Seine, blocked up the city of Roan by land and water, and reduced Mount Saint Michael, and other ſtrong places, as a reward for which ſervices, the King created him Earl of Aumarle, or, as we uſually call it, Albemarle (*a*). At the ſiege of Roan his tent ſtood between the King's pavillion and St Catherine's, which laſt place being taken, he was appointed to keep port Martevile (*b*). In the month of May King Henry ſent him to the King of France, attended by a thouſand men at arms, to treat of a marriage between him and that King's daughter, the Lady Catherine; but the Dauphin knowing that this marriage was intended to defeat his ſucceſſion, he ſent a body of five thouſand men under the command of the Earls of Vendoſme and Lymoſin, to obſtruct his paſſage, to whom the Earl gave battle, in which both of thoſe noblemen were killed, and one of them fell by the Earl of Warwick's own hand, and about two thouſand of their troops were either ſlain or taken (*c*). He then proceeded on his embaſſy, in which, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, he very happily ſucceeded

(*t*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 433.

(*u*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

(*w*) Ibid.

(*x*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. V. m. 22. Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xlii. p. 101.

(*y*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 445.

(*z*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

(*a*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus. and it plainly appears that he had this title by his ſtile in all his writings afterwards.

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Id. ibid. ubi ſupra.

his letter ſealed with the ſeal of his arms, the field *ſilver*, a manch *gules*. The ſecond pavice on ſhield had a Lady ſitting at a covered board working pearls, and on her ſleeve a glove of plate tacked, her Knight being called Chevalier Vert, having his letter ſealed with theſe arms. The field *ſilver*, two bars of *gules*, who was to juſt fifteen courſes, and that ſhould be ſaddles of chains. The third pavice had a Lady ſitting in a garden making a chaplet, and on her ſleeve a polein with a rivet, her knight being called Chevalier Attendant, who with his fellow muſt run and courſe with ſharp ſpears, his letter being ſealed with *gold*, and *gules* quarterly, and a border *Vert*; which letter was ſent to the King's court of France, where three French Knights received them, and promiſed their fellows to meet at a day and place aſſigned, whereof the firſt was a Knight, called Sir Gerard Horbaumis, who called himſelf Le Chevalier *Rouge*; the ſecond a famous Knight, named Sir Hugh Launey, calling himſelf Le Chevalier *Blank*, and the third a Knight named Sir Collard Fines. Twelfth-day in Chriſtmas being appointed for the time that they ſhould meet in the land called the Park-hedge of Gynes. On which day this Earl came into the field with his face covered, a plume of Oſtrich feathers upon his head, and his horſe trapped with the Lord Toney's arms (one of his anceſtors), viz. *Argent* a manch *gules*, where firſt encountering with the Chevalier *Rouge*, at the third courſe he unhorſed him, and ſo returned with cloſe vizor unknown to his pavillion, whence he ſent to that Knight a good courſer. The next day he came into the field with his vizor cloſe, a chaplet on his helmet, and a plume of Oſtrich feathers aloft, his horſe trapped with the arms of Hanſlap, viz. *Silver* two bars *gules*, where he met with the *Blank* Knight, with whom he encountered, ſmote off his vizor thrice, broke his biſagurs and other harneſs, and returned victoriouſly to his pavillion with all his habiliments ſafe, and as yet not known to any, from whence he ſent this *Blank* Knight, Sir Hugh Launey, a good courſer. But the morrow after, viz. the laſt day of the juſts, he came with his face open, and his helmet, as the day before, ſave that the chaplet was rich with pearl and precious ſtones, and in his coat of arms of Guy and Beauchamp quarterly, having the arms of Toney and Hanſlap on his trappers, and ſaid, that as he had in his own perſon performed the ſervice the two days before, ſo with God's grace he would the third. Whereupon, encountering with Sir Collard Fines, at every ſtroke he bore him backward to his horſe, inſomuch that the Frenchman, ſaying that he himſelf was bound to his ſaddle, he alighted, and preſently got up again. But all being ended, he returned to his pavillion, ſent to Sir Collard Fines a fair courſer, feaſted all the people, gave to thoſe three Knights great rewards, and ſo rode to Calais with great honour.

ceeded to the King's great ſatisfaction (*d*) [*E*]. But as many places in France immediately after this treaty declared for the Dauphin, it was thought requiſite to take the ſtrongeſt of them which was Melun, in order to ſet an example to the reſt; which place this noble Earl reduced in fourteen weeks and four days, to the great amazement of the French, who had flattered themſelves that it was impregnable (*e*). In the laſt year of the victorious Henry V, he attended John, Duke of Bedford, the King's brother, who marched with an army to the relief of a town, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Dauphin had beſieged; but the reputation of theſe Noblemen did all that was expected from their army, for the French no ſooner heard of their coming, then they retired from before the place (*f*). King Henry dying ſoon after this, gave, by his will, the higheſt teſtimony a Prince could give, of his reſpect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by directing that he ſhould have the tutelage of his ſon, then an infant, till he arrived at the age of ſixteen, which was afterwards confirmed by Parliament (*g*). In the firſt of Henry VI, he was by indenture retained to be Captain of Calais for two years, which fortreſs being beſieged by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, now reconciled to the French, this noble Earl, aſſiſted by Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, and Humphrey Earl of Stafford, ſo gallantly defended it, that, after a long ſiege and great loſs, the Duke of Burgundy was forced to riſe from before it (*b*). Upon the death of the Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of France for King Henry, the Earl of Warwick was judged by the King's uncles, and the principal nobility of the realm, the only perſon that could repair his loſs, and therefore he was diſcharged from the care of the King's perſon, and conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the realm of France and duchy of Normandy, the higheſt honour a ſubject of England could receive (*i*). He embarked thereupon with his lady and ſon, in order to paſs the ſeas to his charge, but meeting with a dangerous ſtorm in his paſſage, he cauſed himſelf and both of them to be bound to the main maſt of the ſhip, to the intent that if they had periſhed, and were afterwards found, being known by his coat of arms, they might have been buried together (*k*). He had with him in this voyage a peculiar officer at arms, called Warwick herald, who received from him an annuity of ten marks a year (*l*). There are ſtill extant the articles of agreement, made between this noble Earl and the King on his going over to govern France, dated the 11th of May in the fifth year of Henry VI, which being of a great length, we could not inſert here (*m*). He executed this great and difficult employment with his uſual wiſdom and diligence, for the four laſt years of his life, and died in poſſeſſion thereof in the caſtle of Roan, April the 30th, 1439 (*n*). Leaving iſſue by Elizabeth his firſt wife, daughter and heireſs to Thomas Lord Berkely, three daughters, viz. Margaret, married to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury; Eleanora married to the Lord Roſs, and afterwards to Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorſet and Duke of Somerſet; and Elizabeth, who eſpouſed George Nevil, Lord Latimer. Our great Earl took to his ſecond wife, by ſpecial diſpenſation from the Pope, becauſe ſhe was the widow of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Worceſter, his uncle's ſon, Iſabel, daughter to Thomas le Deſpenſer, Earl of Glouceſter, and, by the death of her brother Richard, and her elder ſiſter Elizabeth without iſſue, heireſs of all his lands (*o*). By this his ſecond Counteſs, Richard Earl of Warwick had a ſon and a daughter, the name of the former was Henry, of whom in our next article, at the cloſe of which we ſhall ſpeak of his ſiſter, whoſe name was Anne. This noble Earl of Warwick, who was the fifth of his family who bore that title, died poſſeſſed of a vaſt eſtate in lands, from the conſideration of which, and of the nature of tenures in thoſe times, we may very eaſily form an idea of his great power and influence [*F*]. We are certainly much

(*d*) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henric. V. cap. lxxxviii. p. 246.

(*e*) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vita Hen. V. p. 79. Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xcv. p. 275. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*f*) Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xcix. p. 281. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*g*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus. Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(*k*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 245. See the articles at large in his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 408—411.

(*n*) See his epitaph in note [*H*].

(*o*) Ex Hiſt. MS. Abb. de Tewkſbury, in Leland. Itin. Tom. VI. p. 88, 89.

[*E*] *He very happily ſucceeded to the King's ſatisfaction.*] We are told by the author of the life of King Henry, that this treaty was firſt propoſed to that Prince by Philip, Duke of Burgundy (32), and that he ſollicited his Majeſty to ſend a Nobleman, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, to confer with and ſettle preliminaries of peace, with the miniſters of Charles VI of France, who, by reaſon of his having been long diſordered in his ſenſes, was not able to tranſact the great affairs of his kingdom in perſon; and he tells us, that the Earl of Warwick was thereupon made choice of for his ſingular abilities in negotiation, and that he was attended by ſeveral of the King's miniſters, who were to aſſiſt him in this important affair. He accordingly adjuſted the principal points of this moſt remarkable treaty, which was of the greateſt conſequence by far, of any, in which a ſubject of England had been employed; and by his advice it was agreed, that there ſhould be an interview between the two Kings, in order to ſettle the remaining points, which accordingly took place at Troyes (33). There this treaty, of which that writer gives us a copy at large, was concluded and ratified in the cathedral church of St Peter, under the great ſeals of the reſpective Kings, on the 21ſt of May, 1420. By this treaty King Charles appoints and acknowledges King Henry heir to the crown of France; but it is agreed, that Henry ſhould not bear the title of King of France till the death of Charles, but ſhould content himſelf with the title of Regent, and the managing all publick affairs. The two kingdoms of France and England were to remain under one Prince, viz. Henry, and his heirs, but were to be independent of each other, and to be governed each by it's own laws, the privileges and rights of all perſons and eſtates were to be preſerved, and no treaty of accommodation with the Dauphin was to be made, but by the conſent of the two Kings, the Duke of Burgundy, and the three Eſtates of both realms (34). Such were the terms of this treaty, by which the crown of France, after the death of the before-mentioned Charles VI, was ſet upon the head of our King Henry VI, ſon to Henry V, by the Lady Catherine.

(32) Thom. de Elmham. Vit. Henr. V. p. 245—266.

(33) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vit. Hen. V. p. 81—89.

(34) Mezeray Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, Tom. III. p. 209, 210.

[*F*] *An idea of his great power and influence.*] We have already ſeen how the eſtates of ſeveral noble families came to the Beauchamps, and what vaſt grants they received from the crown, in gratitude for the ſervices performed by them, ſo that we may well credit what Sir William Dugdale tells us upon this ſubject, tho' he has not given us the roll of the Earl's eſtates, which, I apprehend, would have been more ſatisfactory than the Painter's bill, upon the Earl's going to France, which he has twice exhibited; he has, however, given us the ſubſtance of that roll, which ſhall be preſented in his own words (35). 'The lands whereof he

(35) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 247.

much indebted to the hiſtorian of the family, John Rous, for the particulars he has preſerved in relation to this noble Earl's life and actions, with reſpect to moſt of which, there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt of his veracity, ſince we find them fully confirmed by contemporary hiſtorians; but in one thing he ſeems to have been much miſtaken, which is with regard to the time of his being made Knight of the Garter, at leaſt if there be any dependance on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times [G]. One might have reaſonably expected to have had this matter cleared up by the inſcription on his monument, which remains undefaced in the collegiate church of Warwick, and of which there is a very fine cut by the famous William Hollar, preſerved in Dugdale (p); but there is not a word of it. However, as this inſcription is but ſhort, and withal very curious, I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes [H]. His ſecond Counteſs Iſabel, on her return from France, retired to the monaſtery of Southwyke where ſhe did not long ſurvive him, as appears by her monument in the chapel of the abbey of Tewkſbury, her own foundation, the inſcription on which ſays, that ſhe died on the 24th of June, 1439 (q). As to the pious legacies and foundations of this great Earl and his Counteſs, the reader may find an account of them in the books mentioned in the margin.

(p) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 410.

(q) See the inſcription, in Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 412.

' he was poſſeſſed were very vaſt, as may be ſeen by ' the computation of their yearly value, extracted from ' the accounts of his ſeveral bailiffs through England ' and Wales in 12 Henry VI (36), amounting to no ' leſs than eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſix marks, ' eleven ſhillings, eleven pence half-penny, which, ' ſetting aſide the good pennyworths that his tenants ' had of what they then held, would, in the days we ' live, augment the ſum ſix fold at leaſt, conſidering ' about that time, barley was ſold for four ſhillings and ' two pence a quarter, oats at two ſhillings and one ' penny half-penny, capons at three pence a piece, ' and hens at one penny half-penny, as by certain ac- ' counts of his houſhold officers appeareth (37).'

(36) Ex Rot. penes Franc. Netherſole, Equ. Aurat.

(37) De An. 7 Hen. IV. et 38 Hen. VI. penes S. Archer Equ. Aur.

[G] *Any dependance on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times.*] Sir William Dugdale introduces his Memoirs of this noble Earl by theſe elegant obſervations (38). ' If the leaving behind us an honourable fame, ' which lives in the memories of all good men, when ' theſe mortal bodies of ours are turned to duſt, be ac- ' counted ſome happineſs, as doubtleſs it is, and hath ' therefore excited divers noble ſpirits to bold and high ' adventures, whereof we want not manifold teſtimo- ' nies, then ſurely the tranſmitting a remembrance of ' our virtuous actions to poſterity by a faithful regiſter, ' muſt needs be a thing moſt acceptable to thoſe whoſe ' memories are ſo preſerved, as the like by *Polybius* of ' *Scipio Affricanus* was, as alſo a ſingular eſtimation ' with after-ages, which are ſo much quickened we ' ſee by ſuch notable examples, and therefore I cannot ' but obſerve, that the advantage which this Earl had ' herein was much more than any of his anceſtors, by ' reaſon that Rous being his contemporary, and ſo well ' affected to hiſtory in general, out of the ſpecial re- ' lation he had to this family, hath with great diligence ' obſerved the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life, ' which with no leſs art than induſtry are ſet forth by ' him in curious pictures, hiſtorically repreſenting ' them in order of time from his birth to his death, ' and which has added much to the luſtre of his hi- ' ſtory, as by and by will appear.' All this we allow to be handſomely ſaid, but for all this John Rous cannot paſs for an accurate writer, of which we cannot well have a ſtronger proof than his aſſerting the Earl of Warwick was honoured with the Garter early in the reign of Henry IV. The plain reaſon for his ſaying ſo is, to give him greater luſtre in his tournament at Verona againſt Sir Pandulph Malet, who he inſinuates had offered combat to any of the Knights of this order, the honour of which was glorioufly ſuſtained by the Earl of Warwick. But in the regiſters of the order, which contain the names of twenty-five Knights, elected companions during that reign, we meet with nothing of this Earl of Warwick. It muſt indeed be allowed that theſe regiſters were not ſo compleat as could be wiſhed, becauſe we have the names only of the Knights, and not the dates of their election. But from the beginning of the reign of Henry V they became more regular, and though the dates of their elections were not then added, yet their names were ſet down in the order they were elected. It is from hence we have ſome light as to the time when the Earl of Warwick was really elected, for we find him the fourteenth Knight-companion elected in this reign, and the hundred and twenty-fourth of the Order from it's firſt inſtitution (39). It is therefore clear enough, all circumſtances conſidered, that inſtead of obtaining this honour in 1403, he did not attain it before 1420. I might take notice of ſome other ſmall ſlips of this nature, but as they are not of great conſequence, and ſeem to proceed purely from his exceſs of zeal for this noble family, from which he received his living, I ſhall not detain the reader longer upon this ſubject, which I hope is already rendered ſufficiently clear.

(38) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 405.

(39) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 610.

[H] *I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes.*] This noble Earl, by his laſt will and teſtament, bearing date at Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, appointed that firſt, and in all haſte poſſible, after his deceaſe, there ſhould be five thouſand maſſes ſaid for his ſoul; next, his debts to be truly paid, and then, that till the new chapel adjoining to the collegiate church of Warwick ſhould be finiſhed, his body ſhould be laid in a cheſt of ſtone before the altar, on the right hand of his father's tomb, and afterwards to be removed into the chapel before-mentioned, where he directed three maſſes every day to be ſung as long as the world ſhould endure (40). We have a copy of the epitaph inſcribed on this monument in Leland, which is very exact (41). But it ſeems a little ſtrange that he does not take any notice of an odd circumſtance therein, which is, that inſtead of the uſual ſtops we find the figure of a bear, or of a ragged ſtaff, through the whole inſcription, which runs thus (42).

(40) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 411.

(41) Leland's Itener. Vol. VIII. p. 60, 61.

(42) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 410.

' Pray devoutly for the ſowle whom God aſſoyle of ' one of the moaſt worſhipfull Knyghtes in his dayes of ' manhod and connynge, Richarde Beauchampe, late ' Earl of Warwicke, Lord Deſpenſer of Bergeveny, ' and of mony other greate Lordſhips, who's body ' reſtithe here under this tombe in a full feire vaulte of ' ſtone ſet in the bare roche; the whiche viſyted with ' long ſyckneſs in the caſtle of Rohan, therin deceaſyd ' full chriſtianly the laſt day of Aprile, the yere of ' owr Lord God, A. D. 1439, he beinge at that tyme ' Livetenaunt Generall, and Governer of Fraunce and ' of the Duchye of Normandye by ſufficien auctorite ' of owr Sovereigne Kynge Harry the VI; the whiche ' body, with great deliberation and ful worſhipfull ' conducte by ſea and by land, was brought to War- ' wyke the fowrthe of Octobar the yere aboveſayde, ' and was leyde with full ſoleme exequies in a fayre ' chuſt made of ſtone in this chirche, afore the weſt ' doore of this chapell, accordyng to his laſt wylle ' and teſtament, therein to reſt tyll this chapell by hym ' deviſid in his life wer made, al the whiche chapelle ' foundyd on this roche, and all the members ther of ' his executors, dyd fully make and apparil by the ' auſthorytie of his laſt will and teſtament, and there- ' after by the ſayde authorietie they dyd tranſlate ful ' worſhipfullye the ſade Body into the vout aboveſayde, ' Honouryd be God therefore.'

BEAUCHAMP (HENRY DE) ſon to Richard Earl of Warwick, of whom in the foregoing article. He was born at Hanley caſtle in Worceſterſhire, on the 22d of March, 1424, and baptized two days afterwards. The famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, being one of his god-fathers, and Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, the other; his god-mother Joan, Lady Bergavenny (*a*). At the time of his father's deceaſe he was very little above fourteen years of age, and yet he had been for ſome time married, for his father having formed a deſign of allying himſelf to the houſe of Saliſbury, he made a double match between this only ſon of his, then ſtiled Lord Deſpenſer, and Cecily, daughter to Richard Nevil, Earl of Saliſbury, with whom he had a portion of 4700 marks, and at the ſame time gave his younger daughter, Ann, to Sir Richard Nevil, ſon to the Earl before mentioned (*b*). This Henry, Earl of Warwick, being a young Nobleman of great ſpirit and courage, offered his ſervice before he was full nineteen for the defence of Normandy, with which the king was ſo well pleaſed, that, by his charter bearing date the ſecond of April in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, he created him Primier Earl of England, and for a diſtinction between him all other Earls, he farther granted him, and the heirs male of his body, leave to wear a gold coronet upon his head, as well in his own preſence as elſewhere, in all ſuch aſſemblies, and upon all ſuch feaſts as the like ornaments were worn (*c*). Within three days after this he advanced him to the rank of Duke of Warwick, in conſideration of the many virtues and great ſervices of his father, granting him place in parliament and at all other meetings, next after the Duke of Norfolk, before the Duke of Buckingham, beſtowing likewiſe a penſion of forty pounds, *per. ann.* to be paid by the Sheriffs of Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire out of the revenues of thoſe counties, towards the better ſupport of that honour (*d*). But this extraordinary mark of the royal favour, was not more kindly and gratefully received by the young Duke of Warwick, than it was hatefully and enviouſly looked upon by the Duke of Buckingham, who thought himſelf extreamly injured thereby. In that reign every thing was apprehended from the feuds and diſputes of the nobility, and therefore, to prevent any ill conſequences that might ariſe from the differences between theſe two noblemen, this point was ſettled by an act of parliament; which declared, *that for appeaſing the contention and ſtrife moved betwixt them for that pre-eminence*, it was eſtabliſhed, that from the ſecond of December then next enſuing, they ſhould take place of each other by turns, one that year, and the other the next, and ſo on as long as they ſhould live together. The Duke of Warwick to have the firſt year's precedency, and he which ſhould ſurvive, to take place of the other's heir male as long as he lived, and from that time the heir male of each ſhould take place of the other, according as it ſhould happen, that he had livery of his lands before him (*e*). Beſides theſe additional titles and marks of honour, the King gave Henry, Duke of Warwick, more ſubſtantial proofs of his affection and gratitude, by granting him the reverſion after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, of the iſlands of Guernſey, Jerſey, Sark, Erm, and Alderney, for the yearly tribute of a roſe, to be paid at the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt (*f*), as alſo of the manor and hundred of Briſtol in Glouceſterſhire, for the yearly farm of ſixty pounds, as alſo the caſtles and manors of the King within the foreſt of Dene, yielding and paying the yearly rent of one hundred pounds (*g*). But as if all theſe honours and grants had been ſtill inſufficient to expreſs the King's affection for this young nobleman, and his remembrance and reſpect for his father's ſervices, Henry VI went ſtill farther, even to the utmoſt verge and extent of his prerogative, by declaring the ſaid Henry Duke of Warwick King of the Iſland of Wight, and placing the crown upon his head with his own hands (*h*). But as this was the higheſt honour the King could beſtow, ſo it proved the laſt favour the Duke could receive, ſince he was taken off in the flower of his age, at the caſtle of Hanley, where he was born, on the eleventh of June 1445, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age (*i*). He was buried in the abbey of Tewkſbury, leaving behind him an only daughter, Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, born at Kaerdiff in February 1443 (*k*). This young lady was firſt under the tutelage of Queen Margaret (Conſort to Henry VI) afterwards ſhe was committed to the care of William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk; at whoſe manor of Newelme in the county of Oxford, ſhe deceaſed January 3, 1449, having not quite attained ſix years of age (*l*). She was afterwards buried in the abbey of Reading, near the body of her great-grand-mother Conſtance Lady Deſpenſer, daughter of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (*m*). As for Cicely, Ducheſs of Warwick, ſhe afterwards eſpouſed John Lord Tiptoff, Earl of Worceſter, but did not long live with him, deceaſing in the month of July 1450, and was buried in the abbey church of Tewkſbury (*n*). In order to complete our account of this moſt noble family, we muſt farther obſerve, that upon the demiſe of Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, in her childhood, Anne, ſiſter to Henry Duke of Warwick, of the whole blood, became his ſole heir, and her huſband, Richard Nevil Earl of Saliſbury, took in her right the title of Warwick (*o*). This title was afterwards confirmed to him by Patent dated July 23, 1445, with all the prehemineneies enjoyed by any of his wife's anceſtors, before her brother Henry was created Duke of Warwick. After this, Richard Earl of Warwick and Anne his Counteſs, levied a fine xv. Trin. 28 Hen. VI, by which they entailed the caſtle of Warwick, with a great number of fine lordſhips, in that and ſixteen other counties, upon the iſſue of their bodies lawfully begotten, and for default thereof upon the iſſue of her, with the remainder to the

(*a*) Leland. Iten. Vol. VI. p. 90. Rot. J. Rous.

(*b*) Ex veter. membran. penes Fr. Netherſole, Eq. Aur.

(*c*) Cart. ab an. 21 uſque an. 24 Hen. VI. n. 35.

(*d*) Ibid. n. 24.

(*e*) Ex Bund. Petit. in Parl. 23 Hen. VI. n. 12.

(*f*) Pat. 24 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 20.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Leland's Itener. Vol. VI. p. 91.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Leland's Iten. as before.

(*l*) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 27.

(*m*) Rot. Johan. Rous.

(*n*) Leland's Iten. as before.

(*o*) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 1.

heirs of Richard Beauchamp late Earl of Warwick, *&c (q)*. Thus we have ſhewn how this high honour deſcended from the Mauduits to the Beauchamps, and from them in the ſame manner to the Nevils, of whom more may be ſeen under their articles. At preſent we are to proceed with other honourable branches, from this great ſtock of the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick; and firſt of

(q) Penes Camer. Scac. (Recordat. oct. m. 6 E. IV.)

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) Baron of Kidderminſter in the reign of Richard II, and the firſt Baron created by patent in this kingdom. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Beauchamp of Holt, who was the grandſon of William de Beauchamp of Elmeley, and brother to William de Beauchamp the firſt Earl of Warwick of that family. He was born in 1320, and by the death of his father inherited the lands of Holt in Worceſterſhire, 1 Edward III (*a*). He was early in the ſervice of his Prince, for 12 Edward III, when he was not more than twenty, he was in the expedition to Flanders, and in 20 Edw. III. in France, and acquired reputation in both (*b*). In 1353 he was in Gaſcoigne, in the retinue of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and continued there all the next year (*c*). In the thirty-third of the ſame reign he ſerved again in France with much honour. In the forty-ſecond of that King, he went over into that realm on the ſame account (*d*); and in 46 Edward III, he attended the King's ſon, John Duke of Lancaſter, in his expedition into Spain (*e*). By theſe long and faithful ſervices to the Crown, he ſo raiſed his credit at Court, that in the ſixth of Richard II, being then one of the Eſquires of the King's chamber, he had a grant of twenty marks *per annum*, out of the manor of Sutton, in the foreſt of Macklesfield in Cheſhire (*f*). But growing more and more into the King's favour, he in the ninth of the ſame reign, from the like conſiderations, and becauſe he had received the honour of knighthood, under the King's banner diſplayed againſt Scotland, had an annuity granted him of one hundred marks, out of the King's rents and revenue in North Wales (*g*). But ſoon after he made a ſurrender of this annuity, and, inſtead thereof, had a conſiderable grant made him in Caermarthenſhire, and was alſo appointed Chief-Juſtice of North-Wales, both for term of his life. He had alſo a ſpecial charter of divers liberties and privileges, as well in vert and veniſon, as other things, in his lordſhip of Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter, granted him, much about the ſame time (*h*). By theſe repeated teſtimonies of royal kindneſs, Sir John Beauchamp now advanced to be Steward of the King's houſhold, and one of his chief favourites, was encouraged to procure new gifts from the Crown, and therefore in the eleventh year of King Richard, laying hold of the breaking out of a French war, Sir John Beauchamp obtained for himſelf, a grant of all the manors and lands belonging to the priory of Deerhurſt in the county of Glouceſter, then ſeized into the King's hands; as all other priories-alien were (*i*). By ſuch grants he acquired a good eſtate, and to add an augmentation of honour to theſe of fortune, he procured himſelf to be created Baron Kidderminſter by patent, limiting that honour to his heirs male; which became the precedent for all future creations (*k*) [*A*]. It was thought that the King intended him farther honours, and one hiſtorian

(a) Eſch. 1 Ed. III. n. 20.

(b) Rot. Franc. 20 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 5. Rot. Alem. 12 Ed. III. m. 7.

(c) Rot. Gaſcon. 27 Ed. III. m. 1.

(d) Rot. Franc. 42 E. III. m. 3.

(e) Rot. Franc. 46 E. III. m. 14.

(f) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 31.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 5. Cart. 9 & 10 R. II. n. 9.

(i) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. III. p. 195.

[*A*] *Which became the precedent for all future creations.*] It was this circumſtance of his being the firſt Baron created by patent, that induced us to inſert his article preferable to others of his noble family, of whom enough might be collected from our hiſtories to fill a volume. But in order to conceive the reaſon of this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the different kinds of Barons and Baronies amongſt us. He who would ſee all the antient learning upon this ſubject, and has a mind to judge for himſelf as to the moſt probable etymology of the word, and it's various ſignifications, may conſult the learned Selden (1), or the no leſs learned Spelman (2), who have undoubtedly ſhewn as much labour, reading, and judgment, on the ſubject, as any man can expect. In reſpect to our preſent purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſay, that as at his entrance into this kingdom, William Duke of Normandy ſubjected moſt lands to military or honorary tenures, as in making hereditary Earls, ſo he inveſted others in ſmaller territories, and with lower juriſdiction; theſe were *Barons* (3). Such perſons might, and did grant lands to others, to hold of them as they of the King, and if the number and value of theſe amounted to 13 ⅓ Knights fees, then ſuch a one was *Baro Regis*, and might ſit in parliament. Thus it is clear our firſt Barons had their dignity *à cenſu* from their poſſeſſions, or, as things ſtood then, from their tenures; for whoever held land to the value of four hundred marks, immediately from the King was *his Baron* (4). But Baronies were not only held from the King, but from Earls and other ſuperior nobility, and if ſuch as held under them attained the limited ſum of four hundred marks, then he became a *Baron's Peer*, or one having equal privileges with a Baron; and thus we plainly ſee the ſenſe of *Barones* and *Pares Baronum* (5). But beſides theſe there were yet another kind of Barons, that is, ſuch as held lands with mean juriſdiction, but not to this value; in plain Engliſh, every Lord of a manor to whom as ſuch a *Court-Baron* belonged. In antient times therefore, that is, before the forty-eighth of Henry III, upon the King's calling a parliament, all who had a right to ſit therein, came of their own accord; but at that time we are told, the King having made his peace with Simon de Montfort, it was agreed that ſuch of the Barons only ſhould reſort to parliament as the King ſummoned (6). By this means came in the ſecond ſort of Barons, who are from thence ſtiled *Barons by writ*. But of theſe there have been diſtinguiſhed two kinds, *viz.* Barons by *writ* and *tenure*, and by *writ only*; for the King might if he pleaſed ſummon others as well as Barons to parliament, but this did not give their poſterity, or indeed themſelves, a right to ſit in parliament independent of the ſummons from the Crown, whence ſome have taken a new diſtinction between *Barons* and *Peers* (7); eſteeming the former, ſuch as were ſo tenure, as well as ſummons, and the latter ſuch as obtained their ſeats in parliament by their writs only. As to the third kind of *Barons* by *patent*, our John de Beauchamp being the firſt, and this now being as uſual a method, or rather more ſo, of creating Barons, than the other by writ, it may not be amiſs (eſpecially as they are ſhort) to inſert the King's letters patents on this occaſion (8).

(1) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1672, fol. p. 569—620.

(2) Spelman. Gloſſograph. voce *Baro*.

(3) See Sir William Dugdale's Prefaces to the firſt and ſecond Volumes of his Baronage of England.

(4) The old Record *Modus tenend' Parliament*.

(5) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1604, 4to, p. 274, 275. He afterwards changed his opinion of this matter entirely, as appears from what is ſaid in the ſubſequent editions in folio, but the reaſon of the thing, and the authory on which it was founded, remain, and will always remain the ſame.

(6) Camd. Britan. p. 122.

(7) See Dugdale's Prefaces before cited.

(8) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 12.

RICHARDUS, &c. *Sciatis quod, pro bonis et gratuitis ſervitiis quæ dilectus et fidelis miles noſter* Johannes de Beauchamp de HOLT *ſeneſchallus hoſpicii noſtri nobis impendit, ac loco per ipſum Tempore Coronationis noſtræ hucuſque impenſo et quem pro nobis tenere poterit in futurum in noſtris Conſiliis et Parliamentis, nec non pro nobili et fideli genere unde deſcendit, ac pro ſuis magnificis ſenſu et circumſpectione, ipſum* Johannem *in unicum Parium ac Baronum Regni noſtri* Angliæ *præficimus, volentes quod idem* Johannes *et hæredes maſculi*

(l) Stowe's Annals, p. 304.

hiſtorian tells us particularly, that he was to have had the title of Bridgnorth (*l*), if a ſudden reverſe of fortune had not put a ſtop to his maſter's power, and to his proſperity. This happened in the ſame, or the next, year, *viz.* 1388, when the Duke of Glouceſter, and other powerful Lords, having firſt defeated the army raiſed by the King's favourite, whom he had created Duke of Ireland, marched on to London, and forced him to call a Parliament, which for the ſtrange and extraordinary things done therein, and thereby, was called the *Wonder-working Parliament* (*m*). Amongſt other noble perſons then called to account for their paſt behaviour, our Lord Beauchamp was one, who was firſt removed from his office of Treaſurer of the King's houſhold, then ſent priſoner to Dover-caſtle, and laſtly condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-Hill (*n*) [*B*]. Thus

(m) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365.

(n) H. Knyghton. p. 2075.

tuli de corpore ſuo exeuntes ſtatum Baronis obtineat ac Domini de Beauchamp, *et Barones de* Kidermyſter, *nuncupentur. In cujus rei, &c.* T.

The form of theſe Patents hath been ſince often varied, but this before us ſeems to be remarkably clear, ſuccinct, and to the purpoſe, agreeing very well with the account which we have before given of the ſtate and degree of *Barons* of this realm, until this method of creation took place. With reſpect to the other ceremonies uſed in conferring this dignity, Sir William Dugdale diſcourſes thus: 'That the ſolemn inveſtiture 'of this John, and all other the Barons who were 'thenceforth created by patent, was performed by the 'King himſelf, by putting on a robe of ſcarlet, as alſo 'a mantle (with two guards on the left ſhoulder), and a 'hood all furred with minever, there is no doubt. 'Which form of creation continued, until the thir-'teenth year of King James, that Sir James Hay (a 'Scotſman) was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of 'this realm, by letters patent, bearing date the 29th 'of June, by the title of Lord Hay of Sauley, in 'Com. Ebor. the Lawyers then declaring, that the 'delivery of the letters patent was ſufficient without 'any ceremony. But now beſides this honourable 'Robe, through the ſpecial favour of our preſent 'ſovereign King Charles II, there hath been granted 'to the Barons a coronet of gold, with ſix pearls 'placed upon the circle thereof, as by a ſpecial inſtru-'ment under his Majeſty's royal ſignet, bearing date 'upon the 6th day of July, 1661, in the thirteenh 'year of his reign, appeareth, the form of which is 'by divers Painters and Carvers already ſo much 'miſtaken, as that they commonly advance the pearls 'thereon in ſuch ſort, as thoſe are wherewith the Earls 'coronets be regularly adorned, though not (as yet) to 'the full height, whereas they being deviſed in imi-'tation of the Viſcounts coronets, the pearls ought to 'ſtand as they do, without any advancing at all.'

[*B*] *Condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-hill.*] The circumſtances of this Nobleman's unhappy fate are but confuſedly reported in our general hiſtories, and the dates very differently ſet down; but from the beſt authorities we can procure, this tranſaction ſeems to have happened thus. King Richard II was a Prince of great condeſcenſion and good nature, which made him too eaſy towards ſuch, as by being long in his ſervice, and gratifying his humours, had found a way to conciliate his good graces (9). Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, was one cloſely allied by all the ties of friendſhip, gratitude, and intereſt, to thoſe about the King, who were moſt obnoxious to the Lords, ſuch as Alexander Nevil, Archbiſhop of York; Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk; and for their ſervice had conſulted and acted in all the ſteps taken to preſerve the King's miniſters, and to bring the patriot Lords under the imputation of treaſon, for what they had done in parliament for the King's ſervice and the publick good. It was very probably for this conduct and ill-turned zeal for the King's inclination againſt his intereſt, that he was, October 10, 1387, raiſed to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminſter (*). But the tide ſoon turned, for the five great Lords, Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter; Henry, Earl of Derby; Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Thomas, Earl of Warwick; and Thomas, Earl Marſhal, ſeeing plainly that ſince Sir Robert Treſilian and the reſt of the Judges had, at the inſtigation of the King and his favourites, declared them traytors, there was no way to avoid being treated as ſuch, but by having recourſe to force; immediately began to arm, and hearing that the King was got to London before them, where he had a ſtrong party, they aſſembled their forces at Haringay-Park near Highgate, where they appeared to be 40,000 ſtrong (10). The King uſed all the means he could deviſe, to ſave when he could no longer ſupport his creatures, and ſending moſt of them out of the way, he conſented at laſt to a conference with the Lords in the Tower, at which he promiſed to come the next day to Weſtminſter, to conſider of the beſt means for ſettling publick affairs, now in the utmoſt diſtraction. Before the next morning, however, he changed his mind; but upon the Lords giving him to underſtand, that if he would not come and countenance their counſels with his preſence, they would take other meaſures, implying they would elect another Prince, he was conſtrained to go, and when amongſt them, gave up all his Miniſters, who were ſoon after ſeized, and ſent to ſeveral priſons, and amongſt the reſt Lord Beauchamp was transferred to Dover-caſtle (11), there to be kept till he ſhould abide the judgment of the next parliament (that wonderful parliament mentioned in the text), which was ſummoned to meet upon the third of February next following (12). The firſt ſtep taken when this parliament did meet, was a ſolemn claim made therein by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that whatever was moved therein, or in future parliaments touching Peers, ſhould be diſcuſſed and decided not by the civil law or common law of the land, but by the law and cuſtom of parliament, which by the King was chearfully granted. In conſequence of this, the five great Lords before-mentioned, as appellants, accuſed or impeached the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, of various treaſons, and they being fled were condemned for want of anſwer (13). On the twelfth of March following, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp of Holt, John Saliſbury, and James Berners, Knights, were impeached by the Commons of various treaſons, as being engaged with and aſſiſting in the contrivances of the great Lords beforementioned. Theſe articles, in number ſixteen, have nothing in them very remarkable, except that Sir John Beauchamp is charged with having been unfaithful to his old maſter King Edward III, and to Lionel Duke of Clarence (14), whence an old Monkiſh hiſtorian (15) takes upon him to ſtile this unfortunate Lord *an old falſe Traytor*, which however is not juſtified by any proof. To this impeachment the perſons accuſed pleaded *Not guilty*; the Commons joined iſſue, and the Lords took time to conſider, adjourning to the twentieth of that month, then to the thirteenth of April, and laſtly to the fifth of May, when they gave judgment, as is uſual in caſes of high-treaſon, on Sir Simon Burley; but in regard he was a Knight of the Garter, his father's old ſervant, and his own, the King remitted all but the beheading, which he ſuffered on Tower-hill (16). On the twelfth of May the Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Saliſbury, and Sir James Berners, received the like ſentence. Beauchamp and Berners were the ſame day beheaded, and Sir John Saliſbury ſuffered according to his ſentence at the common place of execution (17). After all theſe ſeverities (which had been extorted from the King) were over, ſome new demands were formed to prevent ſuch a turn as had happened once before in this reign, which were, that no judgments given in this parliament ſhould be reverſed, none of the ſtatutes made controvened, and none of the parties attainted pardoned which the King promiſed (18). He likewiſe, to ſatisfy the people more effectually, and to re-ſettle the crown upon his head, renewed his coronation-oath, hoping after theſe great ſacrifices to reign happily, in which however he was, chiefly through the unſteadineſs of his own nature, miſerably diſappointed.

(9) Thom. Walſingh. p. 365. H. Knyghton, col. 2700, & *ſeq.*

(*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. III. p. 195.

(10) H. Knyghton. col. 2701.

(11) Thom. Walſingh. p. 365. n. 30, 40.

(12) Rot. Parl. 11 R. II. n. 1. p. 2.

(13) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

(14) Thom. Walſingham, p. 365. n. 40.

(15) Hiſtor. Vitæ & Regni Rich. II. a monacho quodam de Eveſham congeſta, p. 102.

(16) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

(17) Chron. Godſtovianum MS. p. 101.

(18) H. Knyghton, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *But*

Thus died Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Kidderminſter, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, leaving, by Joan his wife, daughter and heir to Robert le Fitzwith (*o*), John, his ſon and heir, about ten years of age, during whoſe minority, the lordſhip of Holt was committed to the cuſtody of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, from whom it was held (*p*). When this John de Beauchamp came to man's eſtate, he attended King Richard II in his voyage to Ireland (*q*), but it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours [*C*]. In the eighth of Henry IV, we find that he executed the office of Eſcheator for the county of Worceſter (*r*), which he likewiſe had in the reign of Henry V (*s*), and in the eighth year of that King, died poſſeſſed of four manors in Warwickſhire, and two in Worceſterſhire, which eſtate deſcended to his daughter and ſole heireſs Margaret (*t*), then twenty years of age, who was married firſt to John Pauncefort, and afterwards to John Wyſham (*u*), of whoſe poſterity I find no account.

(*o*) Clauſ. 49 E. III. m. 21.

(*p*) Clauſ. 12 R. II. m. 33.

(*q*) Pat. 22 R. II. P. 3. m. 37.

(*r*) Rot. Fin. 8 Hen. IV. m. 22.

(*s*) Rot. Fin. 1 Hen. V. p. 8. m. 8.

(*t*) Eſch. 8 Hen. V. n. 70.

(*u*) Ibid. n. 71.

[*C*] *But it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours.*] It was the great misfortune of this unhappy Monarch, Richard II, that he was ready to riſk any thing for his favourites when they were preſent, but did not ſo much regard thoſe who ſuffered from their attachment to him, when either baniſhed or dead. Thus, notwithſtanding all his affection for the Duke of Ireland, and the hazards he had run to ſupport him, when he eſcaped to the Low-Countries, he let him remain there in ſo low and poor a condition, that he broke his heart (19). It is true, that afterwards, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, *A. D.* 1398, when he had brought matters ſo about as to have all things done in the parliament, held in the 11th of his reign, declared null and void; and thoſe who had acted moſt in them, attainted on that ſcore of high-treaſon, he procured an expreſs repeal of all forfeitures incurred by judgments then given (20); yet we do not find that this young man was reſtored to his honour of Kidderminſter, or that he had any benefit of the royal grants made to his father. But perhaps we want ſufficient memoirs of thoſe times to enable us to ſpeak with certainty on that head. It is very remarkable, that on the execution of Sir Simon Burley, the Earl of Arundel interpoſed ſo warmly with the Duke of Glouceſter to ſave his life, that a quarrel had very near happened on his refuſal, but we hear nothing of any application made by Thomas Earl of Warwick in behalf of his near relation the Lord Beauchamp, though upon his unfortunate death he had his eſtate and ſon committed to his care. But upon the new and ſtrange turn in 1398, this very Earl of Warwick was by the ſame kind of proceſs, appealed and convicted of treaſon, and received (though remitted) the ſame ſentence with Lord Beauchamp (21). Such ſudden and violent revolutions was this age ſubject to, from the rage of parties, the power of faction, and the ſcandalous corruptions of Parliaments; ſo that no man knew how to be ſafe, or by what means to diſtinguiſh loyalty from treaſon. E

(19) H. Knyghton. col. 2075.

(20) Placit. Coron. 21. R. II. n. 50, 51.

(21) Ibid.

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) ſon to Sir William de Beauchamp, Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter, by Catherine, daughter to Gerard de Uſflete, was, on the death of Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, conſtituted one of the guardians of his ſon Henry (*a*). He purchaſed from Thomas de Botreax, the moiety of the manor of Alceſter, and obtained from King Henry VI, a charter for various privileges and immunities to that place, as alſo the grant of another fair to be held there on the eve of St Dunſtan, and to continue for two days following (*b*). He was in ſo great credit with that Monarch, that in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he was advanced by him to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and had an annuity of ſixty pounds, out of the fee-farm of the city of Glouceſter (*c*). He was alſo conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales, with power to execute that office by himſelf, or his ſufficient Deputy (*d*). About three years after this, by the kindneſs of the ſame Prince, he was promoted to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer of England, which he did not hold full two years (*e*), but retiring to a private life, died at a good old age, in the year 1475 (*f*), leaving his ſon Sir Richard Beauchamp then forty years of age, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. in the private chapel of his manor-houſe of Beauchamp's Court, by virtue of a ſpecial licence from the Biſhop of Worceſter (*g*), by which lady he had three daughters coheireſſes, the eldeſt, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke; the ſecond, Anne, to Richard Ligon; and the third, Margaret, to William Rede (*h*). E

(*a*) Rot. Fin. 17 Hen. VI. m. 10.

(*b*) Cart. 25 & 26 Hen. VI. n. 20

(*c*) Pat. 22 Hen. VI. p. 3. m. 33.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Pat. 28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 19.

(*f*) Eſch. 15 E. IV. n. 1.

(*g*) Carpenter, Vol. I. f. 47. a.

(*h*) Eſch. 16 H. VIII. n. 3.

BEAUCHAMP (WILLIAM DE), Lord Bergavenny. He was the younger ſon of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Catherine Mortimer, as has been before ſhewn (*a*), and there are no memoirs extant of any one of this noble family better worth notice, than thoſe of this Lord Bergavenny. He ſeems to have made his firſt campaign in 1366 under the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (*b*), in his expedition into Caſtile, who, when the armies were in ſight, is recorded to have ſaid, *Sir* William, *yonder are our enemies, this day ſhall you gain the name of a ſucceſsful Knight, or elſe die in the quarrel.* He ſerved continually after this through that whole reign, moſtly under John Duke of Lancaſter, ſometimes in Spain, ſometimes in France, by land ſometimes, and ſometimes by ſea (*c*). For theſe great ſervices and others expected from him, we find in the firſt of Richard II, he was appointed Governor of the caſtle and county of Pembroke, and in the fourth of the ſame King, Lord Chamberlain, with an annual penſion of two hundred pounds for life (*d*). The ſame year he was retained to ſerve by indenture with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, in Spain (*e*). In the ſixth of that King, he ſhould have ſerved under that martial Prelate, Henry Spencer, Biſhop of Norwich, then victorious in Flanders; but not receiving, according to the terms of his agreement, the full ſum of five hundred marks, Lord Bergavenny declined the ſervice (*f*). In the ſeventh of that King, he was retained in

(*a*) See before in BEAUCHAMP (RICHARD) Earl of Warwick, note [*A*].

(*b*) Froiſard, lib. i. p. 138.

(*c*) Rot. Franc. 5 R. II. m. 4. Rot. Franc. 6 R. II. m. 30.

(*d*) Pat. 4 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 5.

(*e*) Ex Autogr. penes cleric. pell.

(*f*) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365, n. 10.

in the manner before deſcribed, to ſerve as Captain of Calais for two years, and was alſo appointed a Commiſſioner to treat with the crown of France about a peace. His conduct in this important employment, was not only every way irreproachable, but ſo highly eſteemed and approved, that his commiſſion was continued for three years more, in which ſpace he took from the French no leſs than forty-eight veſſels, two of which were laden with ſpices, and ſome with white herrings bound for Flanders (*g*). In the ninth of King Richard, he again attended the Duke of Lancaſter into Spain, to ſupport his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile. He was the next year conſtituted Captain of the caſtles of Pembroke and Kilgaran in Wales, and holding ſtill his command of Calais, was appointed the King's Commiſſioner to treat with the Earl of Flanders (*h*). It was at this juncture he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner ſo particular, that it deſerves to be for ever remembred. Amongſt other baſe ſchemes put into the head of King Richard II by his favourites, one was, to retire, when the Duke of Glouceſter and the other Lords were near London with an army, to France, and there purchaſe the aſſiſtance of that Monarch, by giving up to him moſt of the fortreſſes he then held in that realm (*i*). If it be ſome ſcandal to our country, that it produced men baſe enough to betray a young and inconſiderate Prince into ſo foul a contrivance; we muſt allow that is no leſs honourable for us, that this gallant Lord Bergavenny had the courage to ſtand in the gap to ſecure our poſſeſſions from being ſo ſhamefully given up, and, at the hazard of his life, ſerve the King againſt his will, and merit his confidence by a noble act of diſobedience. For when all things were ready at home for carrying this dark deſign into execution, and the King ſent orders to this Lord to to quit his command, and tranſmit certain letters to the court of France he ſtoutly refuſed both (*k*). He declared with reſpect to the former, that he was intruſted with this important fortreſs, with the advice and conſent of the nobility, and without their conſent, he would not render up his command. As for the letters, (gueſſing at their tenor) inſtead of ſending them to Paris, he tranſmitted them to the Duke of Glouceſter in England. He went ſtill farther than this, for when John de la Pole, brother to the great favourite, Suffolk, came with the King's orders to take from him the command of Calais, he not only refuſed to yield it into his hands, but ſeized him and carried him over priſoner to England, which at that time incenſed the King to ſuch a degree, as it entirely ruined the ſcheme of his miniſters, that he cauſed the Lord Bergavenny immediately after his arrival, to be arreſted and committed to cloſe cuſtody; but ſoon after, either through fear or choice, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty again (*l*). But I do not find (and I ſpeak it to his honour) that after this, he was much employed during that reign. But in the very firſt of Henry IV, we find him conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales for life, and reſtored to the government of the town and caſtle of Pembroke and Lordſhip of Tineby, with the addition of the caſtle and lordſhip of Kilgaran, and county of Oſterlowe alſo for life, paying into the Exchequer ſeventy marks, *per. ann* (*m*). This noble Lord deceaſed about 1411, poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, which deſcended to his only ſon by Joan, one of the daughters of Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of the ſiſters and coheireſſes of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton (*n*). The name of this only ſon and ſucceſſor of the Lord Bergavenny was Richard, who married the lady Iſabel Deſpenſer very ſoon after his father's death, and had by her a very large eſtate in land (*o*). In the fourth year of Henry V, we find him retained to ſerve the King abroad in his wars, where he behaved with ſuch courage, wiſdom, and ſucceſs, and rendered the King ſo many and ſo important ſervices, that in reward of his zeal and fidelity, that Monarch advanced him in the eighth year of his reign, to the title of Earl of Worceſter (*p*), and for the better ſupport of that dignity, made him large grants of land in Normandy and other parts of France (*q*). It was not long that he ſurvived to enjoy theſe marks of Royal favour; for very ſoon after he was wounded by a ſtone from a ſling at Nuſembry in France, of which he languiſhed for ſome time and then died; his body was interred at Tewkſbury with great ſolemnity (*r*), and in him ended this branch of the family. He left an only daughter Elizabeth, born at Hanley caſtle, December 16, 1415, who afterwards married Edward Nevill, a younger ſon of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Weſtmoreland (*s*). The beſt part of his paternal eſtate deſcended, by virtue of a ſpecial entail, to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who obſerving that his widow Iſabel, Counteſs of Worceſter, had a very large eſtate, and a fair proſpect of increaſing it, he applied to the court of Rome for a ſpecial diſpenſation to enable him to marry her, who had been his uncle's ſon's wife, which having obtained, he eſpouſed her (*t*), and had by her, as we have already ſhewn, Henry, Duke of Warwick; and a daughter, Anne, by whom this title was transferred to the family of Nevill. We might add to theſe many other illuſtrious perſons of this great and noble family, ſuch as Roger Beauchamp of Bletſho, from whom the St Johns, Barons of Bletſho are deſcended (*u*). Biſhop Beauchamp of Hereford (*w*), Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, who died in the reign of Henry VII, and was buried in the Black-Friar's church near Ludgate (*x*): But the bounds we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this work, will not admit of our proſecuting our account of this family any farther; nor had we inſiſted on it ſo long, but as it affords variety of circumſtances, neceſſary to be referred to in many ſubſequent articles. E

(*g*) Rot. Franc. 7 R. II. m. 24. Hen. Knyghton. col. 2676. n. 20.

(*h*) Rot. Franc. 11 R. II. m. 6.

(*i*) Vita Richard II. p. 77.

(*k*) H. Knyghton. col. 2698. n. 10.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(*m*) Pat. 1 H. IV. p. 4. m. 11.

(*n*) Eſch. 4 H. V. n. 54.

(*o*) Rot. Fin. 4 H. V. m. 8.

(*p*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. V. m. 15. Rot. Franc. 7 Hen. V. m. 11.

(*q*) Pat. Norman. 9 Hen. V. m. 30. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 158. n. 50.

(*r*) Leland's Iten. Vol. VI. p. 89.

(*s*) Ibid.

(*t*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 158.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 251, 252.

(*w*) Godwin, de Præſul.

(*x*) Regiſtr. Bennet, p. 2.

BEAVER (JOHN) otherwiſe named *Bever*, and in Latin *Fiber*, *Fiberius*, *Caſtor*, and *Caſtorius* (*a*), was a Benedictine Monk in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and flouriſhed about the beginning of the XIVth century (*b*). He was a man of quick parts, and of great diligence and ingenuity (*c*). But he applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of England, and became a great maſter of both. Among other things, he writ a *Chronicle of the Britiſh and Engliſh Affairs*, from the coming in of Brute to his own time [*A*]. He alſo writ a book *De Rebus cænobii Weſtmonaſterienſis*, of Weſtminſter-Abbey, and the ſeveral Tranſactions relating thereto (*d*). Leland commends him (*e*) as an hiſtorian of good credit; and he is alſo cited with reſpect by J. Stow in his Survey of London and Weſtminſter (*f*). Bale ſays (*g*), he doth not give a ſlight or ſuperficial account, but a full and judicious relation, of things; and takes proper notice of the virtues and vices of the perſons mentioned in his Hiſtory.

There was another of the ſame name, a Monk of St Alban's; who left behind him a collection of ſome treatiſes that are of no great value. They are extant in the King's Library (*b*).

(*a*) Baleus, Script. Brytan. Cent. IV. n. 80. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1306.

(*b*) In 1306, ſays Pits, ibid.

(*c*) Bale & Pits, ibid.

(*d*) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Aſſert. Regis Arthuri; & Comment. in Cygn. Cant.

(*f*) See Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtoric. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, fol. p. 63.

(*g*) Ubi ſupra.

(*b*) 2 F. VII.

[*A*] *He writ a Chronicle of the Britiſh, and Engliſh affairs.*] It was never publiſhed, but remains in manuſcript in ſeveral places, particularly in the Cottonian library (1). In the late fire there, it was pretty much damaged, but may ſtill be uſed. Mr Hearne publiſhed, in 1735, propoſals for the printing of it; but his death put a ſtop to the publication (2). C

(1) Vitellius E. XVII. 4.

(2) See the article HEARNE (THOMAS.)

BEAUFORT, was at firſt the *Surname*, and became afterwards the *Title*, of a noble family, which hath produced ſeveral eminent perſons of both ſexes. It was taken from the caſtle of Beaufort in Anjou (*a*), which came to the Houſe of Lancaſter, by Blaoche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund Crouch-back, ſecond ſon of King Henry III, and firſt Earl of Lancaſter. The children to whom that SURNAME was firſt given, were John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan; being the natural iſſue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (fourth ſon of King Edward III) by Catharine, daughter of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guyenne King of Arms, and widow of Sir Otes (*b*) Swinford; then Governeſs to the ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, daughters of the ſaid Earl of Lancaſter (*c*); and afterwards married to him, being his third wife (*d*). Thoſe children were legitimated, by Act of Parliament [*A*], bearing date February 9, 1396-7, the twentieth of Richard II, and exemplified afterwards by King Henry IV, on February 10, 1406-7 (*e*), by which legitimation they were rendered capable of all offices and honours whatſoever, the royal dignity excepted. In purſuance of this, John was created Earl of Somerſet; Henry became Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal of St Euſebius; and Thomas was made Earl of Dorſet, and Duke of Exeter (*f*). Joan was married, firſt to Robert, ſon of Robert Lord Ferrers, and afterwards to Ralph Neville, the firſt Earl of Weſtmoreland. The grandſon of John Earl of Somerſet, was, Henry Duke of Somerſet, who being beheaded, April 3, 1463, for his adherence to the Houſe of Lancaſter, left iſſue by Joan Hill, or De la Montaign, an only natural ſon named Charles, who aſſumed the ſurname of Somerſet. Deſcended from him in the fifth generation, was Edward Somerſet Marquis of Worceſter; on whom King Charles I, conferred the TITLE of Baron *Beaufort* (*g*), as King Charles II did, that of Duke of *Beaufort* (Decemb. 2, 1682.) on his ſon Henry Somerſet, great-great-grandfather of the preſent Duke of Beaufort.

(*a*) Catalog. of the Nobil. by R. B. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 121. Sandford and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Book iv. c. 8. Lond. 1707, p. 322.

(*b*) Dugdale calls him Sir Hugh, Baronage Vol. II. p. 119.

(*c*) Sandford, ibid. p. 253.

(*d*) Dugdale and Sandford, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) This Act is at length in Sandford and Stebbing before quoted, p. 322, 323. and in G. Buck's Life of Richard III. Book ii.

(*f*) Idem p. 260, &c. Dugdale, p. 121, &c.

(*g*) Sandford and Stebbing, p. 357. Peerage of England, by Arth. Collins, Vol. I. p. 75, &c. ed. 1735.

[*A*] *Thoſe children were legitimated by Act of parliament.*] There is an obſervation at the beginning of this act, made by Dr Edmund Stafford, Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England, intimating, that Pope Urban VI, at the earneſt requeſt of King Richard II, had before legitimated theſe children (1). C

(1) Life of Richard III. by G. Buck, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. I. p. 536.

BEAUFORT (JOHN) eldeſt ſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, by Catharine Swinford, as is above related, was born in Beaufort-caſtle in Anjou. In 1394, being then a Knight, he accompanied his father into Gaſcogne (*). He was advanced to the honour of Earl of Somerſet, in a Parliament held at Weſtminſter (*a*), by creation, bearing date 1396-7. And on September 29, in a Parliament held at the ſame place, was created Marquis of Dorſet [*A*]. But this laſt honour being vacated, he was created the ſame day, Sept. 29, Marquis of Somerſet (*b*). Notwithſtanding which, he was ſummoned to Parliament (*c*) by the title only of Marquis of Dorſet: And, by that denomination, was made Conſtable of Wallingford-caſtle, and Steward of the honour of Wallingford, November 22, 1397 (*d*); as alſo Conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque-ports, on the 5th of February following (*e*); and not long after, King Richard the ſecond's Lieutenant in Aquitain (*f*). He was likewiſe, on the 2d of February the ſame year, conſtituted Admiral of all the King's fleet, both to the north and weſt (*g*). In 1397, he was one of thoſe Lords, who, at the great Council at Nottingham, impeached Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, &c. of treaſon (*b*). For which, he and the reſt of them, were adjudged, in the firſt Parliament of King Henry IV, to loſe their titles, and

(*) Rot. Vaſco. 18 Ric. II. m. 7.

(*a*) Rot. Parl. 20 Ric. II. n. 28, 29. Carta 22 Ric. II. n. 1. as quoted by Dugdale in Baron. Vol. II. p. 121, &c.

(*b*) Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5. Carta 21 Ric. II. n. 18, 23.

(*c*) An. 21 & 23 Ric. II. & 1 Henr. IV.

(*d*) Pat. 21 Ric. II. p. 2. m. 20.

(*e*) Ibid. m. 9.

(*f*) Rot. Vaſcon. 21 Ric. II. m. 8.

(*g*) Rot. Franc. 21 Ric. II. m. 4.

(*b*) Placit. Parl. 21 Ric. II. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. p. 354, edit. Francof. 1603.

[*A*] *Was created Marquis of Dorſet.*] With the ceremonies uſed in thoſe times, namely *per gladii cincturam, et circuli aurei ſuo capiti impoſitionem*, by girding a ſword on, and putting a golden circle or coronet on the head. See Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5.

and the eſtates that had been given them, at or ſince the laſt Parliament, belonging to any of thoſe perſons they had impeached; or ſuch as they enjoyed at the time of the Duke of Glouceſter's impriſonment (*i*). By this means, John Beaufort loſt the title of Marquis of Dorſet, and retained only that of Earl of Somerſet. But ſoon ingratiating himſelf with the new King, who was his brother by the father's ſide, he was conſtituted by him Chamberlain of England for life (*k*), Febr. 9, 1399-1400. In 1401 he was retained by indenture to ſerve the King as governor of the town of Caermardhyn (*l*), and had his eſtate reſtored to him (*m*). He was alſo made Captain of Calais, with it's marches. In 1401, or 1402, he was commiſſioned with others, to treat of a League of amity, between the King of England, and the Duke of Gueldres (*n*). In 1402, the Commons in Parliament petitioned for his reſtitution to the dignity of Marquis; which he ſeemed unwilling to reſume, becauſe that title was new in this kingdom, he being the ſecond on whom it was conferred; however, he accepted of it at laſt (*o*). In the year 1404, he had an aſſignation of the iſle of Thanet, for the ſupport of himſelf, and the garriſon of Calais, which conſiſted of his ſoldiers (*p*): And was appointed Embaſſador to treat of a peace with the French (*q*). He alſo was one of the Commiſſioners, empowered to receive ſuch ſums of money, as then remained unpaid for the ranſom of John, King of France, taken priſoner at the battle of Creſſy (*r*). And finally, in the eighth year of King Henry IV, was conſtituted Admiral of the King's whole fleet, as well for the north as weſt (*s*). Having thus paſſed through many honourable employments, he departed this life, on the 21ſt of April 1410, and was buried in St Michael's chapel, on the ſouth ſide of Canterbury cathedral (*t*). He married Margaret Holand, third daughter of Thomas, and ſiſter and coheir to Edmund, both Earls of Kent, by whom he had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas; (of whom, and their poſterity I ſhall give an account in the note [*B*]) and two daughters: Joan, married to James I, King of Scotland; and Margaret, to Thomas Courtney, the ſeventh Earl of Devonſhire (*u*).

(*i*) Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 513. Tho. Walſingham, ubi ſupra, p. 361.

(*k*) Pat. 1. Henr. IV. p. 3. See Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 324.

(*l*) Penes Cler. Pell.

(*m*) Rot. Parl. 2 Henr. IV. n. 33.

(*n*) Rot. Franc. 3 Henr. IV. m. 6.

(*o*) Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. IV. n. 18.

(*p*) Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 26.

(*q*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. IV. m. 4.

(*r*) Ibid. m. 16.

(*s*) Pat. 8 Henr. IV. p. 2. m. 17.

(*t*) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, 324, 341.

(*u*) Ibid. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 122.

[*B*] *He had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas,* &c.] Henry dying young, and unmarried, was ſucceeded in the earldom of Somerſet by his brother JOHN; who, in 1443, was created Duke of Somerſet and Earl of Kendal (1), and conſtituted Lieutenant and Captain-General of Aquitaine; as alſo of the whole realm of France, and duchy of Normandy (2). He was taken priſoner at the battle of Baugy in 1421, and was not releaſed till ſome years after (3). Dying May 27, 1444, he left iſſue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſho, an only daughter named *Margaret*, of whom I ſhall give an account in a particular article. —— To him ſucceeded his next brother EDMUND, who, before that time, had the title of Earl of Mortain in Normandy, and the Lordſhip of Chirkland in the marches of Wales (4); and had alſo, Aug. 20, 1442, been created Earl, as he was on June 24, 1443, Marquis of Dorſet (5); and finally, after his brother's deceaſe, Duke of Somerſet, March 31, 1448 (6). He had at ſeveral times the regency of France and government of Normandy; and behaved with great bravery there at the taking of Harfleur, though he loſt afterwards a great deal of his glory upon the ſurrendring of Caen and Roan (7). Being recalled to England by King Henry VI, to make head againſt the Yorkiſts, he was ſlain at the firſt battle of St Alban's, May 22, 1455 (8). His wife was, Eleanor, ſecond daughter and coheir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by whom he had four ſons and five daughters. Of the daughters, Eleanor was the ſecond wife of James Butler Earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire; Joan was married firſt to the Lord of Hoth in Ireland, and next to Sir Richard Fry, Kt. Anne was the wife of Sir William Paſton of Norfolk, Kt. Margaret was firſt married to Humphry Stafford Earl of Stafford, and ſecondly to Sir Richard Darrel, Kt. and Elizabeth was married to Sir Henry Lewis, Kt (9). The ſons were HENRY Duke of Somerſet, who being taken priſoner at the battle of Hexham in 1463, was there beheaded on the 3d of April. EDMUND, that ſucceeded him, ſailed into France, where he lived in great miſery. But returning again to England, he was in the ſecond battle of Barnet, and in that of Tewkſbury; after which laſt, being taken priſoner, he was beheaded May 6, 1471 (10). *John*, his next brother, was ſlain in the ſame battle of Tewkſbury, May 4 (11), and *Thomas*, the fourth ſon, died young (12). But to return to *Henry*, the elder brother, mentioned a little above: He bore the title of Earl of Mortain in his father's life-time, and gained great honour in the French wars (13). In the 36th of Henry VI, he was conſtituted Lieutenant and Governor of the Iſle of Wight and Careſbrooke-caſtle (14); and the next year made Governor of Calais. But being recalled to England, he was made General to Queen Margaret, and led her main battle at Wakefield. He was alſo commander in chief for King Henry VI, at the bloody fight of Towton, March 12, 1461; after which, ſeeing this poor King's affairs deſperate, he ſubmitted to the conqueror, Edward IV, though he turned afterwards againſt him (15), for which he was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, as is above related; leaving only a natural ſon, named Charles, who took the ſurname of Somerſet. C

(1) Carta 21 Henr. VI. n. 45.

(2) Rot. Franc. 21 Henr. VI.

(3) Sandford, ubi ſupra, p. 327.

(4) Ibid. p. 331.

(5) Cart. from 1 to 20 of Henr. VI. n. 3. — and from 20 to 24. n. 46.

(6) Ibid. from 25 to 27, n. 9.

(7) Hollinſhed, p. 615, 630, &c.

(8) Ibid. p. 643.

(9) Sandford & Stebbing, p. 332.

(10) Hollinſhed, p. 667.

(11) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 336.

(12) Ibid. p. 333.

(13) Page 335.

(14) Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 10.

(15) Sandford & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 335. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 124.

BEAUFORT (HENRY), Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford [*A*]. He ſtudied for ſome years at Oxford, but had his education chiefly at Aix

[*A*] *He was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford*] John of Gaunt's third wife, Speed tells us (1) 'was 'Catherine, the widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a knight 'of Lincolnſhire, eldeſt daughter and coheire of Payn 'Roet, a Gaſcoigne, called Guien King of Arms for 'that country, his younger daughter being married to 'Sir Geoffrey Chaucer our Laureat Poet. By her he 'had iſſue (born before matrimony, and made legiti-'mate afterwards by parliament holden in the twen-'tieth year of King Richard the Second) John Earl of 'Somerſet, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Henry Biſhop 'of Wincheſter and Cardinal, and Joan, who was firſt 'married to Robert Ferrers (Baron of Wemme and 'Ouelly in the counties of Salop and Warwick), and 'ſecondly to Ralph Nevill, the firſt Earl of Weſtmor-'land. She and all her brethren were ſirnamed BEAU-'FORT, of a caſtle which the Duke had in France, 'where they were all born; and in regard thereof bare 'the *Portcullis* of a caſtle for the cognizance of their 'family.' We ſhall produce the charter of legitimation of the *Beauforts*, after having obſerved that the preamble of the Act of Parliament (2), which confirmed it (drawn up by Dr Edmund Stafford Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England), intimates, that Pope Urban VI, at the earneſt requeſt of the King, vouchſafes to legitimate theſe *Beauforts*, the natural children of the Duke of Lancaſter; and that the King alſo, having power to legitimate and enable baſtards in as ample a manner as the Emperor hath

(1) *Hiſtory of* Great Britain, edit Lond. 1632, p. 709.

(2) *Records*, preſerved in the Tower of London.

(a) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton. *an.* 1405.

Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himſelf to the Civil and Common Law (a). Being of royal extraction, he was advanced very young to the prelacy, and was elected Biſhop of Lincoln in 1397 (b), in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned [B]. In 1399, he was

(b) Ib. ib. *ra.*— Epiſc. Lincoln — *an.* 1397.

or had, was pleaſed, at the humble requeſt and ſuit of the Duke their father, to make them not only legitimate, but alſo capable of lands, heritages, titles, honours, offices, dignities, &c. and that the King, for the more authority thereof, craved allowance and favourable aſſent of the Barons in Parliament; which was accordingly granted. The charter (3) runs thus:

(3) *It is extant in* George Buck's Life of Richard III. *apud Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. I. p. 536, 537.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Johannis* Ducis *Lancaſtriæ.*

Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Chariſſimis Conſanguineis noſtris, Nobilibus Viris Joanni *de* Beaufort *Militi,* Henrico *de* Beaufort *Clerico,* Thomæ *de* Beaufort *Domicello, et nobili mulieri* Joannæ Beaufort *Domicellæ, præclariſſimi Patrui noſtri Nobilis Viri* Joannis *Ducis* Aquitaniæ *et* Lancaſtriæ *Germanis Natis et Liegis noſtris, Salutem. Nos pro honore et meritis,* &c. *avunculi noſtri, proprio arbitratu, et meritorum ſuorum intuitu, vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honeſtate fulgetis, et ex regali eſtis proſapia propagati,* &c. *hinc eſt quod* Joannis, &c. *Avunculi noſtri, Genitoris veſtri, precibus inclinati vobis (cum, ut aſſeritur, defectum natalium patimini) hujuſmodi defectum et ejuſdem qualitates quaſcunque abolere preſentes, vos haberi volumus pro ſufficientibus ad quoſcunque honores, dignitatis præeminentias, ſtatus, gradus, et officia publica et privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque judicialia et nobilia, quibuſcunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam ſi Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baroniæ, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamſi mediatè vel immediatè à nobis dependeant ſeu teneantur, præfici, promoveri, eligi, aſſumi, et admitti, illaque recipere proinde liberè ac licitè valeatis, ac ſi de legitimo thoro nati exiſteritis, quibuſcunque Statutis, ſeu conſuetudinibus regni noſtri Angliæ in contrarium editis ſeu obſervatis, quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expreſſis, nequaquam obſtantibus, de plenitudine noſtræ regalis poteſtatis, et de aſſenſo Parliamenti noſtri, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, voſque et quemlibet veſtrûm natalibus reſtituimus et legitimamus —— Die Feb. Anno Regni* 20 *R.* 2.

In Engliſh, as follows.

A Charter of Legitimation of the Baſtards of John Duke of Lancaſter.

'Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To our moſt dear Couſins, the illuſtrious *John Beaufort*, Knight, *Henry Beaufort*, Clerk, *Themas Beaufort*, Gentleman, and *Joanna Beaufort* Gentlewoman, of our moſt renowned Uncle, the noble *John* Duke of Guienne and Lancaſter, Children German, and our Lieges, Greeting. We, for honour and merits, &c. of our Uncle, of our own good pleaſure, and in conſideration of his deſerts, becauſe you are conſpicuous for your virtuous inclinations, and honeſty of life and manners, and deſcended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that, moved by the earneſt intreaties of our Uncle your parent, to remove from you (for, as is ſaid, there is a defect in your birth) this defect, and all it's preſent conſequences, we will that you be, and be reputed, capable to be preferred, promoted, elected, aſſumed and admitted, to any honours, dignities, ſtates, degrees, offices public and private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what appellations ſoever diſtinguiſhed, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending or holding of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy, as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Cuſtoms of our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or obſerved, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithſtanding; with which, out of the fulneſs of our Royal Power, and with conſent of our Parliament, by the tenor of theſe Preſents, We diſpenſe, and you, and every one of you, to Birth reſtore and legitimate ———— Day of February, in the 20th year of our Reign. R. II.'

Notwithſtanding this Act of Legitimation, it was afterwards diſputed (eſpecially in the reign of Richard III, when, after the death of Edward Prince of Wales, the affair of the Succeſſion came to be conſidered), whether the *Beauforts* were of the Houſe of Lancaſter, or not; as alſo whether King Richard the Second's Charter conferred on them any title to the Crown. Upon which we ſhall ſubjoin the obſervations of George Buck, who, though otherwiſe a writer of little weight, may be allowed to ſpeak upon this ſubject, which concerns a matter of right, rather than of fact. After reciting the above-mentioned Charter, he goes on 'Here we 'find large Graces, Honours, and Privileges conferred 'upon theſe *Beauforts*; for the King calls them *conſanguineos ſuos*, and not only confirms their legiti 'mation, but makes them, by the help of the Parlia 'ment, capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, 'and Principalities; enableth them for all offices pub 'lic and private, temporary and perpetual, to take 'hold of, and enjoy, all Feuds, as well noble as other, 'all lands and ſeignories hereditary, as lawfully, firmly, 'and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful 'matrimony; but yet confers no Royal title nor in 'tereſt in the crown, at the leaſt to the obſervation of 'thoſe, who allow not the claim of the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets*, and ſay, that, to reach that, there muſt 'be words of higher intent, words of Empire, Ma 'jeſty, and Sovereignty; ſuch as *Regni ſumma Po 'teſtas, Corona, Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Ma 'jeſtas*, and the like; neither of theſe, nor any im 'porting their extent, being in this Grant, ſo no title 'to the Crown or Sovereignty could paſs to them. To 'which the other ſide replies, that there is a word in 'the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and 'Sovereignty; that is, *Principatus*, whereof the King 'and Parliament make the *Beauforts* capable, *Princi patus* being the State of *Princeps*, a title of the moſt 'abſolute ſovereign power; for the Roman Emperors 'in their greateſt height were called *Principes*; there 'fore *Princeps* is thus defined: *Princeps eſt penes quem 'ſumma reipublicæ poteſtas eſt, et qui primus omnium do 'minatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are uſed as 'ſynonymies. But it is conceived an error now, to take '*Principatus* for *Regnum* or *Supremus Dominatus*, being 'the word *Principatus* long before, and in the age of 'Richard II, alſo ever ſince, hath been reſtrained to 'the Eſtate of *Primogenitus*, and Heir Apparent, not 'only of Kings, but alſo of Dukes and Marquiſſes, as 'well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King, 'Henry IV, a wiſe, diſcreet, and wary Prince, tho' 'he was much inclined to theſe *Beauforts* (as being his 'natural brethren by the paternal ſide, and willing to 'advance them all he could), yet he diſcovered clearly 'enough by that certain Charter, in which he entailed 'the Crown ſucceſſively to his four ſons, and to the 'heirs of their bodies, that he reputed not the *Beau 'forts* to be *Lancaſtrians*, or near the Crown; nei 'ther is there the leaſt clauſe or mention to leave any 'Remainder therein to them. Firſt, he entailed the 'Crown to his eldeſt ſon Henry Prince of Wales; af 'ter him, to the heirs of his body: if they fail, then 'to Thomas of Lancaſter his ſecond ſon, and to the 'heirs of his body; ſo to his third ſon John of Lan 'caſter, and to the heirs of his body. Laſtly, to his 'fourth ſon Humphrey, and to the heirs of his body. 'The words are, *poſt ipſum ſucceſſivè hæredibus ſuis de 'ipſius corpore* legitimè *procreandis*; which is impli 'catively an expreſs excluſion of the *Beauforts* (4).' Our author adds in the margin, *This Charter I ſaw in the hands of* Sir Robert Cotton, *and from it took theſe ſummary notes.*

(4) George Buck's *Life of* Richard III, ubi ſupra.

[B] *He was elected Biſhop of Lincoln, in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned.*] On occaſion of this promotion, Godwin complains (5) of the tyranny exerciſed at that time by the court of Rome. He tells us, that the Popes not only appointed Biſhops in England, but deprived them at pleaſure; which they generally effected by tranſlating perſons, without their conſent, to other Sees, from which it was well known they could reap little or no advantage. Thus Urban VI extorted the archbiſhopric of York from Alexander Nevill, whom he tranſlated, whether he would or no,

(5) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton. *an.* 1405.

for

was Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, and at the ſame time Dean of Wells (*c*). He was Lord High-Chancellor of England in 1404, the fifth of his brother Henry IV. The next year, he ſucceeded William of Wickham, by Papal proviſion, in the See of Winchester, and received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Biſhop of London's palace, the 18th of March. He was again Lord-Chancellor in 1414, the ſecond of his nephew King Henry V (*d*). The ſame year, he went over one of the King's Embaſſadors into France, to demand in marriage, Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI (*e*) [*C*]. He was a third time Lord-Chancellor in 1417, the fifth of Henry V (*f*). The ſame year, he lent the King his nephew twenty thouſand pounds (a prodigious ſum in thoſe days) towards carrying on his expedition againſt France [*D*], and had the crown in pawn as a ſecurity for the money (*g*). This year alſo he took a journey to the Holy Land; and in his way, being arrived at Conſtance, where was held a General Council, he exhorted the Prelates to union and agreement in the election of a Pope; and his remonſtrances contributed not a little to haſten the preparations for the Conclave, in which Martin III was elected (*h*). We have no farther account of what happened to our Prelate in this expedition. In 1421, he had the honour to be god-father, jointly with John Duke of Bedford, and Jacqueline, Counteſs of Holland, to Prince Henry, eldeſt ſon of his nephew Henry V, and Catherine of France, afterwards Henry VI (*i*). M. Aubery pretends, that James, King of Scots, who had been ſeveral years a priſoner in England, owed his deliverance to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who prevailed with the government to ſet him free, on condition of his marrying his niece, the grand-daughter of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Somerſet (*k*). This Prelate was one of King Henry VIth's guardians during his minority; and in 1424, the third of the young King's reign, he was a fourth time Lord-Chancellor of England (*l*). There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Gloceſter [*E*], which ended in the ruin and death of the latter (*m*). Their diſſenſions began to appear publickly in the year 1425 (*n*), and roſe to ſuch an height [*F*], that Beaufort thought it neceſſary

(*c*) Succeſſio Decan. Wellenſ. *ap.* Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 589.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *apud* Wharton, ibid. p. 318.

(*e*) Aubery, Hiſt. Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris, 1643. Tom. II. p. 123, 124.

(*f*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Speed's *Hiſt. of* Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632, p. 803.

(*h*) Th. Walſingham, Chronic. edit. Lond. 1574, p. 396.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 406.

(*k*) Aubery, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) *See the article of that Nobleman.*

(*n*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 815.

to that of St Andrew's in Scotland, from which, receiving no benefit, he lived in extreme poverty. In the ſame manner, the ſame Pope deprived Thomas Merks of the See of Carliſle; and Alexander V turned out Lewis from that of Bangor, *thruſting them* (ſays my author) *into certain ſhadowy Biſhoprics* *. And Boniface IX intended to have tranſlated John Buckingham to the See of Lichfield, to make room for Henry Beaufort; but that Prelate, to make the injury done him the more glaring and notorious, choſe rather to be without both, and, abdicating the See of Lincoln, retired to the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he took the habit, and lived a Biſhop without a Biſhopric to the day of his death.

(*) In umbraticos neſcio quos epiſcopatus.

[*C*] *He went over —— into France, to demand in marriage Catherine the daughter of Charles* VI.] A French writer, cited by M. Aubery (6), tells us, that this year, 1414, the Duke of York, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Earl of Somerſet, the King's uncles, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, came to Paris, to demand the King's daughter Catherine for the King of England. They were ſplendidly entertained by the King at his palace of the Louvre; but received for anſwer, that his Majeſty could not for the preſent take the affair into his conſideration. The embaſſadors being to return home, and knowing that King Henry's intent was to make a deſcent with a powerful army in Normandy, deſired to be conducted to Harfleur, and from thence to embark for England; but their real deſign was to take a view of that town and it's fortifications. We ſhall ſet down the original, becauſe it wants a little correction. *Celui an vindrent à Paris, par ſauf-conduit, le Duc d'Yorch* *, *l'Archeueſque de Vinceſtre, et le Compte* † *Dorſec, Oncles du Roy d'Angleterre, le Sire de Cornouaille, et autres Cheualiers Anglois, et Gens de Conſeil, pour demander à auoir en mariage, pour ledit Roy d'Angleterre, Madame Katherine fille du Roy: leſquels Ambaſſadeurs furent moult grandement feſtoyez du Roy, en ſon Chaſtel du Louure a Paris, et auſſi Monſeigneur de Berry en ſon Hoſtel de Neelle. Et fut donneè reſponſe auſdits Ambaſſadeurs, que l'on ne pouuoit entendre à cette matiere pour le preſent, et ainſi ſ'en retournerent. Et pour ce qu' ils ſcauoient que l'intention de leur Roy etoit de venir deſcendre en grande armèe en Normandie, requirent qu'on les amenaſt monter en mer à Harfleu pour aller en Angleterre. Mais le principal point etoit, pour regarder la ville, et comment elle etoit fortifieé.*

(6) Alain Chartier, Hiſt. de Charles VI. *apud* Aubery, Hiſt. Generale, des Cardinaux. edit Paris, 1643, T. II. p. 124.

(*) *It ſhould be* eve que.

(†) *It ſhould be* Somerſet.

[*D*] *He lent the King* 20,000 *l. towards his expedition againſt France.*] 'In the month of May (Speed 'tells us) a Parliament was held at Weſtminſter, whoſe 'chiefeſt intent was to have meanes to continue the 'King's conqueſt in France; but ſuch was the ſtate 'of thoſe laviſh times, that, to ſtop the current of this 'melting mint, ſome, minding more the heaps of 'their money than the ſpreading abroad of England's 'faire monarchy, exhibited their bills unto the three 'Eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned the King to 'commiſerate the poverty of the Commons, which (as 'they ſaid) were beggered by theſe wars. For which 'cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was de'manded; but the King, pawning his Crown to his 'uncle Beaufort, the rich * Cardinal, for twenty thou'ſand pounds, before the ſaid month was expired, 'with foure thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty 'thouſand foot, returned into France to follow thoſe 'warres (7).' Biſhop Godwin tells us, that King Henry V, a little before his death, having, by his continual and expenſive wars, contracted large debts, began to caſt his eyes upon the wealth of the Church, which was then arrived at it's higheſt pitch, and was even adviſed to ſupply his wants out of the ſpoils thereof. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to ſtop this miſchief in the birth, lent his nephew the above-mentioned ſum out of his own pocket. *Henricus Quintus Rex, paulo ante exitum, per continuas maximaque bella ære alieno ingenti contracto, in opes Eccleſiæ (quæ id temporis ad ſummum pervenerant) oculos cœpit conjicere: neque deerant permulti, qui ex ſpoliis ejuſdem inopiam ſuam ſublevaret, hortarentur. Quapropter Præſul hic noſter, ut huic malo tum primum pullulanti obviam iret, viginti librarum millia ex ſuis loculis deprompta, nepoti Regi mutuo dedit* (8).

(*) *The Hiſtorian thro' miſtake anticipates the title of* Cardinal, *which was not conferred on* Beaufort *till the year* 1426, *nine years after the date of this Loan.*

(7) Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 803.

(8) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Duke of Gloceſter.*] The grounds of their diſſenſion are not certainly known; whether it was that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was diſguſted at the preference given to the Duke of Gloceſter in the government of the kingdom; or that the Duke conceived an averſion to the Biſhop on account of his perpetually oppoſing the exceſs of authority he would annex to the office of Protector.

[*F*] *Their diſſenſions —— roſe to ſuch an height,* &c.] 'About Michaelmas, 1425 (an hiſtorian writes), Peter 'Duke of Coimbra, eldeſt ſon of the King of Por'tugal, came into England, and finding a kind and 'generous entertainment from the Protector and 'Nobles, ſtaid the whole year, to inform himſelf of 'the cuſtoms, and enjoy the pleaſures of the country. 'In the time of his abode here, there happened a 'fierce and mighty quarrel between the Protector and 'the rich Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Henry Beaufort*, the 'King's great uncle, the Engliſh Pope, who in his 'magnificence and grandeur ſeemed ſo much to out-

'ſhine

ceſſary to write a letter to his nephew the Duke of Bedford [G], Regent of France, deſiring his preſence in England, to accommodate matters between them. The Regent accordingly arriving in England the 20th of December (o), was met at his landing by the Biſhop of Wincheſter with a numerous train (p), and ſoon after convoked an aſſembly of the Nobility at St Alban's [H], to hear and determine the affair. But the animoſity on this occaſion was ſo great on both ſides, that it was thought proper to refer the deciſion to the Parliament, which was appointed to be held at Leiceſter the 25th of March following. The Parliament being met [I], the Duke of Gloceſter produced ſix articles of accuſation againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally [K]; and a Committee

(o) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. Vol. X. p. 359.

(p) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 352.

ſhine the Protector himſelf, though on the throne almoſt, that he drew his *Odium* and hatred upon him; which was ſo increaſed by the haughty ſpirit of the Biſhop, who being the Protector's uncle, and the Pope's Legate (*), carried himſelf as if he were much above him both in nature and grace, that the Protector could not endure his pride; and ſo an implacable enmity grew between them, and great parties were raiſed on both ſides for each other's defence, the Biſhop's dependencies, money, and Church-power, making him able to contend with the Protector himſelf. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, interpoſed themſelves to reconcile them, and were ſo zealous to heal this dangerous breach, that they went from the one to the other ten times in one day; but all proved to no purpoſe. No mediations could pacify the mind of the Protector; and Wincheſter would yield no farther than was becoming his place and ſtate, though he was willing, for the good of the nation, that the difference might be compoſed without arms (9).' M. Rapin relates (10), that the Duke of Gloceſter, going one day to the Tower, was refuſed admittance by Richard Woodvill the governor, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and a French writer (*), cited by that hiſtorian, pretends the quarrel roſe ſo high thereupon, that the Biſhop was forced to take refuge in the Tower, and that five or ſix of his attendants were killed by thoſe of the Duke. But this is not probable, ſince there was no mention made of it in their mutual complaints before the Parliament the year following.

(*) *He was not as yet the Pope's Legate.*

(9) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 351, 352. *See the remark* [K].

(10) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, *ſub an.* 1425.

(*) Monſtrelet.

[G] *He wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford.*] It is extant in Hollinſhed's Chronicles (11), and is as follows.

(11) Page 591.

(*) *Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right noble and after One, Leieſt* [*Earthly*] *Lord. I recommend me unto you,* [*Your Grace*] *with all my heart. And as you deſire the Welfare of the King our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France, your own Weal* [*Health*] *with all yours* [*with Ours alſo*] *haſte you hither: For by my Troth, if* [*and*] *you tarry* [*long*] *we ſhall put this land in jeopardy* [*adventure*] *with a Feild; ſuch a brother you have here, God make him a good man. For your wiſdome well knoweth, that the Profit of France ſtandeth in the Welfare of England,* &c. *The bleſſed Trinity keep you. Written in great haſte at London on Allhollowen-Even. By your Servant to my Lives end.*

HENRY, Wincheſter.

(*) The words incloſed thus [ ] ſhew the difference of the copies of this Letter.

This letter was ſent over to the Regent by his chamberlain Sir Robert Butler.

[H] *The Regent convoked an aſſembly of the nobility at St Alban's.*] The Duke of Bedford had a nice affair upon his hands. If he had ſided with the Duke his brother, as the ties of blood ſeemed to demand, he would have been a very improper perſon to diſcharge the office of mediator. And, beſides the characters of brother and nephew, he had another to ſupport, in order to act agreeably to his own duty and the juſt expectations of the people; namely, that of Protector, who ought to prefer the good of the State to the obligations of kindred. He therefore very judiciouſly threw the buſineſs off his own ſhoulders upon a general aſſembly of the Nobles.

[I] *The Parliament being met,* &c.] 'The meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, when it was uſual for the Lords to come with great numbers of ſervants and attendants, and it being feared that the great trains of the Protector and the Biſhop of Wincheſter might fall into open war one with another, if no reſtraint were laid upon them; it was therefore thought fit, that the King ſhould ſtrictly forbid any perſon coming to it with ſwords or other warlike weapons: Which order, though it was literally obſerved, yet the Lords attendants came with *Bats*, or great clubs, on their ſhoulders, from whence this Parliament was called *The Parliament of Bats*; but this, as ſoon as it was taken notice of, was alſo prohibited (12).'

(12) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, ubi ſupra.

[K] *The Duke of Gloceſter exhibited ſix articles againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally.*] As theſe articles were thought not unworthy the Parliament's notice, they may not be beneath the reader's peruſal, and are as follows (13).

(13) *See* Hollinſhed, p. 591. and *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. I. p. 353.

ARTICLES *of Accuſation preſented to the Parliament by the Duke of* Gloceſter, *againſt* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with his* ANSWERS *to them ſeverally.*

I. That Richard Woodvile, Eſq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did, by the inſtigation and encouragement of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter, deny admittance to him the ſaid Duke of Gloceſter, then being Protector of the kingdom, into the Tower, contrary to reaſon and duty, and in derogation to the King's authority.

To this Article the Biſhop anſwered, 'That while the Duke of Gloceſter was gone into Hainault, it happened that many Pamphlets and Reports being diſperſed up and down the city of London, tending to Rebellion, it was ordered by the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, that Richard Woodvile, Eſq; ſhould, with a ſufficient number of armed men, have the keeping of the Tower, and ſhould not permit any man to come into the Tower ſtronger than himſelf, without the ſpecial commandment of the King, by the advice of his Council. After this ſtrict charge, the Duke of Gloceſter, returning out of Hainault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the citizens, who were diſſatisfied at it, *that had he been in England, it ſhould not have been ſo*; and immediately going to the Tower, demanded admittance; but Woodvile, not daring to give him entrance, came to the Biſhop of Wincheſter for advice; who told him, *that the Duke of Gloceſter took upon him greater authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower, he ought to provide himſelf a ſufficient warrant of the Council and King for his ſo doing, contrary to the former order.*'

II. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, without the advice and conſent of my Lord Duke of Gloceſter, or of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, contrived and purpoſed to lay hands of his Majeſty's perſon, and to have removed him from *Eltham*, the place he was then in, to *Windſor*, there to put him under the government of ſuch perſons as he pleaſed.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Article was, 'That he never could propound to himſelf any advantage, by removing the King, or taking him into his cuſtody or charge; nor did ever intend to meddle with any thing about the King's perſon, without the advice of the Privy-Council, as in time and place he could prove.'

III. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, knowing that the Duke of Gloceſter had reſolved to prevent his deſign of ſeizing the King's perſon at *Eltham*, laid wait for him, by placing armed men at the end of London-Bridge, and in the windows of the chambers and cellars in Southwark to have killed him, if he had paſſed that way; all which is againſt the King's peace, and duty of a true ſubject.

Committee apppointed for that purpoſe having examined the allegations, the Biſhop was acquitted [*L*]. The Duke of Bedford however, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Protector, took away the Great-ſeal from his uncle (*q*). Two years after, the Duke of Bedford, returning into France, was accompanied to Calais by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*r*), who, on the 25th of March, received there with great ſolemnity, in the church of Our Lady, the Cardinal's hat [*M*], with the title of *St Euſebius*, ſent him by Pope Martin V (*s*). In September 1428, the new Cardinal returned into England, with the character of the *Pope's Legate* lately conferred on him; and in his way to London, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and the principal citizens on horſe-back, who conducted him with great honour and reſpect to his lodgings in Southwark (*t*). But he was forced for the preſent to wave his Legantine power, being forbid the exerciſe of it by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name [*N*]. Cardinal Beaufort was appointed, by the Pope's bull, bearing date March 25, 1427-8 (*u*), his Holineſs's Legate in Germany, and General of the Cruſade againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia [*O*]. Having communicated the Pope's

(*q*) M. Rapin, *Acta Regia*, tranſlated into Engliſh, Lond. 1726, Vol. II. p. 258.

(*r*) Polyd. Vergil. Hiſt. Angl. xxiii. p. 594. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(*s*) Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 125.

(*t*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, ib. p. 360.

(*u*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. ib. p. 414.

The Biſhop's defence to this heavy charge was this; 'That true indeed it is, that he did provide a certain 'number of armed men, and ſet them at the foot of 'London-Bridge, and other places, without any in'tention to do any bodily harm to the Duke of Glo'ceſter, but merely for his own ſafety and defence; 'being informed by ſeveral credible perſons, that my 'Lord Duke of Gloceſter had purpoſed bodily harm 'to him, and gathered together a company of citizens 'for that end.'

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, that when he was Prince, a man was ſeized in his chamber, who was hid behind the hangings, and confeſſed, after his apprehenſion, that he was ſet at work by the Biſhop of Wincheſter to kill the Prince in his bed. He was delivered to the Earl of Arundel, who drowned him in a ſack in the Thames.

To this Accuſation the Biſhop replied, 'That he 'was ever a true and faithful ſubject to his Sovereigns, 'and never purpoſed or contrived any treaſon againſt 'any of their perſons, and eſpecially againſt his Sove'reign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he 'thought was ſufficiently evident to any that conſidered 'the great wiſdom and courage of the ſaid King, and 'the great truſt he repoſed in him ſo long as he re'mained King, which he would not have done, had 'he found him guilty of ſuch unfaithfulneſs to him 'while he was Prince.'

V. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the ſickneſs of King Henry the Fourth, adviſed his ſon Prince Henry to aſſume the government of the nation before his father's death, as the ſaid Prince himſelf told him.

The Biſhop replied, 'That this was meer calumny, 'which could not be proved; and he hoped the Par'liament would appoint them judges, that he might 'vindicate his honour, or elſe leave him to ſue out his 'right before ſuitable judges.'

VI. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter had, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, plainly declared his malicious purpoſe of aſſembling the people, and ſtirring up a Rebellion in the nation, contrary to the King's peace.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Accuſation was, 'That 'he never had any intention to diſturb the peace of the 'nation, or raiſe any Rebellion, but ſent to the Duke 'of Bedford to come over in haſte, to ſettle all things 'that were prejudicial to the peace; and though he 'had indeed written in the letter, *that if he tarried, 'we ſhall put the land in adventure by a field, ſuch a 'brother ye have here*, he did not mean it of any de'ſign of his own, but concerning the ſeditious aſſem'blies of Maſons, Carpenters, Tilers, and Plaiſterers, 'who being diſtaſted by the late Act of Parliament 'againſt exceſſive wages of thoſe trades, had given 'out many ſeditious ſpeeches and menaces againſt the 'Great Men, which tended much to Rebellion; and 'yet the Duke of Gloceſter did not uſe his endeavour, 'as he ought to have done in his place, to ſuppreſs 'ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, ſo that he feared the King 'and his good ſubjects muſt have made a field to with'ſtand them; to prevent which he chiefly deſired the 'Duke of Bedford to come over.'

[*L*] *The Biſhop was acquitted.*] The Committee, appointed by the Parliament for examining the Allegations and Anſwers, were, Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Exeter, John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Philip Biſhop of Worceſter, John Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, Ralph Lord Cornwall, and Mr Alnwicke, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; who, having thoroughly examined all the matters, acquitted the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by a formal award enjoined the two Princes to be firm friends for the future; and by ſuch inducements wrought upon them, that they ſhook hands, and parted with all outward ſigns of perfect love and agreement; which gave mighty ſatisfaction to all people, both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King, by the advice of his Council, made a magnificent feaſt at Whitſuntide, to rejoice for this happy reconciliation (14). Speed tells us (15), the Duke and the Biſhop ſwore friendſhip, the one upon his *princehood*, and the other upon his *prieſt-hood*.

(14) *Complete Hiſtory of* England, ib. p. 354.

[*M*] *He received —— the Cardinal's Hat.*] The late King Henry V oppoſed Beaufort's promotion to the dignity of a Cardinal as long he lived; but in this reign, the King being very young, and the Duke of Bedford his friend, he was at liberty to obtain his ambitious purpoſe. The Regent ſtaid ſome time at Calais to ſee the ceremony of his uncle's Inauguration; which being over, that Prince, taking the new Cardinal by his right hand, conveyed him with great reſpect to his lodging, and there entertained him, and the Lords with him, at a magnificent banquet (16).

(15) Ubi ſupra, p. 805.

(16) *Complete Hiſtory*, &c. ib. p. 355.

[*N*] *He was forbid to exerciſe the Legantine power, by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name.*] His return with ſuch an increaſe of dignity and power was not at all pleaſing to the Duke of Gloceſter, who, as ſoon as he heard he was landed, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed in the King's name, declaring, that *Whereas the Moſt Chriſtian King Henry VI, and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore poſſeſſed time out of mind with a ſpecial privilege and cuſtom uſed and obſerved in this realm, from time to time, that no Legate from the Apoſtolic See ſhall enter this land, or any of the King's dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Requeſt, Invitation, or Deſire of the King; and foraſmuch as* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Cardinal *of* St Euſebius, *hath preſumed to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called nor deſired by the King; therefore the King, by his Procurator* Richard Caudray, *doth proteſt, by this inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not with the King's mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratify, the coming of the ſaid Legate in any wiſe, in derogation of the rights and cuſtoms of this realm, or to allow and aſſent to any exerciſe of his Legantine power, or to any Acts attempted by him, contrary to the ſaid laws* (17.)

(17) Fox's *Acts* and *Monuments*, p. 649.

[*O*] *He was appointed —— the Pope's Legate —— againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia.*] Theſe Heretics, as they were called, having thrown off their ſubjection to the Pope, not only fortified themſelves in Bohemia, but began to make war upon their neighbours. Whereupon Pope Martin V ſent Embaſſadors into Germany, to ſtir up the Catholic Princes againſt them, and at the ſame time appointed Cardinal Beaufort his Legate, granting him a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in England for the maintenance of the forces he ſhould raiſe (18). In the Bull for this purpoſe, his Holineſs implored him by the wounds of Chriſt,

(18) *Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. l. xxiii.* p. 604, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

Pope's intentions to the Parliament, he obtained a grant of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions [P]. But, juſt as he was preparing to embark, the Duke of Bedford having ſent to demand a ſupply of men for the French war, it was reſolved in Council, that Cardinal Beaufort ſhould ſerve under the Regent [Q], with the troops of the Cruſade, to the end of the month of December, on condition they ſhould not be employed in any ſiege (w). The Cardinal complied, tho' not without reluctance, and accordingly joined the Duke of Bedford at Paris (x). After a ſtay of forty-five days in France [R], he marched into Bohemia, where he conducted the Cruſade [S], till he was recalled by the Pope [T], and Cardinal Julian ſent in his place with a larger army (y). The next year, 1430, the Cardinal accompanied King Henry into France (z), being inveſted with the title of the King's *Principal Counſellor* (a), and had the honour to perform the ceremony of crowning the young monarch in the church of *Nôtre Dame* at Paris (b); where he had ſome diſpute with James du Chaſtellier, the Archbiſhop, who claimed the right of officiating on that occaſion (c). During his ſtay in France, he ſtood godfather to the Duke of Burgundy's ſon. He was preſent at the Congreſs of Arras for concluding a peace between the Kings of England and France, and had a conference for that purpoſe with the Ducheſs of Burgundy, between Calais and Gravelines; which had no effect, and was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence [U], who came thither with a moſt ſplendid train (d). In the mean time the Duke of Gloceſter took advantage in England of the Cardinal's abſence to give him freſh mortification. For firſt, having repreſented to the Council, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter intended to leave the King, and come back into England, to reſume his ſeat in Council, in order to excite new troubles in the kingdom,

(w) Ib. p. 421.

(x) Polyd. Vergil, ubi ſupra, p. 604.

(y) Ib. p. 605.

(z) Polyd. Vergil, ib. p. 608.

(a) Rapin, *Acta Regia*, ubi ſupra, p. 260.

(b) Polyd. Vergil, ibid.

(c) Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 126.

(d) Id. ib. p. 127.

Chriſt, his zeal for the Church, and as he tendered his own ſalvation, to contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to extirpate thoſe Heretics, who had ſo long withſtood the Emperor and other Princes of Europe (19). The Cardinal had alſo ſome unuſual powers in his commiſſion; for he was allowed to relax the cuſtomary penance of thoſe who had debauched Nuns; to diſpenſe with matrimony in the fourth degree of conſanguinity; to confer orders and benefices under the age preſcribed by the Canons; and, in ſhort, to ſuperſede the diſcipline and conſtitutions of the Church in ſeveral other inſtances (20). M. Rapin conjectures (21), that the Pope might have another view beſides that of extirpating Heretics. As he was inclined to favour King Charles of France, he might hope to weaken England by drawing from thence money and troops under pretence of a Cruſade.

(19) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, ib. p. 362.

(20) Duck, *in Vita Archiep.* Chichley, p. 38.

(21) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. *ſub an.* 1429.

[P] *The Parliament granted him a ſum of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions.*] The conditions, upon which the Cardinal's petition was granted, are dated at *Weſtminſter, June* 18, 1429 (22). Theſe were the chief: That *the money, which the King's ſubjects give for the ſervice of the Cruſade, ſhall be raiſed by commiſſioners to be appointed by the King*: That *the Gold and Silver ſhall not be carried out of the Realm, but employed in merchandiſe*: That *the Cardinal ſhall raiſe in all but* 250 *Spear-men, and* 2500 *Bow-men, including therein all that are inclined to ſerve without pay*: That *the Pope ſhall impoſe no tax for this cauſe, either upon the Laity or Clergy, but ſhall be content with every perſon's voluntary contribution*: That, *before the departure of the troops, ſufficient ſecurity be given to the Council for their return*: That *it ſhall be ſaid expreſsly in the Proclamation of the Cruſade, that the ſame is publiſhed by the conſent of the King*: That *the perſon, who is to command thoſe troops, as alſo all the officers, ſhall have their commiſſions from the King*: That, *in caſe the Cruſade does not take place, the money received of the ſubjects ſhall be converted to no uſe, which has not the King's expreſs approbation*. All theſe articles are plainly ſo many precautions againſt the pretenſions of the Popes, and to prevent the abuſes of former Cruſades.

(22) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. ib. p. 419, 420.

[Q] *It was reſolved —— that the Cardinal ſhould ſerve under the Regent.*] The CONVENTION between the King and the Cardinal, by which the latter engaged to ſerve ſix months in France, with the troops raiſed for the Cruſade, under the command of the Duke of Bedford, is dated at *Rocheſter*, July 1, 1429 (23). This ſhews that the Cardinal did not go to Germany till the year 1430, at the ſooneſt; though Mechovius, and after him Spondanus, ſay he went thither in 1428. This miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from the date of Martin the Fifth's Bull, appointing the Cardinal of Wincheſter his Legate; which was dated March 25, 1427-8, but was not received by the Cardinal till June, 1429.

(23) Ib. p. 421.

[R] *He ſtaid forty-five days in France.*] Polydore Vergil informs us (24), that the Duke of Bedford, being joined by the forces under Cardinal Beaufort, reſolved to hazard a general battle, and for that purpoſe marched againſt the enemy; but finding that King Charles declined as much as poſſible coming to an engagement, he returned with his army to Paris, and the Cardinal was at liberty to purſue his intended expedition.

(24) Ubi ſupra, p. 604, 605.

[S] *He conducted the Cruſade.*] The author laſt cited tells us (25), the Cardinal did ſignal ſervice to the Chriſtian (he ſhould have ſaid the *Papal*) cauſe, during the few months he continued in Bohemia, and that he behaved with great gallantry in that Holy war. *Quo ubi pervenit, cum omnia flagrare bello reperiſſet, rem Chriſtianam pro virili parte fortiter juvare cœpit, manſitque in Boëmis aliquot per menſes.* —— *Ac ita Henricus, poſt egregiam ſacro bello enavatam operam, domum incolumis rediit.* M. Aubery repreſents the ſucceſs of this expedition very differently. He tells us (26), the Germans raiſed three bodies of forces under the command of the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and the Archbiſhop of Treves; which entering Bohemia at three different places were attacked and put to flight by the Bohemians; and that Cardinal Beaufort coming up, endeavoured in vain to rally them, and was forced to retreat with them, to avoid being taken priſoner.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ubi ſupra, p. 126.

[T] *He was recalled by the Pope.*] This circumſtance ſeems to confirm M. Aubery's account of the Cardinal's ill ſucceſs in the Bohemian war. But it is not true, what that author adds (27), that he immediately returned into England, and raiſed freſh forces for the carrying on that war; which, inſtead of employing againſt the enemies of the Holy See, he turned againſt the King of France; and that the Pope thereupon wrote to him ſharply, reproaching him for undertaking a Cruſade againſt the firſt kingdom of Chriſtendom. For it does not appear, that there was a ſecond levy of troops in England for that Cruſade; and, if there were, yet the Cardinal's ſerving in France evidently belongs to the firſt expedition.

(27) Ibid.

[U] *The conference was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence.*] The old French writer (28), cited by M. Aubery (29), tells us, the Engliſh came with great pomp, and very richly dreſſed; and particularly the Cardinal of Wincheſter had ordered ſeveral rich tents and pavillions finely adorned to be brought thither, and a great quantity of gold and ſilver plate; and that he gave a moſt ſplendid entertainment to the Ducheſs of Burgundy, his great niece. *Et quant eſt aux Anglois, ils y eſtoient venus en grande pompe et boubant, et moult richement habilez. Et par deſſus ledit Cardinal de Vinceſtre y auoit fait venir de moult riches tentes et pauillons bien parez et aornez, et de tout ce qui y failloit tant de vaiſſelle d'or et d'argent, comme d'autres beſonges neceſſaires et duyſables. Et fiſt à ladite Ducheſſe ſa belle niepce moult joyeuſe chiere et reception, et la feſtoya tres-honnorablement.*

(28) Monſtrelet.

(29) Ubi ſupra, p. 127.

[W] *The*

dom, and that his intentions were the more criminal, in that he made uſe of the Pope's authority to free himſelf from the obligations of aſſiſting the King in France; he procured an Order of Council forbidding all the King's ſubjects of what condition ſoever to accompany the Cardinal, if he ſhould leave the King, without expreſs permiſſion (*e*). The next ſtep the Protector took againſt him, was an attempt to deprive him of his biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal [*W*]; but the affair having been a long time debated in Council, it was reſolved that the Cardinal ſhould be heard, and the Judges conſulted, before any deciſion (*f*). Being returned into England, he thought it neceſſary to take ſome precaution againſt theſe repeated attacks. Wherefore he prevailed with the King, thro' the interceſſion of the Commons, to grant him letters of pardon for all offences by him committed contrary to the ſtatute of *Proviſors*, and other acts of *Præmunire*. This pardon is dated at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 19, 1432 (*g*). Five years after, he procured another pardon under the Great-Seal for all ſorts of crimes whatever, from the creation of the world to the 26th of July, 1437 (*b*). Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Duke of Gloceſter, in 1442, drew up articles of impeachment againſt the Cardinal [*X*], and preſented them with his own hands to the King, deſiring that judgment might paſs upon him according to his crimes. The King referred the matter to his Council; which, being compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſtical perſons, and conſequently inclined to favour the Cardinal, deferred the examination thereof ſo long, that the Protector, grown weary of their delays, let fall the proſecution, and ſo the Cardinal eſcaped (*i*). This famous Prelate died the 11th of June, 1447 (*k*); having ſurvived the Duke of Gloceſter not above a month, of whoſe murder he was ſuſpected to have been one of the contrivers. It is ſaid, he expreſſed great impatience and uneaſineſs of mind at the approach of death, and died in a ſort

(*e*) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. ib. p. 472.

(*f*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. *ſub an.* 1431.

(*g*) Rymer, ib. p. 516.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 670.

(*i*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, ib. p. 390, 391.

(*k*) Contin. Hiſt. Winton. ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *The Protector attempted to deprive him of his Biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal.*] There is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (30) the petition of the King's Attorney-General, praying that the Cardinal of Wincheſter may be deprived of his Biſhopric, dated *November* the 6th, 1431. He ſupported his demand by the examples of Simon Langham and Robert Kilwardi, formerly Archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, being made Cardinals, did thereupon reſign the Archbiſhopric. It appears likewiſe by this petition, that the Cardinal had obtained of the court of Rome an exemption from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction, for himſelf, for the city, and for the whole dioceſe of Wincheſter. And this was what the Duke of Gloceſter made a handle of againſt him, in order to convince the Council of the inconveniency there was in permitting Cardinals to enjoy Biſhoprics in England.

(30) Tom. X. p. 497.

[*X*] *He was impeached by the Protector.*] The impeachment conſiſted of fourteen Articles (31), as follows:

(31) *See* Complete Hiſt. of *England*, ib. p. 390.

I. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter had not only taken upon himſelf the dignity and title of a Cardinal, contrary to the expreſs command of King Henry the Fifth, and in derogation to the Church of Canterbury: But,

II. Having forfeited his Biſhopric thereby by the Act of Proviſions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to ſecure his Biſhopric ſtill to him, contrary to the laws of the realm, which made it *Præmunire* ſo to do.

III. That the ſaid Cardinal, with John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, had aſſumed the government of the King's perſon and the realm, which no ſubject could do without a treaſonable uſurpation.

IV. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King of his jewels. —— This article, probably, was founded upon Beaufort's taking the Crown in pawn for the 20,000 *l.* he lent King Henry V.

V. That being Chancellor of England, he had againſt Law ſet at liberty the King of Scots, and forgiven him part of his ranſom upon condition the ſaid King ſhould marry his niece.

VI. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King by taking the cuſtoms of wool, and other merchandizes, at the Port of Southampton. —— Probably, he repaid himſelf this way the ſums he had lent the King.

VII. That notwithſtanding the ſaid Cardinal neither hath, nor can have, any title to the Crown, yet he preſumeth to take upon him the Royal Dignity, in ſummoning and calling perſons before him, in derogation of the King's authority, being without his permiſſion or command. —— This article muſt refer to the Cardinal's behaviour in quality of the Pope's Legate.

VIII. That the ſaid Cardinal had obtained a pardon from Rome, to exempt his dioceſe from paying of tenths to the State, and ſo had given both an ill example to the other Biſhops to do the like, and laid the whole burthen upon the Laity, to the great diſcontent of the kingdom.

IX. That the ſaid Cardinal had been a means of uniting the French and the Duke of Burgundy, and this latter with the Duke of Orleans, to the great damage of the Realm, and benefit of our adverſaries the French.

X. That the ſaid Cardinal, after communication had with our enemies, ſent the Archbiſhop of York to the King, to perſuade him to quit his right and title to the Crown and kingdom of France for certain years, and be content with writing himſelf *Rex Angliæ*, &c. to the great diſgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the releaſe of the Duke of Orleans was brought to paſs only by the mediation and procurement of the ſaid Cardinal and the Duke of York, contrary to the will of King Henry the Fifth.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had, inſtead of promoting the good of the King, bought his lands and manors of him.

XIII. That the ſaid Cardinal, by ſending ſuch Captains and Soldiers into France as he thought fit, hath been the cauſe that ſo much of Normandy and other parts are loſt.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath ſold commiſſions of Captains and other officers for money in France, whereby unfit perſons have been put into the army, to the loſs of the King's dominions there.

It is ſaid the Duke of Gloceſter was extremely incenſed againſt Cardinal Beaufort for inſtigating (as was generally thought) certain perſons to accuſe and proſecute his Ducheſs for treaſon, witchcraft, and other notorious crimes; and that revenge for this injury put him upon taking a ſtrict review of that Prelate's conduct for many years paſt, and of drawing up the above-recited articles; which amounted to no leſs than a charge of high-treaſon, and which, the Protector maintained, could not come within the intention of the Amneſties heretofore granted him by the King.

[*Y*] *He*

ſort of deſpair [*Y*]. He lies buried under a fair monument on the ſouth ſide of the high altar of the cathedral church of Wincheſter [*Z*]. Godwin tells us (*l*), that Cardinal Beaufort, in his youth, had a daughter named Jane, by Alice the daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and ſiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; whom he afterwards gave in marriage to Sir Edward Stradling of Glamorganſhire. He left an immenſe ſum by will to pious and charitable uſes, particularly (if Harpsfield is to be believed) 400,000 *l.* * to the priſons of London. He ordered ten thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul. He diſtributed two thouſand marks to the poorer tenants of the biſhopric, and forgave the reſt all that was due to him at the time of his death (*m*). Beſides theſe benefactions, he founded an hoſpital near that of St Croſs at Wincheſter, and ſettled an eſtate upon it of 158 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum*, according to the then valuation of money, beſides the lands belonging to the college of Fordinbridge, for the maintenance of a maſter, two Chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three nurſes (*n*). He left to almoſt every cathedral church and monaſtery in England, jewels and plate of a conſiderable value, and partticularly to the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean, 283 ounces of gilt plate, and 148 *l.* in money (*o*). He is uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The rich Cardinal of Wincheſter*; but in our publick records, he is every where ſtiled *The Cardinal of England*, doubtleſs becauſe he was of Royal extraction. Tho' the generality of our hiſtorians give Beaufort the character of an ambitious, haughty, and turbulent Prelate, yet they ſeem to agree, that by his death the King loſt one of his faithfulleſt and beſt counſellors, and that the ſtate of affairs from that time grew every day worſe and worſe (*p*).

(*l*) Ubi ſupra.

(*) cccc *Librarum millia.* There muſt be ſome miſtake in this account, the ſum being incredibly large, whether we conſider it in itſelf, or with reſpect to it's application.

(*m*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci, 1622, p. 643.

(*n*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. ibid.

(*p*) Polyd. Vergil, ubi ſupra, p. 627. & Harpsfield, ubi ſupra.

[*Y*] *He died in a ſort of deſpair.*] Harpsfield tells us (32), that in his laſt ſickneſs, being confined to his bed, he uttered ſuch complaints as theſe: *And muſt I then dye? Will not all my riches ſave me? I could purchaſe the kingdom, if that would prolong my life. What! is there no bribing of death? When my nephew the Duke of Bedford died, I thought my happineſs and my authority greatly increaſed; but the Duke of Gloceſter's death raiſed me in fancy to a level with Kings, and I thought of nothing but accumulating ſtill greater wealth, to purchaſe at laſt the triple crown. Alas! how are my hopes diſappointed! Wherefore, O my friends, let me earneſtly beſeech you to pray for me, and recommend my departing ſoul to God.* 'Cum enim ex ſuprema 'ægritudine lecto affigeretur, ad hunc modum queſtus 'fertur. Cur ego tantis rerum copiis cumulate affluens, 'ſupremum diem obirem? Si vel ipſum regnum vitam 'meam redimere valeret, aut ingenio illud, aut pecu'nia comparare poſſem. Quid! An pecunia ad depel'lendam mortem nullas habet vires? Cum nepos meus 'Bedfordienſis Dux fato functus eſſet, putabam magnam felicitati et authoritati meæ acceſſionem adjunctam; at poſt Gloceſtrenſis obitum, parem me etiam 'regibus cenſebam, majoreſque accumulare opes cogitabam, ut triplici illa tandem tiara pontificia potirer. 'Sed video inſigniter me circumventum. Quare à 'vobis poſtulo, ut egreſſuram animam Deo veſtris pre'cibus commendetis.' Next to the Hiſtorians, let us ſet down the Poet's deſcription of Cardinal Beaufort's death, which is painted in ſuch lively colours, that the reader, I am ſure, will not be diſpleaſed with the length of the citation.

(32) Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci 1622, p. 643, 644.

(33) Shakeſpear's *Second Part of King* Henry VI. *Act.* III. *Scene ult.*

SCENE *the* Cardinal's *Bed-chamber* (33).

Enter King Henry, Saliſbury, *and* Warwick, *to the* Cardinal *in bed.*

K. *Henry.* How fares my Lord? Speak, Beaufort, to thy Sovereign.

Card. If thou beeſt death, I'll give thee England's treaſure,
Enough to purchaſe ſuch another Iſland,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.

K. *Henry.* Ah! what a ſign it is of evil life,
Where death's approach is ſeen ſo terrible!

War. Beaufort, it is thy Sovereign ſpeaks to thee.

Card. Bring me unto my tryal, when you will.
Dy'd he * not in his bed? where ſhou'd he dye?
Can I make men live whe're they will or no?
Oh, torture me no more, I will confeſs ——
Alive again? then ſhew me, where he is:
I'll give a thouſand pound to look upon him ——
He hath no eyes, the duſt hath blinded them:
Comb down his hair; look! look! it ſtands upright
Like lime-twigs ſet to catch my winged ſoul:
Give me ſome drink, and bid th' Apothecary
Bring the ſtrong poiſon that I bought of him.

(*) Meaning the Duke of Gloceſter.

K. *Henry.* O thou Eternal Mover of the Heav'ns,
Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch;
Oh, beat away the buſie, meddling, fiend
That lays ſtrong ſiege unto this wretch's ſoul,
And from his boſom purge this black deſpair.

War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.

Sal. Diſturb him not, let him paſs peaceably.

K. *Henry.* Peace to his Soul, if God's good pleaſure be!
Lord Cardinal, if thou think'ſt on Heaven's bliſs,
Lift up thy hand, make ſignal of thy hope.
—— He dies, and makes no ſign. —— O God forgive him.

War. So bad a death argues a monſtrous life.

K. *Henry.* Forbear to judge, for we are ſinners all.
Cloſe up his eyes, and draw the curtain cloſe,
And let us all to meditation.

[*Z*] *He lies buried —— in the cathedral church of Wincheſter.*] Nothing remains of the inſcription on his tomb, but the following words (34):

(34) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

TRIBULARER SI NESCIREM MISERICORDIAS TUAS.

T

BEAUFORT (JOAN) Queen of Scotland, was the eldeſt daughter of John Beaufort Earl of Somerſet, (ſon of John of Gaunt) by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holand Earl of Kent (*a*); and niece to the famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St Euſebius, and Biſhop of Wincheſter. The time and place of her birth are unknown. In February 1423 ſhe was married, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St Mary Overrey in Southwark, to James the Firſt, King of Scotland (*b*), who had been priſoner in England ever ſince the thirtieth of March 1404 [*A*]. Her portion was forty thouſand marks.

(*a*) Sandford's Genealogic. Hiſtory, with S. Stebbing's Continuat. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 325.

(*b*) Ibid. Holliſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, Vol. II. p. 587.

[*A*] *James* I, *King of Scotland, who had been priſoner in England ever ſince March* 30, 1404.] The manner of his being taken, and the reaſon of his being detained priſoner, in England, were very cruel, and extremely diſhonourable to the Engliſh court. His father, Robert III, King of Scotland, being a weak man,

marks (*c*). This match was procured by her uncle, the Biſhop of Wincheſter above-mentioned, in order to ſtrengthen and ſupport his family by an alliance with the kingdom of Scotland (*d*). She ſet out, with the King her huſband, for Scotland, in March 1423, being attended as far as Berwick by her father, and her uncle the Cardinal; and, on the twentieth of that month, arrived at Edinburgh (*e*). She was crowned with him the twenty-ſecond of May 1424 (*f*). Through her merciful interceſſion with the King, in 1427, ſhe ſaved the life of Alexander Lord of the Iſles, who had committed ſome acts of hoſtility; and in 1431, that of Archibald Earl of Douglas, who was ſuſpected of treaſon (*g*). The ſixteenth day of October 1430, ſhe was delivered at Stirling of two ſons at one birth; which were baptized by the names of Alexander and James. Alexander died young, but James lived to ſucceed his father (*h*). In the year 1437, ſhe received an information of a conſpiracy forming againſt the King her huſband's life; upon which, ſhe went poſt to him to Roxburgh, and informed him thereof (*i*). But, notwithſtanding her precaution, the King was moſt cruelly murdered in the Dominican's abbey at Perth, by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle [*B*], on the twenty-firſt of February, 1436-7, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and was buried in the Charter-Houſe at Perth, which he had founded. When the ruffians ruſhed into the room, the Queen, to her everlaſting honour, ſo long ſhrowded the King from the aſſaſſins with her own body, that ſhe received two wounds before ſhe could be drawn off him. —— She married to her ſecond huſband James Stewart, called the Black Knight, ſon to the Lord of Lorne, and dying in the year 1446, was buried at Perth, near the King her firſt huſband (*k*). By her ſecond huſband, ſhe had a ſon, named John, who was afterwards Earl of Athol (*l*).

(*c*) Buchanan. and D. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, ed. Weſtminſter, fol. 1728, p. 226.

(*d*) Sandford, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Scott, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Idem. p. 227, 228.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 228.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 232.

(*k*) Sandford, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Royal Genealogies, &c. by J. Anderſon, Lond. 1732, p. 744.

man, and entirely governed by his ambitious and haughty brother, the Duke of Albany, who aſpired to the Crown, and had ſtarved to death the eldeſt Prince, David; the King reſolved to put his younger ſon Prince James, out of that treacherous man's power, by ſending him into France to be educated, and accordingly put him on board a veſſel. The young Prince ſailing near the coaſt of Norfolk, and finding himſelf ſea-ſick, went on ſhore for refreſhment. But he was no ſooner landed, than ſeized by ſome mariners of Clay, and brought to the King (*), who was ſo cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch Prince deliver King Henry a letter from the King his father, in caſe any accident ſhould oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only anſwered with a poor jeſt, telling him, There was no occaſion to go to Paris to learn French, for he underſtood it himſelf, and would teach it him (1). The King of Scotland dying ſoon after, the Duke of Albany, and the other Regents of that kingdom, found it too much for their advantage to have the young King kept at a diſtance from his dominions, to attempt to ranſom him; though they ſent, for form-ſake, Embaſſadors almoſt every year under pretence of ſoliciting his liberty (2). On the third of Auguſt 1413, he was removed from the Tower to Windſor caſtle (3): And in 1416 had leave to go and ſpend ſome time in his own kingdom, having given ſecurity for his return. Accordingly he came back; and in 1419 accompanied King Henry V into France, in order to ſend back 7000 Scots, that aſſiſted the French there againſt the Engliſh, but they refuſed to obey his orders. At length, troubles ariſing in Scotland about the year 1423, the States of that kingdom agreed to ſend Embaſſadors, to treat of their King's ranſom: And he was accordingly ſet at liberty, upon engaging to pay forty thouſand pounds, namely, 10,000 marks within ſix months after his return to Scotland, and 10,000 marks every year till the whole was paid (4). But, in conſideration of his marriage, 10,000 marks of that ſum were abated (5). Though King Henry uſed him extremely ill, in barbarouſly impriſoning him, againſt all law and equity; yet it muſt be owned, that he took care to give him a princely education, and by procuring him the beſt maſters in all ſciences, rendered him a very accompliſhed perſon (6).

(*) King Henry IV.

(1) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angliæ, edit. Francofurti, 1603, fol. p. 375. Buchanan. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. 1732, Vol. I. p. 498, 499.

(2) See Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. IX. p. 5, 6, 45, 71, 79, 113, 125, 145, 417, 418, 591, 913.

(3) Ibid. p. 44, 45.

(4) Ibid p. 307, 322, &c.

(5) Ibid.

(6) D. Scott, ubi ſupra, p. 222.

[*B*] *He was moſt cruelly murdered —— by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle.*] This Walter was King Robert the ſecond's eldeſt ſon by his ſecond marriage, and was a moſt cruel, wicked, and ſubtile man. Having been told by a wizard, 'That 'before his death, he ſhould be crowned in a great 'concourſe of people,' he formed the project of taking off the King by poiſon, in order to ſeize his crown. But the plot being diſcovered, and the King having left ſuddenly, upon that account, the ſiege of Roxburgh, in which he was engaged, and repaired to Perth, where he lodged himſelf in the Dominicans abbey, near the walls of the town, for the ſafety of his perſon; Walter determined to murder him that very night: For that purpoſe he bribed one of the King's domeſtic ſervants, who gave him and his accomplices admittance into the King's chamber, where they executed their villainous deſign. But Walter was moſt ſeverely puniſhed, during three days, for his moſt deteſtable crime. The firſt day he had his body all disjointed by an engine fixed on a cart. The ſecond day, he was put upon an high pillory like a throne, and had a red-hot iron crown put on his head, with this motto, *The King of all Traitors.* The third day, he was dragged through the ſtreets on a hurdle, bowelled, beheaded, and then quartered (7).

(7) Buchanan. and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotl. p. 232, 233.

C

BEAUFORT (MARGARET) the foundreſs of Chriſt's and St John's colleges in Cambridge, was the only daughter and heir of John Beaufort [*A*], Duke of Somerſet, (grandſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter) and of Margaret Beauchamp his wife (*a*). She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire [*B*], in the year 1441 (*b*). About the fifteenth year of her age, ſhe was married to Edmund of Haddam Earl of Richmond, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Henry, who was afterwards King, by the title of HENRY VII (*c*). Some time after, ſhe took for her ſecond huſband Sir Henry Stafford, ſecond ſon to Henry Duke of Buckingham, by whom ſhe had no children. He dying about the year 1481 (*d*). She had for her third huſband Thomas Lord Stanley afterwards Earl of Derby,

(*a*) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 328.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 123. Her father died May 27, 1444, and ſhe was then three years old, ibid. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambr. p. 94.

(*c*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra. Her huſband died Novemb. 3, 1456, leaving his ſon but fifteen weeks old, p. 327.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 248. Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 678.

[*A*] *Daughter and heir of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet.*] Biſhop Fiſher, in his funeral ſermon upon her, ſays (1), 'That, what by lynege, what by affinite, 'ſhe had thirty Kings and Queens, within the four de-'gree of marryage unto her; beſides Erles, Markyſes, 'Dukes, and Princes.'

(1) Page 9, edit. Lond. 1708, 8vo. By T. Baker, B.D.

[*B*] *She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire.*] Her mother was the daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſhoe, Kt. and ſiſter and heir to John Beauchamp. She had been firſt married to Sir Oliver St John of Bletſhoe, Kt. (2) as ſhe was, after the Duke of Somerſet's deceaſe, married a third time to Leonard Lord Wells.

(2) Sandford's and Stebbing's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 327. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 123.

[*C*] *Each*

Derby, who had no iſſue by her (e): He died in the year 1504 (f). This good and pious lady performed, all her life-time, ſo many noble acts, and charitable deeds, that, as Stow expreſſes it (g), they cannot be expreſſed in a ſmall volume. Avarice ſhe hated (h), and therefore was daily diſpenſing all ſuitable relief and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed and the indigent. In particular, ſhe kept conſtantly in her houſe twelve poor people, whom ſhe provided with lodging, victuals, and clothes (i). She was alſo a mother to the Students in both the univerſities, and a Patroneſs to all the learned men of England (k). And ſhe manifeſted her great regard for them, by her munificent foundations for the encouragement of learning. For, on the eighth of September 1502, ſhe inſtituted two perpetual publick Lectures in Divinity, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge (l); each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year [C]. In 1504, Octob. 30, ſhe founded a perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge, with a ſalary of ten pounds a year [D], whoſe duty was, to preach at leaſt ſix ſermons every year, at ſeveral churches (ſpecified in the foundation) in the dioceſes of London, Ely, and Lincoln (m). She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne-minſter in Dorſetſhire [E], for one Prieſt to teach Grammar freely, to all that would come, while the world ſhould endure (n), with a ſtipend of ten pounds a year. But her nobleſt foundations were, the colleges of Chriſt, and St John, in Cambridge: The former, founded in the year 1505 (o), for one Maſter, twelve Fellows, and forty-ſeven Scholars [F]: The latter in the year 1508, for a maſter, and fifty Fellows and Scholars [G]. But this being juſt begun, or rather only deſigned, before her deceaſe; was compleated and finiſhed by her executors, the chief of whom was John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter. The charter of foundation bears date April 9, 1511 (p). And the college was opened July 29, 1516 (q). The worthy foundreſs was eminent not only for her charity, but alſo for her exemplary piety, according to the manner of thoſe ſuperſtitious times [H]. And after having lived ſixty-eight years, an ornament to her ſex, and a publick benefit to mankind, ſhe departed this life at Weſtminſter the twenty-ninth of June 1509, in the firſt year of her grandſon King Henry the VIIIth's reign (r); and was buried in the ſouth-iſle of the beautiful chapel, erected by her ſon King Henry VII, adjoining to Weſtminſter-Abbey. Her monument, of black marble and touch-ſtone, is yet extant and entire; whereon lies her effigies of gilt copper, in robes doubled with ermine, and the head encircled with a coronet (s). Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription (given in the note [I] below) which, as we are informed (t), was compoſed by the moſt renowned Eraſmus.

(e) Idem. Vol. II. p. 249.

(f) Ibid.

(g) General Chronicle, edit. 1631, fol. p. 487.

(h) The funeral Sermon of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, &c. by Biſhop Fiſher, reprinted at Lond. 1708, 8vo, p. 5.

(i) Ibid. p. 16.

(k) Ibid. p. 22.

(l) Preface to that Funeral Sermon, p. vii. and A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 32.

(m) Preface, as above, p. viii.

(n) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 237.

(o) Preface to the Sermon, as above, p. xi. J. Caii Hiſtor. Cantabr. Acad. l. i. p. 73—77. T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambr. p. 90—96. R. Parker's Hiſt. of Cambridge.

(p) Preface to Fun. Sermon, as above, p. xxxiii.

(q) Ibid. p. xlix. See alſo at the end of the book, p. 43.

(r) Stow's Chronicle, p. 487.

(s) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealog. Hiſt. p. 329. 330.

(t) Preface, ubi ſupra, p. xix. We are told there, that Eraſmus had 20 ſhillings, for making that epitaph.

[C] *Each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year.*] Which might be augmented to 20 *l.* a year (3), as that at Cambridge was, July 5, 1566 (4), and to it was annexed by King James I, Aug. 26, 1605, the Rectory of Terrington in Norfolk (5). The Prælectors, or Profeſſors, are choſen, every two years, in full convocation, by the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity (6). See a liſt of the Profeſſors, both at Cambridge and Oxford, before her funeral ſermon; and in A. Wood.

[D] *A perpetual publick preacher at Cambridge*, &c.] See a catalogue of all the preachers to the year 1708, before the Lady Margaret's funeral ſermon, mentioned above. The inſtitution hath been altered, by royal diſpenſation, from ſix ſermons in three ſeveral dioceſes (as mentioned above), to one ſermon before the univerſity, at the beginning of Eaſter-Term (7). The Lady Margaret did not appoint ſuch a preacher at Oxford, as Mr Wood imagines (8).

[E] *She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne.*] Where her father and mother lay buried. See Sandford's and Stebbing's genealogical Hiſtory (9).

[F] *Chriſt's-college —— founded in the year* 1505, &c.] It was built in the place where ſtood *God's houſe*, a ſmall hoſtel erected by King Henry VI, wherein he had placed four Fellows, which he intended to augment to the number of ſixty (10). The Counteſs of Richmond endowed her College with — the manors of Malton, Meldred, and Beach, and ſeveral other lands and rents, all in Cambridgeſhire. — The manor of Diteſworth, with lands and tenements in Diteſworth, Kegworth, Hathern, and Wolton, in Leiceſterſhire. — The abbey of Creke in Norfolk. — The manor of Royden in Eſſex, exchanged afterwards with King Edward VI for the revenues of Bromwell Abbey. — And the impropriation of Manibire in Wales. King Edward VI added one Fellowſhip, upon a complaint made to him, that the maſter and the twelve fellows contained a ſuperſtitious alluſion to Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles. He alſo added three Scholarſhips, by the benefaction of J. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir Walter Mildmay, Richard Bunting, and others, it contains at preſent fifteen Fellows, and fifty-ſix Scholars (11).

[G] *The latter (St John's-college) in the year* 1508.] It was built in the place where ſtood an hoſpital for Canons regular, erected by Nigel, ſecond Biſhop of Ely, in 1134, and converted afterwards, by his ſucceſſor Hugh de Balſham, into a Priory, dedicated to St John the Evangeliſt (12). The foundreſs endowed it, by her will, with the iſſues, profits, and revenues of her eſtate and lands, in the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Northampton, to the value of 400 *l.* a year, and upwards (13); beſides the revenues of the Priory on which it was built, amounting to 80 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *d. ob. per ann.* and a licence of mortmain for 50 *l.* a year more. But the King, as heir at law, ſuing for, and recovering the foundreſs's eſtate (14), the original foundation of this college conſiſted only of part of the Counteſs of Richmond's eſtate at Fordham in Cambridgeſhire; the revenues of the diſſolved Priory on which it was erected; and the hoſpital of Oſpring in Kent, valued at 70 *l.* a year, and procured by Biſhop Fiſher (15). The expence of new building the college amounted to betwixt four and five thouſand pounds (16). This houſe, though ſo very ſmall in it's beginning, is, by the munificence of ſeveral benefactors, particularly Archbiſhop Morton, and Archbiſhop Williams, become one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable in the univerſity, and conſiſts at preſent of fifty-nine Fellows, and one hundred and fifteen Scholars (17).

[H] *She was eminent for her exemplary piety.*] She uſed to riſe about five o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till dinner-time, (which was then *ten o'clock*) ſhe continued, almoſt without ceaſing, in meditation and prayer; which ſhe reſumed again after dinner, as the curious reader may ſee in her funeral ſermon (18). She alſo tranſlated ſome books of devotion from French into Engliſh (19).

[I] *Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *Margaretae. Richemondiae. Septimi. Henrici. Matri Octavi. Aviae. Quae. Stipendia. Conſtituit. Trib. Hoc. Coenobio. Monachis. Et. Doctori. Grammatices. Apud. Wymborn. Perq; Angliam. Totam. Divini. Verbi. Praeconi. Duobus. Item. Inter Praetib: Litterar: Sacrar: Alteri. Oxoniis. Alteri. Cantabrigiae. Vbi. Et. Collegia. Duo. Chriſto. Et. Joanni. Diſcipulo. Ejus. Struxit. Moritur. An. Dom. M. D. IX. III. Kal. Julij.* (20); i. e. 'To the memory of Margaret 'Counteſs of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. grand-'mother of Henry VIII. which gave revenues *for the* 'maintenance of three Monks in this monaſtery (21), and

(3) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 33.

(4) Catalogue of Profeſſors at Cambr. before *Funeral Serm.* as above.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 34.

(7) See the end of the Catalogue of Preachers; the book is not paged there.

(8) Ubi ſupra. See Preface to the Serm. as above, p. x.

(9) Page 327, 328.

(10) Caii Hiſt. Canteb. Acad. p. 73. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge Univ. p. 90, 91.

(11) Fuller, ibid. and Preſent State of Great Britain, edit. 1735, Part ii. p. 245.

(12) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 94.

(13) Preface to Funer. Serm. as above, p. xxxi, xxxiii.

(14) Ibid. p. xxxix, xl.

(15) Ibid. p. xli—xliii.

(16) Ib. p. xxxv.

(17) Preſent State of Gr. Britain, ubi ſupra.

(18) Edit. 1708, p. 12, 13.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Sandford, & Stebbing, ubi ſupra, p. 329.

(21) Namely, to pray for her ſoul.

' and for a ſchoolmaſter at Wymborn, and a preacher ' of the word of God throughout England. And ' alſo for two interpeters of the Holy Scriptures, one ' at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, where alſo ' ſhe founded two colleges, dedicated to Chriſt, and to ' his diſciple St John. She died in the year of our ' Lord 1509, on the 29th of June.' C

BEAUMONT (*a*) (LEWIS), Biſhop of Durham in the reign of King Edward II, was deſcended from the royal blood of the Kings of France and Sicily (*b*), and thereby related to Queen Iſabella (*c*). He was made Treaſurer of Saliſbury in the year 1294 (*d*), and from thence advanced to the See of Durham in 1317 [*A*]. It was with difficulty Pope John XXII conſented to his conſecration, for which he paid ſo large a ſum of money to the Holy See, that he was never able entirely to diſcharge the debt it involved him in (*e*). As he was on the road to Durham, accompanied by two Cardinals [*B*], in order to be inſtalled, he was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton [*C*]; who, having plundered all their baggage, ſuffered the Cardinals to proceed, but carried the Biſhop, and his brother Henry, priſoners to Mitteford Caſtle, and obliged them to pay a large ſum of money for their ranſom, towards which the Prior of Durham was forced to ſell the habits, plate, and jewels of the church. After this, Beaumont was conſecrated at Weſtminſter, on the feaſt of the Annuntiation 1318 (*f*). This Prelate vigorouſly defended the rights of his church, and recovered to it ſeveral eſtates, which had been alienated from it in the time of his predeceſſor Anthony Bek (*g*); the Judges paſſing this ſentence in his favour, that *the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war* WITHIN *the liberties of his church, as the King has* WITHOUT [*D*]. In 1328, this Biſhop had a diſpute with the Metropolitan of York, concerning the right of viſitation in the juriſdiction of Allerton; and whenever the Archbiſhop came thither to viſit, the Biſhop of Durham always oppoſed him with an armed force. After much litigation and expence, the matter was at laſt accommodated, the Archbiſhop appropriating the Church of Lek for the maintenance of the Biſhop's table, with the reſerve of an annual penſion to himſelf, and another to the Chapter of York (*b*). Biſhop Beaumont built a hall and kitchen at Middleham, and began a chapel, but did not live to finiſh it. He died at Brentingham in the dioceſe of York, September the 24th 1333, having ſat fifteen years; and lies buried near the high-altar of his church, under a marble ſtone [*E*], ornamented with braſs plates, which he had ordered to be made in his life-time (*i*). He was very avaritious, and at the ſame time very expenſive [*F*]; of a handſome mein, but lame in both

(*a*) In Latin *De Bellomonte.*

(*b*) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 760.

(*c*) *She was daughter of* Philip the Fair *King of* France.

(*d*) Anglia Sacra, *ubi ſupra*, p. 757. *in notis.*

(*e*) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 758.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) *See the article* BEK [ANTHONY].

(*b*) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 759, 760.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 761.

[*A*] *He was advanced to the See of Durham in* 1317.] There were ſeveral candidates for the vacant biſhopric. The Earl of Lancaſter made intereſt for one John de Kynardſley, promiſing, in caſe of his election, to defend the See againſt the Scots. The Earl of Hereford puſhed for John Walwayn, a Civilian. The King, who was then at York, would have promoted the election of Thomas Charlton, a Civilian, and keeper of his Privy-Seal: But the Queen interpoſed ſo warmly in behalf of her kinſman Lewis Beaumont, that the King was prevailed upon to write letters to the Monks in his favour. Thoſe Religious having previouſly obtained the King's leave to proceed to an election, rejected all theſe applications, and made choice of Henry de Stamford, Prior of Finchley, an elderly man, of a fair character and pleaſing aſpect, and a good ſcholar. The King would have conſented to the election, had it not been for the Queen, who on her bare knees humbly intreated him, that her kinſman might be Biſhop of Durham. Whereupon the King refuſed to admit Henry de Stamford, and wrote to the Pope in favour of Beaumont. At the ſame time the Monks ſent the Biſhop elect to the Pope's court for his Holineſs's confirmation: But, before his arrival, the Pope, at the inſtances of the Kings and Queens of France and England, had conferred the Biſhopric on Beaumont (1). And, to make Henry ſome amends, his Holineſs gave him a grant of the Priory of Durham upon the next vacancy; but he did not live to enjoy it (2).

(1) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 757.

[*B*] *He went to Durham in company with two Cardinals.*] Their names were *Ganſelmus* and *Lucas de Fliſco.* They were ſent by the Pope to bring about a peace between England and Scotland. As their buſineſs required their preſence in Scotland, Beaumont, who had received his Bulls for conſecration, and intended to be inthroned at Durham on St Cuthbert's day, took the opportunity of their journeying northward, and, for the greater magnificence, ſet out in company with them (3).

(2) Ibid. p. 758.

(3) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton.*] The Prior of Durham, it ſeems, had given him notice of his danger upon the road; but he ſlighted the advice, ſaying, that the King of Scots dared not attempt any ſuch thing, and that the Prior only wanted to delay his conſecration (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*D*] *The Judges paſſed ſentence, that* the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war *within* the liberties of his church, as the King had *without.*] As this ſentence of the Judges was a ſolemn confirmation of the *military rights* of the Biſhopric of Durham, it may not be improper juſt to obſerve how far thoſe privileges extended. The learned editor of Camden's *Britannia* informs us, 'that the Biſhop of Durham antiently had his Thanes, and afterwards his Barons, who held of him by Knights Service, and that, on occaſions of danger, he called them together in the nature of a Parliament, to adviſe, and aſſiſt him with their perſons, dependants, and money, for the public ſervice, either at home or abroad. When men and money were to be levied, it was done by writs iſſued in the Biſhop's name out of the Chancery of Durham; and he had power to raiſe able men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, and to arm and equip them for his ſervice. He often headed his troops in perſon; and the officers acted under his commiſſion, and were accountable to him for their duty. He had a diſcretionary power of marching out againſt the Scots, or of making a truce with them. No perſon of the Palatinate could build a caſtle, or fortify his manor-houſe, without the Biſhop's licence. And as he had military power by land, ſo he had likewiſe by ſea. Ships of war were fitted out in the Ports of the County Palatine by virtue of the Biſhop's writs. He had his Admiralty-Courts; he appointed, by his Patents, a Vice-Admiral, Regiſter, and Marſhal or Water bailiff, and had all the privileges, forfeitures, and profits, incident to that juriſdiction (5). How far theſe privileges of the Biſhopric have been ſince abridged, is not material to the preſent article.

(5) *Vide* Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 937.

[*E*] *He lies buried —— under a marble ſtone.*] The Inſcription on it is this:

De Bello Monte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus,
Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumque creatus.

[*F*] *He was very avaritious, and at the ſame time very expenſive.*] The Durham Hiſtorian (6) tells us, he was very eager after riches, but not much ſollicitous about the means of acquiring them; which was occaſioned, he ſays, by a large family, and many ſuperfluous

(6) R. de Grayſtanes, ubi ſupra, p. 761, 762.

both his feet (*k*); and (which is the moſt extraordinary part of his character) ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration [*G*].

(*k*) Id. ib. p. 706.

fluous expences. His avarice and prodigality were ſuch, that a certain perſon told him to his face, he never ſaw a man ſo diligent in accumulating, and ſo imprudent in diſpoſing of wealth. His whole ſtudy was to extort money from the Priory and Convent. He obtained a Bull to appropriate to himſelf a fourth part of the revenues of the houſe, ſo long as the Scottiſh wars ſhould laſt. Though the Prior made him frequent preſents of horſes, &c. he conſidered it as nothing, and uſually diſmiſſed his requeſts with this anſwer; 'You do nothing for me, nor will I do any thing for you: pray 'for my death; for ſo long as I live, your petition 'will not be granted.'

[*G*] *He was ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration.*] Meeting with the word *Metropoliticæ*, he heſitated a long while, and at laſt, not being able to read it, he cried out in French, *Soit pour dict*; that is, *ſuppoſe it read*; and coming to the word *ænigmate*, he was again at a loſs, and ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *Par Saint Louis, il n'eſt pas curtois qui lege parolle ici uſcrit*; that is, *By St Lewis it was very uncivil in the perſon who wrote this word here* (7).

(7) Id. ibid.

T

BEAUMONT (Sir JOHN), ſon of Francis Beaumont, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and brother of the famous dramatick Poet Mr Francis Beaumont (*a*), was born, in the year 1582, at Grace-dieu, the family-ſeat in Leiceſterſhire, and was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Broadgate's-hall in Oxford, the beginning of Lent-term 1596. After three years he left the univerſity, and entered himſelf in one of the Inns of Court. But he ſoon quitted that ſituation, and retired to the place of his nativity, where he married a wife of the family of Forteſcue [*A*]. In 1626, the ſecond of King Charles I, he had the dignity of a Baronet conferred upon him. In his youth, he applied himſelf to the Muſes [*B*] with good ſucceſs,

(*a*) *See the art.* BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.

[*A*] *He married a wife of the family of Forteſcue.*] One of that family, Mr George Forteſcue, addreſſed the following verſes to Sir John, in which the thought turns upon the near relation he bore to him.

When lines are drawn greater than nature, art
Commands the object and the eye to part,
Bids them to keep at diſtance, know their place,
Where to receive, and where to give their grace.
I am too near thee, Beaumont, to define
Which of thoſe lineaments is moſt divine;
And to ſtand farther off from thee, I chuſe
In ſilence rather to applaud thy Muſe,
And loſe my cenſure; 'tis enough for me
To joy, my pen was taught to move by thee (1).

(1) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *printed with* Sir John's *Poems.*

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the Muſes.*] He wrote *The Crown of Thorns*, a poem in eight books (2). I have not met with this piece, but find it celebrated by one Thomas Hawkins in a copy of verſes prefixed to Sir John's poems. The lines are theſe:

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 521.

Like to the Bee, thou did'ſt thoſe flow'rs ſelect,
That moſt the taſteful palate might affect
With pious reliſhes of things divine,
And diſcompoſed ſenſe with peace combine:
Which in thy *Crown of Thorns* we may diſcern,
Framed as a model for the beſt to learn,
That verſe may virtue teach, as well as proſe,
And minds with native force to good diſpoſe,
Devotion ſtir, and quicken cold deſires,
To entertain the warmth of holy fires.
There may we ſee thy ſoul expatiate,
And with true fervor ſweetly meditate
Upon our Saviour's ſufferings, that, while
Thou ſeek'ſt his painful torments to beguile
With well-tuned accents of thy zealous ſong,
Breath'd from a ſoul transfix'd, a paſſion ſtrong,
We better knowledge of his woes attain,
Fall into tears with thee, and then again
Riſe with thy verſe, to celebrate the flood
Of thoſe eternal torrents of his blood.

There is extant, beſides, a Miſcellany of Sir John Beaumont's poems, intitled, *Boſworth-Field; with a taſte of the variety of other Poems left by Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, deceaſed: Set forth by his Sonne, Sir John Beaumont, Baronet: And dedicated to the King's moſt excellent majeſty.* London, 1629. The Editor addreſſes King Charles I in this manner: 'I have en-'deavoured without art to ſet this jewel, and render 'it apt for your Majeſty's acceptance; to which bold-'neſs I am led by a filial duty in performing the will 'of my father, who, whilſt he lived, did ever intend 'to your Majeſty theſe Poems: Poems, in which no 'obſcene ſport can be found (the contrary being too 'frequent a crime among Poets), while theſe (if not 'too bold I ſpeak) will challenge your Majeſty for 'their Patron, ſince it is moſt convenient that the 'pureſt of Poems ſhould be directed to you, the virtuouſeſt and moſt untouched of Princes, the delight 'of Britain, and the wonder of Europe; at the altar 'of whoſe judgment bright erected flames, not troubled 'fumes, dare approach.' The Poem called *Boſworth-Field* is a deſcription of the famous battle fought there between King Richard III and the Earl of Richmond afterwards Henry VII; and is eſteemed by the beſt judges to be an excellent performance. The following Similies reliſh ſtrongly of Poetry.

So when the winter to the ſpring bequeaths
The rule of time, and mild Favonius breathes,
A quire of Swans to that ſweet muſic ſings,
The air reſounds the motion of their wings,
When over plains they fly in ordered ranks,
To ſport themſelves upon Caiſter's banks (3).

(3) *Boſworth-field*, &c. p. 134.

So painful Bees with forward gladneſs ſtrive
To join themſelves in trayings before the hive,
And with obedience all that hour attend,
When their commander ſhall his watch-word ſend;
Then to the winds their tender ſails they yield,
Depreſs the flow'rs, depopulate the fields (4).

(4) Page 134.

The ſingle combat between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford is deſcribed in the true ſpirit of heroic Poetry.

Here valiant Oxford and fierce Norfolk meet,
And with their ſpears each other rudely greet;
About the air their ſhiver'd pieces play,
Then on their ſwords their noble hands they lay;
And Norfolk firſt a blow directly guides
To Oxford's head, which from his helmet ſlides
Upon his arm, and biting thro' the ſteel
Inflicts a wound, which Vere diſdains to feel:
He lifts his fauchion with a threatning grace,
And hews the beaver off from Howard's face.
This being done, he with compaſſion charm'd
Retires, aſham'd to ſtrike a man diſarm'd:
But ſtraight a deadly ſhaft ſent from a bow
(Whoſe maſter, tho' far off, the Duke could know)
Untimely brought this combat to an end,
And pierced the brain of Richard's conſtant friend.
When Oxford ſaw him ſink, his noble ſoul
Was full of grief, which made him thus condole:

ſucceſs, as his poems ſtill extant demonſtrate. Ben. Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others,

Farewel, true Knight, to whom no coſtly grave
Can give due honour; wou'd my tears might ſave
Thoſe ſtreams of blood, deſerving to be ſpilt
In better ſervice: Had not Richard's guilt
Such heavy weight upon his fortune laid,
Thy glorious virtues had his ſins outweigh'd (5).

(5) Page 19.

I ſhall only add the four laſt lines, in which the death of Richard is very ſtrongly painted.

His hand he then with wreaths of graſs infolds,
And bites the earth, which he ſo ſtrictly holds,
As if he wou'd have born it with him hence,
So loth he was to loſe his right's pretence (6).

(6) Page 30.

A moderate Poet would have been contented with the circumſtance of the King's *biting the earth*; but it belonged to a ſublimer imagination to paint the reluctance with which he quitted his uſurped poſſeſſion even in death.

Sir John has given us the following tranſlations from the Latin Poets, all extremely well done, *viz.* Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*; Horace's *Sixth Satire* of the *Second Book*, his *Twenty-ninth Ode* of the *Third Book*, and his *Second Epode*; Juvenal's *Tenth Satire*, and Perſius's *Second Satire*; Auſonius's *Sixteenth Idyll*, and Claudian's Epigram of the *Old Man of Verona*. As a ſpecimen of our author's genius in this branch of Poetry, I ſhall ſelect Horace's *City and Country Mouſe*, which has been tranſlated or imitated by our beſt Poets.

——— Long ſince a Country Mouſe
Receiv'd into his low and homely houſe
A City Mouſe, his friend and gueſt before;
The hoſt was ſharp, and ſparing of his ſtore,
Yet much to hoſpitality inclin'd;
For ſuch occaſions cou'd dilate his mind.
He chiches gives for winter laid aſide,
Nor are the long and ſlender oats deny'd?
Dry grapes he in his lib'ral mouth doth bear,
And bits of bacon which half-eaten were;
With various meats to pleaſe the ſtranger's pride,
Whoſe dainty teeth thro' all the diſhes ſlide.
The father of the family in ſtraw
Lyes ſtretch'd along, diſdaining not to gnaw
Baſe corn or darnel, and reſerves the beſt
To make a perfect banquet for his gueſt.
To him at laſt the Citizen thus ſpake;
My friend, I muſe what pleaſure thou can'ſt take,
Or how thou can'ſt endure to ſpend thy time
In ſhady groves, and up ſteep hills to climb.
In ſavage foreſts build no more thy den;
Go to the City, there to dwell with men.
Begin this happy journey, truſt to me,
I will thee guide, thou ſhalt my fellow be.
Since earthly things are tied to mortal lives,
And ev'ry great and little creature ſtrives
In vain the certain ſtroke of death to fly,
Stay not 'till moments paſt thy joys deny:
Live in rich plenty and perpetual ſport,
Live ever mindful that thine age is ſhort.
The raviſh'd Field-Mouſe holds theſe words ſo ſweet,
That from his home he leaps with nimble feet.
They to the city travel with delight,
And underneath the walls they creep by night.
Now darkneſs had poſſeſs'd Heav'n's middle ſpace,
When theſe two friends their weary ſteps did place
Within a wealthy palace, where was ſpred
A ſcarlet cov'ring on an iv'ry bed:
The baſkets, ſet far off aſide, contain'd
The meats, which after plenteous meals remain'd.
The City Mouſe with courtly phraſe intreats
His country friend to reſt in purple ſeats.
With ready care the maſter of the feaſt
Runs up and down, to ſee the ſtore increas'd.
He all the duties of a ſervant ſhows,
And taſtes of ev'ry diſh that he beſtows.
The poor plain Mouſe, exalted thus in ſtate,
Glad of the change, his former life doth hate,
And ſtrives in looks and geſture to declare
With what contentment he receives this fare.
But ſtrait the ſudden creaking of a door
Shakes both theſe mice from beds into the floor:
They run about the room half dead with fear;
Thro' all the houſe the noiſe of dogs they hear.
The ſtranger now counts not the place ſo good;
He bids farewel, and ſaith; The ſilent wood
Shall me hereafter from theſe dangers ſave,
Well pleaſed with ſimple vetches in my cave (7).

(7) Page 41, &c.

Whoever will compare this with the original, will find it to be a very cloſe and exact tranſlation.

The reſt of our author's pieces are either on religious ſubjects, as thoſe on the *Feſtivals*, on the *Bleſſed Trinity*, &c. or of a moral kind, as the *Dialogue between the World, a Pilgrim, and Virtue*, *Of the miſerable ſtate of Man*, *Of Sickneſs*, &c. or political, as the *Panegyric on the Coronation of King Charles*, on The *Prince's Journey* and *Return*, &c. Among theſe there is one addreſſed to King James I, *concerning the true form of Engliſh Poetry*, in which the Rules of Verſification are ſo judiciouſly laid down, and ſo well expreſſed, that I perſuade myſelf the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following extract thereof.

He makes ſweet muſic, who in ſerious lines
Light dancing tunes and heavy proſe declines.
When verſes like a milky torrent flow,
They equal temper in the Poet ſhow.
He paints true forms, who with a modeſt heart
Gives luſtre to his work, yet covers art.
Uneven ſwelling is no way to fame,
But ſolid joining of the perfect frame;
So that no curious finger there can find
The former chinks or nails that faſtly bind.
Yet moſt wou'd have the knots of ſtitches ſeen,
And holes where men may thruſt their hands between.
On halting feet the rugged Poem goes,
With accents neither fitting verſe nor proſe.
The ſtile mine ear with more contentment fills
Of Lawyers pleadings, or Phyſicians bills:
For tho' in terms of art their ſkill they cloſe,
And joy in darkſome words as well as thoſe;
They yet have perfect ſenſe, more pure and clear
Than envious Muſes, which ſad garlands wear
Of duſky clouds, their ſtrange conceits to hide
From human eyes; and, leſt they ſhould be ſpy'd
By ſome ſharp OEdipus, the Engliſh tongue
For this their poor ambition ſuffers wrong.
In ev'ry language now in Europe ſpoke
By nations, which the Roman empire broke,
The reliſh of the Muſe conſiſts in rhyme;
One verſe muſt meet another like a chime.
Our Saxon ſhortneſs hath peculiar grace,
And choice of words fit for the ending place,
Which leave impreſſion on the mind as well
As cloſing ſounds of ſome delightful bell.
Theſe muſt not be with diſproportion lame,
Nor ſhou'd an eccho ſtill repeat the ſame.
In many changes theſe may be expreſs'd,
But thoſe that join moſt ſimply are the beſt:
Their form, ſurpaſſing far the fetter'd ſtaves,
Vain care and needleſs repetition ſaves.
Theſe outward aſhes keep thoſe inward fires,
Whoſe heat the Greek and Roman works inſpires.
Pure phraſe, fit epithets, a ſober care
Of metaphors, deſcriptions clear yet rare;
Similitudes contracted, ſmooth, and round,
Not vex'd by learning, but with nature crown'd;

others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius [C]. This gentleman died in the winter of 1628, and was buried in the church of Grace-dieu, leaving behind him three ſons; John [D], who died without iſſue; Francis [E], afterwards a Jeſuit; and Thomas, who ſucceeded to the honour and eſtate (b). He had likewiſe a ſon named Gervaſe, who died at ſeven years of age [F]. Mr Jacob has committed a ſtrange blunder (c) in placing our Poet under the reign of King Richard III.

(b) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 524.

(c) *In his Poetical Regiſter, &c.* Vol. I. p. 4.

Strong figures drawn from deep invention's ſprings,
Conſiſting leſs in words, and more in things;
A language not affecting antient times,
Nor Latin ſhreds, by which the pedant climbs;
A noble ſubject, which the mind may lift
To eaſy uſe of that peculiar gift,
Which Poets in their raptures hold moſt dear,
When actions by the lively ſound appear.
Give me ſuch helps, I never will deſpair,
But that our heads, which ſuck the freezing air,
As well as hotter brains, may verſe adorn,
&c. And be their wonder, as we were their ſcorn (8).

[C] *Ben. Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius.*] Some of their commendatory verſes are prefixed to, and others follow after, his poems. Ben. Johnſon's teſtimony is highly to our author's advantage.

This book will live; it hath a genius: This
Above his Reader, or his Praiſer, is.
Hence then, prophane: Here needs no words expence
In bulwarks, rav'lins, ramparts, for defence;
Such as the creeping common Pioneers uſe,
When they do ſweat to fortify a Muſe.
Tho' I confeſs a Beaumont's book to be
The bound and frontier of our Poetry,
And doth deſerve all muniments of praiſe,
That art, or engine, on the ſtrength can raiſe;
Yet who dares offer a redoubt a reare,
To cut a dyke, or ſtick a ſtake up, here,
Before this work, where envy hath not caſt
A trench againſt it, nor a batt'ry plac'd?
Stay till ſhe make her vain approaches; then,
If maimed ſhe come off, 'tis not of men
This fort of ſo impregnable acceſs,
But higher pow'r, as ſpight cou'd not make leſs,
Nor flatt'ry, but ſecured by the author's name,
Defies what's croſs to piety or good fame,
And like a hallow'd Temple, free from taint
Of Ethniciſm, makes his Muſe a Saint (9).

(9) *On the honour'd Poems of his honour'd Friend Sir J. B. Bart.*

Michael Drayton has dropped an obſcure hint at the cauſe of our author's death, which is not eaſily to be underſtood.

Thy care for that, which was not worth thy breath,
Brought on too ſoon thy much lamented death.
But Heav'n was kind, and would not let thee ſee
The plagues that muſt upon this nation be,
By whom the Muſes have neglected been,
Which ſhall add weight and meaſure to their ſin (10).

(10) *To the dear Remembrance of his noble Friend Sir J. B. Bart.*

[D] — *John.*] This is the ſon, to whom we are obliged for the edition of his father's Poems, and who was himſelf no mean Poet, as appears by the following lines.

Here lives his better part, here ſhines that flame,
Which lights the entrance to eternal fame:
Theſe are his triumphs over death, this ſpring
From Aganippe's fountains he cou'd bring
Clear from all droſs, thro' pure intentions drain'd;
His draughts no ſenſual waters ever ſtain'd.
Behold he doth on ev'ry paper ſtrow
The loyal thoughts he did his Sovereign owe:
Here reſt affections to each neareſt friend,
And pious ſighs, which noble thoughts attend (11).

(11) *A Congratulation to the Muſes, for the immortalizing his dear father by the ſacred virtue of Poetry.*

[E] — *Francis.*] This ſon likewiſe paid the tribute of verſe to his father's memory; of which take the following ſtanzas as a ſpecimen.

For ſhou'd I ſtrive to deck the virtue high,
Which in theſe Poems, like fair gems appear,
I might as well add brightneſs to the ſky,
Or with new ſplendor make the ſun more clear.

Since ev'ry line is with ſuch beauties graced,
That nothing farther can their praiſes ſound;
And that dear name, which in the front is placed,
Declares what ornaments within are found:
That name, I ſay, in whom the Muſes meet,
And with ſuch heat his noble ſpirit raiſe,
That Kings admire his verſe, whilſt at his feet
Orpheus his harp, and Phœbus caſts his bays (12).

(12) *Upon the following Poems of my dear father Sir J. B. Bart. deceaſed.*

[F] — Gervaſe, *who died at ſeven years of age.*] This we learn from ſome verſes of Sir John's upon the death of that ſon, whom he laments very pathetically.

Can I, who have for others oft compil'd
The ſongs of death, forget my ſweeteſt child,
Which like a flow'r crush'd with a blaſt is dead,
And e're full time hangs down his ſmiling head.

- -

Let his pure ſoul, ordain'd ſeven years to be
In that frail body, which was part of me,
Remain my pledge in Heav'n, as ſent to ſhow
How to this port at ev'ry ſtep I go (13).

(13) Page 165.

T

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER. Two celebrated Dramatic Poets of the laſt age. Theſe gentlemen were ſo cloſely united as authors, and are ſo jointly concerned in the applauſes and cenſures beſtowed on their Plays, that it is thought proper to connect their Lives under one article.

(a) Jacob's *Poetical Regiſter*, or *Lives and Characters of all the Engliſh Poets*, Vol. II. p. 103.

Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT was deſcended from the antient family of his name, ſeated at Grace-dieu in Leiceſterſhire (a), and was born about the year 1585 or 1586, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (b). His grandfather *John Beaumont* was Maſter of the Rolls (c), and his father *Francis Beaumont* one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas (d). His mother was Anne, daughter of George Pierrepoint, of Home-Pierrepoint in Nottinghamſhire (e). Our Poet had his education at Cambridge (f); but in what college, we are not told. He was afterwards admitted a ſtudent in the Inner-Temple (g): but it does not appear, that he made any proficiency in the knowledge of the Laws; on the contrary, it is probable, his devotion to the Muſes was too great, to ſuffer his thoughts to be employed on ſo dry and ſevere a ſcience. He died before thirty years of age,

(b) *This is inferred from the date of his death.*

(c) *Works of Mr* Francis Beaumont *and Mr* John Fletcher, *edit.* 1711, 8vo Vol. I. *in Pref.* p. 5.

(d) Jacob, ubi ſupra.

(e) *Works*, &c. ibid.

(f) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 524.

(g) Jacob, ubi ſupra.

age, in March 1615, and was buried, the ninth of the ſame month, in the entrance of St Benedict's chapel, within St Peter's Weſtminſter (*b*). I meet with no inſcription upon his tomb, but I find two epitaphs on him; one written by his elder brother Sir John Beaumont, and the other by the witty Biſhop Corbet [*A*]. Our Poet left behind him one daughter, Mrs *Frances Beaumont*, who died in Leiceſterſhire ſince the year 1700. She had been poſſeſſed of ſeveral Poems of her father's writing; but they were loſt at ſea in her voyage from Ireland, where ſhe had lived ſome time in the Duke of Ormond's family (*i*). Beſides the Plays, in which he was jointly concerned with Mr Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intitled, *A Maſque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen and the Inner Temple*, a *Poetical Epiſtle to Ben. Johnſon* [*B*], *Verſes to his Friend Maſter John Fletcher upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs* [*C*], and other Poems, printed together in 1653, in *octavo* (*k*). Mr Beaumont was eſteemed ſo accurate a judge of Plays, that Ben. Johnſon, while he lived, ſubmitted all his writings to his cenſure, and 'tis thought uſed his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots (*l*). What value he had for our Poet, appears by the verſes he addreſſed to him [*D*].

(*b*) Id ib. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) *Works*, &c. p. 5, 6.

(*k*) *They are printed for* L. Blaiklock.

(*l*) Dryden's *Eſſay on Dramatick Poetry*, in his *Dramatick Works*, 12*mo*, edit. 1725, Vol. I. p. 59.

Mr JOHN FLETCHER was ſon of Dr *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of London [*E*], and was born in Northamptonſhire in the year 1576 (*m*). He was educated at Cambridge,

(*m*) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 206. *and* Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Northampt. p. 283.

[*A*] *Two epitaphs on him; one written by* ——— *Sir John Beaumont, the other by* ——— *Biſhop Corbet.*] Sir John's is as follows:

An epitaph on my deare brother
FRANCIS BEAUMONT.

On death thy murderer this revenge I take:
I ſlight his terror, and juſt queſtion make,
Which of us two the beſt precedence have,
Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
Thou ſhou'd'ſt have followed me, but death, to blame,
Miſcounted years, and meaſured age by fame.
So dearly haſt thou bought thy precious lines;
Their praiſe grew ſwiftly, ſo thy life declines.
Thy Muſe, the hearer's Queen, the reader's love,
All ears, all hearts (but death's) could pleaſe and move (1).

(1) Sir John Beaumont's *Boſworth-Field*, &c. London, 1629, 12*mo*, p. 164.

Biſhop Corbet's is this:

On Mr FRANCIS BEAUMONT.
(Then newly dead)

He that hath ſuch acuteneſs, and ſuch wit,
As wou'd aſk ten good heads to huſband it;
He that can write ſo well, that no man dare
Refuſe it for the beſt, let him beware:
BEAUMONT is dead, by whoſe ſole death appears,
Wit's a diſeaſe conſumes men in few years (2).

(2) Biſhop Corbet's *Poems*, Lond. 1672, p. 68.

[*B*] ——— *A poetical epiſtle to Ben. Johnſon.*] We learn from the title of the epiſtle, that it was written to that Poet from the country, before the author and Mr Fletcher came to London. In this piece Beaumont expreſſes the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for Johnſon, eſpecially in the following lines.

Baniſht unto this home, fate once again
Bring me to thee, who canſt make ſmooth and plaine
The way of knowledge for me, and then I,
Who have no good but in thy company,
Proteſt it will my grateful comfort be
T' acknowledge all I have to flow from thee.

The epiſtle is ſubſcribed, *The Maid in the Mill*, and ſeems to have been ſent to Ben with two unfiniſhed comedies, written by Beaumont and Fletcher (3).

(3) Poems, *by* Fr. Beaumont, Lond. 1653, 8*vo*, *The pages of this book are not numbered.*

[*C*] *Verſes* to *his* friend, Maſter John Fletcher, upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs.] That Paſtoral, which was written by Fletcher alone (4), having met with but an indifferent reception upon the ſtage, Beaumont addreſſed a copy of verſes to him (5) upon that occaſion, in which he ingeniouſly repreſents the hazard of writing for the ſtage, and finely ſatirizes the audience's want of judgment, as follows:

(4) *See the remark* [*G*].

(5) *Printed among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711.

Why ſhou'd the man, whoſe wit ne'er had a ſtain,
Upon the public ſtage preſent his vein,
And make a thouſand men in judgment ſit,
To call in queſtion his undoubted wit,
Scarce two of which can underſtand the laws
Which they ſhould judge by, nor the parties cauſe?
Among the rout there is not one that hath
In his own cenſure an explicit faith.
One company, knowing they judgment lack,
Ground their belief on the next man in black;
Others on him that makes ſigns, and is mute;
Some like as he does in the faireſt ſute;
He as his miſtreſs doth, and ſhe by chance:
Nor want there thoſe, who, as the boy doth dance
Between the acts, will cenſure the whole play;
Some, if the wax-lights be not new that day:
But multitudes there are, whoſe judgment goes
Headlong, according to the actor's cloaths.

Then having approved Fletcher's deſign of publiſhing his play, in order to convince the world how excellent a performance they had diſliked upon the ſtage, he concludes with this ſevere reflection;

Beſides, one 'vantage more in this I ſee;
Your cens'rers now muſt have the quality
Of reading, which, I am afraid, is more
Than half your ſhrewdeſt judges had before.

[*D*] Ben. Johnſon's *verſes addreſſed to* Beaumont.]

How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muſe,
That unto me do'ſt ſuch religion uſe!
How do I fear myſelf that am not worth
The leaſt indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!
At once thou mak'ſt me happy, and unmak'ſt;
And giving largely to me, more thou tak'ſt.
What fate is mine, that ſo itſelf bereaves?
What art is thine, that ſo thy friend deceives?
When, even there where moſt thou praiſeſt me,
For writing better I muſt envy thee (6).

(6) Ben. Johnſon's *Works*, London, 1716, 8*vo*, Vol. III. p. 133.

[*E*] *He was ſon of Dr* Richard Fletcher, *Biſhop of London.*] That Prelate was born in Kent, and educated at Bennet-college in Cambridge (7), of which he was ſome time Fellow (8). He was made Dean of Peterborough in 1583, and was preſent in 1586, with Mary, Queen of Scots, when ſhe was beheaded at Fotheringay in Northamptonſhire (9). He was promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the biſhoprick of Briſtol, and conſecrated December 14, 1589; after that See had been vacant (excepting only whilſt it was adminiſtered by two ſucceſſive Biſhops of Glouceſter) thirty-two years (10). In 1593, he was tranſlated to Worceſter (11), and from thence to London, the year following (12). This worthy Prelate drew up ſeveral regulations for the better government of his dioceſe, and reformation of his ſpiritual courts. They are intituled, *Orders*,

(7) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 107.

(8) Godwin, *de Præſul. Angl. inter* Epiſc. Briſtol. *an.* 1539.

(9) Wood, ibid.

(10) Godwin, ib.

(11) Id. *inter* Epiſc. Wigorn. *an.* 1593.

(12) Id. *inter* Epiſ. London, *an.* 1594.

Cambridge (*n*), probably in Bennet-college, to which his father was by his laſt will and teſtament a benefactor (*o*). He wrote Plays jointly with Mr Beaumont; and we are told, he aſſiſted Ben. Johnſon in writing a Comedy called *The Widow* (*p*). After Beaumont's death, it is ſaid, he conſulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his Plays [*F*]. Which theſe were, it is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, for us to determine. He wrote *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, which, it is certain, he wrote without the aſſiſtance of his colleague, is greatly commended by the Poets [*G*], though it's reception on the ſtage fell ſhort of it's merit. Mr Fletcher died of the plague, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the firſt of King Charles I, *an.* 1625, and was buried the 29th of Auguſt in St Mary-Overy's church in Southwark (*q*). We have a Latin inſcription under his picture by the ingenious Sir John Berkenhead [*H*].

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) *Works*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, ibid. col. 609.

(*q*) Langbaine, *ubi ſupra*. & Wood, *ibid.* col. 524.

Beaumont and Fletcher (as has been obſerved) wrote *Plays* in concert: but what ſhare each bore in forming the plots, writing the ſcenes, *&c.* is not known. The general opinion

Orders, which the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Biſhop of London, deſires to be aſſented unto, and carefully obſerved by every eccleſiaſtical officer, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under him, within the dioceſe of London. Dat. March *the* 8*th*, 1595. They are tranſcribed by Mr Collier (13). How far they were executed, is uncertain; for they run in a form of recommendation, rather than of command. Who was Biſhop Fletcher's firſt wife, we are not told; but Anthony Wood informs us (14), that he took to him a ſecond wife (a very handſome widow) called the Lady Baker, ſiſter to George Gifford, the Penſioner; at which match, Queen Elizabeth, who highly diſapproved the marriage of the Clergy, was much diſpleaſed. The loſs of her Majeſty's favour, it ſeems, occaſioned the Biſhop's death; for Camden tells us (15), that, 'Endeavouring to 'ſmother the cares of an unlucky match in the ſmoak 'of tobacco, which he took to exceſs, and falling 'under the Queen's diſpleaſure (who thought it enough 'for Biſhops to be fathers of the Church) between the 'experiment and the misfortune, loſt his life.' He died at his palace in London, the 15th of June 1596, and was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul's (16). He had a brother named *Giles Fletcher*, born likewiſe in Kent, educated at Eaton ſchool, and elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565 (17); where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a learned man and an excellent Poet. Afterwards he was ſent Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands; and Embaſſador to Ruſſia. At length he was made Secretary to the city of London, and Maſter of the Requeſts. He wrote *The Hiſtory of Ruſſia*, &c. or, *Of the Ruſſian Commonwealth*. Lond. 1591, 8vo. which book was quickly ſuppreſſed, leſt it ſhould give offence to a Prince in amity with England. Afterwards it was reprinted in 12mo, *An.* 1643. Dr Giles Fletcher died in the pariſh of St Katherine, Coleman-ſtreet, in London, in the month of February 1610, leaving behind him a ſon of both his names, who took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity at Trinity college in Cambridge, and died at Alderton in Suffolk, in 1623, 'equally beloved of the Muſes and the Graces.' He left alſo another ſon named *Phineas Fletcher*, of King's college in the ſame univerſity, where he was accounted an excellent Poet. He was afterwards beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and wrote ſeveral books; among which one is intituled, *A Father's Teſtament written for the benefit of his particular Relations*. Lond. 1670, 8vo. at which time the author had been dead ſeveral years (18).

(13) In his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt.* Vol. II. *among the Records*, No. 95.

(14) Ubi ſupra.

(15) *Life and Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, apud *Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. II. p. 596.

(16) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(17) The Continuator of Tho. Hatcher's *Catalogue of Prov. Fell. and Scholl. of King's Coll. Camb.* MS. *an.* 1565.

(18) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *He conſulted Mr James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his plays.*] The editor of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*'s *Works* in 1711, thinks it very probable, that Shirley did likewiſe ſupply many that were left imperfect, and that the Players gave ſome remains, or imperfect plays, of Fletcher's to Shirley to make up: And it is from hence (he tells us) that in the firſt act of *Love's Pilgrimage*, there is a ſcene of an Oſtler, tranſcribed *verbatim* out of Ben. Johnſon's *New Inn*, Act 3. Sc. 1. which play was written long after Fletcher died, and tranſplanted into *Love's Pilgrimage*, after the printing the *New Inn*, which was in the year 1630. And two of the plays, printed under the name of Fletcher, *viz. The Coronation* and the *Little Thief*, have been claimed by Shirley to be his; it is probable, they were left imperfect by one, and finiſhed by the other (19).

(19) Beaumont *and* Fletcher's Works, 1711. 8vo. *in the Preface*, p. 27.

[*G*] *His* Faithful Shepherdeſs ——— *is greatly commended by the Poets.*] I have already given the reader ſome verſes addreſſed by Beaumont to Fletcher, on occaſion of the ill ſucceſs of this play (20). Honeſt Ben is very angry with the audience for their ill-treatment of it, and expreſſes himſelf with great acrimony upon this ſubject, in the following lines:

(20) *See the Remark* [*C*].

The wiſe and many-headed *bench*, that ſits
Upon the life and death of *Plays* and *Wits*,
(Compoſed of *Gameſter*, *Captain*, *Knight*, *Knight's Man*,
Lady, or *Puſill*, that wears maſk or fan,
Velvet or *Taffata* cap, rank'd in the dark
With the ſhop's *Foreman*, or ſome ſuch brave ſpark,
That may judge for his ſix-pence) had, before
They ſaw it half, damn'd the whole play, and more:
Their motives were, ſince it had not to do
With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.
I, that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And wiſh that all the Muſes blood were ſpilt
In ſuch a *martyrdom*, to vex their eyes,
Do *crown* thy *murder'd poem*, which ſhall riſe
A *glorified work* to time, when fire,
Or moths, ſhall eat what all ſuch fools admire (21).

(21) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed* to Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*.

Mr Cartwright had theſe verſes of Ben Johnſon in view in the following lines, taken out of a copy of verſes written by him *Upon the reports of the printing of the Dramatical Poems of Maſter John Fletcher*, &c.

——— His *Shepherdeſs*, a piece
Even and ſmooth, ſpun from a finer fleece:
Where ſoftneſs reigns, where paſſions paſſions greet,
Gentle and high, as floods of baiſam meet:
Where, dreſs'd in white expreſſions, ſit bright loves,
Drawn, like their fairer Queen, by milky doves;
A piece, which Johnſon in a rapture bid
Come up a *glorified work*, and ſo it did (22).

(22) Cartwright's *Plays* and *Poems*, Lond. 1651, 8vo, p. 269.

Sir John Berkenhead ſeems likewiſe to refer to Ben's teſtimony, when he ſets ſo extravagant a value upon this performance.

Thou always beſt: if ought ſeem'd to decline,
'Twas the unjudging rout's miſtake, not thine.
Thus thy fair *Shepherdeſs*, which the bold heap
(Falſe to themſelves, and thee) did prize ſo cheap,
Was found (when underſtood) fit to be *crown'd*;
At worſt 'twas worth *two hundred thouſand pound* (23).

(23) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra*.

There ſeems to be ſome alluſion couched in the laſt line, at which I can give no gueſs.

[*H*] *An inſcription under Mr* Fletcher's picture, by Sir *John Berkenhead.*] It is this (24):

(24) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8vo, p. 208.

Felicis ævi, ac Præſulis natus, comes
Beaumontio; hic quippe Parnaſſus biceps,
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens:
Struxit chorum plus ſimplicem Vates duplex,
Plus duplicem ſolus; nec ullum tranſtulit,
Nec transferendus: Dramatum æterni ſales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, ſibi, ſuperſtites.
FLETCHERE, facies abſque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel umbram circuit nemo tuam.

opinion ſeems to be, that Beaumont's judgment was chiefly employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit [*I*]. But if what is reported of them by Mr Winſtanley be true, the former had his ſhare likewiſe in the execution of the Drama. For that author relates, that our Poets being once at a tavern together, in order to form the rude draught of a Tragedy, Fletcher undertook to *kill the King*; which words being over-heard by an officious waiter, had like to have brought on them a troubleſome affair, had it not been preſently diſcovered, that the plot was only againſt a dramatical King (*r*). The firſt Play that brought them into eſteem was *Philaſter, or Love lies a bleeding*: for before that, they had written two or three very unſucceſsfully; as the like is reported of Ben. Johnſon, before he wrote *Every Man in his Humour* (*s*). Theſe authors had, with the advantage of Shakeſpear's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts improved by ſtudy. Their plots were generally more regular than Shakeſpear's, eſpecially thoſe made after Beaumont's death; and they underſtood and imitated the converſation of gentlemen much better, whoſe wild debaucheries, and quickneſs of wit in repartees, no Poet before them ever painted as they did. Humour, it is true, which Ben. Johnſon derived from particular characters, they made it not their buſineſs to deſcribe: but, in recompence of this defect, they deſcribed all the paſſions in a very lively manner, eſpecially that of Love. Their faults conſiſt chiefly in a certain luxuriance, or ſeldom knowing when to have done, and this notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed rigour of Mr Beaumont's caſtigations; in frequent ſoleciſms of ſpeech, and great incorrectneſs in general; which laſt, indeed, is common to our authors with Ben. Johnſon, and the immortal Shakeſpear himſelf. However, envy cannot deny, that their wit is great, and their expreſſions often noble; and that the abſurdities they committed are rather the age's fault than theirs. Mr Dryden tells us (*t*), that Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays, in his time, were the moſt pleaſing and frequent entertainments of the ſtage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakeſpear's or Johnſon's; and the reaſon he aſſigns is, becauſe there is a certain gaiety in their Comedies, and a *Pathos* in their moſt ſerious Plays, which ſuits generally with all men's humours: beſides, Shakeſpear's language is a little obſolete, and Ben. Johnſon's wit comes ſhort of theirs. But however it might be when Mr Dryden wrote, the caſe is ſince altered: for though ſeveral of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays ſtill take their turn upon the Engliſh ſtage, and with good ſucceſs, yet, at preſent (*u*), Shakeſpear ſeems to have gained the aſcendant, more than two of his Plays being acted through the year for one of theirs.

This noble pair of authors have received incenſe from the pens of our moſt celebrated Poets [*K*]; and ſome of their Plays have had the honour to be ſelected, and altered for the

(*r*) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687. 8vo, p. 199.

(*s*) Dryden, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) In his *Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry*, ubi ſupra. This Piece was written in 1666.

(*u*) *Ann.* 1746. and for ſome years paſt.

[*I*] *Beaumont's judgment was employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit.*] Hence Mr Cartwright, extolling Fletcher's genius (25), and obſerving,

That 'twas his happy fault to do too much;

adds,

Who therefore wiſely did ſubmit each birth
To knowing Beaumont, ere it did come forth,
Working again until he ſaid 'twas fit,
And made him the ſobriety of his wit.

There are numberleſs paſſages among the *commendatory verſes* to the ſame purpoſe.

(25) Cartwright's *Plays* and *Poems*, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *They received incenſe from the pens of the moſt celebrated Poets.*] I ſhall begin with Sir Aſton Cockaine, who has theſe lines:

While Fletcher lived, who equal to him writ
Such laſting monuments of natural wit?
Others might draw their lines with ſweat, like thoſe
That, with much pains, a garriſon incloſe;
Whilſt his ſweet fluent vein did gently run,
As uncontroul'd and ſmoothly as the ſun (26).

Sir George Liſle, a kinſman of Beaumont's, celebrates both our Poets, addreſſing himſelf firſt to *Beaumont*.

I'll not pronounce how ſtrong and clean thou writ'ſt,
Nor by what new hard rules thou took'ſt thy flights;
Nor how much Greek and Latin ſome refine,
Before they can make up ſix words of thine:
But this I'll ſay, thou ſtrik'ſt our ſenſe ſo deep,
At once thou mak'ſt us bluſh, rejoice, and weep.
Great father Johnſon bow'd himſelf, when he
(Thou writ'ſt ſo nobly) vow'd *he envy'd thee**.

(26) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra.*

(*) *See the remark* [*D*].

A few lines after he ſays:

Behold! here's *Fletcher* too! the world ne're knew
Two potent wits co-operate 'till you;
For ſtill your fancies are ſo wov'n and knit,
'Twas *Francis Fletcher* and *John Beaumont* writ (27).

(27) Ibid.

Sir John Denham's teſtimony is very advantageous to the memory of *Fletcher*, whom he thus addreſſes:

- - - - - - - - I need not raiſe
Trophies to thee from other men's diſpraiſe;
Nor is thy fame on leſſer ruins built,
Nor needs thy juſter title the foul guilt
Of Eaſtern Kings, who, to ſecure their reign,
Muſt have their brothers, ſons, and kindred ſlain.
Then was wit's empire at the fatal height,
When labouring and ſinking with it's weight,
From thence a thouſand leſſer Poets ſprung,
Like petty princes from the fall of Rome.
When Johnſon, Shakeſpear, and thy ſelf did ſit,
And ſway'd in the Triumvirate of wit - - - -
Yet what from Johnſon's oil and ſweat did flow,
Or what more eaſy nature did beſtow
On Shakeſpear's gentler Muſe, in thee full grown
Their graces both appear; yet ſo, that none
Can ſay, here nature ends, and art begins;
But mixt like th' elements, and born like twins,
So interweaved, ſo like, ſo much the ſame,
None this meer nature, that meer art can name.
'Twas this the antients meant; nature and ſkill
Are the two tops of their Parnaſſus hill (28).

(28) Ibid.

Nor is *Fletcher* leſs obliged to Mr Waller's excellent pen:

Fletcher, to thee we do not only owe
All theſe good plays, but thoſe of others too:

Thy

the ſtage, by our beſt writers [*L*]. But they have not eſcaped the cenſures of the Critics, eſpecially Mr Rymer the Hiſtoriographer, who has laboured to expoſe the faults, without taking any notice of the beauties, of *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, the *King and no King*, and the *Maid's Tragedy* [*M*]. Mr Rymer ſent one of his books as a preſent to Mr Dryden, who,

Thy wit repeated does ſupport the ſtage,
Credits the laſt, and entertains this age:
No worthies form'd by any Muſe but thine
Could purchaſe robes to make themſelves ſo fine.
What brave commander is not proud to ſee
Thy brave *Melantius* in his gallantry?
Our greateſt Ladies love to ſee their ſcorn
Outdone by thine, in what themſelves have worn.
Th' impatient widow e're the year be done
Sees thy *Aſpaſia* weeping in her gown.
I never yet the tragic ſtrain aſſay'd,
Deterr'd by that inimitable *Maid:*
And when I venture at the comic ſtile,
The *Scornful Lady* ſeems to mock my toil.
Thus has thy Muſe at once improv'd and marr'd
Our ſport in plays, by rendring them too hard.
So when a ſort of luſty ſhepherds throw
The bar by turns, and none the reſt outgo
So far, but that the beſt are meaſuring caſts,
Their emulation and their paſtime laſts:
But if ſome brawny yeoman of the guard
Step in, and toſs the axel-tree a yard
Or more beyond the fartheſt mark, the reſt
Deſpairing ſtand, their ſport is at the beſt (29).

(29) Ibid.

Sir John Berkenhead prefers Fletcher to Shakeſpear:

Brave Shakeſpear flow'd, yet had his ebbings too,
Often above himſelf, ſometimes below;
Thou always beſt *.

(*) *See the lines immediately following theſe in the remark* [*G*].

Again;

Shakeſpear was early up, and went ſo dreſt
As for thoſe *dawning* hours he knew was beſt;
But when the ſun ſhone forth, *you two* thought fit
To wear juſt robes, and leave off trunk-hoſe wit (30).

(30) Ibid.

Mr Cartwright gives the ſame preference to Fletcher compared with Shakeſpear; for which reaſon I here once more cite him.

Shakeſpear to thee was dull, whoſe beſt jeſt lies
I' th' Ladies queſtions, and the Fool's replies;
Old-faſhion'd wit, which walk'd from town to town
In turn'd hoſe, which our fathers call'd the *Clown*;
Whoſe wit our nice times would obſceneneſs call,
And which made bawdry paſs for comical.
Nature was all his art; thy vein was free
As his, but without his ſcurrility (31).

(31) Cartwright's *Poems*, &c. p. 273.

Whoever is converſant in the writings of Shakeſpear and Fletcher, need not be told, that it is extremely unjuſt to compliment the latter at the expence of the former; and that, in truth, after all the fine things ſaid of the two Poets in queſtion, and making the moſt of Shakeſpear's faults, the preference lies greatly on his ſide; whoſe ſublimer beauties of ſentiment and poetry Beaumont and Fletcher never could reach.

[*L*] *Some of their plays have been altered for the ſtage by our beſt writers*]. Particularly *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Chances*, and *Valentinian*; by Mr Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Rocheſter. The *Maid's Tragedy* was very frequently acted, after the Reſtoration, and with great applauſe. But the concluſion of the play, in which the King is killed, making it, upon ſome particular occaſion, thought improper to be further repreſented, it was by private order from the court ſilenced. This put Mr Waller upon altering the cataſtrophe, or laſt act, as it is now printed in the edition of his poems, in 8vo, in 1711, and in all the ſubſequent editions. Upon which alteration the author of the Preface to the ſecond part of Mr Waller's poems makes the following remark. 'Tis not to be doubted, who ſat for the 'two brothers characters. 'Twas agreeable to the 'ſweetneſs of Mr Waller's temper, to ſoften the rigour 'of the tragedy, as he expreſſes it; but whether it 'be agreeable to the nature of tragedy itſelf, to make 'every thing come off eaſily, I leave to the Critics.' The Duke of Buckingham, ſo celebrated for writing the *Rehearſal*, made the two laſt acts of the *Chances* almoſt new. His Grace, we are told (32), afterwards beſtowed ſome time in altering another play of our authors, called *Philaſter*, or *Love lies a bleeding*. He made very conſiderable alterations in it, and took it with him, intending to finiſh it in the laſt journey he made to Yorkſhire in the year 1686. It is not known what is become of the play; but the Preface-writer here cited tells us, he is very well informed it was, ſince the Revolution, in the hands of Mr Nevil Payn, who was impriſoned at Edinburgh in the year 1689. The alterations in *Valentinian*, by the Earl of Rocheſter, amount to about a third part of the whole; but his Lordſhip died before he had done all he intended to it. The play was acted in 1684, and the ſame year publiſhed by Mr Robert Wolſly, with a preface, giving ſome account of my Lord and his writings. It is ſince printed at the end of his Lordſhip's poems in *octavo*. Beſides theſe three, Mr Tate altered the *Iſland Princeſs*, and Mr Dryden revived the *Prophetеſs*, with alterations and additions, after the manner of an Opera.

(32) *Preface to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711, p. 9.

[*M*] *Mr* Rymer *has cenſured the faults of* Rollo Duke of Normandy, *the* King and no King, *and* The Maid's Tragedy.] This he has done in a piece, intitled *The Tragedies of the laſt Age conſidered and examined, by the practiſe of the Antients, and by the common ſenſe of all ages: In a letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, Eſq*; (33). I ſhall here preſent the reader with the ſubſtance of this gentleman's criticiſms on the three plays juſt mentioned.

(33) *Printed in* 1678. *The motto is:* —Clament periiſſe pudorem
Cunctи pœne patres, ea quum reprehendere coner,
Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſcius egit. *Hor.*

To begin with *Rollo Duke of Normandy:* His firſt objection lies againſt the *fable* or *plot*, as containing nothing either to move *pity* or *terror*, neither to *delight* or *inſtruct*. 'It is indeed, *ſays he*, a hiſtory, 'and it may well be a hiſtory; for never man of 'common ſenſe could ſet himſelf to invent any thing 'ſo groſs. Poetry requires the *bell trovato*, ſomething '*handſomely invented*, and leaves the *truth* to hiſtory; 'but never were the Muſes profaned with a more 'foul, unpleaſant, and unwholſome *truth*, than this 'which makes the argument of *Rollo* (34).' Next to the ſtory, our Critic quarrels with the *moral*, which he makes to be this; *He that ſheds the blood of man, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* 'But, if this be all, '*ſays he*, where's the wonder? Have we not every 'day cried in the ſtreets inſtances of God's *revenge* 'againſt *murder* more extraordinary, and more poetical, than all this comes to? If this be poetry, *Tyburn* is a better and more ingenious ſchool of virtue 'than the *Theatre* (35).' In the third place, he objects to the *conduct* of the *fable*; he thinks it very odd 'to ſee the firſt four ſcenes paſs, as if nothing extraordinary were toward, without any preparation, and 'immediately, without more ado, the two brothers, 'two Kings, are a fighting. The Antients would 'have made the earth tremble, and the ſun ſtart out 'of the firmament, at a ſight ſo unnatural. Yet we 'make no more of them, but turn them out, like two 'cocks of the game, for the diverſion of the rabble '(36).' He is extremely ſhocked to ſee Rollo 'fighting 'with his own brother and King, equal to himſelf, 'and attempting to poiſon him, without any remorſe; 'killing him in their mother's arms, without any provocation; calling the Queen their mother *Beldam*, 'and with drawn ſword threatening to kill both her 'and his ſiſter, without any ſenſe of honour or piety;' and he aſks, *Muſt we not imagine a legion of Devils in his belly* (37), which brings him to conſider the characters of this play. And here, to ſay no more of *Rollo*'s character, he obſerves, that 'neither is *Otto* '(his brother) a much more taking gentleman; no'thing appears in his *cue* to move pity, or any way to 'make the audience of his party (38).' As for *Gif-*

(34) Page 196

(35) Page 23.

(36) Page 28.

(37) Page 37.

(38) Page 38.

bert,

who, in the blank leaves before the beginning, and after the end of the book, made several

bert and *Baldwin*, Chancellor and Tutor, 'they are 'dotota capita; only come on the ſtage, to make (39) Page 39. 'Rollo the greater ſinner by their murther (39).' *Aubrey*, who is to ſucceed to the Crown, 'is a good 'man, but the dulleſt good man that ever poet ad- 'vanced to a throne by ſuch extraordinary means; 'ſomething ſhining and extravagant ought to have ap- 'peared in his character, and every ſtep of his ſhould 'have been attended with awe and majeſty; whereas 'he appears a humble endeavourer, ſpeaks honeſtly to (40) Ibid. 'no purpoſe, and is braved and abuſed by raſcals (40).' The characters of *Sophia* and *Matilda*, he thinks, are (41) Page 41,42. by no means ſupported (41); and as to *Edith* and the old *Ducheſs*, 'when in all reaſon one might expect that 'ſo violent grief and paſſions would choak them, they 'run chattering as if the concern were no more than (42) Page 44. 'a *goſſipping*; theirs are not of the old cut, *Curæ* 'leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent (42).' He concludes his reflections on this play with giving it as his opinion, that 'the ſucceſs of it is chiefly due to the ſcenes for 'laughter, the merry jigg under the gallows, and where 'the tragedy tumbles into the kitchen among the 'ſcoundrels that never ſaw buſkin in their lives before. 'There the Pantler and Cook give it that reliſh, which (43) Page 55. 'renders it the moſt followed entertainment of the 'town (43).'

The next tragedy cenſured by Mr Rymer is the *King and no King*. As to the *fable* or *plot* of this play, he owns, there 'appears in it ſome proportion, ſhape, (44) Page 57. 'and (at the firſt ſight) an outſide fair enough (44).' But, upon examination, it is quite otherwiſe: It is full of *improbabilities*, and thoſe of the worſt ſort, becauſe they contribute nothing to the wonder. 'What 'more improbable, *he aſks*, than that the mother, 'whoſe buſineſs it was to contrive the death of the 'impoſtor, ſhould never caution or inform her only 'daughter, who had the right to the Crown, that Ar- 'baces was none of her brother, but her vaſſal; and 'ſo obſtruct her love for him? Nor is it likely that 'Gobrias ſhould not have reſerved ſome means to let 'his ſon know the ſecret, that his ſon's conduct, and 'addreſſes to gain the Princeſs, might have been (45) Page 59. 'faſhioned accordingly (45).' In the next place, 'The *characters* are all *improbable* and *unproper* in the 'higheſt degree; beſides that both theſe, their actions, 'and all the lines of the play run ſo wide from the 'plot, that ſcarce ought could be imagined more con- 'trary. We blunder along without the leaſt ſtreak of 'light, 'till in the laſt act we ſtumble on the plot, 'lying all in a lump together; neither any tolerable 'direction to guide us thither; nor ought ingenious, (46) Ibid. 'juſt, or reaſonable, that carries us from thence (46).' Mr Rymer comes next to particular characters. He aſks, 'What find we in the *ſon* of *Gobrias* (Arbaces), 'that he muſt have the Princeſs, and the kingdom, 'for her portion, but that the knave his father will (47) Page 60. 'have it ſo (47)? He no ſooner comes on the ſtage, 'but he lays about him with his tongue at ſo nauſeous (48) Page 61. 'a rate, Captain *Beſſus* is all modeſty to him (48).' Then he behaves with ſuch inſulting cruelty to his priſoner the King of Armenia, that our Critic can afford (49) Page 62. him no better appellation than *monſter of a King* (49). The indecent language this Prince uſes to the Queen-mother, whom he calls *witch* and *whore*, and to his father Gobrias, whom he loads with curſes, the inceſtuous love he makes to his ſuppoſed ſiſter Panthea; his drawing his ſword at the Queen-mother, and other (50) Page 62, 63. outrages, are the ſum of our Hero's virtues (50). Beſides, his drolling and quibbling with Beſſus and his buffoons, and their breaking their little jeſts upon him, (51) Page 64. is, in Mr Rymer's opinion, a great *indecorum* (51). Nor is he better pleaſed with the character of *Panthea*, of whom he ſays, 'One might ſwear ſhe had a knock 'in the cradle; ſo ſoft is ſhe at all points, and ſo 'ſilly. No Linſey-wolſey Shepherdeſs but muſt have 'more ſoul in her, and more ſenſe of decency, not to (52) Page 63. 'ſay honour (52).' With reſpect to the *Queen-mother*, we might expect to find her a woman of great courage and reſolution, after we had been told, that ſhe was for removing the Uſurper by poiſon, and bringing things into the right channel again; on the contrary, 'we find her the verieſt *Patient-Griſſel* that ever had 'lain by a Monarch's ſide. She comes but thrice on 'the ſtage; the firſt time ſhe is rebuked by Gobrias 'with the ſame language that the vicar of Newgate 'might diſpenſe to ſome ſinner forlorn; then ſhe is 'on her *mary-bones* to the impoſtor without reluctancy. 'Laſtly, when provoked with a drawn ſword, and 'words more cutting, the proudeſt rant ſhe could be 'raiſed to, was, *Fire conſume me, if ever I was a* 'whore (53).' Laſtly, Mr Rymer finds great fault (53) Page 70. with the conduct of the inceſtuous love between Arbaces and Panthea, which he calls a *canker in the heart of this tragedy* (54). (54) Page 75.

We come laſtly to the *Maid's Tragedy*, of which he gives this general character, that 'nothing in *hiſtory* 'was ever ſo *unnatural*, nothing in *nature* was ever ſo 'improbable, as we find the whole conduct of the tra- 'gedy; ſo far are we from any thing accurate and philoſophical, as poetry requires (55).' Let us hear (55) Page 107. what he ſays of the *King*. 'Our Poet gives to the 'great comical booby Callianax, the honour of a long 'name with a King * at the end of it, yet lets the King (*) *Anax* in Greek ſignifies a *King*. 'himſelf go without. But ſince he muſt be nameleſs, we 'may treat him with the greater freedom; and to 'tell my mind, certainly God never made a King with 'ſo little wit, nor the Devil with ſo little grace, as 'is this King *Anonymus* (56).' As for *Evadne's* part, (56) Page 107. he aſks, 'Did Hell ever give reception to ſuch a *mon-* 'ſter, or Cerberus ever wag his tail at an *impudence* ſo 'ſacred (57)?' Mr Rymer inſtances in her ſpeech to (57) Page 111. Amintor on the wedding-night, which begins with *A maiden-head, Amintor, at my years!* He ſays farther, with reſpect to this character; 'Had Evadne 'been the injured body's ſiſter, and had married Amin- 'tor out of revenge, or had there been any foundation 'from circumſtances for this ſort of carriage, the cha- 'racter then might have been contrived plauſible 'enough; but both the King's behaviour and her's, 'uncircumſtanced as we have 'em, are every way ſo 'harſh and againſt nature, that every thing ſaid by 'them ſtrikes like a dagger to the ſoul of any reaſon- 'able audience (58).' Mr Rymer declares it as his (58) Page 112. opinion, that ſuch immodeſt characters, as that of Evadne, 'ought not to ſtalk in tragedy on high ſhoes, 'but ſhould pack down with the carriers into the pro- 'vince of comedy, there to be kicked about and ex- 'poſed to laughter (59).' In the next place, our (59) Page 114. Critic is very ſevere upon the abſurdity and injuſtice of the *King's murder*, whom, though a monſter, 'the 'Poet (he ſays) cuts off, ere ripe for puniſhment, and 'by ſuch unproper means, that to remove one guilty 'perſon he makes an hundred, and commits the *deadly* 'ſins to puniſh a *venial* (60).' If the King muſt be (60) Page 114. killed, he thinks Amintor, as having received the higheſt provocations, the propereſt inſtrument of his puniſhment; for Melantius had no reaſon to be angry with any but his ſiſter Evadne, nor had ſhe any pretence to employ her hands againſt any life but her own (61). As for the other characters, he obſerves, that (61) Page 116. 'Callianax is an old humorous Lord, neither wiſe nor 'valiant, as himſelf confeſſes, and yet is intruſted 'with the ſtrength and keys of the kingdom; whereas, 'in comedy, he would ſcarce paſs for a good yeoman 'of the cellar. His daughter *Aſpaſia*, that gives 'name to this tragedy, makes alſo a very ſimple figure. 'Never did *Amintas* or *Paſtor-Fido* know any thing ſo 'tender; nor were the Arcadian hills ever watered 'with the tears of a creature ſo innocent. Pretty 'lamb! how mournfully it bleats! it needs no articu- 'late voice to move our compaſſion; it ſeeks no ſhade 'but under diſmal yew, and brouzes only on willow- 'garlands; yet it can ſpeak for a kiſs or ſo. ——— 'This Aſpaſia was a Lord's daughter, and bred at 'court, yet is in the preſence and bed-chamber of the 'Lady that ſupplants her, and amongſt her bride- 'maids, where ſhe acts her part, and fawns upon the 'perjured man that forſakes her. And now cannot I 'be perſuaded, that there is ought of nature or pro- 'bability in all this. Much leſs would I think this a 'woman to handle a ſword, and kick Amintor, as we ſee 'her do ſoon after. Nor can I conceive wherein con- 'ſiſts that *bleſſing*, as ſhe calls it, which ſhe propoſed 'to herſelf in being killed by his hands. This may 'be *romance*, but not *nature* (62).' But of all the (62) Page 119, characters, that of *Amintor*, he thinks, is the moſt un- 124. reaſonable. 'No reaſon (he ſays) appears why he was 'contracted to Aſpaſia, and leſs why he forſook her

'for

veral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to that gentleman [*N*].

Several of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays were printed in *quarto* during the lives of the authors; and in the year 1645, twenty years after Fletcher's death, there was publiſhed in *folio* a collection of ſuch of their Plays, as had not before been printed, amounting to between thirty and forty. At the beginning of this volume are inſerted a great many commendatory verſes, written by the moſt eminent wits of that age. This collection was publiſhed by Mr Shirley, after the ſhutting up of the Theatres, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke by ten of the moſt famous Actors. In 1679, there was an edition publiſhed of all their Plays in *folio*, containing thoſe formerly printed in *quarto*, and thoſe in the firſt *folio* edition. Several of the commendatory verſes are left out in that impreſſion. Laſtly, in 1711, an edition of their Plays was publiſhed by Mr Tonſon, in ſeven volumes in *octavo*, containing all the verſes in praiſe of the authors, and ſupplying a large omiſſion of part of the laſt act of the Tragedy of *Thierry and Theodoret.*

'for Evadne, and leaſt of all for his diſſembling and 'bearing ſo patiently the greateſt provocations that (63) Page 125. 'could poſſibly be given (63).' Mr Rymer finds great fault with the famous ſcene between Melantius and Amintor in the third act. Amintor having diſcovered to Melantius the whoredom of his ſiſter Evadne, Melantius draws his ſword, and is for fighting Amintor, who upbraids him with extorting the ſecret from him, and then raging at it. Yet Melantius perſiſts, 'till Amintor is provoked to draw his ſword, and then Melantius puts up. 'Harlequin and *Scaramouttio* (he 'tells us) might do theſe things: Tragedy ſuffers 'em (64) Page 135. 'not; here is no place for cowards nor bullies (64). 'Yet far more faulty is what follows: The *counter-turn* has no ſhadow of ſenſe or ſobriety. Melantius 'has ſwaggered away his fury, and now Amintor is 'all agog to be fighting; for what? to get his ſecret (65) Page 136. 'back again (65).' Mr Rymer concludes thus: 'We 'may remember (however we find this ſcene of Me-'lantius and Amintor written in the book) that at the 'theatre we have a good ſcene acted; there is work 'cut out, and both our *Æſopus* and *Roſcius* are upon 'the ſtage together. Whatever defect may be in 'Amintor and Melantius, Mr *Hart* and Mr *Mohun* 'are wanting in nothing. To theſe we owe for what 'is pleaſing in the ſcene, and to this ſcene we may (66) Page 138. 'impute the ſucceſs of the *Maid's Tragedy* (66).'

[*N*] *Mr Dryden —— made ſeveral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to Mr Rymer.*] Theſe remarks, (67) *Preface, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 12.* we are told (67), may be ſeen, under Mr Dryden's own hand, at the publiſher's of the edition in 1711, who has printed them in the preface to that edition. I ſhall extract from them only what is immediately oppoſed to the objections in the laſt note. *'Tis evident,* ſays Mr Dryden, *thoſe plays, which he* (Mr Rymer) *arraigns, have moved both thoſe paſſions* (terror *and* pity) *in a high degree upon the ſtage. To give the glory of this away from the Poet, and to place it upon the actors, ſeems unjuſt. One reaſon is, becauſe whatever actors they have found, the event has been always the ſame, the paſſions have been always moved; which ſhews, that there is ſomewhat of force and merit in the plays themſelves, conducing to the deſign of raiſing thoſe two paſſions. And ſuppoſe them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life upon the ſtage, but cannot give it wholly where it was not before. But, ſecondly, I dare appeal to thoſe, who have never ſeen them acted, if they have not found thoſe two paſſions moved within them; and if the general voice will carry it, Mr Rymer's prejudice will take off his ſingle teſtimony. This being matter of fact is reaſonably to be eſtabliſhed by this appeal; as if one man ſay 'tis night, when the reſt of the world conclude it to be day, there needs no further argument againſt him that it is ſo.* —— Shakeſpear *and* Fletcher *have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for though nature, as he objects, is the ſame in all places, and reaſon too the ſame; yet the climate, the age, the diſpoſitions of the people, to whom a Poet writes, may be ſo different, that what pleaſed the Greeks would not ſatisfy an Engliſh audience.* —— *The faults, which he has found in the deſigns, are rather wittily aggravated in many places, than reaſonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks by one who were as witty as himſelf. Secondly, They deſtroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabrick, only take away from the beauty of the ſymmetry. For example; the faults in the character of the* King and no King *are not, as he makes them, ſuch as render him deteſtable; but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and for the moſt part are excuſed by the violence of his love; ſo that they deſtroy not our pity or concernment for him. This anſwer may be applied to moſt of his objections of that kind. And* Rollo *committing many murders, when he is anſwerable but for one, is too ſeverely arraigned by him; for it adds to our horror and deteſtation of the criminal; and poetic juſtice is not neglected neither, for we ſtab him in our minds for every offence he commits; and the point which the Poet is to gain upon the audience, is not ſo much in the death of the offender, as the riſing an horror of his crimes. That the criminal ſhould neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but ſo participating of both, as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be obſerved; for that were to make all tragedies too much alike; which objection he foreſaw, but has not fully anſwered.* I ſhall finiſh this extract with Mr Dryden's opinion of Mr Rymer's book. 'My judgment (ſays he) of this 'piece is, that it is extremely learned, but that the 'author of it is better read in the *Greek* than in the 'Engliſh Poets; that all writers ought to ſtudy this 'Critique, as the beſt account I have ever ſeen of the 'Antients; that the model of tragedy he has here 'given is excellent, and extremely correct; but that it 'is not the only model of all tragedy, becauſe it is too 'much circumſcribed in the plot, characters, &c. 'And laſtly, that we may be taught here juſtly to ad-'mire and imitate the Antients, without giving them 'the preference, with this author, in prejudice to our 'own country.' T

BECKET (St THOMAS) [*A*], Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry

[*A*] BECKET (St THOMAS).] He was the great *Goliah* Saint of thoſe times; and as his ſhrine out-did thoſe of all the Martyrs that had gone before him, ſo his life and miracles have had more writers to record them, than the moſt glorious actions of our beſt of Kings. The following liſt of them is picked out of Leland, Bale, and Pits, together with ſome of our later authors. (1) Bibl. Cott. *Nero*, A. 5. I. *Herbert Boſenham*, or *Boſſcham*, or *de Hoſcham* (1), who was this Archbiſhop's ſecretary, and alſo preſent at the ſlaughter of him. II. *Edward*, a Monk of (2) Ibid. *Veſpaſianus*, E. 10. Canterbury (2), the Martyr's moſt intimate friend. (3) Ibid. *Claudius*, B. 2. III. *Johannes Sariſburienſis* (3), who accompanied Becket in his exile, but never countenanced his behaviour towards the King, being as ſharp a writer againſt the encroachments of the Papal See, as any man of his time. IV. *Bartholomæus Iſcanus*, or *Exonenſis*, Biſhop of Exeter, where he died in 1184. V. *E.* a Monk of Eveſham, who dedicated his book, or wrote it by way of epiſtle, to Henry, Abbot of Croyland. VI. *William Stephens*, or *Fitz-Stephen*, a Monk of Canterbury, and, for that reaſon, uſually called *Gulielmus Cantuarienſis*. He is ſaid to have written three ſeveral treatiſes of the life, martyrdom, and miracles of St Thomas Becket; which, we are told (4), are now in the Cotton library. But that, which there carries his name, ſeems to have been penned by *Johannes Carnotenſis*, who is the ſame perſon with *Sariſburienſis* above-mentioned (5), ſince, in

(4) *See* W. Petyt's Preface to his *Rights of the Commons*, &c. p. 64.

(5) *See* Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Exon. *an.* 1159.

Henry II, and ſo famous for his martyrdom and miracles, was ſon of Gilbert, a Merchant, and ſome time Sheriff of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady (*a*) [*B*]; and was born at London in the year 1119 (*b*). He was educated in grammar learning at Merton-Abbey in Surrey; and, in his riper years, ſtudied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. He ſoon grew into favour with Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law at Bononia in Italy, and, after his return, made him Archdeacon of Canterbury (at that time one of the richeſt benefices in England) Provoſt of Beverly, and a Prebendary of Lincoln and St Paul's. Nor was this all; for the Archbiſhop, looking upon Becket as a proper perſon to manage the intereſt of the Church at court, ſo effectually recommended him to King Henry II, that, in 1158, he was made High-Chancellor to that Prince [*C*], and Preceptor to his ſon, the young Prince Henry. Becket,

(*a*) Chronic. Johan. Bromton, *apud* X Scriptor. *col.* 1052. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *Cantuar. ibid. col.* 1668.

(*b*) Chronolog. Auguſtin. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2251.

the *Quadripartite Hiſtory*, what we have from him is often to be found, in the ſame words, in the life there aſcribed to *Fitz-Stephen*. VII. *Benedictus Petroburgenſis*, Abbot of Peterborough, who died in the year 1200. VIII. *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, Abbot of Teukeſbury, who died about the ſame time. IX. *Roger*, a Monk of Croyland, who lived about the year 1214. 'Tis obſerved (6), that St Thomas's miracles were become ſo numerous in this writer's time, that he had matter for ſeven large volumes, in compoſing whereof he ſpent no leſs than fifteen years. X. *Stephen Langton*, a famous ſucceſſor of Becket's in the See of Canterbury, whoſe work on this ſubject is ſaid to be in the library of Bennet-college. XI. *Alexander de Hales*, ſo called from the monaſtery of Hales in Glouceſterſhire, where he was educated; one of the moſt eminent ſchoolmen of his age, and maſter to Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, &c. XII. *John Grandiſon*, or *Graunſton*, who died in the year 1369. XIII. *Quadrilogus*, or the author of a book, intitled *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate Eccleſiaſtica*. It is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, *viz. Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *Gulielmus Canterburienſis*, and *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, who are introduced as ſo many relaters of facts interchangeably. This book was firſt printed at Paris in 1495, and is often quoted by our Hiſtorians, in the reign of Henry II, by the name of *Quadripartita Hiſtoria*. XIV. *Thomas Stapleton*, the tranſlator of Bede, in whoſe book *De tribus Thomis* (7), or *Of the three Thomas's*, our Saint makes as conſiderable a figure as either *Thomas* the *Apoſtle*, or *Thomas Aquinas*. XV. *Laurence Vade*, or *Wade*, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who lived and died we know not when, or where; unleſs perhaps he be the ſame perſon with XVI. An anonymous writer of Becket's life, who appears to have been a Monk of that church, and whoſe book is ſaid to be in the library at Lambeth (8). XVII. *Richard James*, nephew of Dr Thomas James, ſome time keeper of the Bodleian library; a very induſtrious and eminent Antiquary, who endeavoured to overthrow the great deſign of all the above-mentioned authors, in his *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuarienſis et ſuorum* (9), which, with other manuſcript pieces by the ſame hand, is in the public library at Oxford. Theſe are the principal writers of our Archbiſhop's life; beſides whom, ſeveral other Hiſtorians have ſpoken largely of him; as John Bromton, Matthew Paris, Gervaſe, &c.

(6) *See* Fuller's *Worthies*, Lincolnſh. p. 164.

(7) Fol. Duac. 1588.

(8) Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. ii. p. 523.

(9) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 524, 525.

[*B*] *Son of Gilbert, a merchant, and ſome time Sheriff, of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady.*] John Bromton, the Hiſtorian, who informs us (10), that his mother Matilda was a Saracen Lady of conſiderable quality, gives us likewiſe a long ſtory of the extraordinary accidents, by which ſhe came to be the wife of Gilbert. Though there is little of probability in the narrative, we ſhall ſet it down, for the reader's amuſement, as briefly as poſſible. Gilbert, in his youth, took a journey to Jeruſalem, attended only by one of his domeſtics, named Richard. As they were one day at their devotions in a church, among ſeveral other Chriſtians, they were ſurprized by a party of Infidels, and carried to a priſon belonging to a certain great Saracen Lord, where they were treated with great hardſhips and ſeverities. Gilbert continued a year and half in this captivity, but ſuffered leſs than his companions, having the good fortune, by his excellent qualities, to gain the eſteem and affection of his maſter, who often made him eat at his own table, and took a particular pleaſure in aſking him concerning the cuſtoms and manners of different people. This Lord's daughter was ſtruck with the perſon and converſation of Gilbert; and, finding an opportunity of talking with him in private, ſhe informed herſelf particularly of his country and religion, and the circumſtances of his paſt life. Gilbert having ſatisfied her enquiries in relation to himſelf, and explained to her the doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, ſhe told him, to his great ſurprize, that ſhe was reſolved to turn Chriſtian, and to abandon her country and her father's houſe for the ſake of that religion; but, as ſhe had no knowledge of any other Chriſtian but himſelf, ſhe deſired Gilbert that he would promiſe to marry her, in caſe they could make their eſcape. Our Merchant was confounded at this propoſition; for, beſides the difficulty of eſcaping, he was fearful leſt this might be ſome ſnare laid for him; and therefore he anſwered her only in general terms, ſpeaking always very advantageouſly of the Chriſtian Religion, and telling her how happy ſhe would be if God ſhould inſpire her to embrace it. Some time after, Gilbert and the other Captives found means to break their chains, and eſcape into the countries conquered by the Chriſtians; and Gilbert returned into England. The Saracen young Lady no ſooner heard of Gilbert's flight, than ſhe reſolved to follow him. And having diſpoſed all things for that purpoſe, ſhe left her father's houſe by night, and eſcaped into the land of the Chriſtians, from whence ſhe took ſhipping, in company with ſome Engliſh merchants and pilgrims, and arrived in England. When ſhe came to London, being a ſtranger to the Engliſh tongue, ſhe was quite at a loſs how to find out the perſon ſhe was in queſt of; but paſſing accidentally by Gilbert's houſe, ſhe was ſeen and known by his man Richard, who acquainted his maſter with the news of her arrival. Gilbert was extremely touched with the zeal and affection of the young Lady, and ordered Richard to conduct her to the houſe of a gentlewoman of his acquaintance, where ſhe was treated with the greateſt kindneſs and civility. In the mean time Gilbert, who was extremely deſirous of promoting the fair Infidel's converſion, but unwilling to engage in marriage, having long ſince reſolved to ſpend his life in the wars of the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens, applied himſelf for advice to the Biſhop of London, and ſome other Biſhops; who, conſidering the circumſtances of the affair, and perceiving the hand of God viſibly concerned in it, were unanimouſly of opinion, that he ſhould marry her, provided ſhe ſhould firſt receive baptiſm, and embrace the Chriſtian Faith. Accordingly, the very next day, ſhe was ſolemnly baptized in St Paul's church, and, immediately after the ceremony, married to Gilbert. Their nuptials were attended with the bleſſing of Heaven; for Matilda ſoon after conceived this ſon, pre-ordained to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a Martyr for the liberties of the Church. And ſo you have Bromton's ſtory.

(10) *See his* Chronicon, *ad ann.* 1163, *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1052—1055.

[*C*] *He was made High-Chancellor to King Henry* II.] That Prince, as the Hiſtorians of his time remark, was of an haughty diſpoſition, and had about him ſeveral perſons, who gave him bad advice, and led him to enterprizes againſt the rights and authority of the Church. Archbiſhop Theobald, who had already been expoſed to great perſecutions in the reign of King Stephen, and fearing leſt Henry ſhould tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, reſolved, if poſſible, to oppoſe the abilities and virtues of Becket, to the evil councils of the King's falſe friends. As his rank of Archbiſhop gave him free acceſs to court, he took all opportunities of poſſeſſing the King with an high

Becket, upon this promotion, laid aſide the eccleſiaſtical habit and way of living, and affected both the dreſs and manners of a courtier [D]; diſcharging, at the ſame time, the duties of his ſtation to the entire ſatisfaction both of the King and the people (c). In this character of Chancellor, he made a campaign with King Henry in his expedition into Toulouſe, *A. D.* 1159; having in his own pay twelve hundred horſe, beſides a retinue of ſeven hundred knights or gentlemen; always forward in action, and commanding at the ſieges of ſeveral ſtrong places (d). In 1160, he was ſent by the King to Paris, to treat of a marriage between Prince Henry, then but ſeven years old, and the Princeſs Margaret, the King of France's daughter, no more than three; in which negotiation Becket ſucceeded, and returned with the young Princeſs to England (e). He had not been Chancellor much above four years, when Archbiſhop Theobald died. The King, who was then in Normandy, preſently caſt his eyes upon the Chancellor, and, reſolving to advance him to the See of Canterbury [E], ſent over his agents to England, who managed the matter ſo with the Monks and Clergy, that Becket was elected [F], almoſt unanimouſly, no one oppoſing his election but Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London. After the election, Becket, being at that time only Deacon, was ordained Prieſt, on Whitſunday 1162, by Walter, Biſhop of Rocheſter; and, on Trinity ſunday following, he was conſecrated, by Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the cathedral church of Canterbury; the young Prince Henry, and a great concourſe of the Nobility, being preſent at the ſolemnity. He received his pall from Pope Alexander III, then reſiding in France; and, preſently after his conſecration, he ſent meſſengers to the King in Normandy, with his reſignation of the ſeal and office of Chancellor. This ſtep not a little ſurprized and diſpleaſed the King, who, returning ſoon after into England, and being met at his landing by the Archbiſhop, received him with the uſual ſalute, but at the ſame time with ſuch a countenance, as plainly ſhewed he had not the ſame affection for him as formerly (f). This year, Becket, in the preſence of the King and court, performed the ceremony of tranſlating the relicks of St Edward the Confeſſor to Weſtminſter (g). Being now confirmed in the See of Canterbury, he betook himſelf to a quite different manner of life, and exchanged the gaiety

(c) Jo. Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1057, 1058. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *Lond.* 1640, Tom. I. p. 98. Gervaſ. *ubi ſuprâ.* Radulph. de Diceto, Vit. Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. ii. p. 688.

(d) Guliel. Cantuar. de Vit. Th. B. *apud* Hiſtoria Quadripart. p. 8, 9.

(e) Bromton, ubi ſupra, *col.* 1050.

(f) M. Paris. ubi ſupra. R. de Dic. ubi ſupra.

(g) M. Paris, ibid. p. 99.

eſteem for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and inſenſibly prevailed with him to confer on him the office of Lord High-Chancellor of England (11).

(11) Bromton, ubi ſupra. *col.* 1057, 1058.

(12) Ibid.

[D] *He affected the dreſs and manners of a courtier.*] Bromton tells us (12), he conformed himſelf in every thing to the King's humour, hunted with him, partook of all his diverſions, and even obſerved the ſame hours of eating and going to bed. He gave into the pleaſantries of the court, had numerous and ſplendid levees, and courted popular applauſe. When he rode on horſeback, he uſed a ſilver bridle, and the expences of his table exceeded thoſe of the greateſt Nobles. Biſhop Godwin (13) tells us the ſame thing, adding, that it was commonly ſaid, 'the Chancellor had forgot 'he was an Archdeacon and an Eccleſiaſtic.' *Hanc tantam potentiam ut firmaret, ſeque Regi (qui adoleſcentiæ vix adhuc egreſſus erat) ac deinde proceribus et aulicis gratiorem redderet, Clericalem Amictum Conſuetudinemque paulatim depoſuit, et aulicum ſplendorem ac magnificentiam induit; ac ut regi ſe in omnibus accommodaret, iiſdem ſe moribus aptavit, eadem epulandi dormiendique tempora ſibi ſtatuit; unà ſive in feriis ſive in jocoſis rebus ſemper adfuit; aulicum leporem et concinnitatem in omnibus affectavit; nihilque non fecit, quo vel gratiam principis, vel apud cæteros gloriam auramque popularem captaret. Aucupio itaque, venatione, veſtium ſplendore, cæteroque corporis cultu, copioſo frequentique famulatu, equis generoſis, argenteis auratiſque ornamentis, epularum et conviviorum crebra lautitia, omnique aulico nitore tam profuſe utebatur, ut multi dicerent, Archidiaconatus ſui et ordinis Clericalis ſibi in mentem non venire.*

(13) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cant. *an.* 1162.

[E] *The King——reſolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury.*] The King no ſooner heard the news of Archbiſhop Theobald's death, than he caſt his eyes upon Becket to ſucceed him. The Chancellor was then with that Prince in Normandy. When the King told him his deſign, Becket ſmiled, and, pointing to the ſecular habit he wore, ſaid; 'Truly, Sire, 'you have pitched upon a very reformed and holy per'ſon to govern the firſt Church in England!' But, finding the King was in earneſt, he is ſaid to have replied, with great freedom and warmth; 'I aſſuredly 'know, Sire, that if God permits me to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, I ſhall ſoon loſe your Ma'jeſty's good graces, and that the love you now bear 'me will be converted into extreme hatred. For give 'me leave to tell your Majeſty, that the attempts you 'have already made againſt the rights of the Church, 'give me cauſe to fear your Majeſty will require ſome 'things of me, which I cannot in honour and con'ſcience comply with; and my enemies will take oc'caſion from thence to animate and incenſe your Ma'jeſty againſt me.' In this manner Becket is ſaid to have predicted the enſuing breach between him and the King. But that Prince was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with Becket's freedom, that he immediately ordered ſome Lords of his court to accompany the Chancellor into England, and to acquaint the Clergy of the realm, and particularly the Chapter of Canterbury, with his Majeſty's deſire that Becket might be elected their Archbiſhop. The Chancellor, nevertheleſs, continued obſtinate in his refuſal to accept of this dignity, 'till the Cardinal of Piſa, the Pope's Legate in England, who was then with the King, convinced him of the expediency of complying with the King's deſire for the good of the Church; after which he ſet out in a few days for England (14).

(14) *Hiſtoria Quadripartita*, ſeu *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuar.* &c. Paris. 1495, cap. 11, &c.

[F] *He was elected.*] The Lords, who accompanied Becket into England, produced their commiſſion in preſence of the Chapter of Canterbury; upon which ſeveral Biſhops aſſembled in London to deliberate on the affair. But the Chapter, as well as the Biſhops, were divided in their opinions. Some thought they could not elect a fitter perſon to ſupport the rights of the Church againſt the encroachments of the State; whilſt others objected, that, the Chancellor being a courtier, his election would rather prejudice the Church, for they believed he would continue Chancellor after he was made Archbiſhop. They added, that it was an unworthy thing, and contrary to the divine laws, for a ſecular perſon, and one fitter to bear arms than the epiſcopal croſs, to become at once a ſhepherd and biſhop of ſouls. But the others replied, that it was no new thing in the Church for it's firſt dignities to be conferred on perſons who were immediately before veſted with ſecular employments; witneſs St Ambroſe, who, from a Governor of a Province, became that great Archbiſhop of Milan, who ſhut the door of his church againſt an Emperor, and obliged him to do public penance for the crime he had committed. At length, after much diſpute, Thomas was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eve of Whitſunday, in the abbey of Weſtminſter; and immediately after, by the authority of Prince Henry, who repreſented his father's perſon on this occaſion, he was publickly diſcharged from giving any account of his adminiſtration in the office of Chancellor (15).

(15) Ibid.

[G] *He*

gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk (*b*) [*G*]. The ſame year he was preſent, with ſome of his Suffragans, at the Council of Tours [*H*] held under Pope Alexander III (*i*). Soon after his return into England, he began to exert himſelf with great vigour in defence of the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury; for, beſides proſecuting at law ſeveral of the Nobility, and others, for lands and poſſeſſions, he pretended they had uſurped from that See (*k*), he laid claim to the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter, then in the hands of the crown; he demanded homage of the Earl of Clare for the mannor of Tunbridge; and he excommunicated William, Lord of the mannor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church (*l*) [*I*]. In all theſe inſtances he proceeded with ſuch warmth and obſtinacy, as greatly alienated the minds of the King and the Nobility from him; and, under this diſadvantage, his conduct was ſeverely cenſured, and all his actions repreſented in their worſt light (*m*) [*K*]. Nor was it long before the King and Becket came to an open rupture. For Henry, endeavouring to recal ſuch of the privileges of the Clergy, as he thought inconvenient to the State; and particularly, to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder, felony, and other high crimes, to the judgment of the Civil Courts [*L*], met with a violent oppoſition from our Archbiſhop, who ſtood firmly in defence

(*b*) Gervaſ. Chronic. *apud* X Scr. *col.* 1383. Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.* 1669.

(*i*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 100. Gervaſ. Chron. *ib. col.* 1384. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*k*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.*

(*l*) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1670. Id. Chron. *ubi ſupra.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*m*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

[*G*] *He exchanged the gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk.*] *Lautus ille, nitidus, ſplendidus, qui genio totus indulgens, cutem ſuam tam bene ſolitus erat curare, vix paucis interpoſitis diebus, vultu derepente gravis, moribus ſedatus, habitu decens, victu frugalis conſpicitur; et amandatis procul jocis ac cachinnis, quibus antea plurimum ferebatur deditus, ſacris peragendis, cæteriſque Paſtoralis Officii muneribus totus vacabat; et ne quis famæ oculiſque hominum duntaxat ſerviiſſe contendat, cilicio quoque indutus, corpus ſubigiſſe perhibent, triplici veſte triplicem perſonam gerens (ut illorum quidam * loquitur) exteriori Clericum exhibens, interiori monachum occultans, et intima Eremitæ moleſtias ſuſtinens* (16).

(*) Gul. Cantuar.

(16) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *He was preſent —— at the council of Tours.*] There was at that time a ſchiſm in the Church. About four years before, Cardinal Roland, Chancellor of the Holy See, had been canonically elected Pope under the name of Alexander III. But at the ſame time Cardinal Octavian was declared Pope by two Cardinals of his faction, whoſe example was preſently followed by three other Cardinals, ſome Biſhops, and ſeveral Senators, who employed all their power to ſupport Octavian in his uſurpation. This Anti-pope beſieged Alexander ſeveral days in St Peter's Church, and obliged him at laſt to fly from Rome, and take refuge in France, where he was received with extraordinary honours. To put an end to this ſchiſm, he convened a council at Tours, where were preſent ſeventeen Cardinals, and a great number of Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtics. Among the moſt eminent Prelates, who aſſiſted at this council, was our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was received, at his entrance into Tours, by the magiſtrates, and moſt of the members of the council; and the Pope, who had long deſired to ſee him, ſhewed him very particular marks of his affection and eſteem. In this aſſembly, Becket complained of the violent oppreſſions the Church laboured under, through the ambition and avarice of the laity, who daily invaded it's rights and poſſeſſions, and procured ſeveral canons and decrees to be made in favour of Eccleſiaſtics (17).

(17) Baron. Annal. *ad. ann.* 1159, 1162, & 1163. Hiſtoria Quadripartita, *&c.* l. i. c. 19.

[*I*] *He excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church.*] Having a right, as he pretended, to preſent to the vacant livings, in the towns which held of his See, he collated one Laurence, a Prieſt, to the rectory above-mentioned. Whereupon William de Ainsford, Lord of the manor of that pariſh, laying claim to the patronage of that church, drove Laurence out of poſſeſſion by force of arms, for which violence the Archbiſhop immediately excommunicated William. The latter, lying under this ſentence, applies to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop for not acquainting him with the cenſure before it paſſed; the King alledging, that it was part of the royal prerogative, that none of his officers, or other perſons holding *in capite* of the crown, ſhould be excommunicated without his knowledge and conſent. Hereupon the King wrote to the Archbiſhop, deſiring he would abſolve William. But the Archbiſhop replied, that excommunication and abſolution were no part of the King's prerogative, but ſolely under the direction of the Church. However, at length, he was prevailed upon to take off the cenſure (18).

(18) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* 1740, Tom. I. p. 100.

[*K*] *His actions were ſet in their worſt light.*] The courtiers repreſented his auſterity of manners as ſuperſtition: His zeal for diſcipline was called rigour and cruelty: His care to preſerve the rights and revenues of the Archbiſhoprick was imputed to covetouſneſs: His contempt of popularity was conſtrued a cynical affectation: On the other hand, his living up to the dignity of his ſtation was cenſured for pride and ambition. In ſhort, they perſuaded the King, that, if the Archbiſhop went on in his encroachments, the prerogative muſt greatly ſuffer, and the crown in a manner ſink under him. *Hanc itaque mutationem excelſi maligna interpretatione conati ſunt impii obfuſcare, ſuperſtitioni aſcribentes quod vitam ducebat artiorem. Zelum juſtitiæ crudelitatem mentiebantur; quod Eccleſiæ procurabat utilitates avaritiæ attribuebant; contemptum mundani favoris venationem gloriæ eſſe dicebant; curialis magnificentia fingebatur elatio —— nihil jam ab eo vel dici vel fieri poterat quod non malitia malorum depravaret; adeo quidem ut regi perſuaderunt, quod ſi archiepiſcopi poteſtas procederet, regia dignitas proculdubio periret* (19).

(19) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1670.

[*L*] *Henry endeavoured to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder, &c. to the judgment of the civil courts.*] The Clergy at this time ſeem greatly to have abuſed the privilege of exemption from the civil courts, of which the King had lately received ſeveral complaints. To give an inſtance or two. A Burgher of Scarborough had complained to the King againſt a rural Dean for levying twelve ſhillings upon him, pronouncing his wife an adultereſs, and enjoining her penance, without legal proof. The Dean was brought before the King, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Lincoln and Durham, and John, treaſurer of York; and not being able to defend himſelf, the temporal Barons were ordered to ſit with the Biſhops upon the bench, and join in the ſentence upon him. John the treaſurer was of opinion, that if he reſtored the Burgher his money, and it was remitted to the diſcretion of his Biſhop, whether he ſhould be turned out of his office or not, there was no reaſon to puniſh him any farther. Upon which, Richard de Lucy, Juſticiary of England, aſked, *What ſatisfaction the King ſhould have for the breach of his laws?* John anſwered, *None, becauſe the offender was a clerk.* Whereupon the Juſticiary and the Temporal Barons went out of the court, and refuſed to be preſent when Judgment was given (20). Again; the Judges being upon their circuit at Dunſtable, one Simon Fitz-Peter informed the court, that Philip de Brock, Canon of Bedford, had ſpoken diſhonourably of the King in public company. The King ordered this Brock to be proſecuted before the Archbiſhop; and the charge being proved againſt him, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by alledging that the words were ſpoken in a paſſion. The King demanding judgment againſt him, the eccleſiaſtical court ſentenced him to loſe one year's profit of his prebend, and to be baniſhed during that time. But this ſentence was thought too favourable, and gave the King no ſatisfaction (21). Farther, a clerk in Worceſterſhire had debauched a Farmer's daughter, and afterwards murdered her father. The King required, that this man ſhould

(20) Guliel. Cantuar. c. 1. *apud* Hiſtoriam Quadripartitam, *&c.*

(21) Ibid.

defence of thoſe immunities, and would not ſubmit to the leaſt infringement of them. The King, however, reſolving to carry his point, convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter (*n*) [*M*]; but this aſſembly broke up without effect. At length, ſeveral of the Biſhops being gained over by the Court, and the Pope interpoſing in the quarrel, Becket was prevailed on to acquieſce, and to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure (*o*). And, to bind the Clergy more ſtrongly, the King ſummoned a Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon [*N*], where ſeveral laws were enacted, relating to the privileges of the Clergy, called from thence, *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon* (*p*). After the breaking up of this aſſembly, Becket, repenting of his compliance, retired from court; and, by way of penance, ſuſpended himſelf from officiating in the church, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the Pope, then at Sens (*q*). After this, deſpairing of the King's favour [*O*], he endeavoured to make his eſcape beyond ſea; but, before he could reach the coaſt of France, the wind, turning againſt him, drove him back to England (*r*). Some pretend, the ſhip's crew, repenting their taking him on board, and fearing the King's diſpleaſure, tacked about in the middle of the voyage, and brought him back to the Engliſh ſhore (*s*). He immediately repaired to Canterbury, where he found the King's officers plundering his palace; but, upon ſight of the Archbiſhop, they deſiſted. The King, to prevent Becket's farther attempts to convey himſelf into France, ſummoned a Parliament at Northampton, which met in October 1165. Here the Archbiſhop was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King [*P*]; and, his defence not being allowed, he was ſentenced

(*n*) A. D. 1164.

(*o*) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, *apud* Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 492. Gervaſ. Chron. *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1384, 1385.

(*p*) Rog. de Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ubi ſupra*. R. de Dic. p. 689.

(*q*) R. de Hoved. *ibid.* Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1388. M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*r*) M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*s*) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1389.

ſhould be tried in the civil courts. But Archbiſhop Becket, refuſing to comply, ordered the malefactor to be kept in the priſon of the Biſhop of the dioceſe, and not to be put into the hands of the King's Juſtices (22). To give one inſtance more: Another clerk ſtole a ſilver chalice out of a church in London: The King would have had him proſecuted and puniſhed in his own courts; but the Archbiſhop brought him before the eccleſiaſtical court, where he was ſentenced to be degraded, and branded in the face with a hot iron (23). The King, provoked by theſe examples, inſiſted, that when any of the Clergy were apprehended for robbery, murder, felony, or any other high crimes of that nature, they ſhould be tried in the King's courts, and undergo the ſame puniſhment with laymen. On the other hand, the Archbiſhop inſiſted, that when any clerk was charged with any of the crimes above-mentioned, he ought to be tried before eccleſiaſtical Judges in the *Court Chriſtian*. And in caſe he was convicted, he was to ſuffer degradation, and be deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments. And if, after he was thus ſtripped of his character, he happened to relapſe into the former crimes, or broke any of the laws of the realm, he might then be delivered up to the King's juſtice, and receive his trial and puniſhment from the civil magiſtrate (24).

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, p. 492. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601. Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1384, 1385. Matth. Paris, ubi ſupra.

[*M*] *The king convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter.*] In this aſſembly the King demanded, that the Clergy, when they were charged with any capital offence, might receive their trial in the courts of juſtice. But the Archbiſhop not giving his Highneſs ſatisfaction upon this head, the queſtion was put to the Biſhops, Whether, in conſideration of their duty and allegiance to the King, and of the intereſt and peace of the kingdom, they were willing to promiſe a ſubmiſſion to the laws of his grandfather King Henry. To this the Archbiſhop, ſpeaking for himſelf and the reſt, replied, That they were willing to be bound by the antient laws of the kingdom, as far as the privileges of their order would permit (*). The King was highly diſpleaſed with this conditional clauſe, and endeavoured to bring the Biſhops to an abſolute promiſe, without any reſervation whatſoever. But the Archbiſhop would by no means ſubmit; and the reſt of the Biſhops adhered for ſome time to their Primate, excepting Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who, through fear of the King's diſpleaſure, told the King he was ready to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom *bona fide*. But the King would admit of no limitation or abatement of his demands; and ſo the aſſembly was diſmiſſed (25).

(*) *Salvo Ordine ſuo.*

(25) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaſ. Chronic. ibid.

[*N*] *A Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon.*] In this aſſembly Archbiſhop Becket declared, he had gone too far in his late engagement to the King, and that he thought himſelf obliged to retract his ſubmiſſion. The King was exceedingly angry at this receding from his promiſe, and threatened the Archbiſhop and his adherents with the utmoſt ſeverities. To prevent this ſtorm, the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Norwich, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and two Knights Templars, came to the Archbiſhop, and, throwing themſelves at his feet, intreated him not to carry things to extremity for fear of the conſequences; and preſſing him to wait upon the King immediately, and make a publick acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion. The Archbiſhop, over-ruled by the entreaties of theſe great men, waited on the King, and declared, in the preſence of the Clergy and Laity, that he was ready to conform to the antient laws of the kingdom. He likewiſe gave his Suffragans liberty to join in the ſame declaration. Things being thus far adjuſted, the King commanded all the Earls and Barons to withdraw, and prepare a draught of the laws of his grandfather King Henry. This being done, the draught was produced and read to the Biſhops, who, having ſworn implicitly to the obſerving of the King's laws, without enquiring into their contents, were not a little ſhocked at hearing them read. Then the King ordered the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to put their ſeals to the inſtrument. And the reſt being ready to comply, Archbiſhop Becket ſwore he would never put his ſeal, nor give any other marks of his conſent to that draught; alledging, that he was made to believe his promiſe would be conſtrued no farther than ceremony, and the paying the King a public reſpect before the great men of the kingdom. However it was now too late to offer ſuch excuſes, and the Archbiſhop was obliged to ſign and ſeal the inſtrument; one copy of which was lodged in Becket's hands, another with the Archbiſhop of York, and a third among the records of the crown (26).

(26) R. Hoveden, ibid. Gervaſ. ibid. M. Paris, ibid.

[*O*] *He deſpaired of the King's favour.*] Soon after the Convention of Clarendon, Rotro, Archbiſhop of Roan, was diſpatched by the Pope into England, to make up the breach between the King and the Archbiſhop. But the King would by no means conſent to an accommodation, unleſs the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon* were confirmed by the Pope's Bull. This condition being refuſed, the King ſent two of his Chaplains to Pope Alexander, to deſire that Roger, Archbiſhop of York, might be made his Holineſs's Legate for all England. But the Pope, being ſenſible this was intended to reſtrain the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the requeſt. Nevertheleſs, being deſirous to gratify the King, and make up the breach, he propoſed to make the King his Legate for England; but with this *Proviſo*, that his Highneſs ſhould not diſtreſs the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or do any thing to his prejudice. The King's Agents returned with the commiſſion, and Henry would gladly have accepted the Legantine power; but when he found it clogged with the above *Proviſo*, he was highly exaſperated, and ſent back the inſtrument (27).

(27) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1338. R. Hoveden. ubi ſupra, p. 493.

[*P*] *He was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King.*] It ſeems John, the King's Marſhal, had claimed a manor or farm in the Archbiſhop's court, as an eſtate held of the church of Canterbury; and not having juſtice done him, as he pretended, he diſclaimed the Archbiſhop's court; and, having ſworn the failure of juſtice, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, deſigned to remove the cauſe. The Archbiſhop alledged, that John had no reaſon to complain

(t) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

ſentenced [Q] to forfeit all his goods and chattels (*t*). In the next place, a ſuit was commenced againſt him, in the King's name, for five hundred pounds lent him, when he was Chancellor; and an account was demanded from him of the profits of the vacant abbies and biſhoprics, of which he had the cuſtody during his Chancellorſhip (*u*). Under theſe difficulties, he conſulted with the Biſhops, who were divided in their opinions [R]. And now, having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed, and, at laſt, deſerted by his brethren, and all hopes of accommodation at an end [S], he privately

(u) Gervaſ. *ibid.* *col.* 1390. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 494.

complain of hard uſage; and that, when he diſclaimed his court, inſtead of making oath upon the four Goſpels, as the law required, he had ſworn upon a Tropaz, or book of Old Church Hymns. However, John procured the King's writ, by which the Archbiſhop was required to anſwer his complaint in the King's court. The Archbiſhop did not make his appearance at the day, but ſent four gentlemen to the King, with letters from himſelf, and the High-Sheriff of Kent, atteſting the miſinformation of John, and his defect of proof; and alledging ſickneſs in excuſe for his non-appearance. But this defence not being allowed, the Archbiſhop was caſt in the court by the Barons, and moſt of the Biſhops, then preſent, for having failed in his duty and allegiance to the King, in not appearing upon his Highneſs's writ (28).

(28) Gulielm. Cantuar. ubi ſupra, p. 21. Gervaſ. ibid. *col.* 1389.

[Q] *He was ſentenced—*] There was a diſpute between the Biſhops and Barons who ſhould pronounce judgment, each of them endeavouring to excuſe themſelves, and decline the office. The Barons urged, that they were Laymen; that the Spiritual Lords were of the Archbiſhop's order, and that therefore the ſentence was their buſineſs. To which the Biſhops replied, that the ſentence not being eccleſiaſtical, but ſecular, it belonged rather to the Temporal Lords. However, the King, being informed of the diſpute, ordered the Biſhop of Wincheſter to pronounce ſentence which he did, though with great reluctance (29).

(29) Gul. Cant. ibid. p. 23.

[R] *The Biſhops were divided in their opinions.*] Gilbert, Biſhop of London, deſired the Archbiſhop to conſider, 'how much he had been obliged and promoted by the King; that the juncture was croſs and unfavourable; and that if he perſiſted in oppoſing the King, he would not only ruin himſelf, but involve the whole Engliſh Church in the misfortune; whereas his ſubmiſſion might very probably reſtore his affairs, and recover the King's favour.' Then Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter, delivered his opinion, and declared, 'That the meaſures, adviſed by the Biſhop of London, tended to diſable the Biſhops from diſcharging their functions, and were deſtructive of the government of the Church: For, *ſays he*, if our Primate ſets us ſuch a precedent of irreſolution and compliance, if a Biſhop muſt give up his authority, and deſert his charge, at the will and menaces of the Prince, what can we expect but that the government of the Church will be quite unhinged, and every thing managed by the arbitrary direction of the court; and then, as the Scripture ſays, *It ſhall be as with the people, ſo with the prieſt.*' Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who valued himſelf upon his rhetoric, ſpoke next, and told the Archbiſhop, 'That, were not the times unfavourable, and the Church embroiled, he ſhould have been of the opinion laſt delivered: But now, ſince the Canons had not ſtrength to bear up againſt the preſent oppoſition, he conceived a rigid inſiſting upon the authority of the Church was very unſeaſonable, and that receding and giving way was the only proper expedient; that they ought to be governed by the juncture, and yield to the King's demands, leſt, by perſiſting in their non-compliance, they might be forced at laſt to an involuntary and diſhonourable ſubmiſſion.' Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo did Bartholomew, Biſhop of Exeter, who added, 'That, ſince the ſeas ran high, they ought to furl their ſails, rather than periſh in the ſtorm; and that ſince the perſecution was not general, but levelled at a ſingle perſon, it was better that perſon, though their Primate, ſhould ſuffer in ſome meaſure, than that the whole Church of England ſhould be expoſed to inevitable ruin.' Roger, Biſhop of Worceſter, being aſked his opinion, told them, 'he ſhould not venture to give his advice in the caſe: For, *ſays he*, if I ſhould aſſert, that a Prelate ought to deſert his charge for fear of the King's diſpleaſure, and be frightened from doing his duty, I ſhould ſpeak againſt my conſcience, and *my own mouth would condemn me*. But if I ſhould propoſe any method of reſiſting the King's will, I ſhould expoſe myſelf to be informed againſt, to be thrown out of the King's protection, and treated as an Out-law; therefore I ſhall ſuſpend my opinion, and declare on neither ſide.' Nigel, Biſhop of Ely, was ſick of a Palſy, and could not appear. And William, Biſhop of Norwich, ſent to excuſe his abſence; ſaying privately, 'That God had ſent the Biſhop of Ely a very happy excuſe, and that he could have wiſhed himſelf ſcreened under the ſame misfortune (30).'

(30) Gervaſ. ibid. *col.* 1390, 1391.

[S] *Having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed, and at laſt deſerted, by the Biſhops, and all hopes of accommodation at an end*, &c.] The day before he was to give in his anſwer to the charges brought againſt him, the greateſt part of the Biſhops came to him, and intreated him for the ſake of the Church, and his own ſecurity, to moderate his terms, and reſign to the King's pleaſure, otherwiſe he muſt expect to be ſentenced as a Traytor, for failing in his allegiance to his Sovereign, and breaking the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom which he had ſworn to keep. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, 'That he owned himſelf inexcuſable before God Almighty for taking ſo unlawful an oath; but ſince it was better to retract a promiſe, though never ſo ſolemnly made, than to periſh by keeping it, he was reſolved to diſengage himſelf, and not incur a freſh guilt by the performance. I enjoin you therefore, *ſays he*, to follow me in my refuſal, and not to encourage thoſe proceedings which are inconſiſtent with the good government of the Church. To ſpeak freely, it is ſcandalous in you, not only to deſert me under theſe difficulties, but to join with the court, as you have lately done, and ſit in judgment upon your ſpiritual father and Archbiſhop. I charge you, upon your Canonical Obedience, to deſiſt from theſe practices; and, as for myſelf, I appeal for juſtice to the See of Rome (31).' The Biſhops, finding Becket inflexible, left him, and went to the King. The Archbiſhop likewiſe, after he had officiated at divine ſervice, came to court, with his croſs in his hand, and ſat by himſelf in an anti-chamber, all the Biſhops and Temporal Barons being called in to the King. The Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Hereford, came to him, and adviſed him to deliver the croſs. They told him, his carrying it himſelf would be conſtrued an act of defiance; and that, unleſs he deſiſted, he would find the King's weapons much ſharper than his own. Becket anſwered, That the King's inſtruments of puniſhment could only deſtroy the body; but the ſpiritual ſword, if not avoided, would give a more fatal ſtroke, and ſend a man's ſoul to Hell (32).' The Biſhops reported this anſwer to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with Becket's appealing to the Pope, and ſent the Earls and Barons to him, to put him in mind of his oath at Clarendon, by which he had engaged to obſerve the cuſtoms of the realm, and ſubmit to the Royal prerogative. But the Archbiſhop perſiſting in his appeal to the Pope, the King preſſed the Biſhops to join with the Barons, and proceed to ſentence againſt him. The Prelates excuſed themſelves, alledging the prohibition they had lately received from their Primate, who would not fail to excommunicate them for their diſobedience. The King urged their allegiance to the Crown, and their oath at Clarendon, which Becket's prohibition ought not to overrule. Upon this they repaired again to the Archbiſhop, and repreſented to him the obligations they lay under by the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, one of which was, that the Biſhops ſhould be preſent at all trials of the great men, till the court came to pronounce ſentence for the taking away life or limb. The Archbiſhop replied, That nothing which was promiſed at Clarendon ought to be wreſted to the prejudice of the Church; and that if the contents of their oath were

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Guliel. Cant. ubi ſupra, p. 26. R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 495.

repugnant

vately withdrew from Northampton, and travelled to Lincoln, diſguiſed, and attended only by two ſervants; and, after a great deal of fatigue [T], he reached the coaſt, and, getting on board a veſſel, arrived a Graveline in Holland; and from thence retired to the monaſtery of St Bertin in Flanders (w). The King immediately confiſcated the revenues of the archbiſhopric (x), and, at the ſame time, ſent embaſſies to the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to prevail with thoſe Princes not to afford Becket ſhelter in their dominions. But, not ſucceeding at the French court [U], Henry ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope [W], deſiring his Holineſs would ſend Legates into England, to accommodate matters

(w) Gervaſ. *ib.* & *col.* 1393. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 495. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 102. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(x) Baron. Annal. Tom. XII. §. 33. *an.* 1164.

repugnant to the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of God, it ought not to be kept. He told them, a Chriſtian King, who had ſworn to maintain the liberties of the Engliſh Church, could have no prerogative inconſiſtent with that engagement. And, as to themſelves, if they had gone too far in their compliance at Clarendon, they ought not to perſiſt in their miſtake, and plead one fault in excuſe of another; but ſhould rather recollect themſelves, and courageouſly endeavour to recover the ground they had loſt (33). Upon this the Biſhops came to a reſolution not to ſit in judgment upon the Archbiſhop. Nevertheleſs, to give the King ſome ſatisfaction, they promiſed to proſecute him in the court of Rome, and to get him depoſed. And going in a body to the Archbiſhop, they told him, they had hitherto acknowledged and obeyed him as their Primate, but that, ſince he had ſo groſsly failed in his duty to the King, and broke the laws he had ſworn to obſerve, they could no longer conſider him under that character; that they diſclaimed his authority, and put themſelves and their churches under the protection of the Pope, before whom they cited him to appear, to anſwer the charge they intended to bring againſt him (34). When the Biſhops had made this remonſtrance they withdrew, and ſat by themſelves, and the King ordered the Temporal Lords to proceed to ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop. The Earl of Leiceſter having enlarged upon the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and charged the Archbiſhop with high-treaſon in breaking them, was preparing, in the name of the reſt, to pronounce ſentence, when Becket roſe up, and told them they were Laymen, and had no authority to ſit in judgment upon their Archbiſhop. He charged the Earl of Leiceſter therefore not to be ſo hardy as to pronounce ſentence againſt his ſpiritual father. He declared he had appealed to an higher court, which was enough to bar their proceedings, ſuppoſing he had been otherwiſe within their juriſdiction. Upon this, without ſtaying for their ſentence, he walked out of the court, and being purſued with reproaches of perjury and treaſon, he turned back, and with a ſtern look replied, That, were it not for the reſtraints of his character, and the regards of Religion, he ſhould be ready to diſprove the calumny, and defend his honour with his ſword. The King, being informed of his going away, ordered proclamation to be made, that no man ſhould outrage him or his retinue with ill language, or give him any diſturbance (35).

(33) Gul. Cant. ib. p. 27—31.

(34) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1321.

(35) Id. ib. *col.* 1393. Gul. Cant. ibid. p. 32.

[T] *After a great deal of fatigue*, &c.] He travelled all the way to Lincoln on foot, and from thence by water to a little ſolitary iſland, where he reſted three days. From thence he bent his courſe eaſtward, in order to gain ſome port, where he might take ſhipping. After travelling eight days, he arrived at a ſmall town dependent on the church of Canterbury, where his extreme wearineſs obliged him to ſtop for ſome time, lying concealed in a chamber belonging to an Eccleſiaſtic, to whom he diſcovered himſelf. Upon his arrival in Flanders, not being willing to make himſelf known, he travelled on foot through very rough ways, and in a very rainy ſeaſon, 'till his ſtrength being quite ſpent, he fell to the ground, and could walk no farther. His few attendants, with ſome difficulty, procured him a very bad horſe, without bridle or ſaddle, upon which they laid their cloaks. In this equipage he was met by ſome ſoldiers, who, having heard of his flight, aſked him, If he was not the Archbiſhop of Canterbury? He replied, with great preſence of mind, This is not the equipage of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Upon which they let him paſs. At Graveline, the inn-keeper where he lodged, having likewiſe heard that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was fled from Northampton, and conſidering the manners and behaviour of his gueſt, fancied this muſt be he, and with this perſuaſion threw himſelf at his feet, and entreated his bleſſing. Becket, being ſatisfied of this man's ſincerity, diſcovered himſelf to him without reſerve, and was entertained with great reſpect and civility by him. From Graveline he continued his journey to St Omer, and there retired to the Monaſtery of St Bertin, where Godeſcal the Abbot and the Monks received him very affectionately (36).

(36) Hiſt. Quadripart. l. ii. c. 1.

[U] *Henry, not ſucceeding at the French court*, &c.] The King's Embaſſadors were, Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London, and William, Earl of Arundel. When they opened their commiſſion, the French King, hearing Becket ſtiled the *late* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeemed to be ſhocked, and aſked, Who had deprived him? 'I am a King, *ſays he*, no leſs than your maſter, 'and yet I have no authority to deprive the leaſt clerk 'in my dominions.' In ſhort, the more earneſt the Engliſh were to get the Archbiſhop driven out of France, the more Lewis ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe. To this purpoſe he ſent his Almoner to Pope Alexander, then at Sens, to requeſt his Holineſs, that if he had any regard for the honour of the Roman Church, or the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of France, he would give all the countenance poſſible to Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and protect him againſt the tyrant of England (37). The King of France ſeems to have had a political view in protecting Thomas Becket. He was in hopes this quarrel between the King and the Archbiſhop would ſo embarraſs the publick affairs of England, that France might reap ſome conſiderable advantage thereby.

(37) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 495, 496. Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1394.

[W] *The King ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope*] The Embaſſadors were, Roger Archbiſhop of York, Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, Gilbert Biſhop of London, Hilary Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Bartholomew Biſhop of Exeter; Guido Rufus, Richard Iveceſtre, and John of Oxford, Clerks; William Earl of Arundel, Hugo de Gundevil, Bernard de St Valerie, and Henry Fitz-Gerald, with ſome others. They found the Pope and Cardinals at Sens in Champaigne. Being admitted to an audience, the Biſhops of London and Chicheſter opened the charge againſt Archbiſhop Becket with great vehemence and aggravation. They repreſented to his Holineſs, that Becket had quarrelled with the King, his maſter, upon the moſt trifling occaſion: That he was a perſon of too much heat, obſtinacy, and ſingularity, and would make no allowances for the diſadvantage of the times: That his proceedings were ſo indefenſible and dangerous, they were forced to break with him: That, in order to blemiſh the reputation of the King, and of his brethren the Biſhops, he had pretended danger when there was none, and withdrawn unneceſſarily out of the kingdom. This ſpeech was ſeconded by the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Exeter. The Earl of Arundel, though he was not ſcholar enough to underſtand what the Biſhops had ſaid in Latin, yet perceiving, by the countenances of the Pope and Cardinals, that their rugged manner was not reliſhed, delivered himſelf in Engliſh with more ſmoothneſs and addreſs. He acknowledged his Holineſs's ſupremacy in the fulleſt manner; he put him in mind of the favours he had received from his maſter, and how firm he continued to his intereſt. As to Becket, he owned him to be a perſon of great abilities, and highly qualified for his ſtation; but that he was, in the opinion of many, thought to inſiſt a little too much upon niceties. He intreated his Holineſs therefore to take this matter into his conſideration, and pitch upon ſome expedient to put an end to this unhappy miſunderſtanding. The moderation of the Earl's harangue was very much applauded; and the Pope told him, that ſince they deſired his Legates might decide the matter, he would take care to ſend them. The Biſhop of London demanded of his Holineſs with what powers the Legates were to be furniſhed? The Pope replied, He would give

matters between his Highneſs and the Archbiſhop (*y*). In the mean time, Becket came from St Bertin to Soiſſons, where the King of France paid him a viſit, and offered him protection, and a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity. But the Archbiſhop declined the latter part of the offer, and ſoon after repaired to Sens, where he was honourably received by the Pope; into whoſe hands, at a private audience, he reſigned the archbiſhopric of Canterbury [*X*]; but was preſently reſtored to his character by the Pope, who promiſed to take care of him and his intereſt. From Sens the Archbiſhop removed to Pontigny, an abbey in Normandy; where he reſided almoſt two years, ſpending his time in religious exerciſes (*z*). From hence he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to King Henry [*Y*], then at Chinon in Touraine; and another to his Suffragans, the Biſhops of England [*Z*], acquainting them, that the Pope had annulled the Conſtitutions of Clarendon,

(*y*) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1394. & Act Pontif. *col.* 1671. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 496. M. Paris, *ib.* p. p. 403. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 690.

(*z*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ib. col.* 1397, 1398. M. Paris, *ib.* R. Hoved. *ib.*

give them a ſufficient latitude in their inſtructions. But, ſaid the Biſhop of London, we deſire they may be empowered to decide the matter without farther appeal. The Pope anſwered, *That privilege is my glory, which I will not give to another.* His Holineſs likewiſe told the Ambaſſadors he expected the Archbiſhop in a few days, and deſired they would wait his arrival: But the time ſet them by the King being expired, they took their leave, and returned to England (38).

(38) Gervaſ. ibid.

[*X*] *He reſigned the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope.*] He pretended his election was not canonical, and that his ſtrength was not proportioned to the difficulty of the charge; upon which he took off his ring, and gave it to the Pope. Then the Archbiſhop withdrew, and left the Pope and Cardinals to conſult upon the point. Some of the Cardinals were pleaſed with the reſignation, and ſaid they had now a fair opportunity of giving the King of England ſatisfaction, by putting a more acceptable perſon into the Church of Canterbury; and as for Becket, it would be no difficult matter to make proviſion for him another way. But the majority were of a quite different ſentiment. They argued, that Becket had ventured his life and fortunes in defence of the ſpiritual authority, and that, if the Archbiſhop ſunk in the conteſt, the reſt of the Biſhops of the Catholic Church would ſink with him, and the Pope's power dwindle and be loſt; it was therefore neceſſary to reſtore this Prelate to his poſt, and to ſtand by him, who had entered the liſts in behalf of the whole Church (39).

(39) Gervaſ. ibid. col. 1397, 1398.

[*Y*] *He wrote a letter to King Henry.*] In the beginning of this letter he puts the King in mind, 'How 'faithfully he had ſerved him in his Chancellorſhip; 'that he looked upon his Highneſs in a double capa'city, both as his Sovereign and his ſpiritual Son; 'that, as his Sovereign, he was obliged to pay him a 'profound regard, and offer him his beſt advice; and 'as he was his ſpiritual Son, that relation obliged him 'to the exerciſe of diſcipline, when occaſion required.' Afterwards he proceeds to ſuggeſt, 'That the Church 'of God conſiſts of two orders, the Clergy and the 'Laity; that the government of the Church is in'truſted with the firſt, and the management of ſecular 'affairs with the latter. Now ſince 'tis certain, *ſays 'the Archbiſhop*, that Kings receive their authority 'from the Church, and not the Church her's from 'them, but from our Saviour; for this reaſon your 'Highneſs ought not to direct the cenſures of the 'Church, to ſubject the Clergy to the ſecular courts, 'or to take cognizance of any eccleſiaſtical matters 'whatever.' After citing ſome texts of Scripture againſt *unrighteous laws*, and *oppreſſing the poor in judgment*, he goes on, and deſires the King 'to hearken to 'the advice of his liege ſubject, the admonition of his 'Biſhop, and the correction of his ſpiritual father. It 'is well known, *ſays he*, with what regard you have 'treated the Pope, and what ſuitable returns his Holi'neſs has made your Highneſs. I entreat you there'fore, as you tender the intereſt of your own ſoul, not 'to leſſen the privileges of the Church of Rome, but 'permit her the ſame liberty in your kingdoms which 'ſhe enjoys in other parts of Chriſtendom; and that 'your Highneſs would remember the ſolemn promiſe 'you made, and the oath you took at your coronation 'to protect the Church of God in all her rights and 'privileges. I farther intreat your Highneſs to reſtore 'the Church of Canterbury to the condition it was in 'under your predeceſſors and mine; that you would 'return the towns, caſtles, and lordſhips, belonging to 'the Church, which you have ſeized and diſpoſed of, 'and all other effects and eſtates, taken either from 'my Clerks, or the Laity, my tenants; and that you 'would permit me to return with ſafety and freedom 'to my See; which if you pleaſe to grant, you ſhall 'find me ready to ſerve you with all imaginable re'gard, fidelity, and affection, ſaving the duty I owe to 'God Almighty, the reſpect due to the Church of 'Rome, and the privileges of my order: But if your 'Highneſs ſhall think fit to refuſe this my requeſt, you 'will certainly feel the ſad conſequences of ſuch a reſo'lution, and draw down the divine vengeance upon 'your head (40).'

(40) R. Hoved. ib.

[*Z*] *He wrote a letter to his Suffragans the Biſhops of England.*] He begins his complaint againſt them in the language of the Scripture: 'Why do you not, 'ſays he, my beloved brethren, *riſe up with me againſt 'the wicked, and take my part againſt the evil doers?* 'Do ye not know, that God will deſtroy thoſe who 'ſeek to pleaſe men, and make flattery and intereſt 'their buſineſs? *They ſhall be confounded, becauſe God 'hath deſpiſed them.* Your wiſdoms muſt needs be 'ſenſible, that not to oppoſe error is to approve it; 'and that truth, by not being defended, is betrayed. 'This being conſidered, we are no longer juſtifiable in 'our forbearance towards the King, neither is this paſ'ſive temper of any ſervice to the Church of God. 'I look upon it therefore as a dangerous thing to let 'diſcipline ſleep any longer, and to ſuffer the Church 'of God and the Clergy to be ſo exceedingly haraſſed 'by the King without cenſure and animadverſion, 'eſpecially ſince I have frequently endeavoured by 'letters, meſſages, and all other methods imaginable, 'to bring his Highneſs to a better diſpoſition. And 'ſince all my advice and remonſtrances have proved 'ineffectual, I have been forced upon a farther re'medy, and, after imploring the divine aſſiſtance, 'have publickly condemned and annulled thoſe un'righteous *cuſtoms*, which have ſo miſerably embroiled 'and waſted the Church. We have likewiſe excom'municated all thoſe who obſerve or defend them. 'And as to you Biſhops, who have ſo unfortunately 'entered into engagements prejudicial to the Church, 'we have, by the divine authority committed to us, 'abſolved you from the obligation. Who can make 'the leaſt doubt, that Biſhops, commiſſioned by our 'Saviour, ought to be looked upon as the inſtructors 'and fathers of Kings and Princes, no leſs than of the 'reſt of the faithful? Is it not ſtrange then, that the 'ſon ſhould attempt to invert this relation, and to 'force his father under unreaſonable engagements; 'notwithſtanding he believes, at the ſame time, that 'this ſpiritual parent has an authority which will reach, 'him both in this world and the other? That we 'may not therefore involve ourſelves in the guilt of 'theſe practices, we have declared againſt the autho'rity of thoſe unreaſonable *Conſtitutions*, and annulled 'the *articles*, eſpecially theſe following: *That there 'ſhall be no appeals made to the Apoſtolic See without 'leave from the King: That it ſhall not be lawful for 'any Archbiſhop or Biſhop to depart the Kingdom, and 'attend the Pope upon his ſummons without the King's 'licence: That it ſhall not be lawful for any Biſhop 'to excommunicate any perſon who holds of the King* in capite, *or put any of his miniſters under an interdict, 'without leave from the King: That no Biſhop ſhall 'call any perſon to account for perjury, or breach of 'promiſe: That Clerks ſhall be obliged to make their 'appearance in ſecular courts on proſecution: That the 'Laity ſhall have cognizance concerning pleas of tythes, 'and other eccleſiaſtical matters.*' The Archbiſhop proceeds to acquaint the Prelates, that he had excommunicated John of Oxford for uſurping the Deanry of Saliſbury, contrary to his and the Pope's Mandate; alſo Richard de Iveceſtre for adhering to the Anti-pope,

(a) R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 498, 499. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 105. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(b) *See the remark* [Z].

(c) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

Clarendon, and releaſed them from their obligation to obſerve them (*a*). From hence likewiſe he iſſued out excommunications againſt various perſons, who had oppoſed, or violated, the rights of the Church (*b*). Theſe letters and excommunications proved of no ſervice to his intereſt, but rather tended to exaſperate men's minds againſt him. The King eſpecially was ſo provoked at Becket's excommunicating ſeveral of his great officers and immediate attendants, that he proceeded ſo far, as to baniſh, with circumſtances of cruelty, all the Archbiſhop's relations (*c*) [*AA*]. He wrote likewiſe to the General Chapter of the Ciſtertians, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at their entertaining Becket, and threatening to ſeize all their eſtates in his dominions, unleſs they drove him from the abbey of Pontigny. Whereupon the Archbiſhop retired to Sens, and from thence, upon the King of France's recommendation, to the abbey of St Columba, where he was entertained four years (*d*). In the mean time, the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury, juſtly dreading the ill conſequences of this diſpute to the peace and welfare of the Church, wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop [*BB*], acquainting him with their ſentiments concerning his conduct; to which Becket returned an anſwer (*e*) [*CC*]. Matters ſtanding thus, Pope Alexander ſent two Cardinals,

(d) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ib.* col. 1400. R. Hoved. *ib.* M. Paris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 105.

(e) R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 500. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 106.

againſt Alexander III; likewiſe Richard de Lucy, and Joſelin de Baliol, for being concerned in drawing up the *Conſtitutions* of *Clarendon*; and Ralph de Brock, Hugo de St Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, for making ſeizure of the revenues of the Church of Canterbury. After which he concludes thus: 'As to the 'perſon of our Sovereign Lord the King, we have 'hitherto forborn to exert any cenſure, hoping that 'time and the Grace of God might bring him to re-'collection; though unleſs he quickly retrieves this 'wrong ſtep, we ſhall be forced to make uſe of our 'authority againſt him (41).'

(41) Id. ib. p. 498, 499.

[*AA*] *The King baniſhed — all the Archbiſhop's relations.*] He ſpared neither age nor ſex; for children in the cradle, and women in childbed, were involved in the ſentence, and driven beyond ſea. And, to aggravate the rigour of the puniſhment, theſe unfortunate exiles were compelled to take an oath, that they would travel directly to Pontigny, and ſhew themſelves to the Archbiſhop. An order likewiſe was publiſhed in England, forbidding all perſons to correſpond with him by letters, ſending him any money, or ſo much as praying for him in the churches (42).

(42) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra.

[*BB*] *The Biſhops of the province of Canterbury — wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop.*] They acquainted him, they were in hopes he would have abated ſomewhat of his obſtinacy. 'We were much 'pleaſed, *ſay they*, with the manner of your living 'beyond ſea: 'Twas reported, there was no appear-'ance of ambition about you; that you had embraced 'a voluntary poverty, ſpending your time in reading 'and prayer, and other ſpiritual exerciſes. This con-'duct, we hoped, might open a way to a reconcilia-'tion between the King and you. But now we un-'derſtand, that you have threatened his Highneſs with 'the cenſures of the Church; which is the ready 'way to widen the breach, and render an acommo-'dation impracticable. We therefore intreat you to 'alter your conduct, and not multiply provocations; 'to give over menaces, and try the effects of patience 'and humility; to commit your cauſe to God, and 'throw yourſelf upon the King's clemency. This is 'the moſt likely means to revive charity and good hu-'mour, and bring thoſe you have diſobliged to a more 'placable temper; whereas your preſent behaviour 'tends only to inflame and exaſperate, and lays you 'under the imputation of ingratitude. For it is well 'known, how bountiful a patron the King has been 'to you, and from how ſlender a beginning he has 'raiſed you to the higheſt dignity. So great a fa-'vourite you was during your being Chancellor, that 'you was courted by the King's ſubjects from one end 'of his dominions to the other, and it was thought 'preferment but to pleaſe you. And leaſt a ſecular 'employment ſhould too much endanger your virtue, 'the King was willing to put you in a ſafer poſt: But 'this was only a tranſplanting from one rich ſoil to an-'other, and removing you from an eminence in the 'State, to the higheſt ſtation in the Church. To this 'poſt the King preferred you, notwithſtanding the 'Empreſs his mother, the Nobility, and Clergy, en-'deavoured to diſſuade him from it. But his Highneſs 'promiſed himſelf great things from your promotion, 'and that you would prove a conſiderable ſupport to 'his government; if therefore you diſappoint the 'King's expectations, and prove ungrateful to his 'bounty, how muſt your reputation ſuffer in the opi-'nion of the world?' From hence they proceed to ſuggeſt, that his obſtinacy might endanger Pope Alexander's authority, and withdraw the King from his communion: That the King, in referring the difference to the Engliſh Church, had made a fair overture; and that to proceed to interdicts and excommunications, after ſuch an offer, was againſt all equity, and all law eccleſiaſtical and civil. 'Now to prevent, *ſay they*, 'exerting your authority againſt the King and king-'dom, to the diſturbance of our dioceſes, and the pre-'judice and diſgrace of the Holy Roman Church; 'and to make your own confuſion the greater; we 'appeal once more to the Pope; and we give you 'notice to be ready on Aſcenſion-day next enſuing '(43).'

(43) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 509.

[*CC*] *The Archbiſhop's anſwer.*] He tells the Biſhops, 'How much he was ſurprized at the contents 'of their letter, which, conſidering the unfriendly 'and ſatirical ſtyle in which it was written, he could 'ſcarce believe was dictated by general conſent.' He was amazed, 'They ſhould treat him with ſuch 'roughneſs and diſaffection, ſince he had expoſed him-'ſelf to ſo many hardſhips upon their account.' He adviſes them, 'To fear God rather than man, and to 'ſacrifice their lives, if need be, for the intereſt of 'the Church;' telling them, that, 'In the cauſe of 'God, they ought not to be afraid of perſecution or 'diſpleaſure from the court.' He cautions them, 'Not to confound the notions of Church and State, 'but to conſider, that the powers of theſe two ſo-'cieties were diſtinct from each other.' He inſiſts upon the vindication of 'his conduct in England,' and challenges them to prove 'the leaſt inſtance of op-'preſſion at his hands.' He ſets forth with great vehemency, 'the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed on him 'at Northampton; how he was ſtript of all his re-'venues, and perſecuted in his friends and relations.' He treats their 'reproaching him with ingratitude,' and, 'that he was promoted to the See of Canter-'bury purely by the Royal favour, and againſt the in-'clination of the whole kingdom,' as a direct calumny, and challenges them 'to name but ſo much as one 'perſon that declared his diſlike at his election.' As to their 'upbraiding him with the meanneſs of his 'birth and original ſtation;' he replies, 'it was true, 'he was not deſcended from a long line of Princes; 'but that of the two, he had rather work out his own 'diſtinction, and derive his quality from virtue and 'merit, than be the degenerate iſſue of an illuſtrious 'family.' As to the charge of ingratitude, he tells them, 'the freedom he had taken with the King, in 'remonſtrating againſt his late proceedings, was no 'failure of reſpect, but rather a ſervice to his Prince,' and, 'that he muſt have anſwered for the King's miſ-'carriages, if he had been ſilent.' He adds, that 'in caſe he ſhould be forced to make uſe of his autho-'rity farther, and come to the laſt extremity, the 'King could have no reaſon to complain, having al-'ready had ſufficient admonition and warning of his 'errors.' As to the danger they ſuggeſt of 'the 'King's withdrawing himſelf and his ſubjects from the 'communion of the See of Rome,' he hopes, 'his 'Highneſs will never apply to ſo unhappy an expe-'dient.' He tells them, 'the bare mention of ſuch 'a thought carries infection with it, and may do diſ-'ſervice to the people.' As to what they urged, that, 'the King was willing to remit the difference on

Cardinals, William and Otho, into France, to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop [*DD*]; but theſe Legates, finding both parties inflexible, gave over the attempt, and returned to Rome (*f*). The beginning of the year 1157, Becket was prevailed upon, by the Pope's agents, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to make a ſubmiſſion to the King of England, at an interview between that Monarch and the King of France, at Mount Miral in Champaigne; but, at the ſame time, his obſtinacy, in refuſing to do it without any reſerve, rendered it ineffectual, and the breach continued as wide as ever (*g*) [*EE*]. By this behaviour the Archbiſhop ruined all his intereſt both with the Engliſh and French Nobility; and the King of France immediately made him ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, by withdrawing from him his penſion. But he ſoon recovered that Monarch's favour (*b*) [*FF*]. And now Becket proceeding in his cenſures, the Pope, at the inſtance of King Henry, diſpatched two other Legates to the Engliſh court, with letters to the King [*GG*] full of complaiſance and reſpect (*i*). But this expedient failed likewiſe of ſucceſs [*HH*], thro' the jealouſy of the Legates (*k*). Things continued in this poſture till the

(*f*) Gervaſ. *ibid.* R. Hoved, *ibid.* p. 516. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 111. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*g*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ibid. col.* 1405, 1406.

(*b*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(*i*) R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 525. M. Paris, *ibid.*

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. &c. Tom. I. p. 28. M. Paris, *ibid.*

'foot to the arbitration of the Engliſh Church,' he replies, 'in the firſt place, the Biſhops had declared too 'much partiality againſt him, to be fit judges; and 'beſides, he never read, that inferiors had any autho'rity over their ſuperiors, or Suffragans any right to 'be judges of their Metropolitans.' Towards the cloſe of the letter, he makes a kind of application to the King, 'intreating him not think reformation any 'diſadvantage to, or repentance any diminution of, 'the Royal dignity.' Laſtly, he deſires his Suffragans to pray for him, 'that his conſtancy may not ſink 'under his afflictions, but that he may ſay, with the 'Apoſtle, that *neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor 'principalities, nor any other creature, ſhall be able 'to ſeparate him from the love of God* (44).'

(44) Hiſtor. Quadripart. l. v.

[*DD*] *The Pope ſent two Cardinals —— to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop*] They had a conference with the Archbiſhop near Giſors; from whence they repaired to the King of England, whom they found reſolved not to make any farther propoſals. King Henry complained to the Legates, that all the miſeries and confuſions of the war were occaſioned by Becket, who, he ſaid, had ſtirred up the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to attack him. But, when the Legates came to the King of France, that Prince cleared Becket of this imputation, and declared, he had always adviſed peace (45). Becket himſelf has given us an account of what paſſed at the conference between him and the Pope's Legates, in a letter addreſſed to his Holineſs upon that occaſion (46); to which the reader is referred.

(45) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1402.

(46) Baron. Annal. *an.* 1168. n. 39.

[*EE*] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the King of England —— nevertheleſs the breach continued as wide as ever.*] A rumour had been ſpread, that the King intended to undertake the Cruſade, provided the affairs of the Church were ſettled to his ſatisfaction. The proſpect of this expedition made the Pope preſs an accommodation, and the Archbiſhop not unwilling to comply. When he came, therefore, into the preſence, he threw himſelf at the King's feet, and was immediately raiſed by his Highneſs. He behaved himſelf in his addreſs with great ſubmiſſion, intreated the King's favour to the Church of England, and attributed the paſt diſturbances to his own miſ-conduct. In the concluſion he made the King the umpire of the difference between them, *ſaving the honour of God.* The King of England was enraged at this clauſe of reſervation, and ſaid to the King of France, that whatever Becket did not reliſh, he would be ſure to pronounce contrary to the honour of God. 'How'ever, *added the King*, to ſhew my inclination to 'accommodate matters, I will make him this propo'ſition: I have had many predeceſſors, Kings of 'England, ſome greater, and ſome inferior to myſelf; 'there have been likewiſe many great and holy men 'in the See of Canterbury. Let Becket, therefore, 'but pay me the ſame regard, and own my authority 'ſo far, as the greateſt of his predeceſſors owned that 'of the leaſt of mine, and I am ſatisfied. And, as I 'never forced him out of England, I give him leave to 'return at his pleaſure; and am willing he ſhould en'joy his archbiſhopric, with as ample privileges as any 'of his predeceſſors.' Upon this, the whole audience declared aloud, that the King had gone far enough in his condeſcenſions. And the King of France, being ſomewhat ſurprized at the Archbiſhop's ſilence, aſked him, why he heſitated to accept ſuch honourable conditions of peace? The Archbiſhop replied, he was willing to receive his See upon the terms his predeceſſors held it: But as for thoſe cuſtoms, which broke in upon the canons, he could not admit them. When thoſe who endeavoured to compoſe the difference, perceived things tending to a rupture, they pulled the Archbiſhop out of the preſence, and preſſed him to ſubmit to the King's terms. But he, looking upon this as a betraying the cauſe of religion, rejected their advice. And thus the meeting broke up without effect (47).

(47) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1405, 1406.

[*FF*] *He ſoon recovered the King of France's favour.*] When Becket found himſelf deſtitute of the means of ſupporting himſelf and his family, he reſolved to diſmiſs his retinue, and go a begging. But, before he could put this fancy in practice, the King of France unexpectedly ſent for him. The Archbiſhop thought, the buſineſs was to baniſh him the kingdom; in which opinion he was farther confirmed by the manner of his reception. For the King appeared diſturbed, and he did not riſe to him, according to cuſtom. But, after a conſiderable ſilence, the King of France roſe up haſtily, burſt into tears, and throwing himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, accoſted him with theſe words: 'My Lord, you are the only diſcerning perſon; no 'body's eyes have been open upon this occaſion, but 'your's. As for us, who adviſed you to wave the 'mention of *God's honour*, to humour a mortal man, 'we were all no better than ſtark blind. Father, I 'am ſorry for what I have done: I intreat your par'don, and that you would abſolve me for my miſ'behaviour: And as for my perſon and kingdom they 'are both at your ſervice (48).' Whether the King of France repented of his behaviour towards Becket from a religious motive, or pretended to do ſo thro' policy, and for reaſons of ſtate, is not eaſily determined. However, the Archbiſhop was handſomly accommodated at Sens, and fared the better for the different intereſts of the French and Engliſh courts (49).

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Ibid.

[*GG*] *The Pope's letter to King Henry.*] Amongſt other things, he acquaints the King, that he had furniſhed the Legates with full power to ſettle the matters in diſpute between his highneſs and the Archbiſhop, and to determine any other difference, which ſhould happen to ariſe. He informs the King farther, that he had reſtrained the Archbiſhop from exerciſing his authority to the diſadvantage either of his Highneſs, or any of his miniſters. And in caſe the Archbiſhop ſhould pronounce any cenſure againſt the King or kingdom, his Holineſs declares the ſentence null and void. And, if neceſſity required, the King had the liberty of publiſhing the Pope's letter; otherwiſe he was earneſtly deſired to keep it ſecret And, to give farther ſatisfaction, he orders the Legates to abſolve thoſe of the King's council and court, who lay under excommunication (50). Pope Alexander ſeems to have been apprehenſive, leaſt the King ſhould break off from the communion of the Roman Church, or at leaſt declare for the Anti-Pope, ſupported by the Emperor.

(50) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 525.

[*HH*] *This expedient failed of ſucceſs*] The Legates were, Gratian, the late Pope's nephew; and Vivian, an Advocate in the Court of Rome. Theſe men quickly agreed, as it was thought, the difference between the King and the Archbiſhop; the King conſenting that Becket might return into England, and enjoy the revenues and juriſdiction of his See, *ſaving the honour of the crown.* The Engliſh court being now in France, Vivian had orders to go into England, to abſolve thoſe who were excommunicated; and Gratian was to uſe his intereſt with Archbiſhop Becket, to finiſh the agreement. But the King having occaſion to remove

the year 1169, when endeavours were again uſed to accommodate matters, at a ſecond interview between the Kings of England and France; but to no purpoſe, the Archbiſhop refuſing to comply, becauſe Henry perſiſted in denying him the *kiſs of peace* [*II*]. After this, Henry, fearing leſt Becket ſhould procure an interdict to be laid upon his dominions, ordered all his Engliſh ſubjects, above fifteen years of age, to take an oath, by which they renounced the authority of Archbiſhop Becket and Pope Alexander; but, tho' moſt of the Laity complied with this teſt of their loyalty, few or none of the Clergy could be induced to ſubſcribe it (*l*). The next year, King Henry being returned into England, and having cauſed his ſon Prince Henry to be crowned at Weſtminſter, (where the ceremony was performed by Roger, Archbiſhop of York, without any proteſtation made to ſave the privilege of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whoſe See that office of right belonged;) Becket complained of this injury done him to the Pope, who ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the Biſhops that aſſiſted him, and lodged the inſtruments of theſe cenſures in Becket's hands (*m*). This year (1170), an accommodation was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket [*KK*], upon the confines of Maine in Normandy; where the Archbiſhop (whether thro' pride or inadvertency) ſuffered the King to hold his horſe's bridle, while he mounted and diſmounted twice. After which, having taken leave of the French court, he prepared to return into England, accompanied by John, Dean of Saliſbury (*n*). But the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops, endeavoured to prevent his landing [*LL*]. He was received with great acclamations at Canterbury; where almoſt as ſoon as he arrived, he received an order from the young King, commanding him to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops. But Becket refuſing to comply [*MM*], the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Saliſbury, immediately carried their complaint to the old King in Normandy; who was ſo highly exaſperated at this freſh inſtance of obſtinacy and diſloyalty in Becket, that he could not forbear exclaiming, with great warmth, that, 'He was an unhappy Prince, who maintained a great number of lazy, 'inſignificant perſons about him, none of whom had gratitude or ſpirit enough to revenge 'him on a ſingle, inſolent Prelate, who gave him ſo much diſturbance.' Theſe words were heard by four gentlemen of the court, who immediately formed a deſign againſt the Archbiſhop's life; which they executed with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*o*) [*NN*]. This eminent Prelate was murdered (or martyred) on the twenty-ninth

(*l*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1408. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*m*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 121, 122. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672.

(*n*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1412. R. Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*o*) Gervaſ. *ibid.* 1414, 1415. & Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672, 1673. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 123, 124. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 691.

move the next morning, the Legates began to ſuſpect there might be a ſiniſter meaning in the *ſaving clauſe*, and therefore refuſed to ſtand to the articles. Upon this, the King ſent an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope; in which, having related the above-mentioned circumſtances, he tells his Holineſs, that, if he continued his partialities to Archbiſhop Becket, and did not reſtrain him from diſturbing the kingdom with his excommunications, he ſhould deſpair of juſtice from the See of Rome, and be forced to take other meaſures for the ſecurity and peace of his crown and dominions (51).

(51) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Tom. I. p. 28.

[*II*] *The Archbiſhop refuſed to comply, for being denied the* kiſs of peace.] The King had condeſcended ſo far, as to conſent, without any clauſe of reſervation, that the Archbiſhop ſhould enjoy his See, with the privileges of his predeceſſors, and offered a thouſand marks to defray the expence of his voyage into England. The Archbiſhop, who was preſent, replied, that he had been damaged to the value of thirty thouſand marks, and that, without reſtitution, the guilt of injuſtice would remain. However, at the inſtance of the King of France, and the nobility of both kingdoms, he dropped his claim to the money, and ſubmitted to the King's offer. And now, the terms being adjuſted, Becket, in purſuance of the Pope's inſtructions, deſired ſecurity for the articles. And when both the French and Engliſh court told him, ſuch a demand was not to be inſiſted upon to a Sovereign; he ſaid, he deſired no more than that the King would do him the honour of the cuſtomary *ſalute (oſculum pacis)* as a mark of his favour and friendſhip. King Henry replied, he ſhould willingly have gratified this requeſt, had he not once ſwore in a paſſion, never to ſalute the Archbiſhop on the cheek; nor ſhould he bear him any ill will for the omiſſion of this ceremony. The King of France, and the reſt of the mediators, ſuſpecting, probably, there might be ſome unfriendly reſerve in the King of England's reply, left the Archbiſhop at his liberty, who reſolved not to accept the *Articles*, without the *kiſs of peace* (52).

(52) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1408.

[*KK*] *An agreement was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket.*] The Pope being informed, that the King was in England, ſent a commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Biſhop of Nevers, to go into England, to endeavour at an accommodation. Upon their acquainting the King with their inſtructions, he ſent them word, they might ſpare themſelves that trouble; for he deſigned quickly to be in France, and put a period to the diſpute with the Archbiſhop, as they ſhould direct. The King undertook the voyage accordingly, and the Archbiſhop waited upon him at the confines of Maine. Where the difference was finally adjuſted, the King granting the Archbiſhop the enjoyment of his See, with all the privileges of his predeceſſors. He likewiſe gave him leave to animadvert upon the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the Prelates concerned in the late coronation (53).

(53) Id. ib. *col.* 1412.

[*LL*] *The Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Prelates, endeavoured to prevent his landing.*] They were afraid, leſt the Archbiſhop, upon his arrival, ſhould publiſh the Pope's ſentence againſt them. The ports, therefore, where they ſuſpected he might land, were guarded; and they had perſuaded Ralph de Broc, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervaſe, High-Sheriff of Kent, to appear upon the coaſt in a military manner. Theſe men were ſome of the Archbiſhop's greateſt enemies, and were ſo hardy as to give out, that, if he ſet his foot upon the Engliſh ſhore, they would cut off his head. The Archbiſhop, being informed of their deſign, ſent the Pope's letters of cenſure over the day before he embarked, and got them delivered to the Prelates concerned. The next day the Archbiſhop went aboard, and, arriving at the Engliſh coaſt, found a body of men armed upon the beach, and ready to attack him. The Dean of Saliſbury, fearing ſome miſchief, went aſhore firſt, and charged them, in the King's name, and under pain of high-treaſon, not to offer any violence to the Archbiſhop, for that now all diſputes between him and the King were at an end. Upon this, they laid down their arms, and ſuffered the Archbiſhop to paſs (54).

(54) Baron. *Annal.* Tom. XII, *an.* 1170. *Sect.* 48—52.

[*MM*] *He refuſed to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops.*] He told the officers, who brought the order, that it was not within the authority of an inferior juriſdiction to ſet aſide the ſentence of a ſuperior court, and that the Pope's cenſures could not be reverſed but by the Pope himſelf (55).

(55) Id. ibid.

[*NN*] *The aſſaſſins executed their deſign with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] Their names were, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William Tracy, Richard Briton, and Hugh Morvill (*). Theſe men, having concerted

(*) *They are comprehended in this diſtich:*

Willielmus Traci, Reginaldus filius Urſi,
Ricardus Brito, nec non Morvilius Hugo.

ninth of December 1171 (p) [OO]. The aſſaſſins deliberated, whether they ſhould throw his body into the ſea, or cut it in ſmall pieces; but before they could reſolve, the Prior and Monks withdrew it, and buried it in a vault in the cathedral. King Henry was extremely troubled at the news of Becket's death, and immediately diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of it [PP]. At the ſame time, ſeveral complaints came to the Pope upon this accident (q) [QQ]. Upon the death of the Archbiſhop, all divine offices ceaſed in the church of Canterbury for one year, wanting nine days, at the end of which, by order of the Pope, it was reconſecrated (r). Two years after, Becket was canonized, by virtue of Pope Alexander's bull, dated March 13, 1173 (s). The ſame year, a particular *collect* was appointed to be uſed in all the churches of the province of Canterbury, for expiating the guilt of Becket's murther (t) [RR]. The next year, King Henry returning into England, went to Canterbury,

(p) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 56.

(q) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 125. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 523, 524. Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1419.

(r) R. de Dic. *ib.*

(s) Baron. Annal. Tom. XII. *an.* 1173. Id. Martyrol. Roman. *in* Decemb. 29.

(t) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 127.

concerted the aſſaſſination, went immediately on board, and landed at Dover. The next day, being the 29th of December, they came to Canterbury, and forced their way into the Archbiſhop's apartment. They told him, they came from the King, to command him to abſolve the Biſhops under cenſure. Becket replied in the ſame manner as he had done to the King's officers (56). This anſwer not ſatisfying them, they charged the Monks of Canterbury, in the King's name, to keep the Archbiſhop ſafe, that he might be forth coming; and then went away with a menacing air. The Archbiſhop told them, at parting, that he came not into England to abſcond, neither would their threats make any impreſſion upon him. The ſame day in the evening they returned to the palace, and, leaving a body of ſoldiers in the court-yard, ruſhed into the cloiſter with their ſwords drawn, and from thence into the church, where the Archbiſhop was at Veſpers. And here calling out, *where is the traitor?* And nobody anſwering, they aſked for the Archbiſhop. Upon which he moved towards them, and told them he was the perſon. He is ſaid not to have ſhewn the leaſt ſign of fear upon this occaſion. And when one of the aſſaſſins menaced him with death, he anſwered, 'He was 'prepared to die for the cauſe of God, and in defence 'of the rights of the Church. But, *ſays he*, if you 'muſt have my life, I charge you, in the name of 'Almighty God, not to hurt any other perſon here, 'either Clergy or Laity; for none of theſe have any 'concern in the late tranſactions.' Upon this they laid hands on him, and offered to drag him out of the church; but finding they could not do it without difficulty, they murthered him there. When he perceived their reſolution, he ſtooped his head to their ſwords; and tho' he received ſeveral wounds before he was diſpatched, he never gave a groan, nor offered to avoid a ſtroke. But one Edward Grimſere, a Clergyman belonging to the cathedral, perceiving one of the aſſaſſins aim a blow at the Archbiſhop's head, interpoſed his arm, and had it almoſt cut off (57). The aſſaſſins, after the murther, were afraid they had gone too far, and durſt not return to the King's court in Normandy; but rather choſe to retire to Knareſburgh in Yorkſhire, a town belonging to Hugh Morvill. Here they continued till they found themſelves the averſion and contempt of the country: For every body avoided their converſation, and would neither eat nor drink with them. At laſt, being tired with ſolitude and diſregard, and ſtruck with remorſe of conſcience, they took a voyage to Rome; and being admitted to penance by Pope Alexander III, they went to Jeruſalem, and, according to the Pope's order, ſpent their lives in penitential auſterities, and died in the *Black Mountain*. They were buried at Jeruſalem, without the church-door, belonging to the Templars, and over them was put this inſcription (58):

(56) *See the preceding remark.*

(57) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1414, 1415.

(58) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 522.

Hic jacent miſeri, qui martyrizaverunt beatum Thomam, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.

'Here lie the wretches who aſſaſſinated St Thomas, 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury.'

If it be aſked, how it came to paſs, that theſe murderers were not brought to juſtice for their crime, as they might eaſily have been; the anſwer is, there was no law to puniſh with death any perſons that had killed a clergyman, becauſe the Clergy, by exempting themſelves from the King's juriſdiction, had put themſelves out of the protection of the law; and ſo Becket himſelf, who ſo violently oppoſed the ſecular power over the Clergy, and was by that means the cauſe that the blood of ſo many perſons was unrevenged, prevented the deſerved puniſhment of his own blood by the ſword of Juſtice.

[OO] *He was murdered (or martyred) on the 29th of December, 1171.*] His death, and the circumſtances of the time and place, are recorded in the following diſtichs, preſerved by John Bromton (59).

(59) *Apud* X Scriptor. *col.* 1064.

Henricus natus Matildis regna tenebat,
Sub quo ſacratus Thomas mucrone cadebat.

Annus millenus centenus ſeptuagenus
Primus erat, Primas cum ruit enſe Thomas.

Anno milleno centeno ſeptuageno,
Anglorum Primas corruit enſe Thomas.

Quis moritur? Præſul. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter? enſe.
Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

Pro Chriſti Sponſa, Chriſti ſub tempore, Chriſti
In Templo, Chriſti verus Amator obit.

[PP] *King Henry ſent an an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of Becket's death.*] The King's embaſſadors, at their firſt entrance into Rome, were roughly treated, and refuſed an audience. But they found means at laſt to procure one, by a proper application of five hundred marks. When they came into the Conſiſtory, they ſwore, in the King's name, that their maſter was ready to ſtand to the judgment of the Church concerning the death of the Archbiſhop. By taking of which oath, they prevailed with the Pope not to ſend out any interdict or excommunication againſt the King or his dominions (60).

(60) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1419.

[QQ] *Several complaints came to the Pope upon this accident.*] The King of France wrote to his Holineſs 'to draw St Peter's ſword againſt King Henry, and to 'ſtudy ſome new and exemplary juſtice;' telling him 'the Univerſal Church was concerned in the diſcipline,' and putting him in mind of 'ſome miracles already 'ſaid to be done at Becket's tomb.' This letter was ſeconded by one from Stephen Earl of Blois, who declaims with great vehemence upon the barbarity of the murder, and uſes all his elocution to preſs the Pope to revenge it. He likewiſe ſtates the caſe in relation to the coronation of the young King by the Archbiſhop of York, telling his Holineſs, 'he was preſent when 'the Archbiſhop complained of that matter to the old 'King, who, in his hearing, left the Archbiſhop of 'York, and his aſſiſtants, to Becket's mercy, to be 'puniſhed as the Pope and he ſhould think fit.' The Archbiſhop of Sens likewiſe wrote to the Pope upon the ſame ſubject, charging King Henry with the Archbiſhop's death, and moving for an interdict upon his dominions (61).

(61) R. Hoved. ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

[RR] *A* Collect *— for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder.*] It was this: *Adeſto, Domine, ſupplicationibus noſtris, ut qui ex iniquitate noſtra reos nos eſſe cognoſcimus, beati Thomæ martyris tui atque pontificis interceſſione liberemur* (62); i. e. 'Be favourable, O Lord, 'to our prayers, that we, who acknowledge ourſelves 'guilty of iniquity, may be delivered by the interceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.'

(62) M. Paris, ubi ſupra, p. 121.

terbury, where he did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline [*SS*], as a teſtimony of his regret for the murther of Becket (*u*). In 1221 Becket's body was taken up, in the preſence of King Henry III, and a great concourſe of the nobility and others, and depoſited in a rich ſhrine, erected at the expence of Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eaſt ſide of the church (*w*). Forty-eight years after his deceaſe, the Doctors of the Univerſity of Paris had a warm diſpute, whether he was ſaved or damned. The miracles, ſaid to be wrought at his tomb, were ſo numerous, that Gervaſe of Canterbury tells us (*x*), there were two large volumes of them kept in that church. His ſhrine was viſited from all parts, and enriched with the moſt coſtly gifts and offerings. As to the character of Archbiſhop Becket, it is variouſly repreſented by various authors. Moſt of thoſe who wrote in his time, or near it, juſtify his conduct throughout, and make him a glorious martyr; while others, eſpecially later writers, ſet his character in a very diſadvantageous light. To aſſiſt the reader in forming his judgment, we ſhall throw together a few obſervations [*TT*], by which it will appear, that he was neither ſo great a *Saint*, as the former, nor ſo great a *Sinner*, as the latter make him.

(*u*) Gervaſ. *ib.* col. 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(*w*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 310.

(*x*) Chronic. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1427.

[*SS*] *King Henry did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline.*] When he came within ſight of the church, where the Archbiſhop was buried, he alighted off his horſe, and walked barefoot, in the habit of a Pilgrim, 'till he came to Becket's tomb, where, after he had proſtrated himſelf, and prayed for a conſiderable time, he ſubmitted to be ſcourged by the Monks, and paſſed all that day and night without any refreſhment, and kneeling upon the bare ſtones. Which done, he beſtowed great benefactions upon the church of Canterbury (63).

(63) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, *col.* 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

[*TT*] *Some obſervations.*] The conteſt between King Henry II and Archbiſhop Becket (we have ſeen) aroſe from hence: The King required, that Eccleſiaſtics, guilty of felony, murder, or other high crimes, ſhould be puniſhed immediately by the ſecular magiſtrate: This Becket oppoſed as a breach of the Canons, and an oppreſſion of the liberties of the Church (64). Now, if we inſpect the *Codes*, and examine the queſtion by the *Imperial Laws*, we ſhall find that the Emperors left the Clergy to the juriſdiction of their Biſhop, in matters relating to the *Church*; yet, when the *State* was concerned in the proſecution, no privilege of *Orders* could exempt them from the cognizance of the *Civil* courts (65). But, on the other hand, the *Engliſh Conſtitution* afforded ſeveral precedents in favour of the Archbiſhop's opinion: Particularly, King Alfred executed a Judge for trying and condemning a *Clerk* (66). And, in the conteſt between Archbiſhop Anſelm, and the Kings William Rufus and Henry I, it was taken for granted, that none but the Pope had a right to try the Archbiſhop (67). And that theſe precedents were ſupported by the *Conſtitution*, appears evidently from the old law-books, eſpecially *Bracton* (68) and *Fleta* (69). To which may be added, that the tryal of *Clerks* in the King's courts was expreſsly condemned by Pope Alexander III (70). But, allowing all this, the exemption of Clerks from the civil courts was no right inſeparable from their Order, but only a privilege granted by the Crown, and therefore revokable by the ſame authority. From all which it follows, that however inexcuſable the Archbiſhop's oppoſition might be in the beginning, after the *Parliament* of *Clarendon* had enacted, that Clerks *ſhould* be tried in the King's courts, the Archbiſhop ought not to have inſiſted upon the former exemption. As to the other parts of his conduct, his firſt ſigning, and then renouncing, the *Articles of Clarendon*; his quitting the kingdom without the King's leave; his refuſing to return to his See upon the beſt terms enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors; his breaking off the accommodation only for being denied the *kiſs of peace*; and the like inſtances of rigour and inflexibility, are not to be defended. But then, as to any practices againſt the Crown, in abetting a foreign intereſt (with which he was charged), the King of France ſolemnly cleared him from any ſuch imputation (71). And with theſe few remarks his character muſt be left to the mercy, or ſeverity, of the reader.

(64) *See the remark* [*L*].

(65) *Vide* xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. xxiii. *Ibid.* Tit. ii. l. i. de relig. Cod. Juſt. Tit. ii. Nov. lxxxiii. *Ib.* Tit. vi. Nov. cxxiii.

(66) *Miroir des Juſtices*, c. 20.

(67) *Vid.* Eadm. Hiſt. Nov. *paſſim.*

(68) De Coron. l. iii. c. 9.

(69) De Utlegariis, l. i. c. 28.

(70) Concil. Tom. X. p. 1431.

(71) *See the remark* [*DD*].

T

BECKINGTON (THOMAS) [*A*], was born in the pariſh of Beckington [*B*] in Somerſetſhire (*a*), towards the end of the fourteenth century. He was probably educated in grammar-learning, at Wykeham's ſchool near Winchester; and admitted Fellow of New-College in Oxford in 1408 (*b*); though ſome ſay he had alſo part of his education in Merton-college (*c*). However, he continued Fellow of New-College about twelve years, and took his Doctor of Law's degree (*d*). Within this period, moſt probably, he was preſented to the rectory of St Leonard's, near Haſtings in Suſſex, and to the vicarage of Sutton-Courtney in Berkſhire (*e*). He was alſo Prebendary of Bedwin, York, and Litchfield; Archdeacon of Buckingham (*f*); and maſter of St Catherine's hoſpital near the Tower in London. About the year 1429 he was Dean of the Court of Arches; and a Synod being then held in St Paul's church, London, which continued above ſix months, Beckington was employed, jointly with William Linwood, Official of the Court of Arches, and Thomas Brown, Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to draw up a form of law, according to which the Wicliffites or Lollards were to be proceeded againſt (*g*). Before our author was made Dean of the Arches, he was Advocate in Doctors-Commons (*h*). But theſe preferments were inconſiderable in compariſon of the honours he was afterwards raiſed to.

(*a*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 447. A. Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134. Pits, de Script. an. 1450.

(*b*) A. Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616. p. 434. Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. p. 573.

(*d*) A. Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 130, 134.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Godwin, p. 434. Br. Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. I. p. 119, 451. and Vol. II. p. 121.

(*g*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 134.

[*A*] BECKINGTON (THOMAS).] This name is variouſly written; in Leland (1) it is *Becchendunus*. In Pits (2), *Becchintonus*. In Godwin (3) *de Bekintona*. And in A. Wood (4) *Beckyntonus*.

(1) Ubi ſupra.
(2) Ubi ſupra.
(3) Ubi ſupra.
(4) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *In the pariſh of Beckington.*] Some ſay Beckhampton; but it does not appear there is a pariſh ſo named in Somerſetſhire, but only Beckington. Beckhampton is in Wiltſhire (5). Biſhop Godwin thinks (6), that T. Beckington was not born in that pariſh, becauſe he left the poor of it only five pounds in his will; and it is probable, he would have left them more, had it been his native place. *Quis enim crediderit beneficentiam erga ſolum natale tam anguſtis terminis coërcendam?* For, who could think that his charity towards the place of his nativity, ſhould be confined within ſo narrow bounds? But this argument is not very concluſive. On the contrary it appears from the following verſe cited by Leland (7), that he was really born there:

(5) See Villare Anglicum. Lond. 1678, 8*vo.* and Ecton's Liber valorum.

(6) De Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 434.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

Beckingtona mihi dedit ortum; balnea, fontes
Faſces. - - - - -

i. e. Beckington gave me birth, and Bath dignity.

to. For having been tutor to King Henry VI (*i*), and written a book, wherein, in oppoſition to the Salique Law, he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France (*k*), he arrived to a great degree of eſteem and favour with that Prince [*C*]. And, in conſequence of that, was made Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and at laſt Biſhop of Bath and Wells (*l*). He was conſecrated, October 13, 1443, in the new chapel of Eton-college, which was not yet finiſhed; and was the firſt that officiated in that chapel (*m*). His character is thus repreſented, he was well ſkilled in polite learning and hiſtory, and very converſant in the holy Scriptures; a good preacher, and ſo generous a patron and favourer of all learned and ingenious men, that he was called the Mæcenas of his age (*n*). As for his works of munificence and charity, they were numerous. He finiſhed Lincoln-college (*o*), which had been left imperfect by it's founder, Richard Flemming, Biſhop of Lincoln [*D*], and got the manor of Newton-Longville ſettled upon New-College Oxon, in 1440 (*p*). Moreover, he laid out ſix thouſand marks upon the houſes belonging to his See; built an edifice, called new-buildings, and the weſt ſide of the cloyſters at Wells; and erected a conduit in the market-place of that city (*q*). By his will, which he made November 3, 1464, and procured to be confirmed under the Great-Seal [*E*], he left ſeveral legacies [*F*]. This generous perſon died at Wells, January 14, 1464-5, and was buried in his cathedral, where his monument is ſtill be ſeen (*r*). His panegyric was written by Thomas Chandler [*G*], Warden of New-College, who had been preferred by him to the Chancellorſhip of Wells (*s*). He doth not appear to have ever been Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*t*).

(*i*) A. Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon, p. 130.
(*k*) Leland, ubi ſupra. Bale, Script. Brytan. Cent. VIII. n. 10. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1450. n. 842.
(*l*) Ibid. & Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.
(*m*) Godwin, ibid.
(*n*) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi ſupra. Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 134.
(*o*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.
(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 130.
(*q*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.
(*r*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 435. Wood, ubi ſupra. p. 134.
(*s*) Wood, ibid.
(*t*) Anglia Sacra, p. 573.

[*C*] *Having written a book, wherein —— he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France.*] This book is preſerved in MS. in the Cottonian library, Tiberius B. xii. Some other pieces of his are in the ſame library; Tiber. B. vi. And a large collection of his letters is in the Archbiſhop's library at Lambeth. There are alſo aſcribed to him, *a book of Sermons*; and a few other things (8).

[*D*] *He finiſhed Lincoln-College,* &c.] Biſhop Godwin obſerves (9), that the memory of that is preſerved, by the Rebus carved upon the walls of the college, namely, a *becon* and a *ton*.

[*E*] *Procured to be confirmed under the Great Seal.*] This he did, leaſt, as he had been a great ſtickler for the Lancaſtrian intereſt, King Edward IV, who was thenreigning, ſhould ſeize his effects after his deceaſe, upon ſome pretence or other (10).

[*F*] *He left ſeveral legacies.*] Particularly twenty pounds for repairing the cathedral of Wells, and four hundred pounds for buying plate and veſtments for the uſe of the ſame. A great quantity of plate to Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter, and to New College, Oxon. To St Catherine's hoſpital, fifty ſhillings. To the pariſhes of Beckington, Sutton Courtney, and Bedwin, five pounds a piece, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor (11), &c.

[*G*] *His panegyric* was written by Thomas Chandler.*] A. Wood obſerves (12), that Leland, Bale, Pits, and Godwin, are miſtaken in calling him John; for his true name was Thomas.

(8) Anglia Sacra. Leland, Bale, Pits, & Wood, ubi ſupra.
(9) Ubi ſupra, p. 433.
(10) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 433.
(11) Ibid. p. 434.
(12) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134.

* It is publiſhed in Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 357.

C

BEDA, an Engliſh Monk in the VIIIth century, well known to the world by the name of *Venerable Bede*, and one of the beſt writers of his time (*a*). He was born in the year 672, or, as ſome will have it, in 673, on the eſtates afterwards belonging to the two famous abbies of St Peter and St Paul in the biſhoprick of Durham, at Wermouth and Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne (*b*) [*A*]. Of this we have as good proof as the nature of the fact requires, though there want not ſome who would rob us of this great man, in order to make him a native of Italy, or ſome other part of Europe (*c*), though the

(*a*) Leland. de Script. Britan. cap. lxxxvii. p. 115. Bale. Script. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Cent. II. p. 94. Mabillon. Acta Benedict. Sæcul. III. P. i. p. 539.
(*b*) Bed. ad Fin. Epitom. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.
(*c*) Hector. Boëth. Hiſtor. Scot. lib. ix. p. 191.

[*A*] *At Wermouth and Jarrow near the mouth of the river Tyne.*] The accounts we have of the birth-place of this great man, though very authentick, are nevertheleſs ſomewhat dark and obſcure (1). The firſt of theſe two abbies was that of St Peter, built at the mouth of the river Wyre by King Ecfred, in the fourth year of his reign, at the inſtigation of Abbot Benedict. The other, dedicated to St Paul, was built ſome years after, that is to ſay, in the fifteenth year of the ſame King, at a place called Gyrwy in antient times, but it is now ſaid to be called Jarrow or Yarrow, which Leland tells us ſtood four miles from Newcaſtle (2). The Danes in ſucceeding times landed often in the mouth of the river Tyne, and deſtroyed both of theſe monaſteries over and over. It was in the latter of them that Beda was educated; and though after they were thus ruined they became cells to Durham, and only two or three black Monks reſided in them, yet they carefully preſerved the cell in which Beda dwelt, and were wont to ſhew ſtrangers his oratory, and therein a little altar, which appeared to have been once covered with a kind of ſerpentine or green marble (3). At the time of the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes they were thus valued, *viz.* St Peter at 25 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d. per annum.* St Paul 38 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d. per ann.* Dugd. 40 *l.* 7 *s.* 8 *d.* Speed (4). This is the beſt account can be drawn from old authors concerning theſe religious houſes; but by comparing ſeveral circumſtances together, and by conſidering the face of the country as it lies at preſent, we ſhall be able to ſet this matter in a pretty clear light. In the firſt place we muſt obſerve, that the diſtance between Weremouth and Jarrow (for ſo theſe places are now called) is ſix miles or thereabouts, the country between them being bounded by the river Were on one ſide, and the river Tyne on the other (5). The former of theſe rivers falls into the ſea at Sunderland, from which the monaſtery of St Peter ſtood but at a very ſmall diſtance, and it was upon the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery that our author Beda was born, as appears from the Saxon paraphraſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (6). I ſay on the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery, becauſe it appears from Beda's own writings, that it was not founded 'till the year 674, and conſequently not till after he was born; and he particularly tells us, that this religious houſe ſtood on the north ſide of the river (7). But though he was born in the neighbourhood of Weremouth, yet it is certain that he reſided in a monaſtery of St Paul's at Jarrow, which was ſituated near the river Tyne. Both monaſteries, as they were erected by the advice of Abbot Benedict, ſo they were governed by him, and Abbots under him, during the courſe of his life, as appears from Beda's own account (8) Theſe particulars may to ſome readers appear trivial; but as I do not find all of them taken notice of before, and as the accounts hitherto given of his birth and reſidence ſeem very perplexed for want of them, I thought my pains well beſtowed in ſetting them in the cleareſt light I could, the rather, becauſe ſome foreign authors have reproached us with want of care in writing the hiſtory of this learned man, who is juſtly eſteemed ſo great an honour to our country.

(1) See what is ſaid on this ſubject in our General and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.
(2) Leland. Collectan. Vol. II. p. 302, 303.
(3) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 39.
(4) Tanner's Notit. Monaſt. 8*vo*, p. 56.
(5) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.
(6) See the Appendix to that Hiſtory in Whelock's edition.
(7) Hiſtoria Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224.
(8) Ibid. p. 225.

[*B*] *The*

the truth is, he never ſtirred out of England, and ſcarce out of the North; but notwithſtanding our title to him is inconteſtible, yet the very controverſy concerning him does his memory honour [*B*]. At the age of ſeven years, or about *A. D.* 679, he was brought to the monaſtery of St Peter, and committed to the care of Abbot Benedict, under whom, and his ſucceſſor Ceolfrid, he was moſt carefully educated for twelve years, and he amply repaid the pains taken by them in that ſpace, by writing their Lives, which have been preſerved to our times (*d*). At the age of nineteen he was ordained Deacon, and thence forward taught and ſtudied with incredible diligence, going from his books to his prayers, and from his prayers to his books; being admired by all who knew him, and conſidered by the Monks as their pattern (*e*). Yet the great praiſes he received no way abated his modeſty, which was no leſs conſpicuous than his learning. In the year 702, being then thirty, he was, by the expreſs command of Ceolfrid his Abbot, ordained Prieſt (as he had been Deacon) by John of Beverly, then Biſhop of Hagulſtad or Hexham, who had been formerly his preceptor (*f*) [*C*]. His amazing diligence and application, his comprehenſive genius, his extenſive and various learning, rendered him ſo remarkable, that his fame quickly paſſed the limits of this iſland, and diffuſed itſelf through the Continent, and more particularly at Rome, from whence Pope Sergius wrote in very preſſing terms to his Abbot Ceolfrid, that Beda might be ſent to Rome, where he wanted to conſult him upon many important ſubjects (*g*). But notwithſtanding this honourable invitation, Bede remained in his own cell, and there purſued his ſtudies without interruption, and never took a journey to Rome, though that was in thoſe days very far from being uncommon, and one cannot help wondering how he could avoid it [*D*]. But his great

(*d*) Theſe were firſt publiſhed by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, in 8vo.

(*e*) Leland. de Scriptor. p. 115.

(*f*) Gulielm. Malmſburienſ. de Geſtis Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii. fol. 10.

(*g*) Cave, Hiſt. Lit. p. 612.

[*B*] *The very controverſy concerning him does his memory honour.*] The famous Hector Boëthius tells us, that there has been a great ſtruggle between Italy and England for the honour of Beda's birth, and that the Hiſtorians of the firſt mentioned country contend that he was not only born at, but died, and was interred at Genoa, where his tomb was ſhewn in juſtification and ſupport of this fact. But, ſays he, wherever he lived or died, it appears clearly from his own writings, and thoſe of others, that he ſpent part of his youth in Italy, and his old age in Northumberland, reſiding frequently in the famous abbey of Mailros (9). Leland is very angry with Boëthius for this aſſertion, and takes a great deal of pains to prove that all the facts mentioned by Hector are abſolutely falſe (10). But notwithſtanding this, Dempſter has thought fit to place him amongſt the learned men of Scotland (11), where he ſays he lived for ſome time, though he confeſſes that he died in England. He cites what is ſaid of him by Boëthius, and adds a great many authorities, to prove that there was a Beda who flouriſhed at Genoa, and gives it as his own opinion, that there were two of this name who flouriſhed about the ſame time, were of the ſame order, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes upon the ſame ſubjects, which he thinks gave occaſion to this confuſion; and that the only way to extricate ourſelves from it is, to admit that there were *two* Beda's, one a native of England, and the other of Liguria. I do not find, however, that Dempſter's opinion in this matter has been much followed, or even thought of, and yet it is much more worthy of notice than his and Boëthius's notion of his living in Scotland, for which I cannot find ſo much as the ſhadow of any authority. It is true, Beda ſays a great deal of the Scots in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and ſeems to be very well acquainted with their affairs; but inſtead of making for, this is directly againſt Dempſter's opinion, in as much as the Scots mentioned by Beda were the Iriſh, not the Britiſh Scots, whom Beda looked upon as Schiſmaticks (12).

(9) Hiſt. Scotor. lib. ix. p. 191.

(10) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 118, 119.

(11) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 69.

(12) See this point clearly made out by Bp Stillingfleet, in his learned preface to the *Originæ Britannicæ*, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches.

[*C*] *Who had been formerly his preceptor.*] This John of Beverly was a perſon every way of great character, and exemplary piety and learning. He became Biſhop of Hexham in the reign of Alphrid, King of Northumberland, and afterwards was promoted to be Biſhop of York (13). He had always a great affection for his diſciple Beda, and kept a very cloſe correſpondence with him. It was probably from him that our author took his opinions in reference to the monaſtick ſtate, and the duties of ſuch as embraced it (14). The Biſhop thought, that in all profeſſions men ought to labour for their own maintenance, and for the benefit of the ſociety. He was conſequently againſt the great errors of this inſtitution, which ſeems rather to promote eaſe and indolence than religious fervour, and aſſiduous application to ſtudy. He perſuaded Beda, that the duties of that kind of life conſiſted in a fervent and edifying devotion, a ſtrict adherence to the rule of the houſe, an abſolute ſelf-denial with reſpect to the things of this world, a ſtrict obedience to the will of his Abbot, and a conſtant proſecution of his ſtudies in ſuch a way, as might moſt conduce to the benefit of his brethren, and the general advantage of the Chriſtian world. Beda cloſely and conſtantly followed theſe inſtructions, for with reſpect to devotion and ſtudy, Alcuinus, his contemporary, in a letter to the Monks of Wyremuth and Jarrow, congratulates them on this very ſubject, and treats the life that Beda led, as a kind of model for other monks (15). His modeſty and humility ſtand confeſſed not only in his writings, but from his actions; ſince he never deſired to change his condition, or even affected the honours to which he might have attained in that condition. In regard to obedience it appears, that in taking Deacons and Prieſts orders, he ſubmitted to the commands of his ſuperiors, and did what they eſteemed fitteſt for the ſervice of the community to which he belonged. Yet he was very well known to, and much eſteemed, by this great man when Biſhop of York, and to Princes and perſons of the higheſt quality; but he turned this acquaintance to their advantage, not his, by addreſſing to them many of his learned works; and, in fine, was juſt as modeſt and pains-taking a Monk as John of Beverly was a Biſhop, and their memories may be truly ſaid to have ſurvived in conſequence of their virtues.

(13) Bale, Script. Cent. I. p. 91.

(14) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.

(15) Alcuin. Epiſtol. apud Leland. de Script. p. 119.

[*D*] *One cannot help wondering how he could avoid it.*] We have this on the authority of William of Malmſbury, a very careful and diligent author (16), one who was not apt to take things upon truſt, and who, with regard to this very fact, gives us part of this Pope's letter to the Abbot Ceolfrid, directing him to ſend, as he was in duty bound, to Rome, Beda, a Monk and Prieſt of his monaſtery, who ſhould, God willing, ſafely return to him again; the Holy Father being deſirous to make uſe of his advice in affairs relating to the government of the univerſal Church. Our author ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this; he ſays he cannot affirm that Beda ever went to Rome, but, continues he, that he was invited, and his preſence much deſired there, ſufficiently appears by this epiſtle. That Sergius I and this Abbot Ceolfrid were contemporaries is certain, and that the Abbot held a cloſe correſpondence with that Pontiff, appears from our author's life of Ceolfrid, ſo that there is nothing abſurd in this account at all (17). Yet it muſt be owned that a very great Critick ſeems to be of opinion, that this epiſtle is not genuine, and conſequently that Beda was never invited to Rome (18). I muſt confeſs there is nothing ſaid of any ſuch letter (though many things of leſs importance are mentioned) in Beda's Life of Ceolfrid, or in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or at the cloſe of his Epitome, where he gives a ſuccinct account of himſelf and his writings. But this is no argument againſt the fact, conſidering his exemplary modeſty, which hinders him from mentioning himſelf on almoſt any occaſion. But that in obedience to this letter he was not ſent to Rome, ſeems indeed a proof more difficult to be got over, ſince in thoſe days the Monks were remarkably ſubmiſſive

(16) De Geſt. Reg. Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii.

(17) Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. lib. vi. Anaſt. in Sergio.

(18) Pagi Geſt. Rom. in Sergio, §. 21.

great love for retirement and privacy, his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and his warm affection for his country, moſt probably were his motives, and the great uſe his labours were of to his brethren, and to all the clergy in the Northumbrian kingdom, probably procured him an intereſt ſufficient to excuſe him from taking this journey, which would be the more credible, if it was certain that he never quitted his monaſtery, or went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors report he did (*b*) [*E*]. By remaining thus in his own country, and contenting himſelf with the pleaſures of a monaſtick life, he gained time to make himſelf maſter of almoſt every branch of literature, that in thoſe times it was poſſible for a man to acquire, and this he did, not with any view either to fame or preferment, but for the ſake of becoming uſeful to ſociety, and promoting the progreſs of the Goſpel. It was from theſe noble and generous principles, joined to a zeal for the honour of his country, that he undertook to compile his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in making collections for which he ſpent ſeveral years. It was in ſome ſenſe a new work, for though there were Hiſtories, as he himſelf informs us (*i*), from which he borrowed many things, yet with reſpect to a Church Hiſtory, they had no notion of it; ſo that Beda was obliged to draw together the matters of which he compoſed it, from the Lives of particular perſons, the Annals in their convents, and ſuch Chronicles as were written before his time (*k*). He had alſo much aſſiſtance from the Prelates with whom he was acquainted, who ſhewed him very great reſpect, and who, without all doubt, were very ready to make ſuch enquiries, and to obtain for him ſuch accounts, as he judged requiſite and neceſſary. For they might eaſily foreſee, that a Hiſtory like this, addreſſed to the then King of Northumberland, and (*l*) patronized by moſt of the Prelates in England, would have the greateſt regard paid to it's authority, and become a kind of record in eccleſiaſtical affairs. We need not wonder therefore at the great communications, which, for the improvement of this work, he from all parts received, or at the manner in which it is written, ſince both were calculated for the ſervice of the Church, and we have reaſon to believe, anſwered their purpoſes very effectually. It was from the ſame motives, that we find his Hiſtory ſo highly commended in ſucceeding times (*m*); and even in ours, in which there is ſo great a difference of manners and cuſtoms, it continues to be of great uſe and great authority, even in the opinion of ſuch, as juſtly condemn the ſuperſtitious legends that are inſerted in it (*n*). So that taking all things together, there are few books have obtained a greater credit, or ſupported it longer, than this work of Beda's, by which he became generally known to the learned world in his own time, and by which his fame is like to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity[*F*]. He publiſhed this Hiſtory in 731, when,

(*b*) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda.

(*i*) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. i.

(*k*) Ibid. lib. ii. c. 1.

(*l*) Præfat. Glorioſiſſimo Regi Ceolwulpho.

(*m*) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. iii.

(*n*) See the note [*F*].

ſive to the Holy See; yet (beſides what is ſaid in the text) there appears one very clear and eaſy anſwer. Ceolfrid might have reſolved to ſend him, and might have cauſed him to receive Prieſts orders for that purpoſe, and yet the deſign might be laid aſide on that Pope's deceaſe, which happened in September, 701 (19). To decide on this ſubject would be a very great preſumption in me; I only ſtate the queſtion, and the reaſons on both ſides, which in ſome former accounts of this learned man have not been taken notice of at all.

(19) Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. ad an. 701.

[*E*] *Went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors ſays he did.*] This alſo is a point not very well cleared up by the Criticks, and therefore ſcarce mentioned by ſuch as have written the Life of Beda heretofore. Fuller indeed hints at it in a line (20), but there is not a letter concerning it in later authors; Yet it is not ſo unfounded or unſupported a fact as not to deſerve the leaſt notice. Bale in his firſt edition, which the reader will find often quoted in this work, and which differs widely from what he publiſhed afterwards, poſitively affirms it (21). Dr John Allcock, Biſhop of Ely, in a Conſtitution of his, printed by Richard Pynſon, directed the prayers of the Church for the ſoul of Beda, as having been of the univerſity of Cambridge. It is farther certain, that there was formerly between St John's-college and St Sepulchre's church a little, low, round houſe, which went by the name of Beda's lodgings. Theſe and many other arguments (few of greater weight) I find uſed by my author to eſtabliſh this fact, and thereby the antiquity of the univerſity of Grantcheſter or Cambridge (22); but the advocates for Oxford treat them with very great contempt, but aſſemble, on the other hand, as trivial arguments to prove the contrary, and more eſpecially in regard to our author Beda, who, they affirm, neither did nor could ſtudy there, which, as they throw ſome light upon his hiſtory, deſerve therefore to be remembered. It is evident, that to deſtroy the notion of his having either ſtudied or taught at Cambridge, too great weight has been laid upon what himſelf ſays of his not going out of his monaſtery (23), which is certainly to be underſtood with great reſtriction: For we are to conſider, that though his cell was at Jarrow, and conſequently when he ſpeaks of his monaſtery, we muſt generally underſtand that, yet even this is not to be done always; for this and the monaſtery at Weremouth having but one founder, Benedict, who governed them both (tho' he had an Abbot in each of them under him) are frequently taken for one monaſtery, and no doubt though Beda reſided at Jarrow, yet he ſometimes went to Weremouth. Beſides, he muſt certainly have been bred there in his youth, before his own monaſtery at Jarrow was finiſhed. Add to all this, that it plainly appears from his own writings, that he ſpent part of the year 633, or 634, at York with Biſhop Egbert (24), ſo that we muſt not allow the writers on either ſide in this controverſy to miſlead us. But his going out of his monaſtery is no proof that he went to Cambridge, though it muſt be allowed that he might poſſibly have gone there, had there been a univerſity eſtabliſhed there in his time. But upon the whole there is no concluſive proof at all, either way, which is the only thing that in reference to this point, after a review of ſo many authors, can be eſtabliſhed.

(20) Worthies, under the title of *Durham*.

(21) Centur. I. fol. 56. a.

(22) De Antiquitate Catabrigienſis Academiæ, p. 133—143.

(23) Thom. Caii Animadverſiones aliquot in Londinenſis de Antiquitat. Cantab. Acad. p. 369, & *ſeq.*

(24) Epiſtola venerabilis Bedæ ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, apud Opuſcula Bedæ, p. 252.

[*F*] *Is like to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity.*] The title of this work, in the edition of Heidelbergh, in 1587, the oldeſt I have ſeen, is *Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum Libri quinque, Beda Angloſaxone autore*; i. e. 'Five Books of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory 'of the Engliſh nation, by Beda, an Anglo-Saxon.' There was indeed an edition of this work printed at Antwerp in 1550, and the Heidelbergh edition beforementioned was followed by another at Cologne in 1601. It was printed again in folio with the Saxon Verſion, attributed to King Alfred, together with learned notes by Abraham Wheloc, at Cambridge in 1644. Francis Chifflet printed it in quarto at Paris in 1681, with his own notes, which are very curious, though in ſome particulars he is certainly miſtaken, as will be hereafter ſhewn. Beſides theſe, there was another edition undertaken by Dr Smith, Prebendary of Durham, which was publiſhed at Cambridge in 1722, in folio, by his ſon George Smith, Eſq; with notes and diſſertations. But before Printing was in uſe, all our old Hiſtorians had recourſe to it, and copied from it, ſo that we often read the works of Beda in thoſe of other men, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince, with regard to the period his Hiſtory relates to, they could not find many other authorities,

when, as himſelf informs us, he was fifty-nine years of age; but before he publiſhed this, he had written a multitude of other books, upon a vaſt variety of ſubjects, a catalogue of which he ſubjoined to this Hiſtory, by which he had obtained ſo great and ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation, that we find he was conſulted by the greateſt Prelates of that age, in their moſt momentous affairs, and particularly by Egbert Biſhop of York, who was himſelf a very knowing and learned man, conſidering the times in which he lived (o). The ſtrict friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and our author Beda, furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of writing him an epiſtle, which is very far from being the leaſt conſiderable of his works, becauſe it ſhews us at once the temper and character of both thoſe great men, and affords us ſuch a picture of the then ſtate of the Church, as is

(o) Leland, Baſe. Pits. in Vit. Egberti.

authorities, and amongſt them none better than his. John Leland, one of the moſt conſiderable, and certainly one of the moſt capable, of our Antiquaries, has made great collections out of the manuſcript copies of our author, which very plainly prove the authenticknes of our preſent copies; and in his Hiſtory of Britiſh writers, he has given a large commendation of this and other treatiſes of Beda's. We might cite many other authorities to the ſame purpoſe; but that we may not detain the reader too long, we will content ouſelves with giving him Biſhop Nicholſon's critical account of this performance, which runs thus (25).

(25) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, P. 35.

'What we are at preſent concerned in, is, his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of this Iſland, in five books, which 'have had many impreſſions in Latin, the language 'wherein he penned them. It is plain he had ſeen and 'peruſed ſeveral chronicles of the Engliſh Kings before 'his own time, witneſs that expreſſion, *Unde cunctis* (26) 'placuit regum tempora computantibus, &c (26). But 'he firſt attempted an account of their Church affairs, 'and kept correſpondence in the other kingdoms of 'the Heptarchy, the better to enable him to give a 'true ſtate of Chriſtianity throughout the whole nation. He treats indeed moſt largely of the converſion of Northumberland, and the progreſs of religion in that kingdom; but always intermixes what 'other relations he could borrow from books, or learn 'from ſuch living teſtimonies as he believed to be credible. Some have cenſured his Hiſtory as compoſed 'with too great partiality, favouring on all occaſions 'the Saxons, and depreſſing the Britons. Such a 'charge is not wholly groundleſs. He muſt be pardoned for ſtuffing it here and there with thumping 'miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age, eſpecially ſince ſo little truth 'was to be had of the Saints of thoſe days, that there 'was a ſort of neceſſity of filling up books of this 'kind with ſuch pleaſant legends, as the chat of the 'country, or a good invention, would afford a man. 'It is worth our obſervation, that none of the writers 'of his own life has mentioned one ſingle miracle 'wrought by him, becauſe they had enough of truth 'to relate; not but that we may boldly reckon him '(as a foreign Miniſter is ſaid once to have done) a 'much better Saint than any of thoſe Thaumaturgi 'that we read of in his Hiſtory. There was a paraphraſe made of it in the Engliſh Saxon tongue, 'which has been printed, together with the original 'Latin text; but whether it was done by the famous 'King Alfred, or ſome other hand, we are not very (27) Fol. Cantab. 1644. 'certain (27). Mr Wheloc dares not be poſitive, yet 'thinks it very probable, that it was the work of that 'great monarch, to whom (in his title-page) he has 'confidently aſcribed it. Sir John Spelman proves 'him the author from a diſtich in the front of that 'very manuſcript, out of which Mr Wheloc afterwards publiſhed it, which runs thus.

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Bæda Latinum
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

This ſtory learned BEDE in Latin wrought
A Saxon Garb King ÆLFRED to it brought.

Our Prelate then cites the authority of the famous Dean Hickes upon this ſubject, but in ſuch a manner, that it is not eaſy to gueſs what weight it had with him. He mentions alſo the animadverſions of Francis (28) Int. Cod. MSS. *Junianos*, Oxon. Junius (28), and ſome manuſcripts of Beda's Hiſtory in the Oxford libraries (where indeed there are many), and inſiſts upon one in Corpus-Chriſti-college, which he aſſerts Wheloc never ſaw. He then cloſes his account of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory thus.

'The book itſelf was tranſlated into Engliſh by 'Thomas Stapleton, Doctor of Divinity in the uni'verſity of Louvain (29). But (as on other occaſions (29) Antwerp, 1505, 8vo. 'he has ſhewn himſelf too partially inclined to ſerve 'the intereſts of his own Church) we have here ſome 'times juſt cauſe to complain, that he does not deal 'fairly and honeſtly with us. Richard Lavingham '(Prior of the Carmelite monaſtery at Briſtol, and a 'mighty writer in Divinity about the latter end of 'the fourteenth century) is reported to have epitomized 'Beda's Hiſtory, beginning with his work *Britannia cui* 'quondam Albion, &c (30). There's ſuch an abſtract (30) Pits, de 'added in Wheloc's edition, with a continuation to the Script. Britan. P. 534. 'year 766, which perhaps may be the ſame; for tho' 'it does not begin with theſe words, Beda himſelf be'gins with ſuch as are very like them; and to con'found two writers, if they appear under the ſame 'cover, is no great tranſgreſſion in my author. There's 'another anonymous continuer of this Hiſtory who 'deſcends below the Conqueſt, and whoſe book (now 'in manuſcript in the publick library at Oxford) is 'quoted by ſome of our moſt learned writers (31).' (31) Gul. Somner. Antiquitat. Cantuar. p. 157. Hiſt. Oxon. lib. i. p. 49.

There are ſome things of importance that may be added to theſe remarks. It is highly probable, though the Biſhop ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, that the Latin verſes ſpeak nothing but the truth, in aſcribing the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory to King Alfred, and the great objection to it is eaſily anſwered; for though at firſt ſight it may ſeem ſtrange, and indeed abſurd, to believe that ſo great a King ſhould be the author of ſo many books and tranſlations as paſs under his name; yet when we conſider that he had many learned men about him, of whoſe aſſiſtance he made uſe, or perhaps only reviſed and corrected their writings, the thing does not appear quite ſo improbable: To which we may add another obſervation, that the Saxon tongue arrived at the higheſt pitch of elegancy in his time; that the tranſlations aſcribed to him are all penned in a very fine, and as near as can be in the ſame, ſtile, which ſeems to be an evidence of their having paſſed the hands of the ſame ſkilful corrector (32). As to the (32) See the article ÆLFRED the Great. continuations of Beda's Hiſtory, there are ſeveral; one of which, in three books, is added to Beda's Hiſtory in the Heidelberg edition. It is alſo requiſite to obſerve, that at the end of Beda's Hiſtory there is an Epitome or Breviary; to which alſo there is an addition made by an unknown author, who continues the chronology from 731 to 761 (33). The tranſlation made (33) Rerum Britan. Script. Vetuſtior. p. 278, 279. by Dr Stapleton is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; and the deſign of that tranſlation was to ſupport the Popiſh religion, as appears plainly by a ſhort treatiſe placed before it, bearing this title: 'Differences between the 'Primitive Faith of England, continued almoſt this 'thouſand years, and the late pretended Faith of Pro'teſtants, gathered out of the Hiſtory of the Church 'of England; compiled by Venerable Bede, an Eng'liſhman, about eight hundred years paſt (34).' It is no (34) This Diſcourſe is prefixed to Dr Stapleton's tranſlation, immediately after the Dedication, in the Antwerp edition, which is not, as Biſhop Nicholſon ſays, in 8vo, but 4to. great wonder therefore, that an author who undertook his work with ſuch a view, ſhould prove no very faithful tranſlator: But, however, the Hiſtory of Beda, even as he has given it in Engliſh, might in many paſſages be ſhewn to be far enough from favouring the modern doctrines of the Church of Rome, of which we ſhall take occaſion to ſay ſomewhat in another place. Indeed I think it would be a work of great uſe and honour to our country, if we had a new and correct tranſlation of this Hiſtory compared with the Saxon verſion, and enriched with notes; ſince it would afford a much better body of Civil as well as Church Hiſtory, than is extant in our language, and would afford very fair opportunities of explaining and illuſtrating our Saxon laws, cuſtoms, and antiquities.

(p) See Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 124.

is no where elſe to be met with (p). This epiſtle was one of the laſt, and indeed probably the very laſt, of our author's writings, and in it he expreſſes himſelf with much clearneſs and freedom, as well in regard to the advice, which, at his requeſt, he gave to that Prelate, as in reference to the many inconveniences, which he wiſely foreſaw muſt proceed from the humour that then prevailed, of multiplying religious houſes, to the prejudice both of Church and State (q). It is, to ſay the truth, in every reſpect, a very well written and exact treatiſe, and therefore deſerves to be as well known to the world as his Hiſtory, to which, in ſome reſpects, it may ſerve as an appendix, both with regard to the matter it contains, and the manner in which it is penned, being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation [G]. It appears from this epiſtle, that he was very much indiſpoſed when he wrote it, neither is it at all improbable, that he began now to fall into

(q) See the ſubſtance of this Epiſtle in note [G].

[G] *Being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation.*] We find in Leland, that this epiſtle of Beda was in ſome copies addreſſed to Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland; but that judicious writer ſuſpected that it was a miſtake (35). Yet John Bale tranſcribes the error without taking the leaſt notce of the correction; but to make it agree better in point of time than it did before, he adds, that this Egbert flouriſhed in 730; and tells us alſo, without any authority, that he wrote a letter of thanks in anſwer to Beda's epiſtle (36). Biſhop Godwin copies theſe errors, the laſt only excepted; for he places the death of Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland, in 721, where it ought to be (37). It is however evident from the epiſtle itſelf, in which Bede ſays, that it was then about thirty years ſince the death of King Alfrid (38); that at the ſooneſt it was written in 734, that is, thirteen years after the death of the Prelate to whom Bale will have it addreſſed, or four years after his death, as he himſelf has placed it, purely to avoid this difficulty. This Egbert, agreeable to what our author Bede adviſed him, aſſumed the title of Archbiſhop of York, though his predeceſſors had been content with that of Biſhop. He ſucceeded Wilfred II in the year 732, and was equally diſtinguiſhed by his birth, ſtation, and learning. With reſpect to the firſt, he was of the blood royal; as to the ſecond, he enjoyed the office of Archbiſhop and Metropolitan; and in reference to the third, his writings bear ſufficient evidence, as well as the character beſtowed upon him by William of Malmſbury, and other antient writers (39). Neither ought it to be at all conſidered as a diminution of his credit, that he was ſo deſirous of having our author Bede's advice about the government of his church; ſince it is certain, that at this time he was looked upon as the honour of his country. But it is now time to come to the work itſelf. In this, amongſt other heads of advice, he recommends the finiſhing St Gregory's model, to this Prelate, by virtue of which York was to have been a metropolis with twelve Suffragans (40). He inſiſts upon coming up to this plan, the rather, becauſe in ſome woody, and almoſt impaſſable, parts of the country, there were ſeldom any Biſhops came either to confirm, or any Prieſts to inſtruct the people, and therefore he is of opinion the erecting new Sees would be of great ſervice to the Church. For this purpoſe he ſuggeſts, the expedient of a Synod to form the project, and adjuſt the meaſures; and that an order of court ſhould be procured to pitch upon ſome monaſtery, and turn it into a Biſhop's See: And to prevent oppoſition from the religious of that houſe, they ſhould be ſoftened with ſome conceſſions, and allowed to chuſe the Biſhop out of their own ſociety, and that the joint government of the monaſtery and dioceſe ſhould be put into his hands. And if the altering the property of the houſe ſhould make the increaſing the revenues neceſſary, he tells him there are monaſteries enough that ought to ſpare part of their eſtates for ſuch uſes; and therefore he thinks it reaſonable that ſome of their lands ſhould be taken from them and laid to the Biſhoprick, eſpecially ſince many of them fall ſhort of the rules of their inſtitution (41). And ſince 'tis commonly ſaid, that ſeveral of theſe places are neither ſerviceable to God nor the commonwealth, becauſe neither the exerciſes of piety and diſcipline are practiſed, nor the eſtates poſſeſſed by men in a condition to defend the country; therefore if the houſes were ſome of them turned into Biſhopricks, it would be a ſeaſonable proviſion for the Church, and prove a very commendable alteration. And a little after he intreats Egbert to uſe his intereſt with King Ceolwulf, to reverſe the charters of former Kings for the purpoſes abovementioned: For it has ſometimes happened, ſays he, that the piety of Princes has been been over laviſh, and directed amiſs. He complains further, that the monaſteries were frequently filled with people of unſuitable practices; that the country ſeemed over-ſtocked with thoſe foundations; that there were ſcarce eſtates enow left for the Laity of condition; and that, if this humour increaſed, the country would grow diſfurniſhed of troops to defend their frontiers (42). He mentions another abuſe crept in of a higher nature: That ſome perſons of quality of the Laity, who had neither fancy nor experience for this way of living, uſed to purchaſe ſome of the Crown-lands, under pretence of founding a monaſtery, and then get a charter of privileges ſigned by the King, the Biſhops, and other great men in Church and State; and by theſe expedients they worked up a great eſtate, and made themſelves Lords of ſeveral villages. And thus getting diſcharged from the ſervice of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, took the range of their fancy, ſeized the character of Abbots, and governed the Monks without any title to ſuch authority; and, which is ſtill more irregular, they ſometimes don't ſtock theſe places with Religious, properly ſo called, but rake together a company of ſtrolling Monks, expelled for their miſbehaviour; and ſometimes they perſuade their own retinue to take the tonſure, and promiſe a monaſtick obedience: And having furniſhed their religious houſes with ſuch ill choſen company, they live a life perfectly ſecular under a monaſtick character, bring their wives into the monaſteries, and are huſbands and abbots at the ſame time (43). Thus for about thirty years, ever ſince the death of King Alfrid, the country has run riot in this manner; inſomuch, that there are very few of the Lord-Lieutenants, or Governors of towns, who have not ſeized the religious juriſdiction of a monaſtery, and put their Ladies in the ſame poſt of guilt, by making them Abbeſſes without paſſing through thoſe ſtages of diſcipline and retirement that ſhould qualify them for it; and as ill cuſtoms are apt to ſpread, the King's menial ſervants have taken up the ſame faſhion: And thus we find a great many inconſiſtent offices and titles incorporated, the ſame perſons are Abbots and Miniſters of ſtate, and the court and cloyſter are unſuitably tacked together; and men are truſted with the government of religious houſes, before they have practiſed any part of obedience to them. To ſtop the growth of this diſorder, Bede adviſes the convening of a Synod; that a viſitation might be ſet on foot, and all ſuch unqualified perſons thrown out of their uſurpation. In ſhort, he puts the Biſhop in mind, that 'tis part of the epiſcopal office to inſpect the monaſteries of his dioceſe, to reform what is amiſs both in head and members, and not to ſuffer a breach of the rules of the inſtitution 'Tis your province, ſays he, to take care that the Devil does not get the aſcendant in places conſecrated to God Almighty; that we mayn't have diſcord inſtead of quietneſs, and libertiniſm inſtead of ſobriety. There is one thing more to be obſerved before we part with this epiſtle, which is, that it furniſhes us with a very clear and direct proof, that our author was never at Rome; for, ſpeaking of a cuſtom there of marking the year from our Lord's death upon the candles in their churches, he neither affirms it of his own knowledge, nor ſuffers it to paſs without giving his authority, but clearly relies upon the teſtimony of the Monks with whom he had converſed, and who had been eye-witneſſes of it, than which there cannot be a more full or convincing proof of his never having made any ſuch journey.

(35) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 97.

(36) Ibid. p. 98.

(37) Godwin de Præſul. P. ii. p. 97.

(38) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 261.

(39) Leland, Bale, Pits, &c.

(40) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. xxix.

(41) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 259.

(42) Ibid. p. 260.

(43) Ibid. p. 261.

(44) Ibid. p. 259.

[H] *Where*

into that declining ſtate of health, from which he never recovered; ſince, if we may depend upon the large accounts that are ſtill extant of his ſickneſs and death, he was taken off by that kind of gradual conſumption (*r*), which is frequently fatal to men of ſedentary lives, who ſacrifice in ſome meaſure their health, by their too ſtrict attention to their ſtudies, which thoſe writers alſo agree, to have been truly the caſe of the learned and indefatigable Beda. William of Malmeſbury (*s*) has preſerved in his Hiſtory, a very large account of the manner in which he died, which it plainly appears he took from a treatiſe that was written expreſsly upon that ſubject, by Cuthbert, one of Bede's diſciples who attended him to the laſt, to Cuthwin, another of his diſciples, who happened to be at a diſtance (*t*). It is from hence we learn, that in the laſt ſtage of his diſtemper he fell into an aſthma, which he ſupported with great firmneſs of mind, though in much weakneſs and pain for ſix weeks together. In all this time, he did not in the leaſt abate of his uſual employments in the monaſtery, but continued to pray, to inſtruct the young Monks, and to proſecute the works that were ſtill in his hands, that, if poſſible, they might be finiſhed before he died (*u*). In all the nights of his ſickneſs, in which, from the nature of his diſeaſe, he could get but little ſleep, he ſung hymns and praiſes to Almighty God; and though he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence in his mercy, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare ſeriouſly, that he had ſo lived as not to be aſhamed to die, yet he did not deny his apprehenſions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his diſſolution (*w*). However, as he knew not the day and hour of his end, he was continually active to the laſt, and particularly careful about two works, the firſt was, the tranſlation of the Goſpel of St John into the Saxon language, for the benefit of the Church, and ſome paſſages he was extracting from the works of St Iſidore, and therefore at theſe he wrought with great application. The day before his death he grew much worſe, and his feet began to ſwell, yet he ſpent the night as uſual, and continued dictating to the perſon who wrote for him, who obſerving his weakneſs, ſaid, *There remains now no more but one chapter, but it ſeems very irkſome for you to ſpeak*; to which he anſwered, *It is eaſy, take another pen, dip it in the ink, and write as faſt as you can* (*x*). About nine o'clock he ſent for ſome of his brethren, to divide among them ſome incenſe, and other things of little value, which were in his cheſt. While he was ſpeaking to them, the young man who wrote for him, and whoſe name was Wilberch, ſaid, *There is now, Maſter, but one ſentence wanting*, upon which he bid him write quick, and ſoon after the ſame young man ſaid, *It is now done*, to which he replied, *Well! Thou haſt ſaid the truth, it is now done. Take up my head between your hands, and lift me, becauſe it pleaſes me much, to ſit over-againſt the place where I was wont to pray, and where now ſitting, I may yet invoke my Father.* Being thus ſeated according to his deſire, upon the floor of his cell, he ſaid *Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, and as he pronounced the laſt word, he immediately expired. The Monk who wrote this account ſays poſitively, that this happened on Thurſday the twenty-ſixth of May, being the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which clearly determines it to the year 735 (*y*). There have been, however, different opinions about the time of his death, and very warm controverſies about it, as the reader may ſee in the notes, where we have given a more particular account of this matter [*H*]. His

(*r*) Leland. Collectan. Vol. III. p. 84.

(*s*) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. iii. p 22.

(*t*) Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84; where the genuine account by Cuthbert is ſtill preſerved.

(*u*) Simeon. Dunelm. apud Decem Scriptor. p. 8.

(*w*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 22.

(*y*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Dunelm. lib. iii. c. vii. T. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. ap. Decem Script. p. 1696. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 84.

[*H*] *Where we have given a more particular account of this matter.*] It is not at all wonderful, that with reſpect to facts of this nature at ſo great a diſtance in point of time, and for the ſettling of which ſo many antient, and many of them far enough from being accurate writers, are to be conſulted, there ſhould be ſome little difference or diſagreement even amongſt the moſt diligent and careful perſons. But in reference to the matter now before us, there is the ſtrangeſt and moſt unaccountable confuſion, that for any thing I know ever happened about any matter of this nature, ſince there is a difference amongſt writers of no leſs than thirty-ſeven years. The very learned Dr Cave mentions ſome who have placed the death of Venerable Bede in 729 (45), that is, two years before he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which is very clearly brought down to the year 731; and it is impoſſible for any one to read it without perceiving this. Hermannus Contractus, Hepidanus, Segebertus Gemblacenſis, and many others, fix his death in the year 731 (46), probably becauſe his Hiſtory ends there; but in the ſummary or chronology thereto annexed, he proceeds as low as the year 734, and we have ſhewn that his letter to Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, was certainly written in that year; ſo that this too is plainly an error. The Saxon chronicle, a book otherwiſe of great authority, and ſome other writers, and amongſt the reſt Griffith the Jeſuit, who publiſhed his Annals under the name of Alford, fix his death to the year 734 (47), which is indeed ſomewhat nearer the truth; but it is very ſtrange that moſt of theſe writers allow that he died upon Aſcenſion-day. Cardinal Baronius thinks he lived to be one hundred and five, and ſeveral writers place his death in the years 762 and 766 (48), for reaſons with which there ſeems to be no kind of neceſſity we ſhould trouble the reader here. In regard to the date which we have fixed upon, *viz.* the 7th of the Calends of June, or the 26th of May, 735; it has not only the beſt authorities to ſupport it, but may be alſo demonſtrated to be the true date, from circumſtances that will not admit of any miſtake. But firſt, with reſpect to our authorities, we have the author of the Supplemental Chronology to Beda's hiſtory (49), Simeon of Durham (50), Roger Hoveden (51), Thomas Stubbs (52), and many others, who are all clear in this point. As to the epiſtle of Cuthbert, which is tranſcribed or abridged by William of Malmeſbury, the Hiſtorian of Durham, and many other authors, it does not indeed expreſsly fix the year, but it aſſigns the day clearly, *viz.* that it was the 26th of May, and the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which agrees with the year 735, and with none other. The very learned John Leland obſerves, that Trithemius had extended the age of Beda to ſeventy-two, which he thought a miſtake; and that he might avoid any error of the ſame kind, he very cautiouſly delivers his ſentiment, which was, that he died at ſomewhat more than ſixty (53). Yet John Bale, with this authority before his eyes, and with this farther circumſtance, that Beda was fifty-nine when he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which Leland alſo obſerves, falls into two very groſs errors, affirming that he died in 734 at the age of ſeventy-two (54); which ſhews how cautious we ought to be in truſting to the dates of that author, who borrowed moſt of his facts in theſe antient lives from Leland; but, in tranſcribing them, forgets his modeſty and exactneſs. In the preface, which Sir James Ware placed

(45) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 613.

(46) Gundlingii, Obſervation. ad Rem. literar. ſpectant. Tom. III. p. 192.

(47) Chron. Saxon. edit. Gibſon, p. 54. Alford. Annal. Vol. II. p. 536.

(48) Gundlingii, ubi ſupra.

(49) Rer. Britan. Scriptor. vetuſt. p. 229.

(50) Apud Decem Script. p. 8.

(51) Annal. inter Hiſt. poſt Bedam, p. 402.

(52) Act. Pontif. Eborac. col. 1696.

(53) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 121.

(54) Scriptor. Illuſtr. Major. Britan. Cent. II. p. 97.

His body was interred in the church of his own monaſtery at Jarrow, and the iſle where he was buried, was much reverenced on that account, and numbers of people reſorted thither to pray, more eſpecially on the anniverſary of his death (z). But in proceſs of time his body was removed to Durham, and placed in the ſame coffin or cheſt with that of St Cuthbert, as we are informed by many of our antient Hiſtorians, and as is clear from a very antient Saxon poem, on the relicks preſerved in the cathedral of Durham (a). It is juſtly obſerved, that the Monks never forged any miracles of Beda, or pretended that he wrought any in his life-time, but to give ſome colour for removing his bones to Durham, they pretended that one Gamelus, a very prudent and pious Monk, was admoniſhed by St Cuthbert in a dream, to travel through the North of England, and collect the relicks of holy men, in order to their being interred with his in the church of Durham, that ſo they might be better preſerved from the inſults of ſacrilegious hands, to ſtir up the piety of the faithful (b), which, without all doubt, was a device made uſe of for the ſervice of the Monks at Durham, and anſwered their purpoſe very effectually, by rendering their church the moſt reſpected of any in the North of England. He had alſo many epitaphs written upon him, but none that were at all equal to his merit, or capable of doing juſtice to his memory, as has been rightly remarked by the learned Dr Hakewill (c), and was long before obſerved by William of Malmeſbury (d). But how ill written ſoever theſe epitaphs may be, they at leaſt ſerve to ſhew the good intention of their authors, and in how great repute the memory of Beda has been for learning and ſanctity, from the times neareſt his deceaſe, down to our own [I]. It is very certain, that his great learning and unaffected piety, gained him, even amongſt his contemporaries, a very high and general eſteem, inſomuch, that if we may believe ſome authors, his Homilies were read publickly in the churches in his life-time, which being a new and ſingular honour, there aroſe ſome difficulty, about the title that ſhould be given him in the preface to thoſe lectures, and as it was thought too much to ſtile him *Saint* while yet alive, the title of *Venerable* was fixed upon as more proper, or, at leaſt, as leſs liable to objection (e). There are beſides this, ſome very fabulous accounts given us of his acquiring this ſirname, ſo that on the whole it is become a diſputable point, why he has been, both by antient and modern writers, conſtantly called *Venerable Bede*, into which we ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power (f) [K]. The advantage he had, of being brought up by

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. Decem Script. p 8.

(a) The reader may find this Poem both in Latin and in Saxon, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*.

(b) S. D. de Eccl. Dunelm. lib. iii. cap. vii.

(c) Apology for Providence. l. iii. chap. viii. p. 254, edit. Lond. 1630, folio.

(d) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(e) Gabriel. Buccellin. Menolog. Benedict. VI. kal. Junii.

(f) Hieron. Gudling. Obſervat. ſelectar. ad Rem. liter. ſpectant. Tom. XII. Obſer. vii.

Abbot

placed before thoſe treatiſes of Beda, which he publiſhed, there are ſome other authorities and arguments offered in ſupport of the date, to which we adhere: But as we apprehend the reaſons already given are ſufficient to ſatisfy the reader, we ſhall decline any thing farther on this head.

[I] *From the times neareſt his deceaſe, down to our own.*] It muſt be acknowledged, that poetry was in a very low condition at the time our author flouriſhed, and even at his deceaſe. We find in the collections made by the learned and laborious Leland, abundance of inſtances of this, which he had collected from various manuſcripts of that age; and amongſt theſe there are ſome of Beda's. There we find alſo the epitaph, which Malmeſbury juſtly cenſures as highly unworthy of being placed on the tomb of ſo excellent a perſon, and which does no honour to the Monks of thoſe times, ſince it plainly ſhews they could produce nothing better. In Latin it runs thus (55).

(55) Leland. Collectan. Vol. II. p. 118.

Epitaph. Bedæ.

'Preſbyter hic Beda requieſcit, carne ſepultus.
'Dona, Chriſte, animam in cœlis guadere per ævum,
'Daque illi Sophiæ debriari fonte cui tam
'Suſpiravit ovans intento ſemper amore.

In Engliſh thus.

'BEDA *the* Prieſt's *remains, lie buried here.*
'*Grant him,* O CHRIST, *to drink from fountain*
'*clear,*
'*Of heav'nly* WISDOM, *in thy preſence plac'd,*
'*Which here on* earth *he* thirſted *ſo to* taſte.

Dr Hakewill, a very ingenious and learned man, who had undertaken to refute a common opinion, that the earth and all things thereon decayed, and that every thing declined daily, ſo that the diſſolution of the world might be juſtly expected from it's old age, produces this epitaph to prove this doctrine falſe with regard to Latin poetry; ſince this would not be borne with now, which then probably might be eſteemed excellent. I will not ſay that he intended it, but certainly ſo it is, that his Engliſh tranſlation affords as

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ſtrong, or rather (in my judgment) a ſtronger proof in ſupport of his argument, than the Latin before cited; and I can ſcarce make a queſtion that the reader will be of this opinion when he has peruſed it.

Dr Hakewill's Tranſlation (56).

(56) Apology for the Providence of God in the Government of the world, p. 254.

'Preſbyter Beda's coarſe reſts buried in this grave,
'Grant, Chriſt, his ſoul in Heaven eternal joys may
'have.
'Give him to be drunk the woll of wiſdom, to
'Which with ſuch joy and love he ſtriv'd and breathed
'ſo.'

But as remarkable as this may be, I ſhall mention another epitaph on Beda which is more ſo. There is nothing amiſs in the former but the harſhneſs of the verſe, from which, perhaps, the latter is not abſolutely free; but then it abounds with more eſſential errors; it places the death of Beda at a wrong time; it makes him upwards of ninety when he died, and has been (ſo far as I can trace them) the ſource of moſt of the miſtakes mentioned in the former note. This epitaph, the author and antiquity of which ought to add no great authority, is as follows (57).

(57) Wion. in ligno vitæ, lib. v. cap. ci.

Bedæ Epitaphium.

Beda Dei famulus, Monachorum nobile ſidus,
Finibus è terræ profuit Eccleſiæ;
Solers iſte Patrum ſcrutando per omnia ſenſum,
Eloquio viguit, plurima compoſuit.
Annos hac vitâ, ter duxit ritè triginta
Preſbyter officio, utilis ingenio.
Jani ſeptenis viduatus carne Kalendis
Angligena Angelicam commeruit Patriam.

[K] *We ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power.*] The reaſon mentioned in the text concerning the reading his homilies in his life-time, ſerves very well to ſatisfy ſuperficial and haſty writers; and therefore one need not wonder, that Fuller ſearched no farther. *Saint*, ſays he, they thought *too much, plain* Beda *too little*, and therefore Venerable was a *middle* term, very luckily hit upon in his judgment and

theirs

Abbot Benedict, John of Beverly, and other great men, enabled him to make a quick progreſs in ſcience, and his amazing diligence and application during the ſpace of forty-three years, might very well afford him time to write a great number of books, upon very different ſubjects. He has himſelf given us a ſhort and plain liſt of all the treatiſes he had compoſed before he publiſhed his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of which we have already given an account, as well as of his epiſtle to Egbert Archbiſhop of York, which he certainly wrote after the publiſhing of that Hiſtory; as he likewiſe did ſome other treatiſes, tho' not near ſo many as have been aſcribed to him, which renders it a very difficult thing to give a clear account of his writings, as all who have meddled with this ſubject acknowledge, and as the reader will plainly perceive, by what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes (g) [L]. Theſe his labours were ſo well received in his

(g) Mabillon. Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. P. i. p. 539. Caſimir. Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1681. Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Vol. I. p. 126.

heirs (58). I do not intend to diſpute any part of his argument with him, but barely the matter of fact; for in regard to this I am not ſatisfied, the authority he quotes being inſufficient to prove he was ſo called in his life-time. But the contrary may be very eaſily and effectually made out. Albinus Flaccus, or Alcuinus, his contemporary and ſcholar, does not ſtile him *Venerabilis*, but *Sacerdos*, or *Doctor eximius*. Amalarcus calls him *Dominus*, and Uſuardus plain *Beda* (59). But Marianus Scotus, and ſeveral authors, do not all ſcruple calling him *Sanctus* (60). Beſides, the old epitaph quoted in the preceding note, plainly deſtroys this opinion, and ſhews that he enjoyed during his life no higher, indeed no other title, than that of Preſbyter Bede. But beſides this account of the matter, which is rational enough if it was true, we have two others equally fabulous and falſe, yet ſtill worth relating. The firſt refers to his life-time, and lays the ſcene thus. When Beda was grown old, and through age blind, one of his young diſciples carried him abroad to a place where there lay a great heap of ſtones, and told him he was ſurrounded by a great crowd of people, who waited with much ſilence and attention to receive his ſpiritual conſolation. The good old man accordingly made a long diſcourſe, which he concluded with a prayer, and the ſtones very punctually made their reſponſe, *Amen*, *Venerable Bede* (61). This very ſilly ſtory is not only falſe in itſelf, but is founded alſo on two falſe notions concerning him. 1. That he had the title of Venerable in his life-time. 2. That he ſurvived to extreme age, and was blind. The ſecond fabulous tale refers this title to his death (62), when a young man, or, as this ſtory reports, a Monk, ſtudying for an epitaph got thus far,

Hâc ſunt in foſſa BEDÆ . . . . . oſſa.

His head not being well turned for Poetry, he could find no words to fill up this *hiatus* in his leonine, and, after tormenting himſelf to no purpoſe, fell aſleep; but the next morning returning to his taſk, he, with infinite aſtoniſhment, found the line already compleated, thus:

Hâc ſunt in *foſſa Bedæ* Venerabilis *oſſa*.

In Engliſh,

Here, in the ſilent grave, are laid
The bones of Venerable BEDE.

Some authors vary this ſtory a little, by telling us the young Monk wrote firſt, as an inſcription for our author's tomb, this verſe (63),

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Preſbyteri* oſſa.

But in his ſleep, being ſeverely rebuked for injuring the fame of ſo good a man by ſo miſerable a line, he was inſtructed to amend it thus:

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Venerabilis* oſſa.

It is evident enough even from theſe idle and ridiculous ſtories, that thoſe who contrived them were deſirous of giving ſome reaſon or other for Bede's being ſtiled *Venerable*; and rather than put themſelves to the trouble of ſearching for what might be ſatisfactory, they invented ſuch fables as theſe, which ſurely injure his memory, much more than if they had left the ſubject wholly untouched. But the truth ſeems to be, that though he had not this title given him in this life, or immediately after his deceaſe, yet the cuſtom of calling him ſo is very antient, and was brought in by thoſe who quoted his writings, who at firſt making uſe of this phraſe, 'we find ſuch and ſuch things in the writings 'of the *Venerable Prieſt* Beda;' they began by degrees to let drop the word *Prieſt*, and ſo called him the *Venerable Bede*: An appellation, which, as a learned Popiſh writer ſays, he juſtly deſerved, as well for his ſingular piety, as for his remarkable modeſty (64). And a Proteſtant writer, of as great character, ſays, that he was one of the beſt and holieſt of men, and thereby truly merited the title of *Venerable* (65).

[L] *By what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes.*] The firſt catalogue of Beda's works, as we have before obſerved (66), we have from himſelf at the end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which contains all he had wrote before the year 731. This we find copied by Leland (67), who alſo mentions ſome other pieces he had met with of Beda's, and points out likewiſe ſeveral that paſſed under his name, though in his judgment ſpurious. John Bale, in the firſt edition (68) of his book, which he finiſhed in 1548, mentions ninety-ſix treatiſes written by Beda; and in his laſt edition (69) he ſwells theſe to one hundred and forty-five tracts; and declares at the cloſe of both his catalogues, that there were numberleſs pieces of our author's beſides, which he had not ſeen. Pits, according to his uſual cuſtom (70), has much enlarged even this catalogue; though, to do him juſtice, he appears to have taken great pains in drawing up this article, and mentions the libraries in which many of theſe treatiſes were to be found. I ſay nothing of the catalogues given by Trithemius, Dempſter, and others, becauſe much inferior to theſe. Several of Beda's books were printed very early, and, for the moſt part, very incorrectly; but the firſt general collection of his works appeared at Paris in 1544, in three volumes in folio. They were printed again, in 1554, at the ſame place, in eight volumes. They were publiſhed in the ſame ſize and number of volumes, at Baſil, in 1563, reprinted at Cologne in 1612, and laſtly at the ſame place in 1688. A very clear and diſtinct account of the contents of theſe volumes, the reader may find in the very learned and uſeful collection of Caſimir Oudin (71). But the moſt exact and ſatisfactory detail of Beda's life and writings, we owe to that accurate, judicious, and candid Benedictine John Mabillon (72), to whom we are much indebted for what we have given the reader in relation to this great writer, in the first with reſpect to his actions and courſe of life, his piety, zeal, learning, publick ſpirit, and indefatigable application. Neither has any critick exerted his ſkill more effectually than he, though largely, and with copious extracts interſperſed. But the eaſieſt, plaineſt, and moſt conciſe repreſentation of Beda's writings, in reference to our deſign, occurs in the learned Dr Cave's juſtly eſteemed performance (73); and therefore in his method, though with many additional remarks and elucidations, we ſhall proceed.

(58) Church Hiſtory of Britain, Cent. VIII. B. ii. p. 99.

(59) Gundlingii, Obſervat. ad Rem literariam ſpectan. Tom. XII. p. 196.

(60) Id. ibid. p. 197.

(61) Petr. Equilin. Catol. Sanctorum, in Vita Bedæ.

(62) Flor. Sanctorum, p. 397.

(63) Oper. Bedæ, Tom. VIII. p. 357.

(64) Platina, in Vita Pont. p. 369.

(65) Cauſabon. Exercit. II. ad Baron. No. 4.

(66) See note [F].

(67) Leland. de Scriptor. p. 116, 117, 118.

(68) Scriptor. Illuſt. Britan. fol. 50.

(69) Script. Brit. Cent. I. p. 90, 91, 92.

(70) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 132.

(71) De Script. & Scrip. Eccl. Tom. I. Sæc. VIII. col. 1681, & *ſeq.*

(72) Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. Vol. I. P. 534.

(73) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 613.

The works of Venerable Beda *that are publiſhed.*

I. *De Rerum natura liber*; i. e. 'Of the nature of 'Things.'

This occurs in his own Index, in the other catalogues of his writings, and is the firſt treatiſe in the ſecond volume of his works, in the Cologne edition of 1612.

II. *De Temporum ratione*; i. e. 'Of the Reaſon of 'times.'

This treatiſe occurs likewiſe in his own, and in all the other catalogues. It is a treatiſe of Chronology inſerted

his own time, and for many ages after, that we find a great character beſtowed upon him by

ſerted in the ſecond volume of his works, page 43. There is, however, a later and more correct edition of this treatiſe printed in Germany (74), which deſerves to be conſulted whenever his works are reprinted.

(74) Inter Comment. Jo. Georg. Eccardi. *Wirceburgh.* 1729, Tom. I p. 825.

III. *De ſex ætatibus Mundi liber*; i. e. 'Of the 'Six Ages of the World.'

It appears plainly to have been written in 726, and is mentioned, though with ſome variation in the title, in his own catalogue. It is printed in the ſecond volume of his works, page 103, and ſeparately at Paris in 1507, in 4to. It was alſo printed at Cologne with notes, and a continuation by John Bronchorſt.

IV. *De Temporibus ad intelligendam Supputationem temporum S. Scripturæ*; i. e. 'Of the Account of Time, 'in order to the underſtanding Scripture Computations.'

This appears to be a ſhorter treatiſe on the ſame ſubject with the foregoing (II), and was apparently written before it, ſo that it is wrong placed in his works, vol. II. page 118; but being ſo placed, it ſeemed but requiſite we ſhould ſo place it here, that the amendment ſuggeſted might be the better underſtood. In ſhort, inſtead of being a ſupplement to the larger treatiſe, that is rather a ſupplement to this.

V. *Sententiæ ex Cicerone et Ariſtotele*; i. e. 'Sen-'tences out of Cicero and Ariſtotle.'

This is not in his own, but occurs in ſome other catalogues, and has therefore found a place in his works, vol. II. page 166; but in the judgment of Oudin (75) it is very doubtful whether it ought to be aſcribed to Beda: Yet if we conſider that ſuch a collection might be uſeful to his ſcholars, it will anſwer all objections.

(75) De Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. col. 1711.

VI. *De Proverbiis*; i. e. 'Of Proverbs.'

Of the ſame kind with the other; but as it ſtands in his works, vol. II. page 185, is ſtrangely interpolated, and in that reſpect may well be denied to be the compoſure of Beda.

VII. *De Subſtantia Elementorum*; i. e. 'Of the 'Subſtance of the Elements.'

We do not find this in his account of his own works, and indeed it ſeems to be altogether unworthy of him, though printed amongſt the reſt of his writings, vol. I. page 323.

VIII. *Philoſophiæ libri* 4; i. e. 'Four Books of 'Philoſophy.'

This likewiſe occurs in the ſame volume of Beda's works, but beyond doubt is none of his, as appears by the preparatory introductions to each of the four books. The learned Caſimir Oudin (76) inclines to think this treatiſe belongs to William de Conchis, who flouriſhed about 1140.

(76) De Scriptor. & Script. Eccl. Tom. I. col. 1689.

IX. *De Paſchate ſive Equinoctio*; i. e. 'Of the 'keeping of Eaſter, or of the (vernal) Equinox.'

The learned have been more at a loſs about this than about any other of the works of Beda. Baronius from an example given therein relating to 776, concluded from thence that Beda muſt have lived longer than that year. But the judicious Primate Uſher being ſenſible this notion could not be maintained, thought this treatiſe was ſpurious, and ought to be rejected. But the aſſiduous Mabillon (77) diſcovered from an antient manuſcript, that this example was interpolated by a tranſcriber to accommodate it to the year in which he made his copy. It is to be found in the firſt volume of his works.

(77) Analecta. Tom. I. p. 11. in not.

X. *De divinatione Vitæ et Mortis*; i. e. 'Of the 'foretelling Life and Death.'

XI. *De Arca Noe*; i. e. 'Of Noah's Ark.'

XII. *De Linguis Gentium*; i. e. 'Of the Languages 'of Nations.'

XIII. *Oracula Sibyllina*; i. e. 'Sibylline Oracles.'

All of them very low and deſpicable performances, and of which it may be at firſt ſight very confidently pronounced, they are injuriouſly attributed to our author.

XIV. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ gentis Anglorum, libri* 5; i. e. 'The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation.' Of which a large account has been given.

XV. *Vita S. Cuthberti*; i. e. 'The Life of St Cuth-'bert.'

There is ſcarce any of our author's writings ſo well atteſted as this. We find by his own catalogue, that he twice wrote this holy Prelate's life in verſe and in proſe. He mentions this again in his Hiſtory (78), where he adds many particulars concerning him, which had before eſcaped his inquiries. It is to be found in the third volume of his works.

(78) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap. xxx.

XVI. *Vitæ SS Fælicis, Veduſti, Columbani, Attalæ, Patricii, Euſtaſii, Bertolfi, Arnolphi, Burgondoforæ*; i. e. 'Lives of the Saints, Felix, &c.'

We have reaſon to believe the firſt of theſe, *viz.* The Life of St Felix, might fall from the pen of Beda, but for the reſt they certainly do not belong to him, but to others; as for inſtance, the Life of St Patrick to Probus, and that of Burgondofora, an Abbeſs, to an Italian Monk.

XVII. *Carmen de Juſtino Martyrio*; i. e. 'A Poem 'on the Martyrdom of Juſtin.'

We find this with thoſe lives before-mentioned, in the third volume of our author's works; but there is no reaſon to believe this, any more than thoſe, to be his, but quite the contrary.

XVIII. *Martyrologium*; i. e. 'A Martyrology.'

That ſuch a work our author actually wrote, we have his own authority to prove (79); and that he took care to ſet down therein, not only the days of their births and ſufferings, but the kinds of deaths alſo, and the judges by whom theſe cruel ſentences were paſſed. But theſe very circumſtances plainly ſhew the *Martyrologium*, publiſhed at Antwerp under the name of Beda, to be either ſpurious or interpolated. This indeed has been confeſſed by ſome Popiſh writers of unqueſtioned fidelity, who likewiſe own that moſt of the old Martyrologies are ſo treated. Yet we are aſſured that the genuine, uncorrupted work of Beda, is ſtill in being, and even publiſhed (80). But as to the Martyrology in the third volume of Beda's works, we may ſafely affirm that it ought not to be aſcribed, as it ſtands, to our author. But beſides theſe, there is another Martyrology, which is by the judicious Mabillon aſcribed to Beda, and publiſhed under this title, *Martyrologium quod Beda heroico carmine compoſuit* (81). It is the ſame which the manuſcript bears from which it was printed, and which appears to have been copied within one hundred years after the author's deceaſe. We ſee plainly from the work itſelf, that it muſt have been compoſed in the life-time of Beda, by a Monk of the monaſtery of Jarrow, and that it agrees exactly with his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (82). It is indeed true, that it does not occur, either in his own or in any other catalogue of his works, for which however ſome good reaſons may be given, *viz.* as to the firſt, it appears by St Wilfrid's being inſerted therein, that it was compoſed later than 731, and ſo could not be in Beda's catalogue, publiſhed with his Hiſtory; as to the ſecond, all the accounts of Beda's writings, leave an *et cetera* large enough for other pieces, capable of as authentick proofs as thoſe are, already aſcribed to this author.

(79) Scriptor. vetuſtior. p. 280.

(80) Vide Bolland. Prolog. ad Menſem Martii, Tom. II. §. 5, *& ſeq.*

(81) Dacher Spiceleg. Patr. Tom. X. p. 126, *& ſeq.*

(82) Acta Benedictin. Sæc. iii. Vol. I. p. 560.

XIX. *De ſitu Hieruſalem & locorum ſanctorum*; i. e. 'Of the Situation of Jeruſalem and the Holy Places.'

This is confeſſedly taken out of a book written on the ſame ſubject by Adamnanus, is full of ſuperſtition and fable, ſo as to have furniſhed ſuch as have cenſured our author with moſt of their quotations, to diſcredit his writings; how equitably, the candid and judicious reader will judge.

XX. *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum & Græcorum in Sacris Scripturis occurrentium*; i. e. 'An In-'terpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Names which 'occur in the Holy Scriptures.'

Some aſcribe this to other authors, particularly to one Remigius, a Monk, who lived in the Xth century (83). It is digeſted alphabetically, and muſt have been very uſeful in thoſe times, when there were very few who could read the Scriptures in their original tongues.

(83) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1693.

XXI. *Excerpta & Collectanea*; i. e. 'Memorable 'Paſſages and Collections.'

Unworthy of Beda in all reſpects, ſays the great Dr Cave (84), but it may be his for all that. Young men make common places out of books they deſpiſe when they grow old.

(84) Hiſtoria Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

XXII. *In Hexameron, ſeu de Creatione ſex Dierum Liber*; i. e. 'A Treatiſe on the Hexameron, or Creation in 'ſix Days.'

XXIII. *Explanatio in Pentateuchum & Libros Regum*; i. e. 'An Explanation on the Pentateuch 'and Books of Kings.'

XXIV. *In*

by the moſt eminent authors, as well as the moſt competent judges, who thought it a tribute

XXIV. *In Samuelem Explanationum allegoricarum Libri quatuor*; i. e. 'Four Books of allegorical Explanations upon Samuel.'

XXV. *Explanationes in Eſdram, Tobiam, Job, Proverbia, & Cantica*; i. e. 'Explanations on Eſdras, Tobias, Job, Proverbs, and Canticles.'

Theſe are all contained in the fourth volume of Beda's works, and are allowed to be his, except only three books of Explanations upon Job, which have been fully proved, and that even from the authority of Beda himſelf, to belong to one Philip, a diſciple of St Jerome's (85), who flouriſhed much earlier than our author, and under his name they have been alſo publiſhed (86).

(85) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1694.

XXVI. *De Tabernaculo ac Vaſis & Veſtibus ejus, Libri duo*; i. e. 'Of the Tabernacle and Things appertaining thereto.'

(86) Baſil. 1527.

We find this alſo in the fourth volume of Beda's Works, in all the catalogues, and no ſcruples have been raiſed againſt it, ſo that I think we may juſtly conclude it his.

XXVII. *Commentaria in quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon the Four Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles.'

XXVIII. *De Nominibus Locorum, qui in Actis Apoſtolorum leguntur*; i. e. 'Of the Names of Places which are mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles.'

Theſe all occur in the fifth volume of his Works, and though ſome ſuſpicions have been raiſed againſt the Commentaries upon Matthew and John, yet there appears to be good reaſon for believing them all his, except the laſt, which ſeems to be very juſtly attributed to Remigius (87), who is before mentioned in No. XX, and may be conſidered as aſcribed to Beda by ignorant perſons, who might find them amongſt his manuſcripts.

(87) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Scrip. Eccleſ. Tom. I. Sæc. viii. col. 1696.

XXIX. *Expoſitio in ſeptem Epiſtolas canonicas*; i. e. 'An Expoſition upon the ſeven canonical Epiſtles.'

We find this work alſo in Beda's fifth volume, and there are no ſcruples at all moved about it's being genuine, and yet there is a circumſtance in relation to this work, which deſerves much conſideration. We are informed by the accurate and learned Dr Cave, who ſeems to have been himſelf acquainted with this particular by the ingenious and induſtrious Mr Wharton, that this expoſition has been hitherto conſtantly printed without it's Preface or Prologue, which ſtill appears before an old MS. copy, in the library of Gonvil and Cajus College in Cambridge. This Prologue being tranſcribed by Mr Wharton, and tranſmitted to Dr Cave, is publiſhed by the latter (88), and ſhews very plainly from it's contents, the reaſon why it never came from the preſs in foreign countries, *viz.* becauſe it plainly proves Beda was a ſtranger to the ſupremacy of St Peter, and inſtead of diſcovering it in the Scriptures, collected from thence juſt the contrary.

(88) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 614.

XXX. *Retractationes & Quæſtiones in Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. 'Retractations and Queſtions on the Acts of the Apoſtles.'

Theſe are without doubt juſtly attributed to our author.

XXXI. *Commentaria in omnes Epiſtolas S. Pauli*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon all the Epiſtles of St Paul.'

We have this, as well as the former, in the ſixth volume of Beda's Works. But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat in explanation of theſe Commentaries. They are collections only out of the writings of St Auguſtin, who ought rather to be ſtyled the author of theſe Commentaries than Beda, or whoever elſe drew them out of his writings and put them together. That Beda compoſed a work of this kind, or rather collected it, is very certain; but whether this be that work, is the true ſtate of the queſtion. Baronius inclines to aſcribe it to one Abbot Peter, but the inquiſitive Mabillon has very clearly ſhewn, that it belongs not either to this Abbot or our Beda, but to one Florus (89), ſo that when we have a correct edition of the Writings of Venerable Bede, theſe muſt be thrown out.

(89) Analect. Tom. I. p. 12.

XXXII. *Homiliæ de Temporæ*; i. e. 'Homilies for the Seaſons.'

Theſe make the whole ſeventh volume of his Works.

XXXIII. *Liber de Muliere forti*; i. e. 'A Diſcourſe of the ſtrong Woman.'

An allegory not at all unworthy of, though perhaps not juſtly attributed to, Beda.

XXXIV. *De Officiis Liber*; i. e. 'Of Morals one Book.' This is a very poor collection and plainly none of his.

XXXV. *Scintillæ ſive Loci Communes*; i. e. 'Sparks, or Common Places.'

Theſe are to be met with elſewhere (90), as well as in the Works of Beda, where they occur in the ſeventh volume; but however they are very poor performances, and no proof of it's belonging to him.

(90) Spelman. Concil. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 28.

XXXVI. *Fragmenta in Libros Sapientiales & Pſalterii verſus*; i. e. 'Fragments on the Books of Wiſdom and the Pſalms.'

XXXVII. *De Templo Salomonis*; i. e. 'Of Solomon's Temple.'

XXXVIII. *Quæſtiones in Octateuchum & quatuor Libros Regum*; i. e. 'Queſtions on the Octateuch, and four Books of Kings.'

XXXIX. *Commentarii in Boëthii Libros de Trinitate*; i. e. 'Commentaries upon Boëthius's Books upon the Trinity.'

XL. *Meditationis Paſſionis Chriſti per ſeptem Diei Horas*; i. e. 'Meditations on the Paſſion of Chriſt, for the ſeven (canonical) Hours of the Day.'

This, from the very title, appears to have been penned much later than the age of Beda, and can by no means be reconciled, either in matter or manner, to his writings.

There are beſides an infinite number of ſmall tracts, which are chiefly in the firſt volume of his Works, on Arithmetick, Grammar, Rhetorick, Aſtronomy, Chronology, Muſick, the Means of meaſuring Time, of Meteors, &c. to diſcourſe of all which would require, not a note, but a large volume. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that the writings of Beda were addreſſed to very different readers, for ſome were penned for the uſe of the young Monks who had ſcarce received the firſt tincture of letters, and others for the learned of that age; and in compoſing theſe, conſequently a diverſity of ſtyles was neceſſary. It is therefore too haſty in ſome criticks to conclude, from ſome pieces of our author's, that he had only a little, and that too, ſuperficial, knowledge; they ought to conſider the ſubjects on which, and perſons for whom, he wrote, what diſadvantages he laboured under, in acquiring ſuch a variety of Science in this corner of the world, where he could have ſo very little aſſiſtance, and the generous uſe he made of it, in compoſing ſo many treatiſes for the inſtruction and improvement of youth, that his pains taken, and progreſs made, in literature, might become uſeful to ſucceeding generations.

But excluſive of all the treatiſes written by our author, and which have been publiſhed in the great Collections of his Works, there have been ſome, and thoſe too not the leaſt valuable, that have been ſent abroad, either in other Collections of the writings of antient authors, or by themſelves, and of theſe it is neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome account, which however ſhall be done with all the brevity poſſible.

The Works of Beda *ſeparately printed.*

Acta S. Cuthberti; i. e. 'The Acts of St Cuthbert, in heroick verſe.'

Theſe were publiſhed by Henry Caniſius (91), but there have been ſome doubts raiſed whether they are genuine, and not without reaſon.

(91) Lection. Antiq. Tom. V. p. 92.

Ariſtotelis Axiomata expoſita; i. e. 'The Axioms of Ariſtotle explained.'

Theſe have been twice publiſhed under the name of our author (92), and while this Philoſophy was in great credit might be a uſeful book.

(22) Paris, 1604, 8vo. Lond. 1649, 12mo.

The *Hymns* of *Beda* have been publiſhed with notes by Caſſander, but many of them are of doubtful authority, though ſome of them are found in the moſt antient MSS. of our authors that are preſerved in our publick libraries here or abroad, and they are all very near his time.

Epiſtola Apologetica ad Plegwinam Monachum; i. e. 'An Apologetic Epiſtle to Plegwin a Monk.'

This is a very learned and very judicious performance, as it both explains and defends the opinion of Beda, with reſpect to the Hebrew Chronology, which he maintained againſt the common opinion of the learned in his time; notwithſtanding it was looked upon as a kind of Hereſy, and therefore he deſires that it might be ſhewn to one David, a Monk of York, who had expreſſed

tribute due to his memory, in paying which they likewiſe did honour to themſelves, as will appear from ſome inſtances, out of a much greater number that might have been given, which the reader will find we have collected upon that head, and which, if authorities are capable of ſecuring and preſerving, fame will certainly tranſmit the memory of this great man with honour, to ages at the remoteſt diſtance (*b*) [*M*]. But it muſt however be

(*b*) Simeon. Dunelm. lib. i. cap. viii. Baron. Annal. A. D. 701. Cent. Magdeburgh. cent. viii. cap. x. col. 847. Melanćthon. de corrigend. ſtudiis, p. 35.

expreſſed a diſſatisfaction at the reports he had heard of Beda's ſentiments upon this ſubject.

Epiſtola ad Egbertum Eboracenſem Antiſtitem de Chriſtiani Perfulis Officio, i. e. 'Of the Office of a Chriſtian 'Biſhop to Egbert Biſhop of York.'

We have already given a large account of this work (93), and therefore need ſay nothing farther of it here.'

(93) See before in note [*G*].

Vitæ quinque Abbatum priorum Weremuthenſium et Gervicenſium; i. e. 'The Lives of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow.'

This hiſtory is compriſed in two books, and was publiſhed with the two treatiſes before-mentioned by the very learned and judicious Antiquary of Ireland Sir James Ware, with a preface, containing various particulars relating to the life and writings of Beda, and illuſtrated with ſhort and uſeful notes throughout (94), and again by Mr Wharton.

(94) Dublin, 1664, 8*vo*.

Epiſtola ad Albinum; i. e. 'An Epiſtle to Albinus.'

This was publiſhed by the famous Mabillon (95); but it is to be obſerved, that this Albinus, to whom Beda addreſſes himſelf, is not the celebrated Albinus Flaccus Alcuinus, but, as Ittigius (96) rightly obſerves, another of the ſame name, who was Abbot of the monaſtery of St Peter at Canterbury.

(95) Analect. Tom. I. p. 9.

(96) De Bibliothecis Patrum, cap. iii. p. 269.

In principium Geneſis uſque ad nativitatem Iſaac et Iſmaelis reprobationem libri tres; i. e. 'Three Books 'of Annotations) on the beginning of Geneſis to the 'birth of Iſaac, and the expulſion of Iſhmael.'

In Canticum Habaccuc liber; i. e. 'On the Song of 'Habaccuc.'

Theſe treatiſes of Beda, which are mentioned in his own catalogue of his works, were publiſhed by the learned and induſtrious Mr Wharton from three MSS. in the famous library in the archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth (97). The worthy editor gives a large account of theſe (and other pieces added to them) in an epiſtolary diſcourſe addreſſed to the rev. Mr Archdeacon Batteley, dated Aug 30, 1693; wherein he takes notice, amongſt other things, that he publiſhed theſe Opuſcula of Venerable Bede, to remove the complaint of our negligence in this reſpect, and that foreign writers might not boaſt, as they had hitherto done, of being the ſole publiſhers of the works of Beda. He added to theſe the ſmall treatiſes that had been before publiſhed by Sir James Ware, and which it ſeems were at that time become extremely ſcarce. But at the ſame time he ſhews that he was not tranſported, as ſome editors are, with ſuch an affection for his author, as to conceive better of his works than they deſerved; ſince he confeſſes that the Divines of the middle ages are by no means to be compared with the antient Fathers in point of authority, or to the Moderns in reſpect to acuteneſs; but nevertheleſs they have their uſes, and therefore ſuch collections had been well received by the learned world, and amongſt them none better than ſuch of the works of Beda as had been before publiſhed.

(97) The entire title of this Collection runs thus: 'Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primùm edita, necnon Hiſtorica antea ſemel edita. Acceſſerunt Egberti Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Dialogus de Eccleſiaſticâ Inſtitutione, & Adhelmi Epiſcopi Scireburnenſis. Liber de Virginitate, ex codice Antiquiſſimo emendatus. Lond. 1693, 4*to*.'

The Works of Beda *that ſtill remain unpubliſhed, are,*

De Situ et Mirabilibus Britanniæ liber; i. e. 'Of 'the Situation and Wonders of Britain'

This remains in MS. in the library of Bennet-college in Cambridge, Cod. 32, 173, 205.

Vita S. Juliani; i. e. 'The Life of St Julian.'

This MS. is in the Bodleian library.

Vita S. Gregorii magni; i. e. 'The Life of St Gregory the Great.'

This is in the library of Merton-college; but, upon inſpection, appears to be no other than a tranſcript of St Gregory's life by Paul Warnefrid (98).

(98) Vide Præfat. ad Oper. S. Gregorii Magn. edit. Benedict.

De vita et virtutibus S. Auguſtini Anglorum Apoſtoli; i. e. 'Of the Life and Virtues of St Auguſtin, the 'Apoſtle of the Engliſh.'

MS. in the poſſeſſion of Walter Cope.

Relatio de S. Laurentio Anglorum Archiepiſcopo; i. e. 'A Relation of St Laurence, Archbiſhop of the Engliſh.'

MS. in the ſame place. This Laurence was the ſucceſſor of St Auſtin before-mentioned, and the ſubſtance of this relation is to be found in our author's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (99).

(99) Lib. ii. cap. iv, v, vi.

Homiliarum in S. Lucam libri 2; i. e. 'Two Books 'of Homilies on the Goſpel of St Luke.'

MS. in the publick library at Cambridge, Cod. 25. And in the Pembroke library, Cod. 213.

Commentar. in Eccleſiaſten.; i. e. 'A Commentary 'on Eccleſiaſtes.'

MS. in Baliol-college in Oxford, Cod 158.

De Trinitate liber; i. e. 'A Diſcourſe of the Trinity.'

MS. in the Lumley library.

Libellus de Locis Sanctis; i. e. 'A ſmall Treatiſe of 'the Holy Places.'

MS. in the library of Walter Cope, Cod. 169.

De Imagine Mundi liber; i. e. 'Of the Image of 'the World.'

MS. in the library of Gonville and Cajus-college in Cambridge, Cod. 169. And in Merton-college, Oxford, Cod 42.

Homiliæ in Evangelia; i. e. 'Homilies on the Goſpels.'

MSS. in the library of Lincoln-college at Oxford, Cod. 18. Alſo at Baliol-college, Cod. 130. And at Merton, Cod 227.

De Die Judicii liber; i. e. 'Of the Day of Judgment.'

MS. in Bennet-college, Cambridge, Cod. 284.

The following Writings of his are thought to be loſt.

Commentarius in Eſaiam Prophetam; i. e. 'A Commentary on Eſaiah the Prophet.'

Epiſtolarum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epiſtles.'

Tractatus de manſionibus filiorum Iſrael; i. e. 'A 'Treatiſe of the Manſions of the Children of Iſrael.'

Epigrammatum Liber; i. e. 'A Book of Epigrams.'

This Leland ſeems to have inſpected (100).

(100) Collectan. Tom. II. p. 114.

De Vita et Paſſione S. Anaſtaſii; i. e. 'Of the 'Life and Paſſion of St Anaſtaſius.'

This, in Beda's own catalogue of his works, is ſaid to have been before ill tranſlated, and worſe amended from the Greek, and by him therefore corrected and brought to the true meaning of it's original (101); but by whom it was written or tranſlated is not expreſſed.

(101) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 280.

We have inſiſted more at large on the writings of Venerable Bede, becauſe notwithſtanding there have been ſeveral editions of them, as we have already ſhewn, yet neither thoſe large collections, nor the other treatiſes in which ſome pieces of his are contained, are very common; ſo that it ſeemed the more neceſſary to give the reader a clear and compleat view of all the writings this great man left behind him, ſuch as are ſuſpected, ſuch as remain unpubliſhed, and ſuch as are ſuppoſed to be loſt. By this means one great and valuable end of this work will be anſwered, *viz.* the ſeeing at one view, and without being obliged to have recourſe to other books, what Beda did and wrote in his life-time, what remains to us of his writings, where they may be found, and how a farther account of any difficulties about them may be obtained, by conſulting, as indicated in the margin, the remarks of the moſt eminent of our modern Criticks.

[*M*] *With honour even to ages at the remoteſt diſtance.*] We will open theſe commendations of our author with the wiſe and weighty obſervations of Hermannus Conringius (102), a man of moſt extenſive learning, and of as much judgment as any Critick of his age. 'It is, *ſays he*, worthy of notice, that in 'the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, there was 'ſcarce to be found throughout Italy, France, Britain, Spain, and, in a word, throughout the whole 'weſtern Church, the name of a perſon who had written a book, but what either dwelt in, or at leaſt was 'educated at ſome monaſtery. How much was Beda 'diſtinguiſhed amongſt the Britiſh Monks, who, to 'ſay the truth, was not only the moſt learned of them, 'but, the age in which he lived conſidered, of the 'whole

(102) De Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii.

be acknowledged, that ſome late criticks of our own and foreign nations, but more particularly the French, have taken great liberties with his character; and have treated him as a man of ſuperficial learning; vaſt, but indigeſted, reading; a collector rather than an author; of little judgment, though great induſtry; negligent in point of ſtyle as well as method, and void of all taſte for criticiſm. He is alſo charged by ſome with being extreamly credulous, and giving too eaſy a belief to the fabulous miracles reported in his time.

'whole weſtern world. As for us Germans, we owe 'the firſt propagation of Chriſtianity amongſt us to 'thoſe religious houſes; and, to ſay the truth, we are 'likewiſe indebted to them for the cultivation of 'learning, and the improvement of all branches of 'literature, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh and 'Scotch received theirs in former times from the Ro-'man Monks, who viſited their countries.' This may ſerve to give us a juſt notion of the true merit of Beda, who is not to be commended as a writer much ſuperior to thoſe of the two laſt ages, but as an author who wrote much better than moſt men of his time, and took a great deal of pains to make the acquiſition of knowledge very eaſy to his countrymen, who before his time found it hard to ſtudy to any purpoſe, even when they were ever ſo much inclined to it. Albinus, or Alcuinus Flaccus, in a letter of his directed to the Monks of Jarrow, addreſſes them thus (103). 'Bearing in mind the example of the moſt 'worthy perſon of your times, Preſbyter Beda, you 'ought to remember how he ſtudied in his youth, how 'great a character he had amongſt men, and how great 'a weight of glory he now ſuſtains with God. His 'behaviour ought aſſuredly to awake your ſleepy 'minds, be therefore aſſiduous you who are now in-'truſted with the care of teaching, open your books, 'read and explain their ſenſe, and, like him, feed 'thoſe who are under your care as he did, &c.' In the ſame manner Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus diſcourſes in the *fifth dialogue* of his *Hiſtory of Poets*, where he gives a large character and a high elogium of Beda, who, he ſays, had learning enough to have diſtinguiſhed him in any age, and that in one very dark and ſuperſtitious, he excelled all others Folchardus (104), in his life of St John, Archbiſhop of York, takes occaſion to ſpeak of our author as his pupil; and ſays, that it is amazing how he became ſo perfect in all the branches of thoſe ſciences to which he addicted himſelf; whereby, as he aſſures us, he conquered all difficulties, and brought thoſe of his own nation to frame right notions of the matters that moſt concerned them, ſo as that they were afterwards neither dull nor ignorant, but from the rude and booriſh manners of their anceſtors, began to be exceedingly civilized and polite through their deſire of learning, of which he not only taught them the grounds while living, but in his works left them a kind of *Encyclopædia* for the the inſtitution of youth after his deceaſe. Whoever it was that took upon him to continue Beda's Hiſtory, has ſhewn an inclination to do juſtice to his memory (105), though he ſeems only to have tranſcribed William of Malmeſbury. Indeed this cuſtom of tranſcribing was very general in thoſe times, ſo that commonly the ſame characters of eminent perſons are given in the ſame words, under the name of various authors. In many alſo of the Abbey Chronicles, where there are ſhort articles only entered, the ſame regularity (which ſhews their being copied from each other) appears. In one of theſe Chronicles I have obſerved, that in recording the death of Beda, he is ſtiled *Saint* as well as *Venerable* (106); But to proceed more methodically with our authorities; William of Malmeſbury gives him a very extraordinary character, and tells us, that it was much eaſier to admire him in thought, than to do him juſtice in expreſſion. He commends him alſo for his piety and learning, and laments the loſs of his induſtry and abilities in the ages following; and obſerves, that hiſtory ſlept, and all notice of publick tranſactions were in a manner buried with him; for the Engliſh growing more indolent every day, all application to learning ceaſed for a long time over the whole iſland (107). Simeon Dunelmenſis tells us, that it ſeems ſurprizing to ſome perſons, that a man who lived in one of the moſt remote corners of the world, and never had an opportunity of travelling for his improvement in Science, or frequenting the ſchools of Philoſophy, ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſo uncommon an extent of learning, and the compoſition of ſo many books (108). Platina, in his Lives of the Popes, obſerves, that he received the name of *Venerable* on account of his great ſkill in the Greek and Latin tongues, and his piety and modeſty (109). Bale (110) aſſures us, that he was ſo well ſkilled in the writings of Pagan authors, that he had ſcarce an equal in that age, and that he learned Natural Philoſophy and Mathematicks from the pureſt ſources, the antient Greek and Latin writers themſelves. He had ſo ſolid a knowledge of the myſteries and principles of the Chriſtian Faith, conſidering the corruptions of the age in which he lived, that he was eſteemed by many perſons even ſuperior to Gregory the Great himſelf, on account of his accurate ſkill in the Greek and Latin languages, but he certainly ſurpaſſed him in eloquence and copiouſneſs of his ſtile. And I wiſh, ſays Bale, he had done ſo in the purity of his ſentiments. In ſhort, that there is ſcarce any thing in all antiquity worthy to be read, which is not to be found in Beda, though he travelled not out of his own country; and that if he had flouriſhed in the times of St Auguſtin, Jerome, or Chryſoſtom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them, ſince even in the midſt of a ſuperſtitious age he wrote ſo many excellent treatiſes; however he owns, that he cannot be acquitted of ſome errors, ſince he mentions ſeveral ridiculous ſtories as real facts in his Hiſtory, from the too great regard which he paid to the Monks and the dialogues of Gregory. Pits (111) tells us, that he was ſo well verſed in the ſeveral branches of learning, that Europe ſcarce ever produced a greater ſcholar in all reſpects. That even while he was living, his writings were of ſo great authority, that it was ordered by a Council held in England, and approved afterwards by the Catholick Church, that they ſhould be publickly read in the churches. That he was remarkable from his earlieſt years for his piety and love of learning, and went always from prayers to his ſtudies, and from his ſtudies to prayers; ſo that his intenſe application furniſhed him with a compleat knowledge of Poetry, Rhetorick, Natural Philoſophy, Metaphyſicks, Aſtronomy, Arithmetick, Muſick, Geometry, Coſmography, Chronology, Hiſtory, and the whole circle of the Liberal Arts, and all parts of Mathematicks, Philoſophy, and Divinity; ſo that Pits is really of opinion, that the Chriſtian world in that age, which was diſtinguiſhed, ſays he, by a very great number of learned men, produced few comparable to him, and not one ſuperior, as appears evidently from the teſtimony of ſeveral Hiſtorians, and the excellent books which he wrote in all parts of learning. Fuller, a fanciful writer, has left us two accounts of Beda; we will cite the moſt remarkable and ſingular of them, which, if it does not inform, will at leaſt divert the reader. Thus it runs (112). 'Bede, and (becauſe 'ſome nations meaſure the worth of the perſon by the 'length of the name) take his addition Venerable: 'He was born at Girwy (now called Jarrow) in this 'Biſhoprick, bred under St John of Beverly, and af-'terwards a Monk in the town of his nativity. He 'was the moſt general ſcholar of that age. Let a So-'phiſter begin with his Axioms, a Bachelor of Arts 'proceed to his Metaphyſicks, a Maſter to his Mathe-'maticks, and a Divine conclude with his controver-'ſies and comments on Scripture, and they ſhall find 'him better in all, than any Chriſtian writer in that 'age, in any of thoſe arts and ſciences. He ex-'pounded almoſt all the Bible, tranſlated the Pſalms 'and New Teſtament into Engliſh, and lived a com-'ment on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Shining as a 'light in the world, in the midſt of a crooked and per-'verſe generation*. He was no gadder abroad; cre-'dible authors avouching, that he never went out of 'his cell, though both Cambridge and Rome pre-'tended to his habitation; yet his corpſe after his 'death, which happened *anno* 734, took a journey, 'or rather was removed, to Durham, and there en-'ſhrined.' Hollinſhed, Stowe, Speed, and the reſt of our general Hiſtories, treat his memory very reſpectfully.

(103) Epiſt. xlix.

(104) Leland. de Script. p. 119. Todd's MS. notes on Beda's Hiſtory.

(105) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 285.

(106) Chron. Godſtovian. MS. p. 63.

(107) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii.

(108) In Epiſtola ad Hugon. Decan. Eborac. ap. X. Hiſt. col. 76, 77.

(109) In Vit. Agathon.

(110) Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Centur. II. p. 94.

(111) Relat. Hiſtor. de Rebus Angl. p. 130.

(112) Fuller's Worthies, p 292. *under* Durham.

time. On the other hand, there are ſome who blame him for giving into many ſingular opinions, and others are no leſs offended with his want of accuracy, and writing from very indifferent memoirs. We think ourſelves obliged to report theſe exceptions to his character, with the ſame fidelity that we have ſhown, in repeating the praiſes that have been beſtowed upon him, that the reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth (*i*) [*N*]. But to perform this more effectually, and with the ſtricteſt regard to

(*i*) Du Pin, Bibl. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. VI. p. 88, 89. Melanges de Literature, par Vigneul-Marville, Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 35.

[*N*] *The reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth.*] Whoever conſiders the difference of their tempers, and the ſtill greater difference between the times in which they wrote, will not be much ſurprized to find that Beda is not highly in favour with the famous Milton, who, after tranſcribing from him what appeared moſt valuable and fitteſt for his purpoſe, when he comes to the year 731, where Beda's Hiſtory ends, he gives us this account of it (112). 'In which peaceful ſtate of the land, many in Northumberland, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, betook them to the cloyſter, and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of Ina, Clerks and Laics, men and women, haſting to Rome in herds, thought themſelves no where ſure in eternal life 'till they were cloyſtered there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this iſland, Beda ſurceaſed to write, out of whom chiefly has been gathered, ſince the Saxons arrival, ſuch as hath been delivered, a ſcattered ſtory picked out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious works, from his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; towards the latter end, ſo bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected, may ſeem a Kalendar rather than a Hiſtory, taken up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of Kings, computation of years; yet thoſe hard to be reconciled with the Saxon Annals. Their actions we read of were moſt commonly wars, but for what cauſe waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of their wiſdom, reaſon, or juſtice, little or nothing; the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; Kings one after another, leaving their kingly charge to run their heads fondly into a Monk's cowle, which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence, to the Daniſh invaſion, it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of Beda.' If this account of his moſt famous work attacks the character of Beda as an Hiſtorian, we ſhall find that M. Du Pin (114), a famous French author, has cenſured almoſt all his writings in the lump; and though he throws in ſome ſlight commendations, yet it is very eaſy to perceive that he does it only with a view to defend himſelf from the imputation of treating with much freedom, one, whoſe name 'till then had been reputed Venerable. He tells us, that his ſtile is clear and eaſy, but without any purity, eloquence, or ſublimity; that he wrote with a prodigious facility, but without art or reflection; and that he was a greater maſter of learning than of judgment, or a true critical taſte: That he has collected whatever he could meet with, without any conſiderable choice or accuracy: That his Commentaries upon the Scriptures are only extracts from the Fathers, which he has connected together; and that his Hiſtory is exact enough with regard to what happened in his own time, or juſt before it, but in other parts, he is not to be depended upon, ſince he made uſe of erroneous memoirs. In ſhort, that what he has done in prophane Literature is not very profound or exact, though his knowledge was conſiderable for the time in which he lived. There is another French writer, who, that he might deliver himſelf with greater freedom in reſpect to the characters both of dead and living authors, thought fit to conceal himſelf under the name of M. de Vigneul-Marville. Amongſt others who have felt the ſtrokes of his pen, Beda has not eſcaped; and that the reader may ſee what drew upon him the diſtaſte of this author, we ſhall tranſlate the paſſage which concerns him, ſo as to give the author's ſenſe in his own words (115). 'As we do not pretend to give a dictionary, we ſhall not repeat here either the Life or the Hiſtory of Beda, which may be found elſewhere, but ſhall be content with collecting ſome circumſtances relating to him, that are not ſo well known. Beda had ſome particular ſentiments which have found but few partizans. He thought, for inſtance, that Joſeph the huſband of the virgin Mary was a farrier, contrary to the common opinion. When he ſpeaks of the Magi, or wiſe men, who went to worſhip our Saviour, he is very particular in the account of their names, age, and deſcription, and the offerings which each of them made to Chriſt. He tells us, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard, and that it was he who offered gold to our Saviour, in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; that Gaſpar, the ſecond of the Magi, was young and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincenſe, in order to recogninize the divinity of our Lord; and that Balthazar, the third, was of a dark complexion, and had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Saviour's humanity. He is likewiſe very circumſtantial in the deſcription of their dreſs. Perhaps this account of our author's gave occaſion to the pictures which repreſent that ſubject, or was taken from them. Father Pezron, who has taken ſuch pains, after Iſaac Voſſius and Father Morin, to ſupport the chronology of the Septuagint, which repreſents the world about two thouſand years older than the common account, tells us, that our author was the firſt who endeavoured, in the Weſtern Church, to maintain the ſhorter calculation of the Hebrew text; whereas, before him, that Church, as well as the Eaſtern, had embraced the Chronology of Euſebius, which reckons 5199 years before Chriſt, eſpecially after the time that St Jerome had tranſlated the Chronicon of that celebrated writer. Archbiſhop Uſher, in his Sacred Chronology, obſerves, that Beda was conſidered as an Heretick, on account of this innovation, or, which is equivalent to it, becauſe he ventured to aſſert, that our Saviour did not appear in the fleſh, in the ſixth millenary of the world. However his computation was received afterwards, and ſcarce any other was admitted in the Weſt, till the three learned men abovementioned, appeared in defence of the contrary opinion.' We ſhall, in the ſucceeding note, ſhew, that as great men, and as good judges as any of theſe, entertained a different opinion of our author and his writings. But, in the mean time, it may not be amiſs to hint to the reader's conſideration, a few remarks upon theſe criticiſms, in the order in which we have placed them. As to Milton, he blames Beda's Hiſtory for faults, to which the firſt Hiſtories of every country muſt be always liable, and from which, therefore, there was no reaſon to expect that his ſhould be exempt. The errors he condemns in him, are not ſo much his, as thoſe of the age in which he lived, and which, the circumſtances of his life conſidered, it was impoſſible for him to avoid. That there was ſo little of Civil Hiſtory in Beda's book, was indeed a misfortune to Milton, but no fault in the author, who propoſed to write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, without any mixture of the Civil, farther than was requiſite to make it underſtood; ſo that he is cenſured, not for writing amiſs upon his own plan, which certainly did not require an account of the motives and cauſes of wars, and other political tranſactions; but becauſe his work was not ſo agreeable to Milton's plan, as he could have wiſhed it. Yet at parting, he expreſſes a concern for the loſs of ſo good a guide, as he very well might, for if we make the juſt allowances to Beda, which ought to be made from the circumſtances under which he wrote, he may be very truly ſtiled, one of the beſt and moſt faithful of our antient hiſtorians. Du Pin cenſures him a little unjuſtly, for want of conſidering what his aim was in thoſe writings, with which he finds ſo many faults. He ſays that Beda's Commentaries were little better than collections from the Fathers; but the truth is, that Beda intended them for nothing better, and Du Pin himſelf admits, that the antient Fathers were more happy in their explanations of the Scriptures, than the writers of thoſe times; ſo that in making theſe collections, Beda, upon his own principles, muſt be allowed to have ſhewn a critical taſte, for the want of

(112) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 69, 70.

(114) Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. VI. p. 89.

(115) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Paris 1725, 12mo, Tom. III. p. 283, 284, 285.

to juſtice, we find it likewiſe requiſite to obſerve, that ſome of the greateſt and ableſt men of the laſt and of the preſent age, have entertained a very high opinion of his learning, judgment, and exactneſs, as well as of his piety, great regard for true religion, and having had very juſt notions, as to ſeveral of thoſe points which are now controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants (*k*), and who therefore look upon the collecting and publiſhing his works, as a thing equally honourable for this nation, uſeful to the learned world, and advantageous to the Chriſtian faith (*l*). So that if we eſteem the memory of Venerable Bede, in ſome meaſure unfortunate, from the number of cenſurers he has found among the moderns; we muſt at the ſame time allow, that there have not been wanting men of equal abilities, and equal reputation, who have vindicated his writings, and ſupported his right to that fame, which he has ſo long enjoyed, and which, if their arguments have any weight, will ſtill remain very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire (*m*) [O]. It

(*k*) Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. cent. II. c. i. p. 94. Herman. Conring. de Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii. Jacob. Uſſer. in Chron. Sacr. et al. loc.

(*l*) Paul. Colomeſ. in Paralipom. ad Cartophil. Eccleſ. Gul. Cave.

(*m*) Mabillon, Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, p. 89.

of which, however, he is by this very writer condemned. As for the faults in his ſtyle, they will not appear very great, if compared with contemporary writers, and to compare him with others is unjuſt. The greateſt admirers of Beda, do not pretend to ſet him upon a level in point of ſtyle, method, or literature, with the great men of the laſt century, who, as they had many advantages over him in point of education, might well ſurpaſs him in moſt parts of learning; but the admirers of Beda ſay, that conſidering the ſituation of this country at that time, and the low eſtate of letters therein, it was amazing that this man ſhould make ſo great a progreſs in the languages and ſciences, and write ſo great a number of books upon ſuch different ſubjects, before he was threeſcore. Even ſuppoſing they are not ſo correctly written as is uſual in our times, ſince the criticks have exerciſed their trade, and thereby introduced a kind of reformation in learning. But it is a little ſingular, to hear a French writer complain of Beda's writing from erroneous memoirs. It may be ſo, but how came he to know it? We ſhall in the next note ſhew, that the greateſt maſters in Engliſh Hiſtory, men of probity, candour, and capacity, knew nothing of this, and Milton himſelf confeſſes, that he travelled with much worſe guides after he parted with Beda. The laſt of theſe criticks was a Carthuſian Monk, Dom Bonaventure d'Argone, who took the Nomme de Guerre of Vigneul-Marville (116), to prevent being called to an account, for what he thought fit to publiſh in his Miſcellanies. The very account he gives of Beda ſhews, he underſtood very little of his ſubject. He takes it for granted, that King Sigebert erected the univerſity of Cambridge, which is alone ſufficient to ſhew, how indifferent a judge he muſt prove of Beda's hiſtorical Writings (117). He blames our author for the ſingularity of his opinions, and yet in the ſingularity of his own opinions, conſiſts the chief merit of his book. He criticiſes ſome paſſages in our author's Writings, without quoting them, which is indeed his method, but very unfair, and which no writer of that kind ever uſed but himſelf. Yet we may ſafely affirm, that theſe ſingular opinions, for which he cenſures him, were not Beda's, but copied by him from other books; ſo that his objection falls to the ground with reſpect to Beda, whatever becomes of the notions that he labours to expoſe. As to what he ſays of Beda's being the firſt who declared in favour of the Hebrew Chronology, it is indeed a proof of his being ſingular in his opinions, but it is a proof at the ſame time, of his great learning, penetration, and good ſenſe. If he had ever looked into our author's epiſtle to Plegwin, he would have found, that he diſcourſes there in ſupport of his own opinion, with as much learning, penetration, and critical ſkill, as any of the moderns, and gives very juſt reaſons why he had taken ſo much pains upon this head. He ſays that it gave him great concern, and in ſome meaſure moved his indignation, when he heard the common people continually aſking, When the world would be at an end? or, When the laſt day was to come? which demands he ſhews plainly, were founded upon the miſtaken opinion of the time of Chriſt's coming, which therefore he endeavoured to explode, and in the cloſe of his epiſtle, he is ſo far from taking any merit to himſelf from his diſcoveries upon this ſubject, that he very fairly and candidly confeſſes, that he had delivered no more than was conſiſtent with the Hebrew verity, explained by Origen, publiſhed by Jerome, commended by Auguſtin, and confirmed by Joſephus, than whom, in ſuch matters, he profeſſes he knew none more learned; at the ſame time he paſſes a very juſt cenſure upon Euſebius, and recommends the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue, as the moſt effectual means of coming at the true ſenſe of the Scriptures (118). Whoever conſiders this attentively, and at the ſame time reflects on the number of great men, who, in all ſucceeding ages, have acquieſced in, and defended, Beda's opinions in this reſpect, not indeed upon his authority, but upon the ſame authorities which induced him to publiſh it, againſt the common ſentiment in his time, will ſee juſt reaſon to entertain a better opinion of our author's learning, judgment, and capacity, than from the accounts given of him by theſe criticks, who very plainly ſhew, that they had more regard for their own reputation, than for thoſe of other men; for though it becomes ſuch writers to deal freely and juſtly with the authors they mention, yet it is ſurely their duty, not to cenſure without evidence, or condemn upon ſlight grounds.

(116) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 785, 800, 856.

(117) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Tom. III. p. 283.

(118) Opuſcul. Bedæ H. Wharton. edit. p. 250. Jacob. Uſſerii Chronol. Sacra, cap. iii. p. 44. Voſſ. de Natura Artium, lib. iii. cap. xli. §. 14.

[O] *Very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire.*] We are in this note to produce the authorities in favour of Beda; and firſt, with regard to his Hiſtory, we will not have recourſe to Church-writers, however eminent, becauſe they may poſſibly be eſteemed ſome way prejudiced in his favour; but to ſuch judges of our antiquities, whoſe very names are never mentioned but with reverence. As for inſtance, the famous Camden, who knew as well as any man the merit of our antient Hiſtorians, and the contents of their writings ſpeaks, of Beda thus (119). 'In this monaſtery of St Peter, 'Beda, the ſingular light of our England, who by his 'piety and learning juſtly obtained the firname of *Venerable*, ſpent his days, as himſelf tells us, in meditating on the Scriptures, and, in the midſt of a barbarous age, wrote many learned works.' In the ſame learned work he frequently cites Beda, and never without paying the utmoſt regard to his authority. In another work of his he has theſe words (120). 'The 'reverend Bede, whom we may more eaſily admire 'than ſufficiently praiſe, for his profound learning in a 'moſt barbarous age, when he was in the pangs of 'death, ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *I have ſo lived among* '*you, that I am not aſhamed of my life; neither fear* '*I to dye, becauſe I have a moſt gracious Redeemer.*' The famous Mr Bolton, author of that learned piece of Britiſh Hiſtory, intitled, NERO CÆSAR, gives us this character of our author (121). 'Indifferency and 'even dealing are the glory of Hiſtorians, which rule 'Venerable Beda reputed ſo ſacred and [illegible], 'that albeit he much deteſted the opinion of Aidanus 'the Scot, according to which he celebrated the high 'feaſt of Eaſter, otherwiſe than that church did, 'whereof Beda was a member, within exact obedience; 'nevertheleſs he durſt not as an Hiſtorian, but with 'all candour and freedom poſſible, deliver Aidan's 'praiſes; yea he makes profeſſion, that he did not 'only deteſt him as a Quartodeciman, though he were 'not a Judaiſing Quartodeciman (for that he kept 'Eaſter in honour of Chriſt's reſurrection upon the 'next Sunday after the fourteenth day of the Moon, 'and not indifferently upon the next day of the week, 'what day ſoever it was). But he did alſo write of 'purpoſe againſt Aidan's opinion therein, as himſelf 'profeſſeth, citing Aidan's own books. Beda never'theleſs, coming by the order and neceſſity of this 'taſk to memorize the truth of things, his cloſing 'words, full of ſaintly gravity and ſincere conſcience, 'are (122); *Theſe things I have wrote concerning the* '*perſon and actions of the man before-mentioned, not in* 'the

(119) Britan. in Brigant. p. 576.

(120) Remains of a greater Work concerning Britain, Lond. 1605, 4*to*, p. 183.

(121) Hypercritica, or a rule of Judgment for writing or reading our Hiſtories, Addreſſ. 11. §. i.

(122) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

It may appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that hitherto in treating the hiſtory of Bede, I have taken no notice at all of his being of the order of St Benedict, which is indeed a point, I find myſelf obliged to clear up before I leave it. It muſt be confeſſed, that many great and learned men, from whom I can ſcarce take the liberty to differ, are very clear in this point, and make no kind of ſcruple of calling Beda a Benedictine (*n*). Upon what grounds they do this, the reader may in ſome meaſure ſatisfy himſelf from Reynerus, who has written expreſsly, and with much labour and learning on the ſubject (*o*). But I muſt confeſs he does not quite ſatisfy me. Our author himſelf ſeems to have been the moſt capable of ſetting us right on this head, and his abſolute ſilence makes one ſuſpect, that the fact is not ſo clear as theſe writers would make it, for had it been ſo, one can ſcarce doubt that in ſome or other of his works, Venerable Bede would have told us he lived under the rule of St Bennet. St Gregory the Great approved the rule of St Benedict about 595, and in ſucceeding times there is no doubt to be made, that (except Carliſle) all our cathedral priories, and moſt of the rich abbies in the kingdom, were of this Rule, which has given the ſtronger colour and appearance of truth, to what is delivered by the great favourers of this religious order (*p*). It is very certain that we had Monks in Britain, not only before the eſtabliſhment of St Benedict's rule, but even before he was born. Yet I think this does not much affect the preſent argument, for we are not concerned about

(n) Trithem. Regner. Mabillon.

(o) Apoſtolatus Benedictorum in Anglia. Duaci, 1626, fol.

(p) Capgrave, Harpsfield, Pitſ.

'*the leaſt commending or approving what he thought* '*about the obſervation of Eaſter, in which he was* '*miſtaken*, &c. *but as a faithful Hiſtorian, ſimply de-* '*ſcribing whatever was done by him, or by his means,* '*and praiſing in his actions whatever appears praiſe-* '*worthy*, &c. According to which rule he doth ſincerely diſcharge his duty, commending Aidan not 'only for learning and eloquence, (which are common 'as well to the good as bad) but for his charity, 'peacefulneſs, humility, for a mind which neither 'wrath nor covetouſneſs could overcome, and for 'many other qualities characteriſtical and proper to a 'moſt worthy man; and finally, (which is a principal 'point of equanimity) he doth diligently extenuate 'and allay the ill conceit which might be conceived 'againſt Aidan, for his doctrine and practice in that article, but doth not in no ſort extenuate his praiſes; 'concluding with one of the fulleſt that perhaps we 'ſhall find of any Saint in the world, which is (123), '*That he omitted nothing that he knew from the writings* '*of the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, or Prophets, was to* '*be done, but endeavoured to fulfil all things to the* '*utmoſt of his power*.' To theſe we might add the many teſtimonies in his favour in the works of the learned *Selden* (124), as well as the commendations beſtowed on him by that great Antiquarian, Sir *Henry Spelman* (125), and which might alone eſtabliſh his reputation; the character given him by the moſt learned *Stillingfleet* (126), if what we have already done were not more than ſufficient; for if thoſe writers laſt-mentioned have not authority to fix the credit of any writer of our Hiſtory, it will be in vain for us to look farther, or to hope to ſucceed by the addition of a multitude of names leſs known, and leſs conſidered. I ſhall oppoſe to the two French writers, two of their own countrymen, who without offence, I may have leave to ſay were much greater men than themſelves, and indeed not at all inferior to any their nation has produced, either in the laſt age, or in the preſent. The firſt of theſe is M. *Colomies*, better known to the world by his Latin name of *Colomeſius*, a clergyman of the Church of England, and keeper of the library at Lambeth, who expreſſes himſelf thus (127). 'I have 'wondered more than once, that as there are ſo many 'manuſcript treatiſes of Beda's to be found in Eng-'land, why hitherto no Engliſhman, who muſt be 'much more capable of doing juſtice to his country-'man than any ſtranger, has never taken the pains to 'publiſh them.' He then, for the common benefit of the republick of letters, gives his reader various notices, of what he thought might be uſeful in caſe ſuch a deſign ſhould ever be undertaken; from whence it appears, that he thought every fragment of Beda's valuable, and that it would be an injury to the learned world, if ſo much as a ſingle line of his ſhould be loſt; which argues a better opinion of our author than was entertained by M. Du Pin, who does not appear at all better verſed in our Venerable Beda's writings, or to have conſidered them with greater attention. The other French writer I ſhall produce is *Mabillon*, whoſe learning, judgment, and diligence, have made him known and eſteemed; whoſe modeſty, candour, and plain-dealing, have rendered him admired and beloved by the whole republick of letters. But I ſhall not quote his elogy of Bede, for in that he might be ſuppoſed either to have ſome prepoſſeſſion in favour of his author, or his order; but a practical treatiſe of his, written for the uſe of the young Benedictines of his own ſociety, in which we may be ſure he ſpoke his mind, and nothing more or leſs than his real ſentiments (128). 'The Monks, ſays he, that were ſent by St 'Gregory into England, built monaſteries there for the 'cultivating virtue and learning at the ſame time. It 'was in that of St Peter at Canterbury, that Benedict 'Biſhop, became acquainted with the monaſtick diſcipline, which he afterwards eſtabliſhed in the two 'monaſteries which he founded, where the Venerable 'Beda made profeſſion of all the ſciences, which he 'taught to his brethren in his monaſtery, and even to 'the Seculars in the church of York. St Adelme and 'many others followed his example.' He proceeds afterwards to ſhew how this diſcipline and learning ſpread over the whole kingdom; from whence, as he obſerves, it was tranſported into Germany by St Boniface, and thence again to the moſt diſtant countries; ſuch were the conſequences of Beda's learning and great application in the judgment of one who knew ſo well what he ſaid. But in another part of the ſame work, he explains himſelf more fully as to the conduct of Venerable Bede (129). 'It ſignifies nothing, ſays he, 'to ſay that Monks are not deſigned to teach others, 'but to weep and lead a life of continual penitence. 'The principal end of their ſtudy does indeed terminate ſolely in their proper utility, and their particular advancement; and if it ſo happens, that the 'Church and Divine Providence engages them to inſtruct others, that is by no means the great end they 'ought to propoſe in their ſtudy, but that of inſtructing themſelves, of edifying themſelves, and obtaining to themſelves the knowledge of heavenly truth, 'that they may be the more capable of ſuſtaining the 'difficulties of a religious life, and of profiting by it's 'advantages. We have an illuſtrious example in Venerable Bede, amongſt many others, who applied 'more to all ſorts of ſtudies, and even to the teaching 'of others, than he? Yet who was more cloſely attached to the exerciſes of piety and religion than he? 'To ſee him pray, it ſeemed as if he had left no time 'to ſtudy, to behold the number of his books and 'and writings, would incline us to believe he did nothing elſe; for notwithſtanding he was continually 'employed in ſtudy, and the care of teaching his brethren, and even the Seculars, he was nevertheleſs 'moſt exact in diſcharging the duties of his religious 'profeſſion, inſomuch, as he ſays himſelf, that amongſt 'the diſtractions and hindrances, or rather among the 'employments, of a religious ſtate and divine offices '(130); *Inter obſervantias diſciplinæ regularis et quotidianam in Eccleſia cantandi curam*; or as he elſe-'where expreſſes himſelf (131), *Innumera monaſticæ* '*ſervitutis retinacula*, he placed his whole delight in 'ſtudying, in teaching others, or in writing, *Semper* '*aut diſcere, aut docere, aut ſcribere, dulce habui.* 'Would to God our monaſteries were full of ſuch 'men of letters!'

(123) Ibid.

(124) Analect. Anglobrit. lib. ii. cap. ii.

(125) See his Poſthumous Works, p. 36, 155.

(126) Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, in the Preface, and in chap. v.

(127) Paralipomena de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. p. 220, 221.

(128) Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, P. i. chap. xi. p. 89.

(129) Id. ibid. P. i. chap. xiii. p. 108, 109.

(130) Beda in Epitome Hiſtor. Angl.

(131) Id. ad Accam.

about the Britiſh Monks, of whom Beda himſelf gives us a large account (*q*), but with the Engliſh Monks, or rather Saxon Monks, who were brought in and ſettled by St Auſtin, the great converter of this nation. But in regard to the rule of St Bennet, we are told, and told with great confidence too, that it was introduced by St Wilfrid about 666 (*r*), but if this had been really ſo, can we poſſibly imagine that Beda, who wrote his Hiſtory with ſo much care, and who is alſo ſuppoſed of the ſame order, ſhould omit this particular? As for the Bull of Pope Conſtantine, requiring the Monks of Eveſham to conform ſtrictly to this rule in 709, there are many, and ſome very ſtrong, reaſons to ſuſpect that it is abſolutely a forgery; but if it were genuine, it would not make much for the antiquity of the Benedictine rule, ſince it admits it ſcarce practiſed in England before that time. It was long after this Bull, that the two monaſteries of St Peter and St Paul at Weremouth and Jarrow were founded, and yet Beda himſelf ſhews, that Benedict Biſhop had been for ſome time abroad, had taken the habit in a foreign abbey, and brought over ſome kind of orders and regulations; but that theſe were not the rule of St Bennet in it's full extent, we may be ſure, becauſe, if it had, Beda would certainly have ſaid ſo (*s*) [*P*]. Yet if, after all, nothing farther were expected, than that we ſhould admit Benedict Biſhop (for that was his cognomen) brought ſome kind of regulation from France, which was taken from the rule of St Bennet, and that theſe monaſteries ſhould be from thence reckoned in ſome meaſure Benedictine; I do not ſee how or why it ſhould be denied. But in a ſtronger or ſtricter ſenſe than this, it never can be admitted. For in the general, and as far as we can ſee, in the firſt regulation of the Engliſh Monks, by Archbiſhop Cuthbert, at Cloveſho in 647, there is nothing ſaid of St Benedict or his rule, which would have been impoſſible, if that rule, in it's full extent, and under it's founder's name, had ever been introduced here (*t*). By thoſe conſtitutions at Cloveſho the Monks undoubtedly governed themſelves, till haraſſed, diſperſed, and in a manner extirpated by the Danes, who, except Glaſtenbury and Abingdon, ſcarce left a convent of Monks in the kingdom, which was the caſe in the days of Ælfred the Great (*u*). But it may be demanded, if this was ſo, how came Weremouth and Jarrow to become cells of the Benedictine monaſtery at Durham? and indeed the anſwer to this queſtion, brings the whole affair to a natural and ſatisfactory concluſion. The ſecular Canons were turned into Benedictine Monks by William de Carilepho, Biſhop of Durham, in the eighteenth of William the Conqueror (*w*), and theſe two ſmall monaſteries being, from the reviving the monaſtick ſtate by St Dunſtan, occupied by black Monks, they were put under the juriſdiction of the great Benedictine abbey of Durham (*x*), whence the opinion grew, that as Beda was a Monk at Jarrow, he was conſequently a Benedictine.

(*q*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(*r*) Chr. Auguſt. Cant. apud Decem Script. col. 2232.

(*s*) Hiſtor. Abbat. Weremuth, &c.

(*t*) Spelman. Concilia.

(*u*) Leland. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 8.

(*w*) Chron. Eccleſ. Dunelm. MS. Bibl. Bodl. p. 31.

(*x*) Monaſt. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 94.

[*P*] *Becauſe if it had, Beda would certainly ſaid ſo.*] This argument is ſo much the ſtronger, becauſe the Hiſtory left by Beda of the foundation of theſe two monaſteries is very large and full; containing every circumſtance that has the leaſt relation to the erecting, endowing, and ſettling thoſe religious houſes. The dates likewiſe are very exact, ſo that it clearly appears that Benedict, after his return from Rome with a vaſt proviſion of all things neceſſary for the furniſhing a convent, obtained a Grant from King Egfred, in the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of Chriſt 674 (132). He then conſidered the time this monaſtery of his would require before it was finiſhed, and computed that it would be four years. He went next over to France, from whence he brought Maſons who were able to build after the Roman manner; and when he ſaw the work pretty far advanced, he ſent agents thither to bring over people who could make glaſs; and Beda obſerves, that theſe people not only furniſhed whatever was wanting for this monaſtery, but likewiſe inſtructed the Engliſh, and ſo brought the art of glaſs-making, which was till then unknown, into this iſland. Whatever he wanted, and could not obtain in France, he ſent for into other countries, and particularly to Rome; ſo that when the houſe was finiſhed, he found himſelf much better provided with every thing neceſſary for a monaſtery, than when he had firſt propounded the building of one to King Egfred; and in this reſpect Beda is very particular in ſhewing us what the nature of theſe proviſions were, whence this point with relation to the rule of St Benedict ſeems to be abſolutely cleared up, that is to ſay, it is manifeſt they had heard nothing of it, and conſequently could not think themſelves bound to obey it; in proof of which we will here ſet down Beda's own words (133). 'In the *firſt* place, *ſays he*, he brought with him an innumerable quantity of books of all kinds. *Secondly*, He drew together, by the favour of many of the Engliſh churches, a vaſt ſtore of relicks of the Apoſtles and Martyrs of Chriſt. *Thirdly*, He brought into and eſtabliſhed in his monaſtery, the order of chanting and pſalm-ſinging after the manner of the Roman Church; for he deſired, and obtained from Pope Agatho, John, Abbot of the monaſtery of St Martin, and arch-chantor of the church of the bleſſed apoſtle St Peter, and brought him over with him to be the teacher and inſtructer of the Britiſh monaſteries; who coming hither, not only taught them the Roman methods of performing divine ſervice *viva voce*, but alſo left ſeveral writings on this ſubject, which are ſtill preſerved in the library of the monaſtery. *Fourthly*, Benedict obtained from the ſame venerable Pope, by the conſent and deſire, and even at the requeſt, of King Egfred, a privilege or exemption of the ſaid monaſtery. And *fifthly*, He brought pictures and images of the Saints for adorning the walls of the church, that even ſuch as were ignorant of letters might not be able to turn their eyes on any ſide, without drawing ſome inſtruction from what they ſaw.' This is Beda's account of the matter, which agrees exactly with what he ſays in another place of this John, Abbot of St Martin (134), who brought with him the acts of a Synod held ſome time before at Rome, and was inſtructed to enquire into the faith of the Engliſh churches, of which he carried over ample teſtimonials; and dying in his journey back to Rome, was buried in the church of the abbey of St Martin at Tours. But neither in the former or the latter paſſages is there one word of his bringing the rule of St Benedict into this kingdom; and had it been known and obſerved here before, there had certainly been no occaſion for his coming at all. It is indeed true, that ſome of the moſt learned writers of the Church of Rome, have produced many probable and plauſible arguments in favour of the contrary opinion; but in anſwer to theſe poſitive facts they have hitherto ſaid nothing, or at leaſt nothing that can give a reaſonable and unprejudiced perſon ſatisfaction (135). Thus we have given the reader, in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible, the Hiſtory of *Venerable Beda* and his writings; and, as far as we were able, have ſet the diſputes that have been raiſed about them in a clear light, ſo as to make whatever relates to this famous *Light* of the *Engliſh Church* perfectly intelligible. E

(132) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224. Leland. Collectan. Tom. III. p. 39. Monaſticon. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 96.

(133) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum, &c. p. 225, 226.

(134) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. c. 18.

(135) Vide Reyner. Dugdale, Mabillon, &c.

BEDELL (WILLIAM) Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, and one of the moſt famous Prelates in that kingdom during the laſt century. He was deſcended from a good family, and born ſome time in the year 1570 (*a*), at Black Notley in Eſſex, and being a younger ſon, was by his father deſigned for the Church. It was with this view, that he was ſent to Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of Dr Chadderton, who was for many years head of that houſe (*b*), where he made great progreſs in his ſtudies, and went early into Holy Orders, which he received from the Suffragan Biſhop of Colcheſter, who valued himſelf very much afterwards upon that head (*c*). In 1593 he was choſen Fellow of his college, and in 1599, took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*d*). He removed from the univerſity to St Edmundſbury in Suffolk, where he had a church, and by an aſſiduous application to the duties of his function, came to be much taken notice of by many gentlemen who lived near that place. He continued there for ſome years, till an opportunity offered of his going with Sir Henry Wotton, whom King James had appointed his Ambaſſador to the State of Venice, which was about the year 1604, and thither Mr Bedell attended him as his Chaplain (*e*). While he reſided in that city, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Father Paul Sarpi, Divine to the State, who took him into his entire confidence, taught him the Italian language, of which he became a perfect maſter, and tranſlated into that tongue the Engliſh Common-Prayer Book, which was extreamly well received by many of the clergy there, eſpecially by the ſeven Divines appointed by the Republick to preach againſt the Pope, during the time of the Interdict, and which they intended for their model, in caſe they had broke abſolutely with Rome, which was what they ſincerely deſired (*f*). In return for the favours he received from Father Paul, Mr Bedell drew up an Engliſh Grammar for his uſe, and in many other reſpects aſſiſted him in his ſtudies. He continued eight years in Venice, during which time, he greatly improved himſelf in the Hebrew language, by the aſſiſtance of the famous Rabbi Leo, who taught him the Jewiſh pronunciation, and other parts of Rabbinical learning, and by his means it was that he purchaſed a very fair manuſcript of the Old Teſtament, which he bequeathed, as a mark of reſpect, to Emanuel-college, and which, it is ſaid, coſt him it's weight in ſilver (*g*). He became acquainted there likewiſe, with the celebrated *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalata*, who was ſo well pleaſed with his converſation, that he communicated to him his ſecret, and ſhewed him his famous book *de Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, which he afterwards printed at London (*h*). Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many miſapplications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of Fathers, for that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many miſtakes, both in the one and the other, and if there remain ſome places ſtill, that diſcover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them. But no wonder, if, in ſuch a multitude, ſome eſcaped his diligence. *De Dominis* took all this in good part from him, and entered into ſuch familiarity with him, and found his aſſiſtance ſo uſeful, and indeed ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that he uſed to ſay, He could do nothing without him (*i*). At Mr Bedell's departure from Venice, Father Paul expreſſed great concern, and aſſured him, that himſelf and many others would moſt willingly have accompanied him, if it had been in their power. He likewiſe gave him his picture, a Hebrew Bible without points, a ſmall Hebrew Pſalter, in which he wrote ſome ſentences expreſſing the ſincerity of his friendſhip. He gave him alſo the manuſcript of his famous Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, with the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition, all written by himſelf, with a large collection of letters, which were written to him weekly from Rome, during the diſpute between the Jeſuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace, which it is ſuppoſed are loſt (*k*). Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy [*A*]. Upon his returning

(*a*) Life of William Bedell, D.D. Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, London, 1685, 8*vo*, p. 1.

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 2.

(*d*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*e*) Life of Sir Henry Wotton, by Izrael Walton, p. 23.

(*f*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 8.

(*g*) The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, reviſed and improved, Dublin, 1739, fol. Vol. I. p. 232.

(*h*) See the article DE DOMINIS (ANTONIO).

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 10.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

[*A*] *Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy.*] We ſtand indebted for the principal paſſages in the text to the life of this excellent perſon, written by the late Biſhop Burnet, who had his materials from one Mr Clogy who had been miniſter at Cavan, and lived long in Biſhop Bedell's family (1); and it muſt be owned they have loſt nothing by the Biſhop of Saliſbury's putting them together, who was certainly as happy in this way of writing as any one who ever practiſed it in our language. The account he gives us, of Mr Bedell's manner of living while at Venice, is very curious, as well as very entertaining. He happened to reſide there at a very critical ſeaſon, when the Republick lay under the Interdict of Pope Paul V, for making ſome laws in the nature of our ſtatutes of mortmain, and for puniſhing two lewd Friers (2). This Interdict however was obeyed by none but the Jeſuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who were baniſhed the State for that reaſon. The reſt of the Clergy were kept firm to the intereſt of their country, by Father Paul and the Divines who aſſiſted him, and who would have been glad if this quarrel had been puſhed to extremities, that they might have had an opportunity of quitting a Church, to the corruptions of which they were no ſtrangers (3). How this deſign was defeated, and this quarrel ended, the reader may learn in another article, to which it more properly belongs; at preſent we are to confine ourſelves to what particularly relates to Mr Bedell, whoſe intimacy with Father Paul was ſo great, and his credit with him ſo well eſtabliſhed, that after an attempt made to aſſaſſinate that worthy perſon, when the Republick aſſigned him a guard, and ordered that nobody ſhould be admitted to ſpeak with him, 'till they had undergone a ſtrict examination, Mr Bedell alone was excepted, and was admitted with the ſame freedom as before, whenever he thought fit. If we conſider the character and condition of Father Paul at that time, upon whoſe pen the State depended, much more than upon her own power, this will appear very extraordinary (4). But beſides this, a paſſage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noiſe than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to, but it was ſuited to the Italian genius. There came a Jeſuit to Venice, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who printed a thouſand Theſes of Philoſophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope, with this

(1) See the Preface to Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 31.

(2) Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton, p. 23.

(3) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 15.

(4) See the article WOTTON (Sir HENRY).

turning to England, he immediately retired to his charge at St Edmundſbury, without aſpiring to any preferment, and went on in his miniſterial labours. It was here he employed himſelf in tranſlating the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition (which he dedicated to the King); as alſo the two laſt books of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent into Latin, Sir Adam Newton having tranſlated the two firſt (*l*). He lived there in a private and obſcure condition, until Sir Thomas Jermyn taking notice of his abilities, preſented him to the living of Horingſheath, A. D. 1615. But he found difficulties in obtaining inſtitution and induction from the Biſhop of Norwich, who demanded large fees upon this account. Mr Bedell was ſo nice in his ſentiments of Simony, that he looked upon every payment as ſuch, that exceeded a competent gratification, for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refuſed taking out his title upon other terms, but left the Biſhop and went home (*m*). However, in a few days, the Biſhop ſent for him, and gave him his title without fees, and he removed to Horingſheath, where he continued unnoticed twelve years, although he gave a ſingular evidence of his great capacity, in a book of controverſy with the Church of Rome, which he publiſhed and dedicated to King Charles I, then Prince of Wales, in 1624 (*n*). However neglected he lived in England, yet his fame had reached Ireland, and he was, in 1627, unanimouſly elected Provoſt of Trinity-college in Dublin (*o*). But it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to accept the charge, until the King laid his poſitive commands on him, which he chearfully obeyed, and on the ſixteenth of Auguſt that year, he was ſworn Provoſt. At his firſt entrance upon this ſcene, he reſolved to act nothing, until he became perfectly acquainted with the ſtatutes of the houſe, and the tempers of the people whom he was appointed to govern, and therefore carried himſelf ſo abſtractedly from all affairs, that he paſſed ſome time for a ſoft and weak man, and even Primate Uſher began to waver in his opinion of him. When he went for England ſome few months after, to bring over his family, he had thoughts of reſigning his new preferment, and returning to his benefice in Suffolk. But an encouraging letter from Primate Uſher put an end to this deſign. He returned with his family, and applied himſelf to the government of the college, with a vigour of mind peculiar to him (*p*). His firſt buſineſs was, to compoſe diviſions among the Fellows, to rectify diſorders, and to reſtore diſcipline; and as he was a great promoter of religion, he catechiſed the youth once a week, and divided the Church-Catechiſm into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way ſo mixed with ſpeculative and practical matters, that his ſermons were looked upon as learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. He continued about two years in this employment, when, by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Jermyn, and the application of Laud, Biſhop of London, he was advanced to the Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and conſecrated on the thirteenth of September 1629 (*q*), at Drogheda, in St Peter's church, by James, Archbiſhop of Armagh; Robert, Biſhop of Down and Conner; Theophilus, Biſhop of Dromore; and James, Biſhop of Clogher; in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the letters for his promotion, the King made honourable mention of the ſatisfaction he took in the ſervices he had done, and the reformation he had wrought in the univerſity (*r*). Having thus entered on a different courſe of life, he found his dioceſes under vaſt diſorders, the revenues waſted by exceſſive dilapidations, and all things expoſed to ſale in ſo ſordid a manner, that it was grown into a proverb, The cathedral of Ardagh, and the Biſhop's houſes, were all flat to the ground; the pariſh churches all in ruins; and the inſolence of the Popiſh clergy inſufferable; the oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts exceſſive; and pluralities, and non-reſidence, ſhamefully prevailing (*s*). He had the courage, notwithſtanding all the difficulties that lay in his way, to undertake a thorough reformation; and the firſt ſtep he took was, to recover part of the lands of which his Sees had been deſpoiled by his predeceſſors, that he might be in a condition to ſubſiſt, while he laboured to reform other abuſes. In this he met with ſuch ſucceſs, as encouraged him to proceed upon his own plan, and to be content with nothing leſs, than an abſolute reformation

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*m*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 23.

(*n*) See that Work entire, annexed to Biſhop Burnet's Life of our author.

(*o*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*p*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 39.

(*q*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 233.

(*r*) Id. Ibid.

(*s*) Taken from the Biſhop's own Letter to Archbiſhop Laud, dated Kilmore, April 1, 1630.

this extravagant inſcription: PAULO V VICE DEO *Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictiſſimo & Pontificiæ Omnipotentiæ conſervatori accerrimo.* 'To Paul 'the Vth, the Vice-God, the moſt invincible Monarch 'of the Chriſtian commonwealth, and the moſt zea'lous aſſerter of the Papal omnipotency.' All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr Bedell obſerved, that the numeral letters of the firſt words, Paulo V Vice-Deo, being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beaſt in the Revelation, he communicated this to Pope Paul and the ſeven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate. It was entertained almoſt as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichriſt. And it is likely this was promoted by them more, becauſe they found it took with the Italians, than they could build much upon it. The noiſe that this made over all Italy made the Pope ſo uneaſy, that he was forced to deviſe one of the ſtrangeſt fables that was ever heard of to put it out of the peoples heads; for he cauſed it to be given out, that Antichriſt was actually born in Babylon, was deſcended from the tribe of Dan, and that he was gathering a vaſt army, with which he intended to come and deſtroy Chriſtendom; and with this piece of falſe news, the other conceit, ſays Biſhop Burnet, was choaked (5). When Mr Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbiſhop of Spalata, and one Deſpotine a Phyſician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worſhip, and ſo choſe a freer air. The latter lived near him in St Edmundſbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained ſo well, that he became eminent in his profeſſion, and continued to his death to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with our author.

(5) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 12.

reformation of thoſe, which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes (*t*) [*B*]. Upon the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, in 1633, his Lordſhip of Kilmore had the misfortune to fall under his diſpleaſure, for ſetting his hand to a petition which was for redreſs, in ſome reſpect, of grievances; and ſo high and open was the Lord-Deputy's teſtimony of this diſpleaſure, that the Biſhop did not think fit to go in perſon to congratulate him (as others did) upon his entering into his government (*u*). It is however very improbable, that he ſhould write over to Sir Thomas Jermyn and his friends in England, or procure, by their intereſt, injunctions to the Lord-Deputy, to receive him into favour, becauſe this ſuits very ill with the character, either of the men or of the times (*w*). On the contrary, it appears from his own letter to the Lord-Deputy, that it was he, not the Biſhop, who had complained in England; that he meant to juſtify himſelf to the Deputy, and expected, on that juſtification, he ſhould retract his complaints. One may ſafely affirm, from the peruſal of this ſingle epiſtle, that our Prelate was as thorough a ſtateſman as the Deputy, and that he knew how to become all things to all men, without doing any thing beneath him, or inconſiſtent with his dignity. This conduct had it's effect, and in three weeks, it appears he ſtood well with the Deputy (*x*), and probably without any interpoſition, but his own letter beforementioned. He then went on chearfully in doing what he thought was his duty, and for the benefit of the Church, in which he met with an oppoſition that might have been well expected, and a ſucceſs much ſuperior to what could have been hoped for (*y*). His own example did much; he loved the Chriſtian power of a Biſhop, without affecting either political authority or pomp; whatever he did was ſo viſibly for the good of his flock, that he ſeldom failed of being well ſupported by his clergy, and ſuch as oppoſed him did it with viſible reluctance; for he had the eſteem of the good men of all parties, and was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland (*z*) [*C*]. Amongſt other extraordinary things he did, there was none more worthy of remembrance, than his removing his Lay-Chancellor, ſitting in his own courts, hearing cauſes, and retrieving thereby the juriſdiction which antiently belonged to a Biſhop. The Chancellor upon this filed his bill in equity, and obtained a decree in Chancery againſt the Biſhop, with one hundred pounds coſts (*a*). But by this time, the Chancellor ſaw ſo viſibly the difference between the Biſhop's ſitting in that ſeat and his own, that he never called for his coſts, but appointed a Surrogate, with orders to obey the Biſhop in every thing, and ſo his Lordſhip went on in his own way; ſuch a ſingular power has a true ſpirit of religion, untainted

(*t*) See his Letter to Primate Uſher, September 18, 1630.

(*u*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 68.

(*w*) Earl of Strafford's Letters publiſhed by Dr Knowler, Vol. I. p. 146. This ſeems to be contradicted by the Biſhop's letter to Archbiſhop Laud, printed (after Prynne) by Biſhop Burnet; but this is in truth no letter to the Archbiſhop, but a fragment of the letter to the Lord-Deputy.

(*x*) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 164. The former letter is dated, Nov. 5. the latter, Nov. 25, 1633.

(*y*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 236.

(*z*) Hiſtory of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 32.

(*a*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 112.

[*B*] *An abſolute reformation of thoſe which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes.*] The firſt of theſe he undertook was Pluralities, by which one man had the cure of ſouls in ſo many places, that it was impoſſible to diſcharge his duty to them all, or to perform thoſe vows made at ordination of feeding and inſtructing the flock committed to him. To this end he convened his Clergy, and, in a ſermon, laid before them, both out of Scripture and Antiquity, the inſtitution, nature, and duties of the miniſterial employment, and after ſermon diſcourſed to them upon the ſame ſubject in Latin, and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuſe: To prevail on them the better, he told them he reſolved to ſhew them an example in parting with one of his Biſhopricks, and accordingly he voluntarily reſigned Ardagh in 1633, although he had been at conſiderable charge in recovering the revenues of it, and although he was able to diſcharge the duties of both, being contiguous and ſmall, and the revenues not exceeding a competency; it was conferred on Dr Richardſon the ſame year. The efficacy of his diſcourſe, and the authority of his example, made ſuch an impreſſion on his Clergy, that they almoſt all freely relinquiſhed their pluralities, which pleaſed him the more, ſince he had no authority to compel them to it. The Dean was the only perſon who did not ſubmit, but he exchanged his Deanery with another, being aſhamed to live in a dioceſe, where he would not ſubmit to ſuch terms as both Biſhop and Clergy had agreed to. The next part of his project was to oblige his Clergy to reſidence, and this met with great difficulties. King James, upon the reduction of Ulſter after Tyrone's rebellion, had aſſigned glebes to all the Clergy, and had obliged them to build houſes thereon after a limited time. But the commiſſioners appointed to allot theſe glebes had taken no care of the conveniencies of the Clergy, ſo that in many places the lands allotted for glebes were not within the pariſh, and often lay divided in parcels; in conſequence of which, if they built houſes on theſe glebes, they would be obliged to live out of their pariſhes, and it would be inconvenient to have houſes remote from their lands. To remedy this, the Biſhop, who had lands allotted him in every pariſh, reſolved to make an exchange with them, and to aſſign them more convenient portions of equal value. To this end he procured a commiſſion from the Government, to ſome gentlemen to examine and ſettle the matter, which was brought to a concluſion with the univerſal ſatisfaction of the whole Dioceſe. But a Great Seal being neceſſary for the determination and confirmation of what was then agreed on, a perſon was ſent over to England to procure it; yet before that could be done the rebellion broke out, which put a ſtop to this and other good deſigns (6).

(6) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 234.

[*C*] *Was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland.*] We are warranted in ſaying this by all the writers of thoſe times, and there is no queſtion to be made that he deſerved it. He was as ſtrict in his own behaviour, as in the accounts he took of the conduct of his inferior Clergy. His ordinations were publick and ſolemn, he preached and gave the Sacrament on ſuch occaſions himſelf. He never gave Prieſts orders till a year after a man had been made Deacon, that he might know how he had demeaned himſelf in that time. He wrote certificates of ordination and other inſtruments with his own hand, and ſuffered none who received them either to pay fees, or to give any thing to his ſervants. When he had brought things to a fit temper, and ſaw that his Clergy were very willing to aſſiſt him in the great work of reformation, he convened a Synod in September 1638, in which he made many excellent canons that are ſtill extant, and will always do honour to his memory (7). Offence was taken at this by ſome who were in power, and who perhaps were jealous of his great abilities. They queſtioned the legality of the meeting, and ſome talk there was of calling him in queſtion for it, either in the Star-Chamber or High-commiſſioned Court; but his Archdeacon, Thomas Price, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhel, gave ſuch an account of the matter as ſatisfied the State. The famous Primate Uſher gave a fine picture of the man upon this occaſion; for, when ſome were very earneſt for ſending for him up to anſwer for himſelf, the Primate ſaid very calmly, *You had better let him alone, for fear, if he ſhould be provoked, he ſhould ſay much more for himſelf than any of his accuſers can ſay againſt him.* This had it's effect, and thoſe who were weak enough to make the complaint, were ſo wiſe as not to call him to an anſwer (8).

(7) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 237.

(8) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. 236.

[*D*] *That*

untainted with ſecular views (*b*)! Our Biſhop was no perſecutor of Papiſts, and yet the moſt ſucceſsful enemy they ever had; and if the other Biſhops had followed his example, the Proteſtant religion muſt have ſpread itſelf through every part of the country. He laboured to convert the better ſort of the Popiſh clergy, and in this he had great ſucceſs. He procured the Common-Prayer which had been tranſlated into Iriſh, and cauſed it to be read in his cathedral, in his own preſence, every ſunday; having himſelf learned that language perfectly, though he never attempted to ſpeak it (*c*). The New Teſtament had been alſo tranſlated by William Daniel, Archbiſhop of Tuam, but our Prelate firſt procured the Old Teſtament to be tranſlated by one King, and becauſe the tranſlator was ignorant of the original tongues, and did it from the Engliſh, the Biſhop himſelf reviſed and compared it with the Hebrew, and the beſt tranſlations (*d*). He cauſed likewiſe ſome of Chryſoſtome's and Leo's Homilies, in commendation of the Scriptures, to be rendered both into Engliſh and Iriſh, that the common people might ſee, that in the opinion of the antient Fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the clergy, but that it was their duty ſo to do (*e*). He met with great oppoſition in this work, from a perſecution againſt the tranſlator, raiſed without reaſon, and carried on with much paſſion by thoſe, from whom he had no cauſe to expect it. But this did not hinder his perſiſting in his deſign; he ſupported Mr King as far as he was able (*f*), and he got the tranſlation finiſhed, which he would have printed in his own houſe, and at his own charge, if the troubles in Ireland had not prevented it; and as it was, his labours were not uſeleſs, for the tranſlation eſcaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expence of Robert Boyle, a man born for the good of his country and of mankind (*g*). The Biſhop was very moderate in his ſentiments, and in his methods of enforcing them; he loved to bring men into the communion of the Church of England, but he did not like compelling them; and it was his opinion, that Proteſtants would agree well enough, if they could be brought to underſtand each other. Theſe principles induced him to promote Mr Drury's deſign, of endeavouring to reconcile the Lutherans to the Calviniſts, a project which had been encouraged by many other worthy perſons, and towards which he ſubſcribed twenty pounds a year, to defray the expences of Mr Drury's negociations (*h*). He gave another inſtance, not only of his charity towards, but his ability in, reconciling thoſe of other communions, to the Churches of England and Ireland. There were ſome Lutherans at Dublin, who, for not coming to church and taking the ſacrament, were cited into the Archbiſhop's Conſiſtory, upon which they deſired time to write to their Divines in Germany, which was given them, and when their anſwers came, they contained ſome exceptions to the doctrine of the Church, as not explaining the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſuitable to their ſentiments; to which Biſhop Bedell gave ſo full and clear, and withal ſo moderate and charitable an anſwer, as entirely ſatisfied their objections, inſomuch, that thoſe Divines adviſed their countrymen to join in communion with the Church, which they accordingly did (*i*). In this mild and prudent way our Prelate conducted his charge, with great reputation to himſelf, and with the general approbation of all good men, who were perfectly pleaſed with the Doctrine he preached, at the ſame time that they were highly edified by his excellent example [*D*]. When the barbarous and bloody Rebellion

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 117.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 237.

(*e*) Hiſtory of Tranſlations of the Bible into vulgar Tongues, p. 195.

(*f*) See his free Expoſtulation with the Earl of Strafford. Life of Bedell, p. 131.

(*g*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 618, 619.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 238.

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 138.

[*D*] *That they were highly edified by his excellent example*] There was a firmneſs and conſiſtency in his conduct, which appeared clearly in every thing he did. He went conſtantly to common-prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himſelf, and aſſiſted in it always with great reverence and affection (9). He took care to have the publick ſervice performed ſtrictly according to the rubrick; ſo that a Curate of another pariſh being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, and adding ſomewhat to the collects, the Biſhop obſerving he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, and took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, ſuſpended him for his preſumption, and read the reſt of the office himſelf. He preached conſtantly twice on a Sunday in his cathedral, on the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the day, and catechiſed always in the afternoon before ſermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, ſo there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that ſtruck his auditors. He obſerved the rubrick ſo nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; ſo that in reading the pſalms and the anthems, he did not obſerve the common cuſtom of the miniſter and people reading the verſes by turns, for he read all himſelf, becauſe the other was not enjoined by the rubrick. As for the placing of the communion-table by the eaſt wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of conformity preſcribed by the law; for he ſaid, that they were as much Non-conformiſts who added of their own, as they that came ſhort of what was enjoined, as he that adds an inch to a meaſure diſowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it; and as he was ſevere to him that added words of his own to the collect, ſo he thought it was no leſs cenſurable, to add rites to thoſe that were preſcribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the compoſedneſs of his behaviour, that he obſerved the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the houſe of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatneſs of any man, or by the authority of any perſon's example, to go out of his own way, though he could not but know that ſuch things were then much obſerved, and meaſures were taken of men by theſe little diſtinctions, in which it was thought the zeal of conformation diſcovered itſelf. He preached very often in his epiſcopal habit, but not always, and uſed it ſeldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor inſtrumental muſick, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter, which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleaſed. And when another Biſhop juſtified theſe things, becauſe they ſerved much to raiſe the affections; he anſwered, that in order to the raiſing the affections, thoſe things that tended to edification ought only to be uſed, and thought it would be hard otherwiſe to make ſtops, for upon the ſame pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the ſenſe he had of the exceſſes of ſuperſtition, from what he had obſerved during his long ſtay in Italy, made him judge it neceſſary to watch carefully againſt the beginnings of that diſeaſe, which is like a green-ſickneſs in religion. He never uſed the Common-Prayer in his own family, for

(9) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 145.

Rebellion broke out in October 1641, the Biſhop did not at firſt feel the violence of it's effects, for even thoſe rebels, who in their conduct teſtified ſo little of humanity, profeſſed a great veneration for the Biſhop, and openly declared, he ſhould be the laſt Engliſhman they would drive out of Ireland (*k*). His was the only Engliſh houſe in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, notwithſtanding that it, and it's out-buildings, the church, and the church-yard, were filled with people who fled to him for ſhelter, whom, by his preaching and prayers, he encouraged to expect and endure the worſt with patience. In the mean time, Dr Swiney, the Popiſh titular Biſhop of Kilmore, came to Cavan, and pretended great concern and kindneſs for Biſhop Bedell. Our Prelate had converted his brother, and kept him in his houſe till he could otherwiſe provide for him, and Dr Swiney deſired likewiſe to lodge in his houſe, aſſuring him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of his protection. But this Biſhop Bedell declined, in a very civil and well wrote Latin letter, urging, the ſmallneſs of his houſe, the great number of people that had taken ſhelter with him, the ſickneſs of ſome of his company, and of his ſon in particular, but above all, the difference in their ways of worſhip, which could not but be attended with great inconveniency (*l*). This had ſome effect for a time, but about the middle of December, the rebels, purſuant to orders they had received from their Council of State at Kilkenny, required him to diſmiſs the people that were with him, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, declaring that he would ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt. They ſignified to him upon this, that they had orders to remove him, to which he anſwered in the words of David, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as ſeemeth good to him, the will of the Lord be done.* Upon this they ſeized him, his two ſons, and Mr Clogy who had married his ſtep-daughter, and carried them priſoners to the caſtle of Cloughboughter, ſurrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, but the Biſhop, in irons. They did not ſuffer any of them to carry any thing with them, and the moment the Biſhop was gone, Dr Swiney took poſſeſſon of his houſe and all that belonged to it, and ſaid Maſs in the church the Sunday following (*m*). After ſome time the rebels abated of their ſeverity, took the irons off the priſoners, and ſuffered them to be as much at their eaſe as they could be in ſo wretched a place, for the winter was very rigorous, and the caſtle being old and ruinous, they would have been expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather, if it had not been for an honeſt Carpenter who was impriſoned there before them, and who made uſe of a few old boards he found there, to mend a part of the roof, the better to defend them from the ſnow and ſleet (*n*). While thus confined, the Biſhop, his ſons, and Mr Clogy, preached and prayed continually to their ſmall and afflicted congregation, and upon Chriſtmas-day, his Lordſhip adminiſtered the ſacrament to them. It is very remarkable, that as rude and barbarous as the Iriſh were, they gave them no diſturbance in the performance of divine ſervice, and often told the Biſhop, they had no perſonal quarrel to him, but that the ſole cauſe of their confining him was, his being an Engliſhman (*o*). After being kept in this manner for three weeks, the Biſhop, his two ſons, and Mr Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O Rourkes; but though it was agreed that they ſhould be ſafely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would never ſuffer them to be carried out of the country, but ſent them to the houſe of Dennis Sherridan, an Iriſh Miniſter, and convert to the Proteſtant religion, to which, though he ſteadily adhered, and relieved many who fled to him for protection, yet the Iriſh ſuffered him to live quietly among them, on account of the great family from which he was deſcended (*p*). While our Prelate remained there, and enjoyed ſome degree of health, he every Sunday read the prayers and leſſons, and preached himſelf, though there were three Miniſters with him. The laſt Sunday he officiated was the thirtieth of January, and the day following he was taken ill. On the ſecond day it appeared his diſeaſe was an ague, and on the fourth apprehending a ſpeedy change, he called for his ſons and his ſons wives, ſpoke to them a conſiderable time, gave them much ſpiritual advice, and bleſſed them (*q*), after which he ſpoke little, but ſlumbered out moſt of his time, only by intervals he ſeemed to awake a little, and was then very chearful. At laſt, on the ſeventh of February 1641, about midnight, he breathed his laſt, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, his death being chiefly occaſioned by his late impriſonment, and the weight of ſorrows which lay upon his mind (*r*). The only care now remaining to his friends was, to ſee him buried according to his deſire, and ſince that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Biſhop's leave, Mr Clogy, and Mr Sheridan went to aſk it, and Mr Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and ſecond their deſire. They found the Biſhop lying in his own vomit, and a ſad change in that houſe, which was before a houſe of prayer and of good works, but was now a den of thieves

(*k*) Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 235.

(*l*) See this excellent Letter in the Appendix to Biſhop Bedell's Life.

(*m*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

(*n*) An Account of the Sufferings of the Engliſh in the Great Rebellion, p. 95.

(*o*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 206.

(*p*) Hiſtory of the Beginning of the Iriſh Troubles, p. 95.

(*q*) See this Diſcourſe of his at large in the Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 210.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 240.

for he thought it was intended to be the common worſhip of Chriſtians in their publick aſſemblies, and that it was not ſo proper for private families. He was ſo exact an obſerver of Eccleſiaſtical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own dioceſe, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave; ſo that being in Dublin when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr Clogy, and they both deſired to be bleſſed by him, he would not do it 'till he firſt took out a licence for it in the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Conſiſtory. We may from theſe inſtances gather his true notions as to Church power, in which he ſeems to have been as much in the right as any man of his age, and to have diſtinguiſhed as acutely about the poſſeſſion and exerciſe of it, as it was poſſible for man to do, and, as we ſee, his precept and practice went together; and he never did that in another dioceſe, which he would have taken amiſs if another Clergyman had done it in his; ſo great a friend he was to decency and order in all things.

thieves and a neſt of uncleanneſs. The Biſhop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenneſs, excepted a little to it, and ſaid the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with Hereticks bodies; yet he conſented to it at laſt. So on the ninth of February he was buried, and according to the direction himſelf had given, next his wife's coffin (*s*). The Iriſh did him unuſual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr Sherridan's houſe to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great ſolemnity, and they deſired Mr Clogy to bury him according to the office preſcribed by the Church. But though the gentlemen were ſo civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviſable to provoke the rabble ſo much, as perhaps that might have done, ſo it was paſſed over. But the Iriſh diſcharged a volley of ſhot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, 'May the laſt of the Engliſh reſt in peace;' for they had often ſaid, that as they eſteemed him the beſt of the Engliſh Biſhops, ſo he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be left among them (*t*). What came from Edmund Farilly, a Popiſh Prieſt, at the interment of the Biſhop, is too remarkable, and is too well atteſted, to be paſſed over, who cried out, *O ſit anima mea cum Bedello*, 'I would to God my ſoul were with Bedell's (*u*).' Our Prelate had long before prepared for death, as appears by his will, dated the fifteenth of February 1640, in which there are ſeveral legacies, that ſhew he had recollected all the memorable paſſages of his life before he made it, and ſeriouſly conſidered the ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him (*w*) [*E*]. He married a lady of the antient and honourable family of L'Eſtrange, who was the widow of the Recorder of St Edmundſbury, a woman exemplary in her life, humble and modeſt in her behaviour, and ſingular in many excellent qualities, particularly in an extraordinary reverence to him (*x*). She bore him three ſons and a daughter. One of the ſons and the daughter died young, only William and Ambroſe ſurvived, for whom he made no proviſion, but a benefice of eighty pounds a year for the eldeſt and worthy ſon of ſuch a father; and an eſtate of ſixty pounds a year for the youngeſt, who did not take to learning. This was the only purchaſe he made (*y*). His wife died three years before the rebellion broke out, and he preached her funeral ſermon himſelf, with ſuch a mixture both of tenderneſs and moderation, that it drew tears from all his auditors. He was an enemy to burying in the church, thinking that there was both ſuperſtition and pride in it, and believing it was a great annoyance to the living, to have ſo much of the ſteam of dead bodies riſing about them. One of the Canons in his Synod was againſt burying in churches, and he often wiſhed that burying-places were removed out of all towns. He choſe the leaſt frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife to lie in, and by his will ordered, that he ſhould be placed next to her, with this inſcription:

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 217.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 218.

(*u*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241.

(*w*) See note [*E*].

(*x*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 230.

(*y*) The eſtate of the family in Eſſex, was entailed on, and came to, his eldeſt ſon.

Depoſitum Gulielmi quondam Epiſcopi Kilmorenſis.

That is,

'The Remains of William, heretofore Biſhop of Kilmore.'

It is juſtly obſerved by Biſhop Burnet, that the word *Depoſitum*, cannot, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bear an Engliſh tranſlation, becauſe it ſignifies *ſomewhat given to another in truſt*; ſo that Biſhop Bedell meant to expreſs thereby, that he conſidered his burial as committing a truſt to the earth, until ſuch time as it ſhould be called upon to give up it's dead (*z*). Thus lived and died this great and good man, whoſe behaviour in his publick character did honour to his high office in the Church, and whoſe private life was perfectly conſiſtent with the doctrine he taught. His actions were ſuch as rendered him beloved and eſteemed while he lived, and the report of them will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory.

(*z*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 231.

[*E*] *The ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him.*] This preparation for his death was a very diſcreet act, and probably was the effect of his great foreſight, which ſhewed him the dangers of the Proteſtants in Ireland, when few beſides conceived of them in that light; and this made him always thoughtful and concerned. It certainly redounds to his honour, that out of his narrow fortune (which in the next note will appear) he ſhould deſtine ſomewhat to every place unto which he had any relation; a ſure ſign that he was mindful in his higheſt fortunes, not of his progreſs only, but beginnings. To the pariſh church of Black Notley in Eſſex, where he was baptized, he bequeathed a bell. To the library of Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was educated, and where he had been Scholar and Fellow, he left his Hebrew manuſcript Bible, the four Evangeliſts, and Euclid's Elements in Arabick. To Trinity-college in Dublin, of which he had been Provoſt, he gave his manuſcript Priſcian, with four more of his manuſcripts. To Primate Uſher his manuſcript Iriſh Pſalter; and he alſo beſtowed five pounds upon his church of Kilmore, for paving the chancel with hewn ſtone (10). Beſides theſe legacies, he gave directions in his will about his interment, as the reader will ſee in the text. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that the church of Kilmore, mentioned in his will, is a ſmall pariſh church, contiguous to the epiſcopal houſe; for in this Biſhoprick, as we are informed by the worthy editor of Sir James Ware's works, there are neither Cathedral, Chapter, Canons, or Prebendaries. We have ſeen how this Biſhop, out of pure conſcience, quitted the See of Ardagh, which before his time had been annexed to the See of Kilmore, but after his deceaſe they were united again in favour of Dr Robert Maxwell, our Biſhop's ſucceſſor; but in 1692, upon the deprivation of Biſhop Sheridan, they were again divided, Dr Smith being made Biſhop of Kilmore, and Dr Burgh of Ardagh; but the latter dying within the year, the Sees were again united, and have continued ſo ever ſince (11).

(10) Extract from the Will, in the Prerogative office.

(11) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 225, 243, 256.

[*F*] *Will*

memory [*F*]. The country, and the times in which he lived, required, above all others, ſuch examples, and the reſpect paid him by the Iriſh ſufficiently ſhews, what might have been done amongſt them, if all, or the greateſt part of the Proteſtant clergy, had been ſuch as he was; and therefore the diligence of thoſe can ſcarce be ſufficiently commended, who have ſecured to poſterity ſo ample an account, of ſo worthy and ſo excellent a perſon.

[*F*] *Will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory.*] It is requiſite that the reader ſhould be put in mind, before we come to that copious account, which is ſtill preſerved, of his daily behaviour, that it was not taken from common fame and from different perſons, at a great diſtance of time after his deceaſe, for then it might have been looked upon, rather as a picture drawn by ſuch as were ſtrongly affected by the obligations they had to him, or the affection they had for him; but theſe accounts were drawn up by Mr Clogy, who lived in the Biſhop's family, was the companion of all his fortunes, the faithful witneſs and ſincere admirer of all his virtues; one who committed to writing, while freſh in his memory, thoſe things that Biſhop Burnet long afterwards publiſhed in print, while that gentleman was living, to teſtify the truth of them, and while many others were alſo able to vouch the ſame facts. It was therefore reaſonable for him to introduce as he does the character he gives him with this obſervation, *viz.* 'That he was one, 'in whom ſo many of the greateſt characters of a 'primitive and apoſtolical Biſhop did ſhew themſelves 'ſo eminently, that it ſeemed fit that he ſhould ſtill 'ſpeak to the world though dead, both for convincing 'the unjuſt enemies of that venerable order, and for 'the inſtruction of thoſe that ſucceeded him in it; 'ſince great patterns give the eaſieſt notions of emi-'nent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more 'authority with it, than all ſpeculative diſcourſes can 'poſſible have. And as the lives of the primitive 'Chriſtians were a ſpeaking apology for their religion, 'as well as a direction to thoſe that grew up, ſo it is 'to be hoped that the ſolemn, though ſilent language, 'of ſo bright an example, will have the deſired ef-'fect both ways, and then my (12) author will have a 'noble reward for his labours.' The perſon whom Biſhop Burnet here ſtiles the author, is Mr Clogy, before-mentioned, who, he affirms, had a much greater hand in the work than himſelf; and this it was the more neceſſary for him to do, becauſe otherwiſe the reader could not have told ſo well, what to think of the numerous particulars contained in the following character, which is indeed long and large, but ſo curious, and ſo well put together, that it is impoſſible it ſhould ſeem tedious. He was tall and graceful, and had ſomething in his looks and carriage that created a veneration for him. His deportment was grave, without affectation. His apparel decent with ſimplicity; he wore no ſilks, but plain ſtuffs; had a long and broad beard, grey and venerable hair. His ſtrength continued firm to the laſt, ſo that the week before his laſt ſickneſs, he walked as vigorouſly and nimble as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch, inſomuch that his ſons, who were amazed at it, had enough to do to follow him. He never uſed ſpectacles. By a fall in his childhood he had unhappily contracted a deafneſs in his left ear. He had great ſtrength and health of body, except that a few years before his death he had ſome ſevere fits of the ſtone, occaſioned by his ſedentary life, which he bore with wonderful patience. The remedy he uſed for it was to dig in the garden (in which he much delighted) until he heated himſelf, and that mitigated the pain. His judgment and memory remained with him to the laſt. He always preached without notes; but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He ſhewed no other learning in his ſermons but in clearing the difficulties of his text, by comparing the originals with the moſt antient verſions. His ſtile was clear and full, but plain and ſimple. He read the Hebrew and Septuagint ſo much, that they were as familiar to him as the Engliſh tranſlation. He had gathered a vaſt heap of critical Expoſitions, which, with a trunk full of other manuſcripts, fell into the hands of the Iriſh, and were all loſt except his great Hebrew manuſcript, which was preſerved by a converted Iriſhman, and is now in Emanuel-college in Cambridge. Every day after dinner and ſupper a chapter of the Bible was read at his table, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants were preſent, and Bibles were laid before every one of the company, and before himſelf either the Hebrew or Greek, but in his laſt years the Iriſh tranſlation; and he uſually explained the occurring difficulties. He wrote much in controverſy, occaſioned by his engagements to labour the converſion of thoſe of the Roman communion, which he looked on as idolatrous and antichriſtian. He wrote a large treatiſe on theſe two queſtions: 'Where was our religion among Luther? 'And what became of our anceſtors who died in Po-'pery?' Archbiſhop Uſher preſſed him to have printed it, and he reſolved to have done ſo; but that and all his other works were ſwallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correſpondence not only with the Divines of England, but with others over Europe. He obſerved a true hoſpitality in houſe-keeping; many poor Iriſh families about him were maintained out of his kitchin; and in Chriſtmas the poor always eat with him at his own table, and he had brought himſelf to endure both their rags and rudeneſs. At publick tables he uſually ſat ſilent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one obſerved, that while they were all talking he ſaid nothing. The Primate anſwered, 'Broach 'him, and you will find good liquor in him.' Upon which the perſon propoſed a queſtion in Divinity, in anſwering which the Biſhop ſhewed his abilities ſo well, and puzzled the other ſo much, that all at laſt, except the Biſhop, fell a laughing at the other. The greatneſs of his mind, and undauntedneſs of his ſpirit, evidently appeared in many paſſages of his life, and that without any mixture of pride, for he lived with his Clergy as if they had been his brethren. In his viſitation he would accept of no invitation from the gentlemen of the country, but would eat with his Clergy in ſuch poor inns, and of ſuch coarſe fare, as the places afforded. He avoided all affectation of ſtate in his carrriage, and, when in Dublin, always walked on foot, attended by one ſervant, except on publick occaſions, which obliged him to ride in proceſſion among his brethren. He never kept a coach, his ſtrength ſuffering him always to ride on horſeback. He avoided the affectation of humility as well as pride, the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind of his obligations to purity: It was a flaming crucible, with this motto, 'Take from me all my Tin,' the word in Hebrew ſignifying Tin, being Bedil, which imported that he thought every thing in him but baſe alloy, and therefore prayed God would cleanſe him from it. He never thought of changing his See, but conſidered himſelf as under a tye to it that could not eaſily be diſſolved; ſo that when the tranſlating him to a Biſhoprick in England was propoſed to him, he refuſed it; and ſaid, he ſhould be as troubleſome a Biſhop in England as he had been in Ireland. He had a true and generous notion of religion, and did not look upon it as a ſyſtem of opinions, or a ſet of forms, but as a divine diſcipline that reforms the heart and life. It was not leaves but fruit that he ſought. This was the true principle of his great zeal againſt Popery. He conſidered the corruptions of that Church as an effectual courſe to enervate the true deſign of Chriſtianity. He looked on the obligation of obſerving the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and was moſt exact in the obſervation it (13).

(12) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 218, 219.

(13) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. I. p. 241. Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 219.

BEDERIC (HENRY) a celebrated preacher in the XIVth century, was a monk of the order of St Auguſtin at Clare; and ſurnamed de Bury, becauſe he was born at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk (*a*). Having from his youth ſhown a quick wit, and a great inclination to learning, his ſuperiors took care to improve thoſe excellent faculties, by ſending him not only to our Engliſh, but alſo to foreign, univerſities: where cloſely applying himſelf to his ſtudies, and being a conſtant diſputant, he arrived to ſuch fame, that at Paris he became a Doctor of the Sorbonne (*b*). Not long after he returned to England, where he was much followed, and extremely admired, for his eloquent way of preaching. This eminent qualification, joined to his remarkable integrity, uprightneſs, decent behaviour, prudence, and dexterity in the management of affairs, ſo recommended him to the eſteem of the world, that he was choſen Provincial of his order throughout England: in which ſtation he behaved in a very commendable manner. He writ ſeveral things [*A*]. But he is cenſured by one author [*B*], for having aſſerted and maintained, that the virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin. He flouriſhed about the year 1380, in the reign of King Richard II.

(*a*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XIV. n. 637. Baleus Script. Bryt. in. Cent. Sexta. n. 51.

(*b*) Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He writ ſeveral things.*] Namely, I. 'Lectures 'upon the Maſter of the Sentences, *i. e.* Peter Lom-'bard, in four books. II. Theological Queſtions, in 'one book. III. Sermons upon the Bleſſed Virgin. 'IV. A courſe of Sermons for the whole year' Beſides ſeveral other things, of which no account is given.

[*B*] *But he is cenſured by one author, for having aſſerted and maintained, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin.*] That author's name is Petrus Vicentinus (1). The trifling opinion here mentioned has occaſioned very long and warm diſputes among thoſe patrons of nonſenſe, the members of the Church of Rome. The Dominicans, a very conſiderable Order amongſt them, affirmed, That ſhe was conceived in original ſin. But the Franciſcans, who were more popular, took it into their heads to maintain the contrary (2). The firſt inventor of her immaculate conception was the famous John Duns, ſurnamed *Scotus*, and *Doctor Subtilis*, who died in the year 1308 (3). Since which time great numbers of books have been written for and againſt that opinion. Montfaucon relates (4), that, when he viſited Italy, Signor Belcreddi of Pavia had a library full of books in behalf of that groundleſs notion, and moſt of them written by Franciſcans.

(1) Bale, ubi ſupra. Pits calls him *Vincentinus*.

(2) See Biſhop Burnet's Travels, edit. 1687, 8vo, p. 26, &c.

(3) Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſt. par M. Fleury, Paris, 1720, 12mo, Tom. XIX. p. 150.

(4) Diarium Italicum, Paris, 1702, 4to, p. 26.

C

BEHN (APHARA) [*A*], a celebrated Poeteſs of the laſt age, was a gentlewoman by birth, being deſcended from a good family in the city of Canterbury (*a*); and was born ſome time in the reign of King Charles I, but in what year is not known. Her father's name was Johnſon; whoſe relation to the Lord Willoughby drew him, for the advantageous poſt of Lieutenant-General of Surinam, and ſix and thirty iſlands, to undertake a voyage, with his whole family, to the Weſt-Indies; at which time our Poeteſs was very young. Mr Johnſon died at ſea in his paſſage thither; but his family arrived at Surinam (*b*) [*B*], where our Poeteſs became acquainted with the ſtory, and perſon, of the American Prince *Oroonoko* [*C*], whoſe adventures ſhe has ſo feelingly deſcribed in the celebrated novel of that

(*a*) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in two Vols 12mo, Lond. 1735, p. 2.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2, 3. & *Oroonoko*, ibid. p. 152.

[*A*] APHARA.] This is the true ſpelling, as appears by her epitaph (1), and not *Afra*, as it is uſually written. Langbaine (2) calls her *Mrs Aſtræa Behn*; but *Aſtræa* is only a fictitious name, uſed by her in her Epiſtolary Correſpondence.

(1) *See the remark* [*M*].

(2) *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 17.

[*B*] *She arrived at Surinam*] In her *Hiſtory of Oroonoko* (3) ſhe has given us the following deſcription of her habitation in that country. 'As ſoon as I 'came into the country, the beſt houſe in it was pre-'ſented me, called *St John's Hill*: It ſtood on a vaſt 'rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river 'ran a vaſt depth down, and not to be deſcended on 'that ſide; the little waves ſtill daſhing and waſhing 'the foot of this rock, made the ſofteſt murmurs and 'purlings in the world; and the oppoſite bank was 'adorned with ſuch vaſt quantities of different flowers 'eternally blowing, and every day and hour new, 'fenced behind 'em with lofty trees of a thouſand rare 'forms and colours, that the proſpect was the moſt ra-'viſhing that ſands can create. On the edge of this 'white rock, towards the river, was a walk, or grove, 'of orange and lemon-trees, about half the length of 'the *Mall* here *, whoſe flowery and fruit-bearing 'branches met at the top, and hindered the ſun, whoſe 'rays are very fierce there, from entering a beam into 'the grove; and the cool air that came from the 'river made it not only fit to entertain people in, at 'all the hotteſt hours of the day, but refreſh the ſweet 'bloſſoms, and made it always ſweet and charming; 'and ſure the whole globe of the world cannot ſhew 'ſo delightful a place as this grove was: Not all the 'gardens of boaſted Italy can produce a ſhade to out-'vie this, which nature had joined with art to render 'ſo exceeding fine; and 'tis a marvel to ſee how ſuch 'vaſt trees, as big as Engliſh oaks, could take footing 'in ſo ſolid a rock, and ſo little earth, as covered that 'rock.' Mrs Behn indeed ſpeaks wonders of the whole continent of Surinam, with this reflection upon it, 'that certainly, had his late Majeſty † of 'ſacred memory but ſeen and known what a vaſt and 'charming world he had been maſter of in that con-'tinent, he would never have parted ſo eaſily with it 'to the Dutch (4).'

(3) Page 154. See her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in 2 Vols. Lond. 1735, Vol. I.

(*) In St James's Park.

(†) K. Charles I.

(4) *Oroonoko*, &c. p. 153.

[*C*] *She became acquainted with the perſon and ſtory of the American Prince* Oroonoko.] She herſelf tells us (5), 'ſhe had often ſeen and converſed with that 'great man, and been a witneſs to many of his mighty 'actions;' and that at one time 'he and *Clemene* (or '*Imoinda* his wife) were ſcarce an hour in a day from 'her lodgings; that they eat with her, and that ſhe 'obliged them in all things ſhe was capable, entertain-'ing them with the lives of the Romans, and great 'men, which charmed *him* to her company; and *her*, 'with teaching her all the pretty works ſhe was miſtreſs 'of, and telling her ſtories of Nuns, and endeavour-'ing to bring her to the knowledge of the true God '(6).' She tells us likewiſe (7), that Oroonoko uſed to call her his *Great Miſtreſs*, and that 'her word 'would go a great way with him.' This intimacy between Prince Oroonoko and our Poeteſs occaſioned ſome reflections on her conduct, from which the authreſs of her *Life* has juſtified her in the following manner. Speaking of the unfortunate ſtory of Oroonoko, 'Here, *ſays ſhe* (8), I can add nothing to 'what ſhe has given the world already, but a vindi-'cation of her from ſome unjuſt aſperſions I find are 'inſinuated about this town in relation to that Prince. 'I knew her intimately well, and I believe ſhe would 'not have concealed any love-affair from me, being 'one of her own ſex, whoſe friendſhip and ſecrecy 'ſhe had experienced; which makes me aſſure the 'world there was no affair between that Prince and 'Aſtræa, but what the whole plantation were witneſſes 'of; a generous value for his uncommon virtues, 'which every one that but hears 'em finds in himſelf, 'and his preſence gave her no more. Beſides, his 'heart was too violently ſet on the everlaſting charms 'of his Imoinda, to be ſhook with thoſe more faint

(5) Ibid. p. 85.

(6) Ibid. p. 149.

(7) Ibid.

(8) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. 3, 4.

(c) *She the remark* [*H*].

that name (*c*). After her return to England, ſhe was married to Mr Behn, a merchant of London, but of Dutch extraction. King Charles II, to whom ſhe had given an entertaining and juſt account of the colony of Surinam, thought her a proper perſon to be intruſted with the management of ſome important affairs, during the Dutch war; which occaſioned her going into Flanders, and reſiding at Antwerp (*d*). Here, by her intrigues, ſhe diſcovered the deſign, formed by the Dutch, of ſailing up the river Thames, and burning the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours [*D*]; which ſhe communicated to the Court of England: but, her intelligence (though well grounded, as appeared by the event) being only laughed at and ſlighted, ſhe laid aſide all farther thoughts of ſtate affairs, and amuſed herſelf, during the reſt of her ſtay at Antwerp, with the gallantries of that city (*e*) [*E*]. After ſome time, ſhe embarked at Dunkirk for England, and in the paſſage

(d) *Life and Memoirs*, &c. p. 5.

(e) Ibid. p. 6—38.

'(in his eye) of a white beauty; and Aſtræa's relations there preſent, had too watchful an eye over her, 'to permit the frailty of her youth, if that had been 'powerful enough.'

[*D*] *She diſcovered the deſign of the Dutch —— to burn the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours.*] She made this diſcovery by the intervention of a Dutchman, whom her life-writer calls by the name of Vander Albert. This Vander Albert, who, before the war, in her huſband's time, had been in love with her in England, as ſoon as he heard of her arrival at Antwerp, and the public poſts he was in would give him leave, paid her a viſit; and, after a repetition of all his former profeſſions for her ſervice, preſſed her to let him, by ſome ſignal means, give her undeniable proofs of the vehemence and ſincerity of his paſſion; for which he would aſk no reward, 'till he had by long and faithful ſervices convinced her that he deſerved it. This propoſal was ſo ſuitable to her preſent aim in the ſervice of her country, that ſhe accepted it, and employed Albert in ſuch a manner, as made her very ſerviceable to the King. The latter end of the year 1665, he ſent her word by a ſpecial meſſenger, that he would be with her at a day appointed; at which time he revealed to her, that Cornelius De Wit, who, with the reſt of that family, had an implacable hatred to the Engliſh nation and the Houſe of Orange, had, with de Ruyter, propoſed to the States the expedition above-mentioned. This propoſal, concurring with the advice, which the Dutch Partiſans in England had given them of the total neglect there of all naval preparations, was, he told her, well received, and would certainly be put in execution, as a thing neither dangerous nor difficult. Albert having diſcovered a ſecret of this importance, and with ſuch marks of truth, that ſhe had no room for doubt, as ſoon as the interview was at end, ſhe diſpatched an account of what ſhe had diſcovered to England (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 6—9.

[*E*] *She amuſed herſelf with the gallantries of Antwerp.*] Beſides Vander Albert, mentioned in the laſt remark, Mrs Behn had another lover at Antwerp, a Dutchman likewiſe: of whom ſhe herſelf gives the following humorous account in one of her letters (10): 'My other is about twice his (*Albert's*) age, nay and 'bulk too, though Albert be not the moſt Barbary 'ſhape you have ſeen; you muſt know him by the 'name of Van Bruin, and he was introduced to me 'by Albert his kinſman, and obliged by him to furniſh 'me in his abſence with what money and other things 'I ſhould pleaſe to command, or have occaſion for, as 'long as he ſtaid at Antwerp, where he was like to 'continue ſome time about a law-ſuit then depending. 'He had not viſited me often before I began to be 'ſenſible of the influence of my eyes on this old piece 'of worm-eaten touchwood; but he had not the confidence (and that's much) to tell me he loved me, 'and modeſty, you know, is no common fault of his 'countrymen. — He often inſinuated that he knew a 'man of wealth and ſubſtance, though ſtricken indeed 'in years, and on that account not ſo agreeable as a 'younger man, that was paſſionately in love with me, 'and deſired to know whether my heart was ſo far engaged, that his friend ſhould not entertain any hopes. 'I replied, that I was ſurprized to hear a friend of 'Albert's making an intereſt in me for another; that 'if love were a paſſion I was any way ſenſible of, it 'could never be for an old man, and much to that 'purpoſe. But all this would not do; in a day or 'two I received this eloquent epiſtle from him.' Here Mrs Behn inſerts a tranſlation of Van Bruin's letter, which was wrote in French, and in a moſt ridiculous ſtile, telling her, *he had often ſtrove to tell her the tempeſts of his heart, and with his own mouth ſcale the walls of her affections; but terrified with the ſtrength of her fortifications, he concluded to make more regular approaches, and firſt attack her at a farther diſtance, and try firſt what a bombardment of letters would do; whether theſe carcaſſes of love, thrown into the ſconces of her eyes, would break into the midſt of her breaſt, beat down the court of guard of her averſion, and blow up the magazine of her cruelty, that ſhe might be brought to a capitulation, and yield upon reaſonable terms* (11). He then conſiders her as *a goodly ſhip under ſail for the Indies*; her *hair* is the *pennants*; her *forehead* the *prow*; her *eyes* the *guns*; her *noſe* the *rudder*, &c. He wiſhes *he could once ſee her keel above water!* and deſires to be *the pilot, to ſteer her by the* Cape of Good Hope *for the* Indies *of Love* (12). Our Poeteſs returned a ſuitable anſwer to this ridiculous letter. She rallies him on his *ſetting out for ſo unprofitable a voyage as* Love, and humorouſly reckons up the *expences* of the voyage; as *Ribbons and hoods for her pennants; diamond-rings, lockets, and pearl-necklaces for her guns of offence and defence; ſilks, holland, lawn, cambrick*, &c. *for her rigging*, &c (13). This produced another letter, in the ſame ſtile, from Van Bruin; in which, *to ſhew her that what ſhe propoſed had not terrified him*, he tells her, *he ſends her* Cart-blank *to fill up herſelf*, promiſing to viſit her that evening, *to ſign articles, and put a new garriſon into the fort* (14). Though Mrs Behn had no need of anſwering this, being threatened with ſo ſpeedy a viſit, yet, for the diverſion of herſelf and her acquaintance, ſhe ſent him another billet; in which, ſeeming to encourage his paſſion, ſhe tells him, *ſhe fears that deluding tongue of his will quite remove all her objections*; but that *ſhe defers propoſals of articles, 'till their Plenipo's meet, and proceed regularly on theſe preliminaries at the place of conference; which*, ſays ſhe, *is agreed on all hands to be the abode of your moſt happy Aſtræa* (15). This letter, we may imagine, ſoon brought her *Hogen-mogen* lover (as ſhe calls him) to her apartment. The other part of his courtſhip ſhe tells her friend could not eaſily be deſcribed. 'But imagine to your-'ſelf, *ſays ſhe* (16), an old, over-grown, unwieldy 'Dutchman, playing awkwardly over all that he ſup-'poſed would make him look more agreeable in my 'eyes. Age he found I did not admire; he therefore 'endeavoured to conceal it by dreſs, peruke, and 'clumſy gaiety. Reſpect he was informed I expected 'from a lover; which he would expreſs with ſuch 'comical cringes, ſuch odd ſort of ogling, and fantaſtick addreſs, that I could never force a ſerious face 'on whatever he ſaid; for let the ſubject be ever ſo 'grave, his perſon and delivery turned it into a farce. 'There was no piece of gallantry he obſerved per-'formed by the young gentlemen of the city, but he 'attempted in imitation of them, even to poetry; 'but that indeed was in his own language, and ſo 'might be extraordinary for aught I know.' In this manner, Mrs Behn tells us, ſhe diverted herſelf with Van Bruin, in Albert's abſence, 'till he began to aſſume and grow troubleſome on her bare permiſſion of his addreſſes; ſo that, to rid herſelf of him, ſhe was forced to diſcloſe the whole affair to Albert, who was ſo enraged, that he threatened the death of his rival; but was pacified by his miſtreſs, and contented to upbraid the other with his treachery, and to forbid him the houſe (17). 'But this, *ſays our Poeteſs* (18), pro-'duced a very ridiculous ſcene, and worthy of more 'ſpectators: For my Neſtorean lover would not give 'ground to Albert, but was as high as he, challenged 'him

(10) Ibid. p. 20.

(11) Ibid. p. 21, 22.

(12) Ibid. p. 21—24.

(13) Ibid. p. 24—27.

(14) Ibid. p. 28—30.

(15) Ibid. p. 30—32.

(16) Ibid. p. 33.

(17) Ibid. p. 33, 34.

(18) Ibid.

paſſage was near being loſt; for the ſhip, being driven on the coaſt, foundered within ſight of land: but, by the aſſiſtance of boats from the ſhore, they were all ſaved, and Mrs Behn arrived in London. The reſt of her life was entirely dedicated to pleaſure and poetry (*f*). Beſides publiſhing three volumes of *Miſcellany Poems* [*F*], ſhe wrote ſeventeen *Plays* [*G*], and ſome *Hiſtories* and *Novels* [*H*]. She tranſlated M. Fontenelle's *Hiſtory*

(*f*) Ibid. p. 38—40.

'him to *ſnick-or-ſnee* for me, and a thouſand things 'as comical; in ſhort, nothing but my poſitive com- 'mand could ſatisfy him, and on that he promiſed 'no more to trouble me. Sure, as he thought, of 'me, he was thunder-ſtruck, when he heard me not 'only forbid him the houſe, but ridicule all his ad- 'dreſſes to his rival Albert; and, with a countenance 'full of deſpair, went away, not only from my lodg- 'ings, but the next day from Antwerp, leaving his 'law-ſuit to the care of his friends, unable to ſtay in 'the place where he had met with ſo dreadful a de- 'feat.' Thus far we have an account of Mrs Behn's gallantries at Antwerp from her own pen. The authreſs of her *Life* has given us a farther account of her affairs with Vander Albert, in which ſhe contrived to preſerve her honour, without injuring her gratitude. There was a woman at Antwerp, who had often given Aſtræa warning of Albert's fickleneſs and inconſtancy, aſſuring her, he never loved paſt enjoyment, and ſometimes changed even before he had that pretence; of which ſhe herſelf was an inſtance, Albert having married her, and deſerted her on the wedding-night. Our Poeteſs took the opportunity of her acquaintance with this lady, whoſe name was Catalina, to put an honeſt trick upon her lover, and at the ſame time do juſtice to an an injured woman. Accordingly ſhe made an appointment with Albert, and contrived that Catalina ſhould meet him in her ſtead. The plot ſucceeded, and Catalina, infinitely pleaſed with the adventure, appointed the next night and the following, till at laſt he diſcovered the cheat, and reſolved to gratify both his love and his revenge, by enjoying Aſtræa even againſt her will. To this purpoſe he bribed an elderly gentlewoman, whom Mrs Behn kept out of charity, and who was her bedfellow, to put him to bed dreſſed in her night-cloaths in her place, when Aſtræa was paſſing the evening at a Merchant's houſe in the town. The Merchant's ſon and his two ſiſters waited on Aſtræa home; and, to conclude the evening's mirth with a frolic, the young gentleman propoſed going to bed to the old woman, and that they ſhould all come in with candles, and ſurprize them together. As it was agreed, ſo they did; but, no ſooner was the young ſpark laid in bed, than he found himſelf accoſted with unexpected ardour, and a man's voice, ſaying, *Have I now caught thee, thou malicious charmer! Now I'll not let thee go 'till thou haſt done me juſtice for all the wrongs thou haſt offered my doating love.* The reſt of the company coming in, were extremely ſurprized to find Albert in Aſtræa's bed, inſtead of the old woman, and Albert no leſs to find the young ſpark inſtead of Aſtræa. In concluſion the old woman was diſcarded, and Albert's fury at his diſappointment appeaſed by a promiſe from Mrs Behn of marrying him at her arrival in England. But Albert, returning into Holland to make preparations for his voyage to England, died of a fever at Amſterdam (19).

(19) Ibid. p. 35—38.

[*F*] *She publiſhed three volumes of* Miſcellany Poems.] The firſt in 1684, the ſecond in 1685, and the third in 1688. They conſiſt of ſongs, and other little pieces, by the Earl of Rocheſter, Sir George Etherege, Mr Henry Criſp, and others; with ſome pieces of her own. To the *Second Miſcellany* is annexed a tranſlation of the Duke de Rochefoucault's *Moral Reflexions*, under the title of *Seneca Unmaſked*.

[*G*] *Her* Plays.] They are as follows: I, II. *The Rover, or the Baniſh'd Cavalier*, in two parts, both Comedies; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677 and 1681. The ſecond part is dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke. Theſe Plays are taken, in a great meaſure, from Killigrew's *Don Thomaſo, or the Wanderer*. III. The *Dutch Lover*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1673. The plot of this play is founded on a Spaniſh Romance, written by Don Franciſco de las Coveras, intitled, *Don Feniſe*. IV. *Abdelazar, or the Moor's Revenge*, a Tragedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. It is taken from an old Play of Marlo's, printed in 1661, intitled, *Luſt's Dominion, or the Laſcivious Queen*; a Tragedy. V. *The Young King, or the Miſtake*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1683. It is dedicated to ſome gentleman, her particular friend, under the name of *Philaſter*. The deſign of this Play is taken from the ſtory of *Alcamenes* and *Menalippa*, in Calprenede's *Cleopatra*. VI. *The Round-heads, or the Good Old Cauſe*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton. Great part of the dialogue of this Play is taken from John Tateham's *Rump, or A Mirror of the Times*. VII. *The City-Heireſs, or Sir Timothy Treat-All*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arundel, and Lord Mowbray. This Play was very well received, but moſt of the characters are borrowed, as thoſe of Sir *Timothy* and his *nephew*, from Sir *Bounteous Progreſs* and *Folly-wit*, in Middleton's *Mad World my Maſters*; and thoſe of *Sir Anthony Merrywell* and his nephew *Sir Charles*, from *Durazzo* and *Caldoro*, in Maſſenger's *Guardian*. VIII. *The Town-Fop, or Sir Timothy Tawdry*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677. This Play is founded on a Comedy, written by George Wilkins, intitled, *The Miſeries of inforced Marriage*. IX. *The Falſe Count, or a new Way to play an old Game*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. Iſabella's being deceived by the Chimney-ſweeper, is borrowed from Moliere's *Precieuſes Ridicules*. X. *The Lucky Chance, or An Alderman's Bargain*, a Comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to Hyde Earl of Rocheſter. This Play was greatly decried by the Critics. The incident of *Gayman*'s enjoying the Lady *Fulbanck*, and taking her for the Devil, is borrowed from *Alexander Kickſhaw* and the Lady *Aretina*, in Shirley's *Lady of Pleaſure*. XI. *Forced Marriage, or the Jealous Bridegroom*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. XII. *Sir Patient Fancy*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1678. The character of *Sir Patient* is borrowed from Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire*; and thoſe of *Sir Credulous Eaſy*, and his Groom *Curry*, from *Sir Amphilus* and *Trebaſco*, in Broome's *Damoiſelle*. XIII. *The Widow Ranter, or the Hiſtory of Bacon in Virginia*, a Tragi-comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1690. It is uncertain from whence ſhe had the Hiſtory of *Bacon*; but the cataſtrophe ſeems founded on the ſtory of *Caſſius*, who died by the hand of his freed-man. This Play was publiſhed, after Mrs Behn's death, by one G. J. her friend. XIV. *The Feign'd Courtezan, or A Night's Intrigue*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1679. It is dedicated to the famous Mrs Ellen Guin, King Charles's miſtreſs; and is eſteemed one of Mrs Behn's beſt Plays. XV. *The Emperor of the Moon*, a Farce; acted at the Queen's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Worceſter. The plot is taken from an Italian piece, tranſlated into French, under the title of *Harlequin Empereur dans le monde de la Lune*, and acted at Paris above eighty nights without intermiſſion. XVI. *The Amorous Prince, or the Curious Huſband*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. The plot is borrowed from the Novel of the *Curious Impertinent*, in *Don Quixote*. XVII. *The Younger Brother, or the Amorous Jilt*, a Comedy; publiſhed, after her death, by Mr Gildon. It was taken from a true ſtory of Colonel Henry Martin and a certain Lady. —— Mrs Behn's Plays, all but the laſt, were publiſhed together in two volumes, 8vo. But the laſt edition of 1724 is in four volumes, 12mo, including the *Younger Brother*.

[*H*] *Her* Hiſtories and Novels.] They are extant in two volumes, 12mo, London 1735, 8th edition; publiſhed by Mr Charles Gildon, and dedicated to Simon Scroop, Eſq; to which is prefixed *The Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn, written by one of the*

Hiſtory of Oracles, and *Plurality of Worlds*; to which laſt ſhe annexed an *Eſſay on Tranſlation, and Tranſlated Proſe* [*I*]. The Paraphraſe of *Œnone's Epiſtle to Paris*, in the Engliſh tranſlation of *Ovid's Epiſtles*, is Mrs Behn's [*K*]; as are, the celebrated *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Siſter*, Lond. 1684 (*g*). Her wit gained her the acquaintance and eſteem of the Poets of that time, as Mr Dryden, Mr Southerne, Mr Charles Cotton, and others; and, at the ſame time, the love and addreſſes of ſeveral gentlemen; one in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of *Lycidas* (*b*) [*L*]. Mrs Behn died, after a long indiſpoſition, the 16th of April 1689, and

(*g*) Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 23.

(*b*) *Life*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 40, &c.

the Fair Sex. The *Hiſtories* and *Novels* are as follows: I. *The Hiſtory of Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave*. This was a true ſtory, the incidents of which happened during her reſidence at Surinam (20). It gave birth to Mr Southerne's celebrated Play of *Oroonoko*. That Gentleman, in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* of that Play, ſpeaking of his obligation to Mrs Behn for the ſubject, ſays, 'She had a great command of the Stage; and I 'have often wondered that ſhe would bury her fa-'vourite Heroe in a *Novel*, when ſhe might have re-'vived him in the *Scene*. She thought either that no 'Actor could repreſent him, or ſhe could not bear 'him repreſented; and I believe the laſt, when I re-'member what I have heard from a friend of her's, 'that ſhe always told his ſtory more feelingly than ſhe 'writ it.' II. *The Fair Jilt; or, The Amours of Prince Tarquin and Miranda*. This is likewiſe a true ſtory; to a great part of which, ſhe tells us (21), ſhe was an eye-witneſs; and what ſhe did not ſee, ſhe learned from ſome of the actors concerned in it, the Franciſcans of Antwerp, where the ſcene is laid. III. *The Nun; or, The Perjured Beauty; a true Novel*. IV. *The Hiſtory of Agnes de Caſtro*. V. *The Lover's Watch; or, The Art of making Love*. It is taken from M. Bonnecourſe's *La Montre*, or *The Watch*. It is not properly a Novel. A Lady, under the name of *Iris*, being abſent from her lover *Damon*, is ſuppoſed to ſend him a *Watch*; on the dial-plate of which the whole buſineſs of a lover, during the twenty-four hours, is marked out, and pointed to by the dart of a Cupid in the middle. Thus, *Eight o'clock* is marked *Agreeable Reverie*; *Nine o'clock, Deſign to pleaſe nobody*; *Ten o'clock, Reading of Letters*, &c. To which is added, as from *Damon* to *Iris*, A Deſcription of *The Caſe of the Watch*. VI. *The Ladies Looking-Glaſs to dreſs themſelves by*. *Damon* is ſuppoſed to ſend *Iris* a *Looking-Glaſs*, which repreſents to her all her charms, *viz.* her *Shape, Complexion, Hair*, &c. This likewiſe, which is not properly a Novel, is taken from the French. VII. *The Lucky Miſtake; a new Novel*. VIII. *The Court of the King of Bantam*. IX. *The Adventure of the Black Lady*. The reader will diſtinguiſh the originals from the tranſlations, by conſulting the 2d and 3d *Tomes of Le Recueil des pieces gallantes, en proſe et en vers. Paris*, 1684, 8vo.

(20) *See the remark* [*C*].

(21) *See her* Hiſtories and Novels, Vol. I. p. 205.

[*I*] *Her Tranſlation of* M. Fontenelle's —— Plurality of Worlds; *to which is annexed*, An Eſſay on Tranſlation and Tranſlated Proſe.] This Tranſlation is in general a pretty good one, though there are ſome miſtakes in it, occaſioned by her want of ſufficient ſkill in Philoſophy. In the *Eſſay on Tranſlation*, &c. annexed to it, ſhe cenſures M. Fontenelle on ſeveral accounts, and occaſionally anſwers ſome objections made to ſeveral paſſages of Scripture; as, that of the Sun's ſtanding ſtill at the command of Joſhua; the meaſure and dimenſions of Solomon's molten-braſs Sea, and the time of King Solomon's reign; as theſe paſſages relate to Aſtronomy, Geometry, and Chronology. But in handling theſe points, Mrs Behn ſhews ſhe is out of her ſphere, and engaged in a kind of writing, for which nature had not formed her. In this *Eſſay* ſhe endeavours likewiſe to prove, that the *French* is of all languages the moſt difficult to be tranſlated into Engliſh.

[*K*] *The Paraphraſe of* OEnone's Epiſtle to Paris, *in the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Ovid's Epiſtles, *is her's*] In the preface to that work, Mr Dryden pays her this handſome compliment: *I was deſired to ſay, that the author, who is of the Fair Sex, underſtood not Latin: But if ſhe does not, I am afraid ſhe has given us occaſion to be aſhamed who do*. The following paſſage, tranſcribed from this Epiſtle, will afford the reader a proper ſpecimen of Mrs Behn's poetical talent.

Say, lovely youth, why wou'd'ſt thou thus betray
My eaſy faith, and lead my heart aſtray?
I might ſome humble Shepherd's choice have been,
Had I that tongue ne'er heard, thoſe eyes ne'er ſeen;
And in ſome homely cot, in low repoſe,
Liv'd undiſturb'd with broken vows and oaths;
All day by ſhaded ſprings my flocks have kept,
And in ſome honeſt arms at night have ſlept.
Then, unupbraided with my wrongs, thou'dſt been
Safe in the joys of the fair Grecian Queen.
What Stars do rule the Great? No ſooner you
Became a Prince, but you were perjur'd too.
Are crowns and falſhoods then conſiſtent things?
And muſt they all be faithleſs who are Kings?
The Gods be prais'd that I was humble born,
Ev'n tho' it renders me my Paris' ſcorn.
And I had rather this way wretched prove,
Than be a Queen, and faithleſs in my love.
Not my fair rival wou'd I wiſh to be,
To come prophan'd by others joys to thee.
A ſpotleſs maid into thy arms I brought,
Untouch'd in fame, ev'n innocent in thought:
Whilſt ſhe with love has treated many a gueſt,
And brings thee but the leavings of a feaſt:
With Theſeus from her country made eſcape,
Whilſt ſhe miſcall'd the willing flight a rape:
So now from Atreus' ſon with thee is fled;
And ſtill the rape hides the adulterous deed.
And is it thus great ladies keep entire
That virtue they ſo boaſt, and you admire?
Is this a trick of Courts? Can raviſhment
Serve for a poor evaſion of conſent?
Hard ſhift to ſave that honour priz'd ſo high,
Whilſt the mean fraud's the greater infamy!
How much more happy are we rural maids,
Who know no other palaces than ſhades;
Who want no titles to enſlave the croud,
Leſt they ſhould babble all our crimes aloud;
No arts our good to ſhew, our ills to hide;
Nor know to cover faults of love with pride (22)!

(22) *Ovid's Epiſtles*, &c. Lond. 1736, 12*mo*, p. 84, 85.

[*L*] — *One in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of Lycidas.*] Eight of her *love-letters* to that *Gentleman* are printed in the *Life and Memoirs*, &c. prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels* (23). They are full of the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of love for her dear Lycidas, who, at the time of her writing theſe letters, ſeems to have loſt much of the paſſion he once had for her, and to have returned her love with great coldneſs and indifference. 'I may 'chance, *ſays ſhe, in her laſt letter* (24), from the 'natural inconſtancy of my ſex, to be as falſe as you 'would wiſh, and leave you in quiet: For as I am 'ſatisfied I love in vain, and without return, I am ſa-'tisfied that nothing, but the thing that hates me, 'could treat me as Lycidas does; and 'tis only the 'vanity of being beloved by me can make you coun-'tenance a ſoftneſs ſo diſpleaſing to you. How could 'any thing, but the man that hates me, entertain me 'ſo unkindly? Witneſs your paſſing by the end of the 'ſtreet where I live, and ſquandering away your time 'at any coffee-houſe, rather than allow me, what you 'know in your ſoul is the greateſt bleſſing of my life, 'your dear, *dull*, melancholy company; I call it dull, 'becauſe you can never be gay or merry where Aſtræa 'is. How could this indifference poſſeſs you, when your 'malicious ſoul knew I was languiſhing for you? I 'died, I fainted, I panted for an hour of what you 'laviſhed out, regardleſs of me, and without ſo much 'as thinking on me!'

(23) Ubi ſupra, p. 54, &c.

(24) Ib. p. 69, 70.

[*M*] *She*

and was buried in the cloyſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey [*M*]. We ſhall ſay ſomething of her character, as a writer, below [*N*].

[*M*] *She was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] Her grave is covered with a plain black marble ſtone, on which is the following inſcription.

Mrs Apharra Behn died Aprill the 16, 1689.

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough againſt mortality.
Great Poeteſs, O thy ſtupendous lays
The world admires, and the Muſes praiſe.

Revived by Thomas Waine in reſpect to ſo bright a genius.

No perſon of the leaſt taſte or judgment can poſſibly believe, what was maliciouſly ſuggeſted by the envious of her own ſex, that the author of this epitaph was, in reality, the author of moſt of thoſe pieces which go under Mrs Behn's name.

[*N*] *Her character.*] Mr Langbaine, her contemporary, thinks 'her memory will be long freſh among 'all lovers of dramatic poetry, as having been ſuf-'ficiently eminent, not only for her theatrical per-'formances, but ſeveral other pieces both in proſe and 'verſe, which gained her an eſteem among the wits, 'almoſt equal to that of the incomparable *Orinda*, 'Mrs Catherine Philips. — Moſt of her Comedies, '*coytinues he*, have had the good fortune to pleaſe; 'and though it muſt be confeſt that ſhe has borrowed 'very much, not only from her own countrymen, but 'likewiſe from the French Poets, yet it may be ſaid in 'her behalf, that ſhe has often been forced to it thro' 'haſte; and has borrowed from others ſtores, rather 'of choice than for want of a fund of wit of her 'own, it having been formerly her unhappineſs to be 'neceſſitated to write for bread, as ſhe herſelf has 'publiſhed to the world (‖). 'Tis alſo her commen-'dation, that whatever ſhe borrows ſhe improves for 'the better; a plea which our late Laureat (*) has not 'been aſhamed to make uſe of (†). If to this her 'ſex may plead in her behalf, I doubt not but ſhe will 'be allowed equal with ſeveral of our Poets her con-'temporaries (25).' There are ſeveral encomiums on Mrs Behn prefixed to her *Lover's Watch*. Among the reſt Mr Charles Cotton, author of *Virgil Traveſty*, &c. compliments her in the following lines.

(‖) Pref. to Sir *Patient Fancy*.

(*) Mr Dryden.

(†) Pref. to the *Mock Aſtrologer*.

(25) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 17, 18.

Some hands write ſomethings well, are elſewhere lame;
But on all themes your power is the ſame.
Of buſkin and of ſock you know the pace,
And tread in both with equal ſkill and grace.
But, when you write of love, Aſtræa, then
Love dips his arrows where you wet your pen.
Such charming lines did never paper grace,
Soft as your ſex, and ſmooth as beauty's face.

But why ſhould you, who can ſo well create,
So ſtoop, as but pretend you do tranſlate?
Cou'd you, who have ſuch a luxurious vein,
As nought but your own judgment cou'd reſtrain,
Who are yourſelf of poeſy the ſoul - - - - - - -
Deſcend ſo low - - - - - - - - - -
To make an author, that before was none?
Yet we can trace you there, in ev'ry line;
The texture's good, but ſome threads are too fine:
We ſee where you let in your ſilver ſprings,
And know the plumes, with which you imp his wings (26).

(26) *La Montre, or, The Lovers Watch*, Lond. 1686, 12mo.

It ſeems this gentleman thought it too great a condeſcenſion in Mrs Behn to meddle with tranſlation. Mr Charles Gildon, who was intimately acquainted with our Poeteſs, ſpeaks of her with the higheſt encomiums. 'Poetry, *ſays he* (27), the ſupreme pleaſure of the 'mind, is begot, and born in pleaſure, but oppreſſed 'and killed with pain. This reflection ought to raiſe 'our admiration of Mrs Behn, whoſe genius was of 'that force, like Homer's, to maintain it's gaiety in 'the midſt of diſappointments, which a woman of 'her ſenſe and merit ought never to have met with. 'But ſhe had a great ſtrength of mind and command 'of thought, being able to write in the midſt of 'company, and yet have her ſhare of the conver-'ſation, which I ſaw her do in writing *Oroonoko*, and 'other parts of the following volumes; in every part 'of which, Sir, you'll find an eaſy ſtile, and a pecu-'liar happineſs of thinking. The paſſions, that of 'Love eſpecially, ſhe was miſtreſs of; and gave us ſuch 'nice and tender touches of them, that, without her 'name, we might diſcover the author, as Protogenes 'did Apelles by the ſtroke of his pencil.' To this character of Mrs Behn may very properly be added that given of her by the authreſs of her *Life and Memoirs* (28), in theſe words: 'She was of a generous 'and open temper, ſomething paſſionate, very ſervice-'able to her friends in all that was in her power, and 'could ſooner forgive an injury than do one. She 'had wit, honour, good humour, and judgment. 'She was miſtreſs of all the pleaſing arts of conver-'ſation, but uſed 'em not to any but thoſe who love 'plain dealing. She was a woman of ſenſe, and by 'conſequence a lover of pleaſure. — For my part I 'knew her intimately, and never ſaw aught unbe-'coming the juſt modeſty of our ſex, though more 'gay and free than the folly of the preciſe will al-'low.' —— This reſpects only her moral character, and may be ſtrictly true. But how far ſhe may deſerve the high encomiums beſtowed on her as a writer, and what abatements it may be neceſſary to make in ſettling her true merit, the reader of her works will eaſily judge. Her *Novels*, *Oroonoko* excepted, are chiefly tranſlations: Her *Poetry* is none of the beſt; and her *Comedies*, though not without wit and humour, are full of the moſt indecent ſcenes and expreſſions. T

(27) *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, &c. of her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. x, xi.

(28) Ubi ſupra, p. 72.

BEK, or BEC, or BEAK (ANTHONY) Biſhop of Durham in reigns of Edward I and II, was advanced, with the King's conſent, from the archdeaconry of Durham to the biſhoprick, in the room of Robert *de Inſula* (*a*). Of the extraction and education of this Prelate I find no account. He was elected by the Monks on the ninth of July 1283, and conſecrated, in the preſence of the King and ſeveral of the Nobles, by William Wicwane Archbiſhop of York, on the ninth of January following (*b*). At the time of his conſecration, the Archbiſhop, having had a diſpute, during the vacancy of the See, with the Chapter of Durham, obliged the Prior to go out of the Church; and the next day enjoined the new Biſhop, upon his canonical obedience, to excommunicate the Superior and ſeveral of the Monks: but Bek refuſed to obey the Archbiſhop, ſaying, 'I was yeſterday conſecrated their Biſhop, and ſhall I excommunicate them to day? no 'obedience ſhall force me to this (*c*).' He was inthroned on Chriſtmas-eve 1285; upon which occaſion a diſpute ariſing between the Prior and the Official of York about the rite of performing that ceremony, the deciſion of it was deferred; and in the mean time Bek was inſtalled by his brother Thomas Bek Biſhop of St David's (*d*). This Prelate had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham; which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See [*A*]. He is ſaid to have been the richeſt Biſhop (if we except Wolſey)

(*a*) Rob. de Grayſtanes, Hiſtor. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745.

(*b*) Ibid. & in *notis*.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 746.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 747.

[*A*] *He had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham, which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See.*] Having complained to the Pope, that the Prior of his Church was a very ignorant and unſkilful

Wolſey) that had ever held the See of Durham: for, beſides the revenues of his biſhoprick, he had a temporal eſtate of five thouſand marks *per annum*; part of which, we are told, he gained by unjuſtly converting to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey [*B*]. He procured the tranſlation of the body of St William formerly Archbiſhop of York, and was at the whole expence of the ceremony, which was ſolemnly performed in the church of York (*e*). He aſſiſted King Edward I, in his war againſt John Baliol King of Scotland, and brought into the field a large body of forces [*C*]. In the year 1294, he was ſent Embaſſador from King Edward to the Emperor of Germany, to conclude a treaty with that Prince, againſt the increaſing power of France (*f*). In 1295, the Pope having ſent two Cardinals on an embaſſy to the Engliſh Court, this Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer them in the King's name [*D*]. He had the title of *Patriarch of Jeruſalem* conferred on him by the Pope in 1305 (*g*): and about the ſame time received from the King a grant of the principality of the Iſland of Man (*h*). An act paſſed, in this Biſhop's time, in the Parliament of Carliſle, *Anno* 1307,

(*e*) Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1727.

(*f*) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, l. iii. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2500.

(*g*) R. de Grayſtanes, ubi ſupra, p. 752.

(*h*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

unſkilful perſon, and in all reſpects unqualified for the government of ſo conſiderable a convent, he obtained of his Holineſs the ſole management of it's revenues and juriſdiction; and accordingly ſent down certain of his officers to Durham to execute his orders. But the Monks refuſed to admit them, and appealed to the Pope; whereupon the Biſhop's officers excommunicated the Prior and all the Monks. Theſe proceedings ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he laid a ſevere fine on the officers, and ordered the Biſhop himſelf to appear in his courts, and anſwer for what he had done. But Bek, without regarding the King's ſummons, or aſking his leave, ſet out for Rome; which ſo incenſed the King, that he confiſcated the revenues of his biſhoprick, and turned out the Chancellor, Juſticiaries, and other public officers of the principality of Durham. He wrote likewiſe to the Pope in favour of the Prior, who preſented the letter with his own hand; and his Holineſs having examined him, and found the Biſhop's complaint againſt him to be groundleſs, reſtored him to his office; but he died before he could return into England. As to Bek, the King's reſentment againſt him did not ſtop here; for he ſeized on ſeveral caſtles, which, by the condemnation of Baliol, King of Scots, and others, had devolved to the Biſhops of Durham, as Counts Palatine; among which were Werkam in Tividale, Perth, and the Church of Simonburne; nor were they recovered to the Church of Durham till the time of his next ſucceſſor but one, Lewis Beaumont (1). This affair will receive farther light from Mr Camden, who, reciting the privileges of the Biſhoprick of Durham, ſays as follows: 'The Biſhops have alſo had 'their royalties, ſo that the goods of outlaws were 'forfeited to *them*, and not to the King; nay the 'common people, inſiſting upon privilege, have re-'fuſed to go to the wars in Scotland under the King. '*For they pleaded* (theſe are the words of the hiſtory 'of Durham *) *that they were hali-werke folkes*, i. e. '*regiſtered or enrolled for holy work; that they held* '*their lands to defend the body of St Cuthbert, and that* '*they ought not to march out of the confines of their* '*biſhoprick, namely beyond the Tine and the Tees, either* '*for the King, or for the Biſhop.* But Edward the firſt 'abridged them of theſe liberties. For he (voluntarily) 'interpoſing himſelf as a mediator between *Anthony* '*Bec* Biſhop, and the Prior, who had then a ſharp 'conteſt about certain lands, and at laſt would not 'ſtand to his determination, *ſeized* (as my author ſays) '*the liberty of the Biſhoprick into his own hands; and* '*then were many things ſearched into, and their privi-*'*leges abridged in many particulars.* However, the 'church recovered it's rights afterwards (2).' Biſhop Bek extricated himſelf at length out of this troubleſome affair, and was entirely reſtored to the King's favour.

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

(*) *Per* R. de Grayſtanes, *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i.

(2) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. II. col. 933, 934.

[*B*] *He converted to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey.*] Camden informs us (3), that William de Veſcey, whoſe lawful ſon John died in the Welſh wars, gave ſome of his lands in Ireland to King Edward, on condition that his natural ſon William de Kildare, might inherit his eſtate; and made Anthony Bec, Biſhop of Durham, his feoffee in truſt for the uſe of his ſon; who did not acquit himſelf over fairly in that part of his charge relating to Alnwick (*in Northumberland*), Eltham in Kent, and ſome other eſtates, which he converted to his own uſe. The ſame Antiquarian tells us (4), the Biſhop gave the caſtle of Eltham, which belonged to the Veſcies, to Queen Eleanor; and elſewhere (5), that the ſaid Biſhop, baſely betraying his truſt, alienated the inheritance (*of Alnwick-caſtle*) ſelling it for a preſent ſum of money to William Percy; ſince which time it has always been in the poſſeſſion of the Percies.

(3) Ibid. col. 913.

(4) Ibid. col. 222.

(5) Ib. col. 1. 94.

[*C*] *He brought into the field a large body of forces.*] Knyghton informs us (6), that ſome Engliſh merchants having been plundered and murthered in the port of Berwick by the Scotch, King Edward ſummoned the King of Scots to appear before him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to anſwer for this and other outrages committed by his ſubjects. But Baliol ſlighting the ſummons, Edward marched againſt him with four thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot; and was joined by the Biſhop of Durham at the head of five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, conſiſting chiefly of Welſh and Iriſh. Robert de Grayſtanes tells us (7), the Biſhop had of his own family twenty-ſix ſtandard-bearers; and adds, that he looked more like a Lay-Prince, than a Prieſt or a Biſhop; *ita ut magis crederetur Princeps Laicus, quam Sacerdos aut Epiſcopus.* Let us hear Leland; '*King Edward*, ſays that Antiquarian (8), *wan the* '*batel in Fawkirk yn Scotland apon S. Maria Magda-*'*lena day in the yere of our Larde* 1295, *where Wyl-*'*liam Waleys, their Capitayne ran a way. Anthony* '*de Bek, Biſhop of Dureſme, had this batail ſuch* '*a retinew, that in his cumpany were thirty two* '*baners.*'

(6) De Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2478.

(7) Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 746.

(8) *Ex* Scalæ Chronico, *apud* Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, T. I. P. i. p. 541.

[*D*] *This Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer the Pope's Legates in the King's name.*] The deſign of the embaſſy was to reconcile the differences, and eſtabliſh peace between the Kings of England and France. The two Legates (Beraldus, Biſhop of Alba, and Simon, Biſhop of Præneſte) having declared, in the King's preſence, the ſubject of their embaſſy, the Biſhop of Durham roſe up, and anſwered them in the French language. He told them, 'that tho' every Chriſtian 'and good Catholic ought to wiſh for peace, on ac-'count of the bleſſings which attend it, and the ex-'treme miſchiefs conſequent on war and diſcord; yet 'that this conſideration ought not to induce any Prince 'to break his word or promiſe; that his Highneſs had 'concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, by 'which he was obliged not to make peace without that 'Prince's conſent.' The Cardinals hereupon requeſting, that the King would diſpatch meſſengers to the Emperor upon this ſubject, and in the mean time grant a truce, during which negotiations might be carried on for bringing about a peace, the next day was appointed for returning a farther anſwer; which being come, and the Council aſſembled, the Biſhop of Durham again ſpoke in French to the following effect: 'That 'the King, out of reverence to the Holy See, and in 'conſideration of the high ſtation and quality of the 'Legates, freely granted their requeſt of ſending em-'baſſadors to the Emperor; that, it being notorious 'to all the world, that the forces of the King of 'France were ready to act againſt his Highneſs both 'by ſea and land, it would not be ſafe for him to diſ-'arm himſelf till the enemy did the like; that when 'he was aſſured the King of France had ſuſpended his 'military preparations, his Highneſs would do ſo too; 'but not before (9).' The event of this buſineſs not being material to the hiſtory of Biſhop Bek, I ſhall ſay no more of it. The probable reaſon of his being choſen to deliver the King's mind upon this occaſion may be, either his ſuperior talent of ſpeaking, or his knowledge of the French language, or perhaps both.

(9) H. Knyghton, de Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2504, 2505, 2506.

[*E*] *He*

1307, to prevent the Biſhop of Durham, or his officers, from cutting down the woods belonging to the biſhoprick (*i*). This Prelate expended large ſums in building. He fortified the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland, and turned it into a caſtle [*E*]. He built, or enlarged, the caſtles of Bernard in the biſhoprick of Durham; of Alnwick in Northumberland (*k*); of Gainford in the biſhoprick of Durham; of Somerton in Lincolnſhire, which he gave to King Edward I; and of Eltham in Kent, which he gave to Queen Eleanor (*l*). He founded the priory of Alvingham in Lincolnſhire, the revenue of which, at the diſſolution, was valued at 141*l.* 15*s. per annum.* He founded likewiſe a collegiate church, with a Dean and ſeven Prebendaries, at *Cheſter upon the Street*, in the biſhoprick of Durham (***). This Biſhop gave to the church of Durham two pictures, containing the hiſtory of our Saviour's nativity, to be hung as an ornament over the great altar on the feſtival of Chriſtmas (*m*). He died at Eltham the third of March 1310, having ſat twenty-eight years, and was buried in the church of Durham near the eaſt front, contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, who, out of reſpect to the body of St Cuthbert, were never laid within the church (*n*). Biſhop Bek was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte [*F*].

(*i*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745, in *notis.*

(*k*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*l*) *See* ibid.

(***) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) R. de Graſtanes, *ibid.* p. 747.

(*n*) Id. ibid. p. 754.

I find another ANTHONY BEK or BEEK, who was Biſhop of Norwich in the reign of Edward III, being advanced to that See by the Pope's collation in 1337. This Prelate had borne ſome office in the Court of Rome, and is remarkable chiefly for the oppoſition he made to Archbiſhop Winchelſea intending to viſit the dioceſe and Chapter of Norwich, and for the manner of his death, which was by poiſon given him by one of his own domeſtics (*o*).

(*o*) Monach. Norwic. anonym. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 414.

I find likewiſe two THOMAS BEKS; the one promoted to the See of Lincoln in the reign of Edward II, *Ann.* 1319; who ſat ſo ſhort a time, that he is ſeldom reckoned among the Prelates of that See. Biſhop Godwin thinks, he was the ſame Thomas Bek, Archdeacon of Dorcheſter, who, in 1278, was appointed High-Treaſurer of England, and that he was brother to *Anthony Bek* Biſhop of *Durham* (*p*). But the laſt is probably a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article (*q*), that that Prelate's brother was Biſhop of *St David's*. This latter (*Thomas Bek*) was conſecrated in 1280, and founded two colleges, one at Aberguilly, and another at Landewy-brevy (*r*). In 1286, a large ſubſidy was granted to this Biſhop, to be levied on the whole dioceſe, for the tranſacting certain affairs relating to the clergy with Giffard the Pope's Nuntio in England (*s*).

(*p*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lincolnienſ. *an.* 1319.

(*q*) *See reference* (*d*).

(*r*) Godwin, ibid. *inter* Epiſc. Menevenſ. *an* 1280.

(*s*) Annal. Eccleſ. Menevenſ. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, P. ii. p. 651.

[*E*] *He turned the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland into a caſtle.*] Biſhop Godwin adds (10), that he built therein a very ſpacious hall, ſupported with pillars of black marble ſpotted with white; a large parlour, with other adjacent buildings; and a very fine chapel, in which he placed a Dean and Prebendaries, aſſigning for their habitation a large court, or quadrangle ſurrounded with buildings, on the Weſt ſide of the caſtle. *Ædes Auklandenſes convertit in caſtrum, ubi aulam conſtruxit magnæ amplitudinis, quam columnis ornavit ex nigro marmore maculis candentibus variegato; et conclave ſatis amplum, cum aliis ædificiis vicinis; nec non capellam pulcherrimam, in qua Decanum collocavit et Prebendarios, area quadrata (ædificiis à ſe porro conſtructis circundata) pro habitaculo iis aſſignata, in occidentali parte ejuſdem caſtri.*

(10) Ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *He was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte.*] Robert de Grayſtanes ſhall fill up the outlines of this character. That hiſtorian tells us, Biſhop Bek was courageous, and, next to the King, the beſt ſkilled of any one in military affairs; and more converſant in matters of ſtate, than in the duties of his function. But though he was fond of a retinue of ſoldiers about him, he affected a ſeeming indifference towards them; and ſhewed no concern that the greateſt nobles bent the knee to him, and officers of the army waited upon him ſtanding, whilſt he himſelf ſat. He thought nothing too dear, which might ſerve to augment his grandeur. As an inſtance of which, my author tells us, he once paid at London forty ſhillings for forty freſh herrings, which were thought too dear by the reſt of the nobility then aſſembled in Parliament. Another time, he bought a parcel of very dear cloth, of which he made houſings for his horſes, for no other reaſon, but becauſe ſomebody had ſaid, he did not believe Biſhop Anthony would venture to buy it. He was ſo impatient of reſt, that he never took more than one ſleep, ſaying, it was unbecoming a man to turn from one ſide to the other in bed. He was perpetually either riding from one manor to another, or hunting, or hawking. Though his expences were very great, he never wanted money. He always roſe from his meals with an appetite; and his continence was ſo great, that he never looked a woman full in the face: Whence, in the tranſlation of St William of York, when the other Biſhops declined touching the Saint's bones, through a conſciouſneſs of having forfeited their virginity, he alone boldly handled them, and aſſiſted the ceremony with due reverence. *Erat autem iſte Antonius magnanimus, poſt regem nulli in regno in apparatu, geſtu, et potentia militari ſecundus; magis circa negotia regni quam circa epiſcopalia occupatus.* ——— *Et quamvis gauderet militum conſtipari agmine, erga tamen eos ſic ſe habuit, quaſi eos non curaſſet: Comites et Barones regni majores ſibi genuflectere, et eo ſedente milites quaſi ſervientes diutiſſime coram eo aſtare parvipendens. Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare poſſet. Pro* XL *halecibus recentibus* XL *ſolidos Londoniæ ſemel ſolvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in Parliamento ibi conſiſtentibus pro nimia cariſtia emere non curantibus. Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo co-operturas palefridis ſuis fecit; eo quod quidam dixit ſe credere quod Epiſcopus Antonius id emere non audebat. Quietis impatiens vix ultra unum ſomnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non eſſe hominem, qui in lecto de latere in latus ſe verteret. In nullo loco manſurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de Auſtro in Boream; et equorum, canum et avium ſectator. Et cum eſſet ſumptuoſus in multis, nunquam tamen egens erat; ſed uſque ad mortem omnia ei abundabant. Ad ſatietatem vix comedit; caſtiſſime vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aſpiciens. Unde in tranſlatione S. Willelmi Eboracenſis, cum alii Epiſcopi oſſa ejus timerent tangere, remordente eos conſcientia de virginitate amiſſa, iſte audaciter manus impoſuit; et quod negotium poposcerat reverenter egit* (11).

(11) Hiſt. Dunelm. ubi ſupra, p. 746.

BEKINSAU (JOHN), author of a book intitled *De Supremo et abſoluto Regis Imperio* [*A*], was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire [*B*]. He had his education in grammar learning at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter: from whence he was ſent very early to New-college in Oxford; where, having ſerved two years of probation, he was admitted Perpetual Fellow in the year 1520. In 1526 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being that year (as one of the Univerſity Regiſters informs us) *about to take a journey beyond the ſeas for the ſake of ſtudy* [*C*]. In his college he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Greek language. In 1538 he reſigned his fellowſhip, and married. What preferment or employment he had afterwards is uncertain. He was familiarly acquainted with, and highly eſteemed by, the moſt learned men of the nation, particularly the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian John Leland, who has beſtowed an *Encomium* on him [*D*]. He was in good eſteem with King Heary VIII, and King Edward VI. When Queen Mary came to the crown, and endeavoured to deſtroy all that her father and brother had done towards the Reformation of the Church, Bekinſau wheeled about with the times, and became a zealous Roman Catholic. After Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, when Proteſtantiſm again took place, he retired to an obſcure village in Hampſhire called Sherbourne; where he ſpent the remainder of his life in great diſcontent, and was buried in the church of that place, the twentieth of December 1559, aged about ſixty-three years; leaving behind him this character among the Roman Catholics, that, *as he was a learned man, ſo might he have been promoted according to his deſerts, if he had been conſtant to his principles* (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

[*A*] *He was the author of a book intituled,* De Supremo et Abſoluto Regis Imperio.] This piece is a defence of the King's Supremacy againſt the claims of the Church of Rome, and is dedicated by the author to King Henry VIII. He did not venture to publiſh it, 'till he ſaw that the Pope's power was wholly exterminated in England. It was printed at London in 1546, in *octavo*, and afterwards in the firſt volume of *Monarchia Romani Imperii*, &c. by Melchior Goldaſt Hamensfeldius, at Francfort 1621, in *folio* (1).

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 129.

[*B*] *He was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire.*] His father, John Bekinſau, deſcended of an antient and genteel family, was a native of Bekinſau in Lancaſhire, but reſided chiefly in Hampſhire (2). How our author came to be born in Wiltſhire, we are not told.

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *He intended to travel for the ſake of ſtudy.*] It is not certain, from the univerſity regiſter, whether our author ever put his intention of travelling in execution. But Anthony Wood informs us (3), he found it entered upon record (4), that *John Beconſaw, ſecond ſon of John Beconſaw, of Hartly-Weſpell, in Hampſhire (born at Beconſaw in Lancaſhire), was reader of the Greek lecture at Paris, and afterwards came over, and died at Sherbourne in Hampſhire.*

(3) Ibid.

(4) *In Offic. armor. Londini*, in Reg. vel lib. C. fol. 72. b.

[*D*] *Leland beſtowed an* Encomium *on him.*] It is contained in the following verſes (5).

(5) *Princip. ac illuſtr. aliquot et eruditor. in Anglia viror. Encomia, &c. apud* J. Leland, *Collectan.* edit. T. Hearne, Vol. V. p. 150, 151.

Ad Libellum, de Jo. Beckenſano.

Tu quum prodieris pictus fuligine preli
In lucem, doctos extuleriſque viros;
Beckenſanus erit tibi vel tutela politus,
Artes qui didicit, perdocuitque bonas;
Quà celer ancipiti decurſu profluit amnis
Iſis, dicta eſt urbs Iſidis unde vadum;
Et qua Parhiſios collambit Sequana flumen
Valle vagus media, nobilis urbis honor.
Te decet excultum multa impertire ſalute
Illum, nam ſtudiis annuit atque favet:
Utpote qui certet præſtantes fortiter artes
Splendorem ad ſolitum jam revocare ſuum.
Lectio multa quidem, linguarum et gratia felix,
Illius hic cauſam promovet, auget, agit.
Officio quare ne deſis, chare libelle,
Candoris niveo et munere clarus eris.

BELGRAVE (RICHARD) (*a*), a writer of the XIVth century, of the antient family of the Belgraves in Leiceſterſhire [*A*], was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter (*b*) [*B*], and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he applied himſelf with great diligence, and the like ſucceſs, to his ſtudies, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*c*). He entered himſelf into the Order of Carmelite Fryars (*d*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy [*C*], and School Divinity. However he was more remarkable for the ſtrength and ſubtilty

(*a*) We alſo find it written *Bellogreve*, vid. Leland Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. Tom. II. cap. 353.

(*b*) Burton's Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(*c*) Balæus Illuſt. Scriptor. major. Brit. Cent. XI. cap. v. p. 51.

(*d*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Anglic. by Stevens, Vol. II. p. 162.

[*A*] *Of the antient family of the Belgraves.*] Of this family the firſt that I find, ſays Burton (1), was William Belgrave, to whom Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leiceſter in the reign of Henry II, gave land in Belgrave; a pleaſant place and fruitful ſoil, about a mile diſtant from Leiceſter; which family according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, took their name from thence (2), and hath ſince ſpread itſelf into many branches, ſome yet in being in this county: And of this family Burton informs us, was this Richard de Bellgrave.

(1) Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(2) See the latter end of note [*B*].

[*B*] *Was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter.*] We have ventured in this to contradict the common account (*), *of his being born in or near the city of Chicheſter in Suſſex*; though ſo mentioned by Pits and copied by Dugdale (3); the reaſon for which alteration, we ſhall however ſubmit to the reader's judgment.——— Burton (4), *far from an inaccurate* writer, expreſsly ſays, he was born at Belgrave, and Fuller alſo remarks, that Pits makes him born at Chicheſter in Suſſex, and Burton at Belgrave in Leiceſterſhire, 'whom I rather believe, ſays he, be'cauſe hewrote a particular deſcription of this county.

(*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(3) Dugd. Monaſt. Pits, ut ſupra.

(4) In his Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

'Now ſurely the more is the *exactneſs* of the *author*, 'the leſs the *extent* of his ſubject, eſpecially making it 'his *ſet work* (what was *Pits's by-work*) to obſerve the 'natives of this ſhire(†).'——— Beſides, it was particularly the cuſtom of thoſe times, for Clergymen of note to receive local names, that is, names derived from the town, village, or place of their birth, or abode: ——— Which practice continued long in vogue, till the days of King Henry the ſixth, and then ſays *Fuller* (5), *de ſuch a place* begun to be left off, but was not wholly laid aſide till a great while after. ———

(†) Fuller's Worthies, p. 132, in Leiceſterſhire.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, p. 43.

[*C*] *Diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy.*] This muſt be underſtood of his reading and ſtudying it privately by himſelf; for the firſt that read Ariſtotle publickly in the ſchools at Cambridge, was, we find, a brother of his order, and not unlikely, a contemporary and companion, ſo that Belgrave's great knowledge in it, might probably induce Bampton (for that was the Monk's name) to introduce it, and read it afterwards publickly in the ſchools.— But as we have thus curſorily mentioned Bampton, as introducer of the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy into the ſchools, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader to have a little farther ac-

count

ſubtilty of his lectures, than the elegance of his ſtyle, the ſtudy of polite literature being generally neglected in that age. Pits (*e*) gives him the character of a man of eminent integrity and piety. He flouriſhed in the year 1320, under the reign of King Edward II, and wrote, among other works, *Theological Determinations, in one book*, the ſubject of which was, Utrum Eſſentia Divina poſſit videri? *Whether the Divine Eſſence could be ſeen (f)?* and *Ordinary Queſtions, in one book.*

(e) Pitſeus, de Illuſt. Angliæ Script. num. 481. p. 415. an. 1320.

(f) Pits, ubi ſupra.

count of him, which we ſhall do in this note, his life being omitted in the body of the work.

BAMPTON (JOHN), wrote alſo de Bampton and de Baunton, *&c.* D. D. was born at *Bampton* in the Weſt of England, which place, as well as his name, we find variouſly written, his name being alſo local (6). The particular time of his birth is uncertain; he flouriſhed about the year 1340; ſtudied at Cambridge, where he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity, was alſo, as we before hinted, a Monk of the order of Carmelites (7), *&c.* He was a great lover of learning, and excellently well learned for the times in which he lived, had a very acute wit, and was a great and ſkilful logician, or diſputant, for he well knew how to urge and how to evade all the ſubtilties of ſophiſtical arguments; of which particular he wrote ſeveral pieces, as Bale (8) informs us in his Centuries, beſides ſome other things, viz. Opuſculum octo Quæſtionum de Veritate Propoſitionum, Lib. I. *A ſmall work containing eight Queſtions of the truth of Propoſitions*; of which Pits wittily ſays, Quæro de Veritate iſtius Quæſtionis, *concerning the truth of which queſtion I doubt*; that is (I preſume) whether he wrote ſuch a book (9): Alſo Lecturæ Scholaſticæ in Theologiâ, Lib. I *Scholaſtick Lectures in Divinity*. What particular monaſtery he was of, when he died, or where buried we know not (10). R

(6) See Dugd. Bar. Vol. I. p. 432. And the latter end of note [*B*].

(7) Pitſeus, p. 449. No. 538. anno 1341.

(8) Bale's Deſcript. Cent. X. p. 46.

(9) Pitſeus, ut ſupra.

(10) Danmonii Illuſtres Orient. p. 64.

BELING (RICHARD) deſcended of an antient Engliſh family, though long ſettled in Ireland, was born in the year 1613, at Belingſtown, in the barony of Balrothery, and county of Dublin, the antient ſeat of his family, which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale [*A*]. Another branch of that family was ſettled at Stradbally in the barony of Caſtlenock in the ſame county; and in antient liſts are to be ſeen, the numbers of archers on horſeback, which theſe two families ſent to the aid of the State, in the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, in obedience to the Chief Governor's ſummons to General Hoſtings. He was the ſon of Sir Henry Beling, Knt. and was educated in his greener years at a grammar-ſchool in the city of Dublin, but afterwards put under the tuition of ſome prieſts of his own religion, which was Popiſh, who ſo well cultivated his good genius, that they taught him to write in a fluent and elegant Latin ſtyle, as appears by ſeveral of his pieces hereafter mentioned. Thus grounded in the polite parts of literature, his father removed him to Lincoln's-Inn, to ſtudy the municipal laws of his country, where he abode ſome years, and returned home a very accompliſhed gentleman: But it does not appear that he ever made the Law a profeſſion. His natural inclinations turning him to arms, he early engaged in the rebellion of 1641, and though but about twenty-eight years old, was then an officer of conſiderable rank. For in February (*a*) that year, he appeared at the head of a ſtrong body of the Iriſh before Liſmore, and ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender: but the Lord Broghill, who commanded in it a ſmall body of 100 new raiſed forces, ſlighted the ſummons, and another party coming to his aid, Mr Beling thought fit to draw off, and quitted the ſiege. He afterwards became a leading member, in the ſupreme council of the confederated Roman Catholicks at Kilkenny, to which he was Principal Secretary; by whom he was ſent Ambaſſador (*b*) to the Pope and other Italian Princes in 1645, to crave aid for the ſupport of their cauſe. He brought back with him a fatal preſent in the perſon of the Nuncio, John Baptiſt Rinuccini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo [*B*], who was the occaſion of reviving the diſtinctions between the old Iriſh of blood, and the old Engliſh of Iriſh birth, which ſplit that party into factions; prevented all peace with the Marquis of Ormond, and ruined the country which he was ſent to ſave. When Mr Beling had fathomed the miſchievous ſchemes of the Nuncio and his faction, and perceived that they had other views, than merely to obtain a toleration for the free exerciſe of their religion, as in the beginning they pretended, no body was more zealous than he in oppoſing and clogging their meaſures, or in promoting the peace then in agitation, and ſubmitting to the King's authority, which he did with ſuch heartineſs and ſincerity, that he became very dear to the Marquis of Ormond, who intruſted him with many negociations [*C*] both before and after the Reſtoration, which

(a) Borlaſe Hiſt. p. 35.

(b) Pet. Walſh's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſtrance, p. 674. Cox, Vol. II. p. 149.

[*A*] *Which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale.*] The Engliſh Pale was thoſe parts of Ireland extended about Dublin, which in the reign of Henry II were poſſeſſed and fortified by the Engliſh, comprehending ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs diſtricts, as the Engliſh or Iriſh power in different ages prevailed. But the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Carlow, being for the moſt part obedient to the Engliſh laws, went under the more immediate denomination of the Pale. The word ſeems to be taken from the Engliſh *Pales*, the materials with which Deer Parks and other incloſures were ſurrounded, as if the Engliſh were ſeparated from the Iriſh by ſuch incloſures. Since the reign of King James I the Engliſh laws have obtained obedience through all Ireland, and therefore the notion of the Pale is antiquated (1).

(1) See the remark [*G*] in the article BASNET (EDWARD).

[*B*] *Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo.*] Fermo is an Archbiſhoprick and Principality in Italy, in the Marquiſate of Ancona, ſubject to the Pope.

[*C*] *Intruſted him with many negotiations.*] Mr Beling was commiſſioned by the Marquis of Ormond in 1647 to tranſact the junction of the Iriſh army with his, before the ſurrender of Dublin to the Parliament party; and after the Reſtoration the Marquis, then created Duke, employed him three ſeveral times to the Synod of the Romiſh Clergy, aſſembled by connivance at Dublin in 1666, to prevail on them to ſign a remonſtrance of their loyalty, which he himſelf had ſubſcribed in the year 1662. But he had no fruits from theſe negotiations, the Synod abruptly breaking up before they could be prevailed upon to come to any concluſions. See this whole tranſaction in Peter Walſh's *Loyal Formulary, or Hiſtory of the Iriſh Remonſtrance.*

which he executed with great fidelity and ſufficiency. When the Parliament army had ſubdued the Iriſh, Mr Beling retired to France, where he continued ſeveral years, and in that time employed himſelf in writing ſeveral books in Latin, in oppoſition to ſuch writers of the Romiſh party, who had endeavoured to clear themſelves from being the inſtruments of the rebellion, and to lay the blame thereof on the ſeverity of the Engliſh government. His account of the tranſactions of Ireland during the period of the rebellion, is eſteemed by judicious men as the beſt piece for credit of any written by the Romiſh party; and yet he is not free from a partiality to the cauſe he was at firſt embarked in, and his credulity has been taxed in the caſe of Father Finachty [*D*]. He returned home upon the Reſtoration, and was repoſſeſſed of his eſtate, by the favour and intereſt of the Duke of Ormond. He died in Dublin in September 1677, and was buried in the church-yard of Malahidert, about five miles from that city, where he hath a tomb walled in, but without any inſcription to his memory that is apparent or legible. He was father to Sir Richard Beling, Knt. Secretary to Catherine, Queen to King Charles II, which Sir Richard, marrying a lady of the name of Arundel, who was an inheritrix of a great eſtate, his children were obliged to take the name of the mother's family. Mr Beling in his youth, and while he was a ſtudent in Lincoln's-Inn, writ and added *a ſixth book to the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney*, which was printed with that romance, Lond. 1633, fol. to which he put only the initial letters of his name. During his retirement in France, he writ in Latin in two books, *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ, lib.* ii. under the feigned name of Philopater Irenæus; the firſt of which gives a pretty accurate hiſtory of Iriſh affairs, from 1641 to 1649; and the ſecond is a confutation of an epiſtle written by Paul King, a Franciſcan Fryar, and a Nunciotiſt, in defence of the Iriſh rebellion. This book of Mr Beling's being anſwered by John Ponce, a Franciſcan Fryar alſo, and a moſt implacable enemy to the Proteſtants of Ireland, in a tract intituled, *Belingi Vindiciæ everſæ*, our author did not fail of a reply, which he ſent abroad under the title of *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciæ Everſæ: acceſſerunt Belingi Vindiciæ*, Pariſiis 1654, 8*vo.* He writ alſo a vindication of himſelf againſt Nicholas French, titular Biſhop of Ferns, under the title of, *Innocentiæ ſuæ impetitæ per Reverendiſſimum Fernenſem vindiciæ*, Pariſ. 1652, 12*mo*, dedicated to the clergy of Ireland; and is reported to have written a poem called *The Eighth Day*, which has eſcaped our ſearches.

[*D*] *In the caſe of Father Finachty.*] Father Finachty was an ignorant Romiſh Prieſt, who both before and after the Reſtoration travelled about Ireland and England, pretending to diſpoſſeſs people of Devils, and of healing all diſeaſes by his touch, inſomuch that he was followed by multitudes. Mr Beling often declared, that in his conſcience he believed Finachty had a wonderful gift from God of curing by exorciſms and prayers; yet he could not ſay, that he, who had undergone his operations for the Gout, was perfectly cured, but thought his fits were eaſier than before. This man was afterwards diſcovered for an impoſtor, and afforded no ſmall mirth to people againſt Mr Beling and others, who had given too much credit to this juggler. See the *Iriſh Remonſtrance*, from page 710 to page 735, a full account of this pretender to miracles, and the manner how he was detected. D

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) I (*a*), Biſhop of London in the reign of Henry I, was advanced to that See through the intereſt of Roger Montgomery Earl of Shropſhire (*b*), and conſecrated [*A*] 26 July 1108 (*c*). Immediately after his conſecration, he was appointed by the King Warden of the Marches between England and Wales, and Lieutenant of the county of Salop; which offices he held about three years, reſiding for the moſt part of the time at Shrewſbury (*d*). This Prelate expended the whole revenues of his biſhopric on the ſtructure of St Paul's cathedral in London [*B*]: but deſpairing ever to finiſh it, and growing tired of ſo much labour and expence, he turned the ſtream of his liberality another way; and, exchanging the manor of Landſworth for a place in the dioceſe of London called *St Oſith de Chich*, he built there a convent of Regular Canons (*e*) [*C*]. Being ſeized with a dead palſy, and thereby diſqualified

(*a*) *By ſome ſirnamed* Rufus, *to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew of the ſame name.* See the next article.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(*c*) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 231.

(*d*) Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(*e*) *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the annual rent of this houſe was* 758 *l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His conſecration*] He was conſecrated by Anſelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his chapel of Pagenham, after having made the profeſſion of canonical obedience to that Prelate. The King, it ſeems, impatient of delay, deſired he might be immediately conſecrated, though out of the metropolitical church, becauſe, knowing his addreſs in the management of ſecular affairs, he intended to employ him as ſoon as poſſible in the weſtern parts of England. *Rex enim moræ impatiens Ricardum cito (quamvis extra eccleſiam metropoliticam) conſecrari petiit, utpote qui illum in ſecularibus multum valentem ad negotia ſua apud occidentales Angliæ fines gerenda ſtatim tranſmiſſurus erat* (1). Simeon of Durham tells us (2), the Archbiſhop was aſſiſted in the ceremony by the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Chicheſter, and Exeter; and that Richard, in imitation of his predeceſſors, made a handſome preſent, on the day of his conſecration, to the cathedral church of Canterbury.

(1) Wharton, de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(2) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 231

[*B*] *He expended large ſums of money on the ſtructure of the cathedral church of St Paul's.*] He purchaſed ſeveral adjoining houſes of the owners, which he pulled down, and converted the ground they ſtood upon into a church-yard, which he ſurrounded on all ſides with a very high wall. Biſhop Godwin thinks this wall remained entire in his time, though no part of it was to be ſeen by reaſon of the houſes, with which it was on all ſides covered. *Ille vero ad eccleſiæ ſuæ ſtructuram totus intentus, ædificia quamplurima ipſi vicina à poſſeſſoribus redemit; quibus demolitis, areas illarum in cœmiterium convertit, quod muro valde excelſo cinxit undique. Vix tamen hic murus, quanquam integer adhuc ut puto, comparet uſquam, à domibus hodie uſque quaque contectus* (3). Notwithſtanding the large ſums expended by this Biſhop of London, and his ſucceſſors, on the fabric of St Paul's, it was not finiſhed (as Dugdale in his *Hiſtory* of that cathedral informs us) till near two hundred years after his death, *viz.* about the year 1312, being that year paved with good firm marble (4).

(3) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(4) *See* Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. I. col. 375, *&c.*

[*C*] *He built a convent of regular Canons at* St Oſith de Chich.] This place is in the county of Eſſex. Let us hear our great Antiquarian: 'Below this 'town

qualified for the exercise of his episcopal functions, he intended to have resigned his bishopric, and to have spent the remainder of his life in the monastery of his own foundation: but whilst he delayed his purpose from day to day, he was prevented by death (*f*), which took him out of this life, Jan. 16, 1127 (*g*); and he was buried in the convent of St Osith (*h*).

(*f*) W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. ii. *apud* Scriptor. post Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 71.

(*h*) Wharton, ubi supra.

'town (*Colchester*), where the *Coln* empties itself 'into the sea, lies the little town of *St Osith*; the 'former name was *Chich*; the present it received from 'the holy virgin *St Osith*, who, devoting herself entirely to the service of God, and being stabbed here 'by Danish pirates, was by our ancestors esteemed a 'Saint. In memory of her, Richard, Bishop of London, about the year 1120, built a religious house, 'and filled it with Canons regular. This was made 'an *Honour* by act of parliament in the 37th year of 'King Henry VIII, and is the chief seat of the right 'honourable the Lords Darcy, stiled *Lords of Chich*, 'and advanced to the dignity of Barons by Edward VI (5).' T

(5) Camden, ib. col. 422.

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) II, Bishop of London in the reign of King Stephen, was nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London in the preceding reign (*a*), by that Prelate's brother Walter de Belmeis. Before he came of age, he was appointed by his uncle Archdeacon of Middlesex: but the Bishop was prevailed upon by William, Dean of London, his nephew by his sister Adelina, and by the Prior of Chich, to commit the administration of the archdeaconry, during Richard's minority, to Hugh one of his Chaplains. It was with no small difficulty, that Richard afterwards recovered his archdeaconry out of the hands of this faithless guardian (*b*) [*A*]. In the beginning of October 1151, he was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Robert de Sigillo (*c*), and consecrated at Canterbury by Archbishop Theobald, in the presence of all the Bishops of England, excepting Henry of Winchester, who excused his absence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbishop (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate died [*C*] 4 May 1162 (*e*), leaving behind him a reputation for singular eloquence (*f*). Wharton tells us, he had seen a seal of this Bishop's, with this inscription round it; *Ricardus Lundonienſis Epiſcopus Secundus* (*g*).

(*a*) *See the foregoing article.*

(*b*) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(*c*) Sim. Dunelm. Hist. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Hagustald. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*d*) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Histor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 527.

(*e*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. I. p. 98.

(*f*) *Eloquentia præditus valdè commendanda.* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*g*) Wharton, Hist. de Episc. et Decan Londinens. p. 59. edit. Lond. 1694.

[*A*] *It was with some difficulty he recovered his Archdeaconry out of the hands of Hugh.*] His uncle Richard being dead, Gilbert Universalis succeeded to the Bishopric of London. And now our Richard's years and merits qualifying him for the episcopacy, he called upon Hugh to deliver up his trust; but this ecclesiastic, finding himself in favour with the present Bishop, and making light of the solemn oath he had taken to resign, invented a thousand frivolous excuses to delay the resignation. At length, Universalis being dead, and Richard having appealed to the Pope, his Holiness sent letters to the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, directing them to examine into the matter; who having heard the case, and taken Richard's allegations, divested Hugh, and restored Richard to his just rights. *Tractu temporis epiſcopo Ricardo rebus humanis exempto, Gilebertus Univerſalis in epiſcopatum ſucceſſit. Advenit etiam tempus, quo Ricardus de Belmeis, ſuffragantibus annis et meritis exigentibus, poſſet etiam in epiſcopum ſublimari. Capellanus Hugo ſæpe conventus ut Ricardo reſtitueret archidiaconatum, velut immemor ſacramenti fideique tranſgreſſor, conſilium ſuum in alterius mutavit injuriam. Nam in oculis epiſcopi Lundonienſis ſe videns gratiam invehiſſe, frivolas ſemper invenit occaſiunculas. Univerſali defuncto, ſua ſpes omnis cum epiſcopo ſepelitur. His in audientia communi propoſitis, dominus papa literas direxit epiſcopis tam Lincolnienſi quam Herefordenſi. Quibus de cauſa cognoſcentibus, ſuſceptis Richardi probationibus, Hugo ſpoliatus eſt, Ricardus in integrum reſtitutus* (1).

(1) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

[*B*] *The Biſhop of Wincheſter excuſed his abſence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbiſhop.*] This letter is preserved by Radulphus de Diceto (2), and is as follows: *Temporis brevitas, improviſa vocatio, tranſitus ſuſpecti, improba prædonum moleſtia, medicamenti ſolicitudo adhibita, excuſabiles paternitati veſtræ nos reddunt. Electioni vero factæ et conſecrationi faciundæ benignum ex affectu præbemus aſſenſum. Quoniam quidem perſonâ et moribus pollet, et induſtria viget, et ſcientia floret, credimus quod in domo Dei plantata, adjutrice divinitate, florebit et faciet fructum*; i. e. 'The shortness of the time, the unexpectedness of the summons, the danger of travelling, 'the annoyance of robbers, and my want of health, 'will excuse me to your fatherhood. However, I 'give my unfeigned assent to the election already 'made, and the consecration which is to be performed. 'And whereas the person chosen is of unquestionable 'morals, industry, and learning, I am perswaded 'that, being planted in the house of God, he will, 'by the blessing of Heaven, flourish and bring forth 'fruit.' A testimony so advantageous to the character of this Bishop ought not to be suppressed. And by the way, we may observe from this letter, that the highways at that time must have been infested with robbers in a most extraordinary manner; otherwise a Bishop, who could no doubt have commanded a numerous retinue, would not have alledged the danger of travelling upon that account, as one justifiable reason of his absence.

(2) Ymagin. Histor. *apud* X. Script. col. 527.

[*C*] *His death.*] The latter part of his life (says an Historian) was full of affliction; for being several years unable to speak, he at last died in a wretched condition. *Cujus noviſſima plena erant mœrore; obmuteſcens enim plurimis annis, tandem triſti fine periit* (3). The reader must explain this for himself as well as he can, since the other Historians of those times say nothing of the manner of this Bishop's death, nor afford us any light into the passage here cited. All that we can collect from it is, that the distemper, of which he died, had deprived him of the use of speech for several years before his death. T

(3) Simeon Dunelm. Hist. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Hagustald. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

BELMEYS (JOHN), commonly called *Joannes Eboracenſis*, or *John of York*, an eminent Divine in the XIIth century (*a*), was born of a good family (*b*). After having happily laid the foundations of learning in his own country, he travelled abroad, and visited the most famous universities of France and Italy; where he acquired the reputation of being the most learned man of his time [*A*]. After some time spent in finishing his studies

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

(*b*) Bale, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

[*A*] *He acquired the reputation of being the moſt learned man of his time.*] Let us copy Leland. 'Quo 'cum perveniſſet, ita ſtrenue partes ſuas egit, ut brevi 'nomen aliquod decuſque inter eruditos ſibi compararet; at cum jam maturior ætas ſuperveniret, eo 'excellentiæ devenit, ut vel princeps literatorum habe'retur. Neque tamen ſatis putabat ipſa nuda ſcien'tiarum cognitione præſtare; quinetiam eloquentiam, 'hoc eſt linguarum peritiam adjiceret. In qua tantum 'profecit, quantum illis temporibus facilius erat ſpe'rare, quam conſequi. Sim vanus, niſi Joannes Se'verianus Anglus, cui quam familiariſſimus erat, hæc 'eadem

ſtudies, he returned home, and was made a Canon, and Treaſurer of the cathedral church of York: but he ſoon quitted this poſt, and went back again into Italy (*c*). He lived a conſiderable time at Rome, and had the honour of converſing familiarly with Pope Adrian IV, who was an Engliſhman by birth. Alexander III, who ſucceeded Adrian in 1159, made him Biſhop of Poitou in France [*B*], and he was conſecrated at the abbey of Dole in the dioceſe of Berry (*d*). He ſat there twenty years, thirty weeks, and one day, and was from thence tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Lyons, and became thereby Primate of all France [*C*]. He was Archbiſhop of that city ten years and twenty-nine weeks (*e*). It is ſaid, he returned into England, in 1194, being then a very old man (*f*): but we are not told, when or where he died. Bale informs us, that he vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry II [*D*], and that he was very expert at controverſial writing (*g*). His works, which are but few, are mentioned below [*E*].

(c) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

(d) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(e) Ibid. col. 676.

(f) Bale & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(g) Baleus, ib.

'eadem de illo ſcribat octavo capite ſeptimi libri *Polycraticôn*: "Vir ſingularis eloquii, et qui omnibus, "quos viderim, trium linguarum gratia præſtat. Is "quidem eſt Joannes Theſaurarius Eboraci (1)." — *When he came thither he applied himſelf ſo diligently to his ſtudies, that he ſoon attained to ſome degree of reputation among the learned; but when he arrived to more mature years, he excelled ſo far, as even to be eſteemed the learneded man of the age. He was not ſatisfied to outſtrip others in a bare knowledge of the Sciences; but he added thereto a familiar acquaintance with the Languages, in which he made ſuch a proficiency, as in thoſe times it was more eaſy to wiſh for, than to arrive at. I am deceived, if Joannes Severianus, an Engliſhman, to whom he was intimately known, did not mean him in the following paſſage of the eighth chapter of the ſeventh book of his* Polycratica: "*A man of ſingular eloquence, and "who excels all that I have ſeen in the knowledge of "the three tongues* (i. e. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew). "*The perſon I mean is*, John, Treaſurer of York."

(1) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

[*B*] *He was made Biſhop of Poitou in France.*] Radulphus de Diceto (2) places this event in the reign of Richard I, under the year 1194; but if Belmeys was advanced to that See by Pope Alexander III, as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, this chronology muſt be wrong; for Adrian IV, the immediate predeceſſor of Alexander, died in 1159, and Alexander ſat but twenty years or thereabouts (3). And therefore the latter muſt have been dead in 1180 or 1181, which is thirteen or fourteen years earlier than this date.

(2) Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(3) *Vide* Platina, de Vit. Pontif. *in* Alexandro III.

[*C*] *He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Lyons.*] He was elected Archbiſhop of Narbonne; but before he could procure his Pall from Rome, Pope Lucius III, at the requeſt of the Clergy of Lyons, tranſlated him to that See. *Electus eſt in archiepiſcopum Narbonenſem. Dum autem Romam Pallium petiturus properaret, anno Domini* 1181, *a Clero Lugdunenſi petitur, et a Lucio Papa tertio conſtituitur archiepiſcopus Lugdunenſis, et Galliarum Primas* (4).

(4) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

[*D*] *He vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry* II.] He could not endure the arrogance of that Prelate, and the furious zeal with which he oppoſed the King; but, without regarding the character he bore of Primate of England and Legate of the Holy See, he boldly reproved him for it, both in perſon and in his writings. *Elatam arrogantiam in Thoma archiepiſcopo Becketo, atqua ejus in regem debacchationes iniquas ſuſtinere non poterat; ſed in faciem objiciens, honeſtis ſalibus reprehendit. Nec id obſtitit, quod eſſet Anglorum Primas, aut à Romana ſede Legatus; ſed ingenuè ac validè illum et voce et ſcriptis inſectabatur* (5).

(5) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

[*E*] *His works*] Leland could not find any thing certainly written by *Joannes Eboracenſis*. He complains of the injuries of time, which have deprived us of the works of ſo learned a man; and he wiſhes he had it in his power to ſearch all the libraries of Poitou, that he might bring ſomething of his to light. *Sed vide quid tempus edax rerum et invidioſa vetuſtas faciant: nam nihil à tanto viro, quod ſciam, ſcriptum extat; et nihil ipſum ſcripſiſſe adfirmare non res levis, ſed ſtulti judicii eſſet. Quam ego nunc vellem omnes Pictavenſium bibliothecarum forulos excutere, ut aliquid ſaltem à tam docto viro ſcriptum in lucem eruerem!* Afterwards he tells us, he had met with a book, intitled, *Aurea Joannis Eboracenſis Hiſtoria*; i. e. 'The 'Golden Hiſtory of John of York;' but that he could not pretend to affirm, that the writer of it was the ſame with our author. He obſerves, that this book contains many remarkable particulars concerning William the Conqueror, and that the *Scalæ Chronicon* aſcribes it to a certain Vicar of Tillemuth, or Tinmouth, without mentioning his name. *Nec tamen temere diffinio hunc eſſe Joannem, cujus vitam præpoſui. In eo opere multa quidem et præclara de Gulielmo magno, rege Anglorum: Scalæ chronica attribuunt auream Hiſtoriam cuidam, ſuppreſſo nomine, Tillemuthenſis eccleſiæ vicario* (6). In John Leland's *Collectanea* we have ſome extracts out of the *Scalæ Chronicon* here mentioned; and that which he refers to concerning the book in queſtion is as follows. *The Vicar of Tillemouth did write an Hiſtorie, thus intitulid*, Hiſtoria Aurea, *wherin is much to be ſeene of Kinge William Conquerors Cumming yn to Englande.* The Antiquary's marginal note upon this paſſage is this: 'The bookes of the 'Geſtes of Lindisfarne, Cheſter, and Derham, make 'much mention *de hiſtoria aurea Joannis Eboracenſis*. 'Therfore loke wither they be both one or no (7).' Beſides this *Golden Hiſtory*, Bale and Pits mention *Thirty-two Letters to Thomas Becket*; *An Invective againſt the ſame*; *and certain Elegant Orations*; all written by our author. T

(6) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(7) J. Leland. de Reb. Britan. Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, Vol. I. p. 509.

BENBOW (JOHN) Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſquadron, and one of the moſt eminent Engliſh ſeamen mentioned in our Hiſtories. He was born about the year 1650, and was deſcended of a very antient, worthy, and honourable family in Shropſhire (*a*), though his father, Colonel John Benbow, and moſt of his relations, were brought very low by their loyal adherence to the cauſe of King Charles I, and by the readineſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt King Charles II, for the recovery of his rights, when he advanced with the Scots army as far as Worceſter, from which accidental poverty, ſome have repreſented this Admiral as of mean parentage, directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*A*]. His father dying when he was very young, left this ſon John no other proviſion

(a) The Publick is indebted for theſe informations to the late Paul Calton, Eſq; who married one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

[*A*] *Directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] In order to clear up this point a little, and ſatisfy the world as to the fact aſſerted in the text, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of this gentleman's father and uncle, and the circumſtances I mention are ſuch as will not take up a great deal of room, or by their dryneſs fatigue or diſguſt the reader. When the civil wars broke out, King Charles I, relying ſtrongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this country, repaired in perſon to Shrewſbury, and entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the ſame day made publick declaration that he did not carry on this war from a thirſt of blood, of conqueſt, or of power, but from a deſire of preſerving his own juſt rights, and thoſe of his people; ſince he was determined, if God gave him ſucceſs therein, to be

proviſion than that of the profeſſion to which he was bred, *viz.* the ſea, a profeſſion to which he had naturally a great propenſity, and in which he ſucceeded [illegible] before he was thirty he became Maſter, and in a good meaſure owner [illegible] the Benbow-Frigate, employed in the Mediterranean trade, in which [illegible] acquired a good eſtate, if an accident that happened to him in the laſt [illegible] had not given a new turn to his fortunes, and brought him to ſerve in [illegible] with equal reputation to himſelf, and good fortune to his country, to which he rendered many, and thoſe very important, ſervices. In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own veſſel beforementioned, was attacked in his paſſage to Cadiz by a Sallee Rover, againſt whom he defended himſelf, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmoſt bravery, till at laſt the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of the ſhip again, with the loſs of thirteen men, whoſe heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz he went a-ſhore, and ordered a Negro ſervant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a ſack. He had ſcarce landed, before the officers of the revenue enquired of his ſervant, What he had in his ſack? the Captain anſwered, Salt proviſions for his own uſe. That may be, anſwered the officers, but we muſt inſiſt upon ſeeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no ſtranger there, that he did not uſe to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was ſuſpected. The officers told him that the Magiſtrates were ſitting not far off, and that if they were ſatisfied with his word, his ſervant might carry the proviſions where he pleaſed, but that otherwiſe it was not in their power to grant any ſuch diſpenſation. The Captain conſented to the propoſal, and away they marched to the Cuſtom-Houſe, Mr Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The Magiſtrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility, told him they were ſorry to make a point of ſuch a trifle, but that ſince he had refuſed to ſhew the contents of his ſack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a ſight of them, and that as they doubted not they were ſalt proviſions, the ſhewing them could be of no great conſequence one way or the other. *I told you*, ſaid the Captain, ſternly, *they were ſalt proviſions for my own uſe.* Cæſar, *throw them down upon the table, and, gentlemen, if you like them they are at your ſervice.* The Spaniards were exceedingly ſtruck at the ſight of the Moors heads, and no leſs aſtoniſhed at the account of the Captain's adventure, who with ſo ſmall a force, had been able to defeat ſuch a number of Barbarians. They ſent an account of the whole matter to the Court of Madrid, and Charles II, then King of Spain, was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he would needs ſee the Engliſh Captain, who made a journey to Court, where he was received with great teſtimonies of reſpect, and not only diſmiſſed with a handſome preſent, but his Catholick Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who upon the Captain's return gave him a ſhip, which was his introduction to the royal navy. After the

be as tender of the privileges of Parliament as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration the Lords Neuport and Littleton, with the greateſt part of the Gentry of the country, came in and offered his Majeſty their ſervice (1). Among theſe were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Eſqrs. both men of eſtates, and both Colonels in the King's ſervice. After the King's affairs fell into confuſion, ſuch gentlemen as had ſerved in his army retired to their own countries reſpectively, and lived there as privately as they could: But though their intereſts were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great meaſure ruined, yet their ſpirits remained unbroken, and they acted as chearfully for the ſervice of King Charles II, as if they had never ſuffered at all by ſerving his father (2): So much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that Prince marched from Scotland towards Worceſter, the two Benbows, amongſt other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him, and, after fighting bravely in the ſupport of their Sovereign, were both taken priſoners by the rebels. That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and ſoon after a Court-Martial was ſettled at Cheſter, wherein Colonel Mackworth ſat as Preſident, and Major-General Mitton, and other ſtaunch friends to the Cauſe, aſſiſted; by whom ten Gentlemen of the firſt families in England were ſentenced to death for barely correſponding with his Majeſty, and five of them were executed (3). They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Featherſtonhaugh, Colonel Thomas Benbow, and the Earl of Derby, for being in his ſervice. They were all condemned, and, in order to ſtrike the greater terror in different parts of the country, the Earl of Derby was adjudged to ſuffer death on the 15th of October at Bolton. Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th at Cheſter, and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be ſhot on the 19th at Shrewſbury: All which ſentences were ſeverally put in execution, which I think ſufficiently

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 248.

(2) Bates Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 122.

(3) Heath's Chronicle, p. 102.

ſhews that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very conſiderable family in Shropſhire (4); for otherwiſe the Colonel would hardly have been ſent out of the world in ſo good company. As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his eſcape after a ſhort impriſonment, and lived privately in his own country 'till after the Reſtoration, when he was far in years, and yet ſo much to ſeek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a ſmall office belonging to the Ordnance in the Tower, which juſt brought him an income ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family without danger of ſtarving. In this ſituation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war, the King came to the Tower to examine the magazines; there his Majeſty caſt his eye on the good old Colonel, who had now been diſtinguiſhed by a fine head of grey hair for twenty years. The King, whoſe memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at firſt ſight, and immediately came up and embraced him. My old friend, Colonel Benbow, ſaid he, what do you here? I have, returned the Colonel, a place of fourſcore pounds a year, in which I ſerve your Majeſty as chearfully as if it brought me in four thouſand. *Alas!* ſaid the King, *Is this all that could be found for an old friend at* Worceſter? *Colonel* Legge, *bring this Gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me.* But, ſhort as the time was, the Colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim the effects of this gracious promiſe; for the ſenſe of the King's gratitude and goodneſs ſo overcame his ſpirits, that, ſitting down on a bench, he breathed his laſt (5), before the King was well out of the Tower. It may be eaſily imagined, that as our Mr Benbow was then very young, he muſt have ſuffered very much by loſing his father, before he felt any effect of the King's promiſes: But it is not at all probable that he was ever a Waterman's boy, as ſome writers have aſſerted.

(4) Magn. Britan. & Hibern.

(5) From the information of the late Paul Calton, Eſq;

the Revolution he was conſtantly employed, and frequently, at the requeſt of the merchants, was appointed to cruize in the channel, where he did very great ſervice, as well in protecting our own trade, as in annoying and diſtreſſing that of the enemy. He was likewiſe generally made choice of for bombarding the French ports, in which he ſhewed the moſt intrepid courage, by going in perſon in his boat to encourage and protect the engineers, who, for that reaſon, were very ſollicitous that he ſhould command the eſcorts whenever they went upon thoſe hazardous enterprizes, in which they knew he would not expoſe them more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that he would put them upon running no ſort of danger, in which he did not willingly take his ſhare. It is certain, that ſeveral of thoſe dreadful bombardments had great effects, ſpoiled ſeveral ports, and terrified the French to the laſt degree, notwithſtanding all the precautions their Government could take to keep up their ſpirits [*B*]. The vigour and activity of Captain Benbow, in every ſervice on which he was employed, recommended him ſo effectually to his royal maſter King William, who was both a good judge of men, and always willing to reward merit, that he was very early promoted to a flag, and intruſted with the care of blocking up Dunkirk; the privateers from thence proving extreamly detrimental to our trade during all that war (*b*). In 1695, we find him thus employed with a few Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, when the famous *Du Bart* had the good luck to eſcape him, with nine ſail of clean ſhips, with which he did a great deal of miſchief, both to our trade and to that of the Dutch. Rear-Admiral Benbow, however, followed him as well as he could, but the Dutch ſhips having, or pretending to have, no orders, quitted him, which hindered him from going to the Dogger-Bank as he intended, and obliged him to ſail to Yarmouth roads, into which he was hardly come, before he received advice, that *Du Bart* had fallen in with the Dutch fleet of ſeventy merchant-men, eſcorted by five frigates, and that he had taken all the latter, and thirty of the veſſels under their convoy; which might probably have been prevented, if the Rear-Admiral had ſailed, as he intended, to the Dogger-Bank, and could have perſuaded the Dutch to have continued with him (*c*). As it was, he ſafely convoyed a great Engliſh fleet of merchant-men to Gottenburgh, and then returned to Yarmouth Roads, and from thence to the Downs for a ſupply of proviſions. He afterwards reſumed his deſign of ſeeking *Du Bart*, but his ſhips being much cleaner than the Rear-Admiral's, he eſcaped him a ſecond time, though once within ſight of him; but however he ſecured three rich Engliſh Eaſt-India men, that came north about, and brought them ſafe home (*d*). In 1697, he ſailed, the tenth of April, from Spithead, with ſeven third-rates and two fire-ſhips, and after ſome time returned to Portſmouth

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 549.

(*c*) From the Journal of that Year's Service.

(*d*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 550. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 178.

[*B*] *All the precautions the Government could take to keep up their ſpirits.*] In caſes of this nature it is always right to have recourſe to facts, that the reader may be ſatisfied as he proceeds, of the truth of what is aſſerted, and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould give ſome accounts of the nature and effects of thoſe bombardments We have made choice of that of St Maloes, both becauſe it was the moſt extraordinary, and becauſe Commodore Benbow had the command of the ſquadron by which it was performed (6). On the 13th of November, 1693, Commodore Benbow, in conjunction with Captain Phillips, with a ſquadron of two men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St Maloes, where they arrived on the 16th, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-port. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town; about eleven they began to fire, and continued firing 'till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to warp to prevent grounding. On the 17th they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the 18th, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw. However they landed on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the 19th, being Sunday, they lay ſtill 'till the evening, when, by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fireſhip of about 300 tons burthen (7), (which the French will have to be a monſtrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes, and indeed would have done it but for an unforeſeen accident, ſhe ſtruck upon a rock within piſtol-ſhot of the place, where they intended to have moored her. The Engineer who was on board did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſſes from taking fire. The exploſion however was terrible beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtan of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon down to the ground. The greateſt part of the walls towards the ſea alſo fell down; and if there had been a ſufficient quantity of land-forces on board, the place might have been taken and pillaged. As it was they demoliſhed Quince-fort, carried off eighty priſoners, and frighted moſt of the people out of the town (8). The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines ſtiled Infernals, which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the Prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will obſerve by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fireſhip, contrived to operate, when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip of about 300, or as the Marquis de Quincy ſays, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots, over which lay beams bored through to give air to the fire, and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes filled with granadoes, chain ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles (9). There were ſix holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the Engineer who contrived this veſſel was blown up in it, becauſe they found the body of a man well dreſſed upon the ſhore. and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition; he was however only a Mate to one of the veſſels. This expedition was well timed and well executed; it ſtruck a pannick into the inhabitants of St Malo's, where the moſt troubleſome of the French Privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake the whole nation from their golden dreams of the Empire of the Sea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

(6) This account is chiefly taken from an original Letter.

(7) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

(8) Mercure Hiſtorique pour le Mois de Sept. 1694.

(9) This Deſcription is copied from the French Mercury.

[*C*] *Without*

Portſmouth for proviſions; after which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and Weſt-India fleets, and ſaw them ſafe into port. He then repaired to Dunkirk, where he received, from Captain Bowman, two orders or inſtructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, one to purſue M. du Bart, and to deſtroy his ſhips, if poſſible, at any place, except under the forts in Norway and Sweden, the other to obey the King's commands, purſuant to an order from his Majeſty for that purpoſe (*e*). On the thirtieth of July, Rear-Admiral Vandergoes joined him, with eleven Dutch ſhips, when he propoſed, that one of the ſquadrons ſhould be ſo placed, as that Dunkirk might be ſouth of them, and the other in or near Oſtend road, that if Du Bart ſhould attempt to paſs, they might the better diſcover him; but all the anſwer he received from the Dutch Commander was, that his ſhips being foul, they were not in a condition to purſue him. Rear-Admiral Benbow being diſappointed in this project, immediately formed another, for, obſerving, in the beginning of Auguſt, that ten French frigates were hauled into the baſon to clean, he judged their deſign to be, what it really proved, to put to ſea by the next ſpring-tide; and therefore, as his ſhips were all foul, he wrote up to the Board to deſire, that four of the beſt ſailors might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but alſo to heel and ſcrub, which he judged might be done, before the next ſpring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But this was not then thought adviſable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them, of getting out with five clean ſhips, which however did not hinder the Admiral from purſuing them as well as he was able, and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron had the good luck, to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns and ſixty men, which had done a great deal of miſchief (*f*). This was one of the laſt actions of the war, and the Rear-Admiral ſoon after received orders, to return home with the ſquadron under his command. It is very remarkable, that as the diſappointments we met with in the courſe of this war, occaſioned very loud complaints againſt ſuch as had the direction of our maritime affairs, and againſt ſeveral of our Admirals, there was not one word ſaid, in any of the warm and bitter pamphlets of thoſe times, to the prejudice of Mr Benbow. On the contrary, the higheſt praiſes were beſtowed upon him in many of thoſe pieces, and his vigilance and activity made him equally the darling of the ſeamen and the merchants; the former giving him always the ſtrongeſt marks of their affection, and the latter frequently returning him thanks for the ſignal ſervices he did them, and for omitting no opportunity that offered, of protecting their commerce, even in caſes where he had no particular orders, to direct or to require his ſervice (*g*). But we are to conſider theſe paſſages, as inſtances only of his merit, and their gratitude, and not imagine them in any degree owing to his affecting popularity, which was by no means the caſe. He was a plain downright ſea-man, and ſpoke and acted upon all occaſions, without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom [*C*]. After the concluding of the peace of

(*e*) This is taken from a Journal of that Voyage.

(*f*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 569—571.

(*g*) See a quarto pamphlet, intituled, *The Sea-Service impartially repreſented*, p. 21.

[*C*] *Without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom.*] At this time the nation was diſtracted by factions, and in moſt publick offices there was a great deal of that ſort of influence, which however uſeful it might be to private families, was very fatal to the publick, and in nothing more ſo than in the management of the Navy, which occaſioned very loud and general complaints throughout the kingdom. The Earl of Torrington, who was at the head of the Navy, immediately after the Revolution found ways and means to gain ſo ſtrong an intereſt in the fleet, that it was judged by many inconſiſtent with the publick ſafety. After this Admiral Ruſſel, who in proceſs of time was created Earl of Orford, came to have the direction of our Naval affairs, and in point of influence followed the ſame ſteps with his predeceſſor (10). It does not at all appear that our Rear-Admiral was much obliged to either of theſe great perſons, but rather owed his flag to his own merit and the general voice of the ſeamen, which was the reaſon that he never attached himſelf to any party; and, to ſay the truth, Politicks were never his ſtudy; ſo that if he wanted the ſupport of any faction, he ſtood likewiſe unexpoſed to oppoſition, both ſides treated him civilly, conſidered him as a good and uſeful officer, and as a able ſea-man (11). The King conſulted him about a famous queſtion of thoſe times, which was as to the expediency of preferring Tars, as they were called, or Gentlemen in the Navy; and though Mr Benbow conſidered himſelf, and was conſidered by all the world as one of the former, yet he told the King it was ſafeſt to employ both, and that the danger lay in preferring *Gentlemen* without *merit*, and *Tars* beyond their *capacities* (12). He intereſted himſelf upon all occaſions in favour of the ſailors, and as he always uſed them well while a private Captain, ſo, after he was promoted to the rank of a Flag-Officer, he was conſtantly their patron, which made him much beloved by them. He very ſeldom intereſted himſelf in preferments, and where it was in his own power to beſtow them, he always conſidered long ſervice and merit. His acquaintance with the Merchants, and having been bred in their ſervice, gave him a great concern for commerce, and therefore he always preferred ſecuring our own merchantſhips to the making prizes; he was a great enemy to Privateers, becauſe he thought they ruined diſcipline, and after a war was over ſeldom failed of producing Pirates. He never had any great intereſt at Court, nor did he affect it; but when his judgment was aſked he gave it very freely, and ſometimes gave it unaſked to the Lords of the Admiralty (13). He had a very high notion of the Engliſh Naval power, and always thought that we were a great over-match for the French. He had a better opinion than moſt other ſeamen of the bombarding the coaſts of France; and it was obſervable, that none of thoſe expeditions ſucceeded ſo well as that under his direction. He knew the importance of deſtroying Dunkirk, and therefore he was for encouraging all attempts for that purpoſe, in which he expoſed his perſon very freely; but it appears from ſeveral papers, that he had no great opinion of blocking up that Port, eſpecially with large ſhips, and therefore more than once propoſed the keeping a convenient number of light clean frigates conſtantly upon that ſtation. He ſometimes differed with the Dutch, but never quarrelled with their commanders, imputing their ſlowneſs to their orders, and the bad condition of their ſhips to ſome diſorders in their Government. On the other hand, the Dutch had a very good opinion of him, and ſpoke of him as a very vigilant and active officer in their Gazettes and publick papers. He looked upon diſcipline as a point of the greateſt conſequence, eſpecially amongſt officers, and in this there were many who thought him a little too ſevere, but

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 195.

(11) See Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 598.

(12) Life of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

(13) As in the expedition of 1697, mentioned in the text.

of Ryſwyck, and even while the partition treaties were negociating, King William formed a deſign of doing ſomething very conſiderable in the Weſt-Indies, in caſe his pacifick views ſhould be diſappointed, or Charles II of Spain, ſhould die ſuddenly as was daily expected. There were indeed many reaſons, which rendered the ſending a ſquadron at that time, into thoſe parts, highly uſeful and requiſite. Our colonies were in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, the ſeas ſwarmed with pirates, the Scots had eſtabliſhed a colony at Darien, which, very unluckily for them, gave the Engliſh little ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that it provoked the Spaniards very much (*b*). King William himſelf fixed upon Rear-Admiral Benbow to command this ſquadron, which proved but a very ſmall one, as conſiſting only of three fourth rates; and when he went to take upon him his command, he received private inſtructions from the King, to make the beſt obſervations he could on the Spaniſh ports and ſettlements, but to keep as fair as poſſible with the Governors, and to afford them any aſſiſtance he could if they deſired it. He was likewiſe inſtructed to watch the galleons, for the King of Spain, Charles II, was then thought to be in a dying condition (*i*). Rear-Admiral Benbow ſailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the Weſt-Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent ſituation. Moſt of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm diſputes with their Governors, the forces that ſhould have been kept up in them for their defence, ſo reduced by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them; but the Admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage in the Leeward Iſlands (*k*). This part of his charge being executed, he began to think of performing the other part of his commiſſion, and of looking into the ſtate of the Spaniſh affairs, as it had been recommended to him by the King: and a proper occaſion of doing this very ſpeedily offered; for being informed, that the Spaniards at Carthagena had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the Scots at Darien: He, like a brave and publick ſpirited Commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore thoſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view he ſtood over to the Spaniſh coaſt, and coming before *Boccachica* caſtle, he ſent his men aſhore for wood and water, which though he aſked with great civility of the Spaniſh Governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take; this highly nettled the Admiral, who thereupon ſent his own Lieutenant to the Governor, with a meſſage importing, that he not only wanted thoſe neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for three Engliſh ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there for ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The Governor anſwered him in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the Admiral complied, but finding the Governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diſtemper, which they doubted the Spaniſh Governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if, in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them, and that if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing, the regard an Engliſh officer had to his word. The Spaniards however did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time, with which the Admiral returned to Jamaica. There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello, had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at Darien was a breach of peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned, the Admiral ſailed thither alſo, and demanded theſe ſhips, but received a ſurly anſwer from the Admiral of the Barlovento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-Admiral Benbow expoſtulated with him on this head, inſiſting, that as the ſubjects of the crown of England had never injured thoſe of his Catholick Majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied ſhrewdly, that ſince both crowns ſtood on the ſame head, it was no wonder that he took the ſubjects of the one crown for the other. After many altercations however, and when the Spaniards ſaw that the colony at Darien received no aſſiſtance from Jamaica, the ſhips were, with much to do, reſtored (*l*). The Admiral, in the mean time, ſailed in queſt of one Kidd a pirate, who had done a great deal of miſchief in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and of whom, hereafter, we ſhall in the notes ſpeak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from England, and ſoon after, orders to return home, which he did with ſix men of war, taking New England in his way, and arrived ſafe (*m*), bringing with him from the plantations, ſufficient teſtimonies of his having diſcharged his duty, which ſecured him from all danger of cenſure, though the Houſe

(*b*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. The Life of King William III.

(*i*) Extracted from the Journal of this Voyage, by P. C.

(*k*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 576.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 577.

(*m*) Taken from the Journal of this Voyage.

but he very early foreſaw the miſchiefs that muſt follow from any relaxation of diſcipline amongſt commanders, and that it would have conſequences very fatal to the publick ſervice (14). He was the more ſtrict in this reſpect, becauſe he was never wanting in his own example, ſpending his whole time in his duty; and when others alledged, that there muſt be ſome leiſure for amuſement, diverſion, and going aſhore to their friends, and about buſineſs, his anſwer was, *Why ſhould people who have other buſineſs, or love being on ſhore, think of going to ſea.* But this conduct, however right in itſelf, raiſed him many enemies, and indeed all the enemies he had; and which, as will appear in the ſequel, proved fatal to his life.

(14) See note [*G*].

Houſe of Commons expreſſed very high reſentment, at ſome circumſtances that attended the ſending this fleet. But in regard to the Admiral, the greateſt compliments were paid to his courage, capacity, and integrity, by all parties, and the King, as a ſignal mark of his kind acceptance of all his ſervices, granted him an augmentation of *arms*, which conſiſted in adding to the *three Bent Bows*, he already bore, as many *Arrows*, which ſingle act of royal favour, ſufficiently deſtroys the fooliſh report of his being of mean extraction (*n*). His conduct in this expedition raiſed him ſo much in the King's eſteem, that he conſulted him as much or more than any man of his rank, and yet without making the Admiral himſelf vain, or expoſing him in any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters [*D*]. It may be eaſily imagined, that in the time the Rear-Admiral ſpent in the Weſt-Indies, the face of affairs was much changed, indeed ſo much they were changed, that the King was forced to think of a new war, though he was ſenſible the nation ſuffered ſeverely from the effects of the old one. His firſt care therefore was, to put his fleet into the beſt order poſſible, and to diſtribute the commands therein, to officers that he could depend upon; and to this it was, Mr Benbow owed his being promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue (*o*). He was at that time cruiſing off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invaſion. There was as yet no war declared between the two crowns, but this was held to be no ſecurity againſt France, and it was no ſooner known that they were fitting out a ſtout ſquadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed, to be intended to cover a deſcent. Vice-Admiral Benbow ſatisfied the Miniſtry, that there was no danger on this ſide, and then it was reſolved to proſecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to diſappoint the French in their views upon the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; and to facilitate this, it was thought neceſſary to ſend, immediately, a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies. This ſquadron was to conſiſt of two third-rates, and eight fourths, which was as great a ſtrength as could be at that time ſpared, and it was thought perfectly requiſite, that it ſhould be under the command of an officer, whoſe courage and conduct might be relied on, and whoſe experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this command, upon the right management of which, it was believed the ſucceſs of the approaching war would in a great meaſure depend (*p*). Mr Benbow was thought on by the Miniſtry, as ſoon as the expedition was determined, but the King would not hear of it. He ſaid that Benbow was in a manner juſt come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties, and therefore it was but fit, ſome other officer ſhould take his turn. One or two were named and conſulted, but either their health

(*n*) From the information of P. Calton, Eſq;

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 588.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Life of King William. Hiſtory of Europe for 1701.

[*D*] *In any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters*] It has been before owned, and indeed there could have been no juſtice done this Gentleman's character without owning it, that he was no Politician or Courtier, and ſurely he was ſtill leſs a pretender to Patriotiſm or Popularity; but yet ſuch a charm there is in truth, and a conſcientious regard to duty, that he came home in the good graces of all parties, without having in the leaſt ſtudied to oblige any of them. It muſt be confeſſed, that many accidents concurred to render this expedition of his ſo remarkable; but it may be likewiſe averred, that it was his conduct turned them all to his advantage. His care and diligence in viſiting the Plantations, and not barely viſiting them, but inquiring into their wants, and yielding them all the aſſiſtance and relief that was in his power, gained him a great reputation in the Weſt-Indies, and with all who had any concerns in that part of the world. His vigilance in purſuing Pirates, and his recovering ſo many ſhips out of the hands of the Spaniards, recommended him to the Merchants. The whole nation of Scotland thought themſelves obliged by the pains he took to thwart the Spaniſh expedition againſt Darien; and nothing could be more grateful to the people of England than the ſpirit he had ſhewn in ſupporting the honour of the Engliſh Flag. We have a ſtrong proof of his diſintereſted zeal for juſtice, and concern for the honour of his country, in the readineſs with which, at the requeſt of the Governor of one of our Colonies, he went to expoſtulate with a Daniſh commander for giving ſhelter to, and entering into commerce with, Pirates, contrary to the ſtrict rules of honour, as well as to the law of nations. The fact is very clearly ſet down by one who was well acquainted with it, and is remarkable enough to deſerve our notice (15). 'At the requeſt of the 'Preſident of the Council of Nevis, he ſailed to the 'iſland of St Thomas, inhabited chiefly, if not altogether, by ſubjects of Denmark, and demanded by 'what authority they bore the flag of that nation on 'Crab Iſland, ſince it appertained to the King of England, his maſter. He alſo let the Governor know, 'that it was not agreeable to the law of nations to 'trade with Pirates (it being evident that he had ſuffered great part of Kidd's effects to be landed at that 'port), and demanded of him all ſubjects of England 'who were non-reſident there. The Governor ſeemed 'ſurprized at his making any objections to the Flag, 'and inſiſted that the iſland whereon it flew was actually the King of Denmark's. The Port he ſaid 'was free, and ſince the Brandenburgh Factors had received part of Kidd's effects, he could by no means 'moleſt, but, on the contrary, was obliged to protect 'them. He averred, that there were not any of the 'ſubjects of England on the iſland, Captain Sharpe, 'a noted Pirate, only excepted, who was confined for 'miſdemeanors, and having ſworn allegiance to the 'King of Denmark, could not juſtifiably be delivered 'up, ſo that the Rear-Admiral was obliged to deſiſt, 'for his inſtructions did not empower him to act in an 'hoſtile manner.' Some other men, when veſted with ſuch a command, might have taken it ill from a proviſional Governor of a little Colony, to be thus directed in the diſcharge of their duty; but the Vice-Admiral had quite another notion of things, and neither pretended to knowledge that he had not, nor thought himſelf above taking the opinion, or following the advice, of ſuch as he had reaſon to judge might have a better opportunity of underſtanding things than he. There had happened in his abſence a conſiderable change in King William's miniſtry, but that no way affected the fortune of our Commander, for as he was the creature of no Miniſtry, ſo, as it was very natural, every adminiſtration was very well pleaſed to reap the benefit of his ſervices; and this was the reaſon, that when it ſoon after appeared requiſite, and even abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend another ſquadron into thoſe ſeas, as well to look after our own affairs, as to be in a condition to attack the French whenever a war broke out, the new Miniſtry immediately thought of Mr Benbow, as a man not only well qualified for that ſervice, but whoſe reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that they ran no kind of hazard in recommending him to that poſt, though it was then judged, and with good reaſon, a thing of the laſt conſequence, and upon which the ſucceſs of the war might in a great meaſure depend, or at leaſt the length of it, in caſe we had been ſo lucky as to have ſeized the galleons (16).

(15) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, P. 579.

(16) Burnet, &c.

health or their affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that they moſt earneſtly deſired to be excuſed (*q*). Upon which the King ſaid merrily to ſome of his Miniſters, alluding to the dreſs and appearance of theſe gentlemen, *Well then, I find we muſt ſpare our* Beaus, *and ſend honeſt* Benbow. His Majeſty accordingly ſent for him upon this occaſion, and aſked him, Whether he was willing to go to the Weſt-Indies? aſſuring him if he was not, he would not take it at all amiſs if he deſired to be excuſed. Mr Benbow anſwered bluntly, that he did not underſtand ſuch compliments, that he thought he had no right to chuſe his ſtation, and that if his Majeſty thought fit to ſend him to the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, or any where elſe, he would chearfully execute his orders as became him (*r*). Thus the matter was ſettled in very few words, and the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-Admiral Benbow. To conceal the deſign of this ſquadron, but above all, to prevent the French from having any juſt notion of it's force, Sir George Rooke, then Admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as the Iſles of Scilly, and to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron with it thence, to ſee it well into the ſea, all which he punctually performed; ſo that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of October 1701, the world in general believing that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the ſquadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this more credible, the Dutch Miniſter at Madrid was ordered to demand the free uſe of all the Spaniſh ports, which was accordingly performed (*s*). As ſoon as it was known in England, that Vice-Admiral Benbow was ſailed with ten ſhips only for the Weſt-Indies, and it was diſcovered that the great armament at Breſt was intended for the ſame part of the world, a mighty clamour was raiſed here at home, as if he had been ſent to be ſacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet (*t*); whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the Vice-Admiral had as conſiderable a ſquadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought poſſible to be ſpared (*u*). It is certain, that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well, that Mr Benbow would execute, with the greateſt ſpirit and punctuality, the inſtructions he had received, which were, to engage the Spaniſh Governors, if poſſible, to diſown King Philip, or in caſe that could not be brought about, to make himſelf maſter of the galleons (*w*). In this deſign it is plain that the Admiral would have ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no leſs certain, that the anxiety the Vice-Admiral was under about the execution of his orders, was the principal reaſon for his maintaining ſo ſtrict diſcipline, which proved unluckily the occaſion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reaſon to cenſure either the King's project, or the Admiral's conduct, both were right in themſelves, though neither was attended with the ſucceſs they deſerved, which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions [*E*]. The French had the ſame reaſons that we had, to be very

(*q*) From Mr Calton's information.

(*r*) From the ſame information.

(*s*) Life of King William III. p. 627.

(*t*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 590.

(*w*) Taken from the Journal of this voyage.

[*E*] *Which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions.*] We need not wonder that great complaints were made, as to the management of theſe affairs at this juncture, when we find that even ſo great a man as Biſhop Burnet is pleaſed to ſay of the tranſactions of this year, 'That our fleets lay all this ſummer idle in thoſe ſeas, while the French had many 'ſquadrons lay in the Spaniſh Ports, and in the Weſt-'Indies (17).' He did not certainly conſider, that as yet there was no war declared; that the French King had procured a Neutrality in Germany; that things were far from being ſettled between us and our Allies abroad, and the minds of the people and their repreſentatives much farther from being ſettled at home; ſo that the only uſe that could be made of the fleet, was to amuſe the French and Spaniards, to diſturb and diſtract their meaſures, and to put things into the beſt method for acting when war ſhould be actually declared. But to make this matter ſtill clearer, we will give the reader a paragraph from a very popular pamphlet publiſhed at that time, in which this matter is ſet in the ſtrongeſt light that angry people could repreſent it (18). 'A new 'war, *ſays he*, I believe to be unavoidable, and we 'are much beholden to the laſt Parliament that we are 'not entered into it already; and ſo become the Fight-'alls, the Pay-alls, and the Looſe-alls of Europe, as 'we have hitherto been. But if we have a war ma-'naged as was the laſt, we had better ſpend a little 'money in bombs and chains to ſecure our ſhips in 'harbour, than to ſend them abroad to loſe our money, 'loſe our reputation, and not ſecure our trade. I can-'not perſuade myſelf that the Parliament of England 'will ever more ſend the native ſtrength of their coun-'try abroad in other peoples quarrels, and to be at the 'charge of levies, cloathing, arms, and tranſportation, 'to put their own liberties in danger at home by a 'ſtanding army, when they have done the buſineſs of 'our Allies abroad. The men we loſt, and the money 'we ſpent in the late war, as alſo how hard it was to 'get them diſbanded, in oppoſition to the intereſt of 'men that wanted them to ſupport their titles to their 'illegal grants and ill-gotten gain, is too freſh in our 'memories ever to bring ourſelves under the like 'hardſhips. I foreſee now, that the war will be at 'ſea, and we have but a very ill omen of ſucceſs from 'the laſt ſummer's expedition of our fleet; our mo-'dern Whigs, in their Legion letters, and Kentiſh Pe-'tition, exclaimed againſt the Parliament, becauſe they 'raiſed no more money. But I hope thoſe folk, if 'they have any brains or honeſty, are now ſenſible of 'their groundleſs complaint. When they find how 'little has been done for what was there raiſed, they 'gave one million five hundred thouſand pounds for 'the fleet for this ſummer's expedition; and what has 'been the effect, the whole fleet went to convoy Ben-'bow in his way to the Weſt-Indies, and while they 'were gone, our modern Whigs boaſted of the conduct, 'and built caſtles in the air, to hold the money they 'would bring home in the Spaniſh galleons; but in a 'ſhort time we found them all at Spithead, except a 'few ſhips that proceeded with Benbow to the Weſt-'Indies, where, if they be not *Talmaſhed*, they have 'good fortune. Would it not have tended much to 'the good of the Empire, and to the ſtrengthening of 'the confederacy for England, to have had a good 'ſquadron this ſummer in the Streights, which might 'have animated the Neapolitans in the Emperor's in-'tereſt, and ſo diſheartened the French party, that in 'all probability Naples had been in the Emperor's 'hands.' At this diſtance of time we can ſee plainly there is very little, either of ſenſe or honeſty, in theſe objections. In the beginning of the paragraph a new war is unavoidable, yet, in the ſpeaker's judgment, (for this pamphlet is a dialogue) unneceſſary; but the fleet's inactivity is a crime for all this, and ſending Benbow a crime likewiſe; but, worſt of all, our not ſending

(17) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 288.

(18) The preſent Condition of the Engliſh Navy, Lond. 1702, 4to, p. 24, 25.

very attentive to what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies, and it muſt be acknowledged, that they proſecuted their deſigns with great wiſdom and circumſpection, and, which is very extraordinary, they ſo contrived, as to ſend for this purpoſe a force much ſuperior to ours (*x*), which however would have availed them little, if Admiral Benbow's officers had been of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf. But it ſo fell out, that he ſhewed much more conduct than even his friends expected, and they leſs courage than any Engliſhman ever did, which gave that advantage to the French, their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained [*F*]. Admiral Benbow's ſquadron, conſiſting of two third and eight fourth-rates, arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November 1701, from whence he ſailed to the Leeward Iſlands, in order to examine the ſtate of the French colonies and our own. He found the former in ſome confuſion, and the latter in ſo good a ſituation, that he thought he ran no hazard in leaving them to go to Jamaica, where, when he arrived, his fleet was in ſo good a condition, the Admiral, officers, and ſea-men, being moſt of them uſed to the climate, that he had not occaſion to ſend above ten men to the Hoſpital, which was looked upon as a very extraordinary thing (*y*). There he received advice of two French ſquadrons being arrived in the Weſt-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that iſland and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his ſtrength would permit, of both places, he formed a deſign of attacking Petit Guavas, but before he could execute it, he had intelligence, that Monſieur Du Caſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, with a ſquadron of French ſhips, with an intent to ſettle the Aſſiento in favour of the French, and to deſtroy the Engliſh and Dutch trade for Negroes (*z*). Upon this he detached Rear-Admiral Whetſtone in purſuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he ſailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the Rear-Admiral, but having intelligence that Du Caſſe was expected at Leogane, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh. Not far from the town he perceived ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and one under ſail, who ſent out her boat to diſcover his ſtrength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were ſix merchant ſhips in the port, and that the ſhip they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the Admiral preſſed ſo hard, that the Captain ſeeing no probability of eſcaping, ran the ſhip on ſhore and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the Admiral came before the town, where he found a ſhip of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The reſt of the ſhips had ſailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz. Cul de Sac.* But ſome of our ſhips between them and that port, took three of them and ſunk a fourth (*a*). The Admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impoſſible to attack, ſailed for Donna Maria Bay, where he continued till the tenth of Auguſt, when, having received advice that Monſieur Du Caſſe was ſailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to ſail to Porto Bello, he reſolved to follow him, and accordingly ſailed

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire. P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France. Mercure Hiſtorique, *&c.*

(*y*) London Gazette, No. 3286.

(*z*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique pour 1702. p. 657.

(*a*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593, 594.

ſending a fleet to the Mediterranean, though the ſending and keeping fleets there in the laſt war, is moſt bitterly inveighed againſt through the whole pamphlet.

[*F*] *Their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained.*] It is impoſſible to form a right judgment of the conduct of Admiral Benbow in this expedition, without knowing what meaſures were taken, with reſpect to the affairs of the Weſt-Indies, by the French, who, as ſoon as they reſolved to accept the Will of Charles II, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, immediately projected the ſending a ſquadron, with all ſorts of neceſſaries, to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and the perſon they made choice of for this command was M. Du Caſſe, Governor of St Domingo; but before he could be ſent upon this ſervice, it was requiſite to have the conſent of the Spaniards, who, though they could not but be ſenſible of their own weakneſs, had notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong an averſion to the French, that it was foreſeen they would make a great difficulty of accepting their aſſiſtance; and therefore M. Du Caſſe was diſpatched to Madrid to ſettle all theſe points, which in ſome time, and with much pains, he did (19). But after the Spaniſh nobility had once given their conſent, that this ſquadron ſhould be received in the Spaniſh ports of America, they were continually preſſing the French to have it ſent thither. The French miniſtry foreſaw what would come to paſs, and therefore had taken care to have a ſquadron ready at Breſt, conſiſting of five ſhips of the Line, and ſeveral large veſſels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, ſailed for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and on the 20th of October the Count de Chateau Renaud ſailed with fourteen ſhips of the Line, and ſixteen frigates, to meet the galleons that were ſuppoſed to be already departed from the Havanna, under the eſcort of the Marquis de Coetlogon; and after all this, M. Du Caſſe likewiſe ſailed with his ſquadron; from whence the Engliſh reader will eaſily ſee, that as Admiral Benbow received no ſupplies, he was like to have been cruſhed by the ſuperior power of the enemy, and that extraordinary diligence which was uſed to ſtrengthen and ſupport them (20). Yet the French authors themſelves own, that all the great projects they had formed for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, and even for driving the Engliſh out of moſt of their poſſeſſions in America, were entirely diſappointed and defeated; and inſtead of finding themſelves in any condition of executing them as they expected, they were obliged to act upon the defenſive; and the Dutch writers of thoſe times expreſsly ſay, after all their bluſtering, the Engliſh Admiral, with a ſmall ſquadron, remained a long time maſter in thoſe ſeas, alarmed and inſulted the French ſettlements in Hiſpaniola, took a great number of prizes, and ſo effectually protected the Britiſh commerce, that, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the French, they were not able to do any thing conſiderable (21). Theſe teſtimonies ſufficiently ſhew what mighty things the naval force of this country is able to perform when conducted by an active and experienced officer, who has the intereſt of his country at heart, and on whom our colonies can ſafely place their dependance. This was certainly the caſe with reſpect to our Admiral, who never had any differences with the Governors in the Weſt-Indies, or diſputes with the inhabitants or merchants, which after his death proved ſo fatal to the ſervice in that part of the world, as the reader may find not only in our general and naval Hiſtories, but alſo in the repreſentations from the Houſe of Lords, and in the addreſſes and votes of the Houſe of Commons, complaining of the bad behaviour of ſeveral ſubſequent Commanders, whence it may be eaſily conceived how great a loſs the publick had, by the untimely death of this brave and worthy officer.

(19) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire.

(20) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593.

(21) Mercure Hiſtorique pour 1702.

[*G*] *The*

failed that day for the Spaniſh coaſt of Santa Martha (*b*). On the nineteenth of Auguſt in the afternoon, he diſcovered ten ſail near that place, ſteering weſtward along the ſhore under their top-ſails, four of them were from ſixty to ſeventy guns, one a great Dutch built ſhip of about thirty or forty, another full of ſoldiers, three ſmall veſſels, and a ſloop. The Vice-Admiral coming up with them, about four the engagement began. He had diſpoſed his line of battle in the following manner, *viz.* the Defiance, Pendennis, Windſor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth. But two of theſe ſhips, the Defiance and Windſor, did not ſtand above two or three broad-ſides before they loofed out of gun-ſhot, ſo that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay on the Admiral, and gauled him very much, nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with the diligence they ought to have done (*c*). The fight laſted however till dark, and though the firing then ceaſed, the Vice-Admiral kept them company all night. The next morning at break of day he was near the French ſhips, but none of his ſquadron except the Ruby was with him, the reſt being three, four, or five miles a-ſtern. Notwithſtanding which, the French did not fire a gun at the Vice-Admiral, though he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon the French drew into a line, though at the ſame time they made what ſail they could without fighting. However the Vice-Admiral and the Ruby kept them company all night, plying their chaſe guns. Thus the Vice-Admiral continued purſuing, and at ſome times ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, for four days more, but was never duly ſeconded by ſeveral of the ſhips of his ſquadron (*p*). The twenty-third, about noon, the Admiral took from them a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anne Galley, which they had taken off of Liſbon; and the Ruby being diſabled, he ordered her to Port Royal. About eight at night the whole ſquadron was up with the Vice-Admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a proſpect of doing ſomething, and the Vice-Admiral made the beſt of his way after them, but his whole ſquadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-ſtern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the Vice-Admiral came up with the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, and fired his broad-ſide, which was returned by the French ſhip very briſkly, and about three the Vice-Admiral's right-leg was broken to pieces by a chain-ſhot (*q*). In this condition he was carried down to be dreſt, and while the ſurgeon was at work, one of his Lieutenants expreſſed great ſorrow for the loſs of his leg, upon which the Admiral ſaid to him, *I am ſorry for it too, but I had rather have loſt them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour brought upon the Engliſh nation. But, do ye hear, if another ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men and fight it out* (*r*). As ſoon as it was practicable, he cauſed himſelf to be carried up, and placed, with his cradle, upon the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. They then diſcovered the ruins of one of the enemy's ſhips, that carried ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides tore to pieces. The Admiral, ſoon after, diſcovered the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The Windſor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broad-ſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Then came the Defiance, fired part of her broad-ſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and run away right before the wind, lowered both her top-ſails, and ran in to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the ſignal of battle. The enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward, but when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the Admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though Captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhip's head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, ſeeing things in this condition, brought to, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, remanned, and took her into tow (*s*). The Breda's rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the Admiral ordered the Captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle ſignal out all the while, and Captain Fogg, by the Admiral's orders, ſent to the other Captains, to order them to keep the line and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirkby came on board the Admiral, and told him, *He had better deſiſt, that the French were very ſtrong, and that from what paſſed he might gueſs, he could make nothing of it.* The brave Admiral Benbow, more ſurprized at this language, than at all that had hitherto happened, ſaid very calmly, that this was but one man's opinion, and therefore made a ſignal for the reſt of the Captains to come on board, which they did in obedience to his orders, but when they came, they fell too eaſily into Captain Kirkby's ſentiments, and, in conjunction with him, ſigned a paper, importing, *that*, as he had before told the Admiral, *there was nothing more to be done*, though at this very time they had the faireſt opportunity imaginable of taking or deſtroying the enemy's whole ſquadron; for ours conſiſted then of one ſhip of ſeventy guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty, their yards, maſts, and in general all their tackle in as good condition as could be expected, the Admiral's own ſhip excepted, in which their loſs was conſiderable, but in the reſt they had eight only

(*b*) Taken from the Journal of that Voyage.

(*c*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 594.

(*p*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 595, compared with the Journal beforementioned.

(*q*) As before, from the ſeveral accounts compared.

(*r*) From the information of Mr Calton, confirmed by ſome on board his ſhip.

(*s*) From the Journal beforementioned.

killed and wounded, nor were they in any want of ammunition neceſſary to continue the fight. The enemy, on the other hand, had but four ſhips of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, one of which was entirely diſabled and in tow, and all the reſt very roughly handled; ſo that even now if theſe officers had done their duty, it is morally certain they might have taken them all (*t*). But Vice-Admiral Benbow, ſeeing himſelf abſolutely without ſupport, (his own Captain having ſigned the paper beforementioned) determined to give over the fight, and to return to Jamaica, though he could not help declaring openly, that it was againſt his own ſentiments, in prejudice to the publick ſervice, and the greateſt diſhonour that had ever befallen the Engliſh navy (*u*). The French, glad of their eſcape, continued their courſe towards the Spaniſh coaſts, and the Engliſh ſquadron ſoon arrived ſafe in Port-Royal harbour, where, as ſoon as the Vice-Admiral came on ſhore, he ordered the officers who had ſo ſcandalouſly miſbehaved, to be brought out of their ſhips and confined, and immediately after directed a commiſſion to Rear-Admiral Weſton to hold a Court Martial for their trial, which was accordingly done, and upon the fulleſt and cleareſt evidence that could be deſired, ſome of the moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts (*w*) [*G*]. Some of the French writers

(*t*) See the authorities beforementioned, and note [*G*].

(*u*) So he declared himſelf before the Court-Martial.

(*w*) Col. Kirkby and Capt. Wade, were ſhot April 16, 1703, at Plymouth.

[*G*] *The moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts.*] The Vice-Admiral, upon his arrival at Jamaica, thought it a thing of the laſt importance to ſecure the ſhips under his command, by bringing thoſe officers immediately to a trial whoſe fidelity he had ſo much reaſon to ſuſpect; and therefore he iſſued a commiſſion to Captain Whetſtone, whom he had appointed Rear-Admiral of his ſquadron, to hold a Court-Marſhal for the trial of the offenders, which he accordingly did, and nobody made the leaſt ſcruple of acting under that authority, though it has been doubted whether he had a power to grant ſuch a commiſſion; and Mr Secretary Burchet is very clear he could not, for he ſays expreſsly, that he had no authority to delegate his power to another; but the Admiral it ſeems thought otherwiſe, and believed it more agreeable to the rules of juſtice and common-ſenſe, to delegate his power to another, than to act as judge, party, and witneſs himſelf; and I believe moſt people, who conſider the caſe, will be rather of the Admiral's than of the Secretary's opinion, who, though he probably intended no more than to cenſure poor Vice-Admiral Benbow for preferring juſtice and humanity to form, yet, if his cenſure hath any force, it falls upon the Queen and the whole nation, by whom the proceedings of that Court-Martial were ratified, and the criminals put to death upon their ſentence. But be that as it will, the Court-Martial thus appointed was held on board her Majeſty's ſhip the Breda, in Port-Royal Harbour, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th days of October, 1702, wherein the following gentlemen ſat.

PRESIDENT,

William Whetſtone, Eſq; Rear-Admiral for her Majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt-India ſquadron.

CAPTAINS.

John Hartnoll,	Barrow Harris,
John Smith,	Hercules Mitchel,
John Redman,	Philip Boyce,
George Walton,	and
William Ruſſel,	Charles Smith.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, Commander of the Defiance, was tried upon a complaint exhibited by Arnold Browne, Eſq; Judge-Advocate, for cowardice, neglect of duty, breach of orders, and other crimes, committed by him in a fight at ſea, commencing the 19th of Auguſt, 1702, between the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the blue ſquadron, Admiral and Commander in chief, &c. and M. du Caſſe, with four French ſhips of war, which continued until the 24th of Auguſt inclusive. The witneſſes ſworn in the behalf of the Queen were the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Captain Samuel Vincent, Captain Chriſtopher Hogg, eight Lieutenants, five Maſters, and five inferior officers, in all twenty-one, who in general depoſed, 'That the ſaid Richard Kirkby led 'the van in the line of battle the 19th of Auguſt, 'about three in the afternoon, the ſignal of battle being out, the Admiral was forced to ſend his boat on 'board of Kirkby, and command his making more 'ſail, and get a-breaſt of the enemy's van, for he was 'reſolved to fight them; but the ſaid Kirkby did not 'fire above three broadſides, then looffed up out of the 'line, and out of gun-ſhot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French ſhips 'till dark, and the ſaid 'Kirkby receiving no damage, that his behaviour 'cauſed great fear of his deſertion. At night the 'ſaid Kirkby fell a-ſtern, leaving the Admiral to purſue the enemy. That on the 20th, at day-light, the 'Admiral and Ruby were within ſhot of all the enemy's 'ſhips; but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four 'miles a-ſtern: The Admiral then made a new line of 'battle, and took the van himſelf, and ſent to each 'ſhip, with a command to the ſaid Kirkby to keep 'his line and ſtation, which he promiſed to do, but did 'not, keeping two or three miles a-ſtern, though the 'ſignal for battle was out all night. The French 'making a running fight, the Admiral and Ruby plied 'the enemy with their chace-guns 'till night. That 'the 21ſt day, at light, the Admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's rear, and the 'Ruby on the broadſide very near, who plied him 'warmly, and met the ſame return, by which he was 'ſo much diſabled, though the Admiral came in to 'his aſſiſtance, that he was forced to be towed off, and 'this prevented the Admiral's deſign of cutting off 'the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip. This action laſted two 'hours, during which time the ſaid Kirkby lay abroadſide of the ſternmoſt ſhip, as did alſo the Windſor, 'John Conſtable, Commander. The Admiral then 'commanded the ſaid Kirkby to ply his broadſides on 'him; but this having no effect, the ſecond time he 'commanded the ſame, but he fired not one gun; nay 'his own boatſwain and ſeamen repeated the Admiral's 'command to him, but were ſeverely uſed, and 'threatened that he would run his ſword through the 'boatſwain; and had the ſaid Kirkby done his duty, 'and Captain Conſtable done his, they muſt have 'taken or deſtroyed the French ſhips. The Admiral, 'though he received much damage in his ſails, rigging, yards, &c. yet continued the chace all night. 'That the 22d in the morning, at day-light, the 'Greenwich was three leagues a-ſtern, and the Defiance, Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, 'three or four miles, the Falmouth excepted, whoſe 'ſtation was in the rear. That the ſaid Captain Samuel 'Vincent ſeeing the behaviour of him, and the reſt, 'came up with the Admiral, and ſent his Lieutenant 'on board, deſiring leave to aſſiſt him, which was accepted, the ſaid Kirkby never coming up, and by his 'example the reſt did the ſame, as if they had a deſign to ſacrifice the Admiral and Falmouth to the 'enemy, or deſert. The enemy were now about a 'mile and a half a-head. Standing into the ſhore 'with a ſmall breeze at weſt, fetched within Sambey, 'the Admiral firing at the ſternmoſt 'till night, and 'continuing the purſuit, and a Flemiſh ſhip that was 'in M. Du Caſſe's company, on board of which were 'all the French and Spaniſh new Governors, and other 'officers, made her eſcape. That the 23d in the 'morning, at day-light, the enemy bore north-weſt, 'diſtant about four or five miles, the Admiral and Falmouth purſuing; but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with 'the reſt of the ſhips, being three or four miles a-ſtern (though there was not a ſhip both before and 'after the battle but ſailed better than the Admiral's). 'About ſeven in the evening, it having been ſome 'time calm, a gale of wind ſprung up; the Admiral 'and

writers (according to their uſual cuſtom) have given quite another turn to this tranſaction, and

and Falmouth were about two miles from the enemy, and at eight the ſaid Kirkby and his ſeparate ſquadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this day the Admiral ſent away the diſabled Ruby, George Walton, Commander, to Port-Royal, and under his convoy the Anne-Galley, retaken from the French. That the 24th in the morning, about two o'clock, the Admiral came up, with the ſternmoſt of the enemy, within call, and the Falmouth pretty near, but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, according to cuſtom, were three or four miles a-ſtern. The Admiral and Falmouth engaged the ſaid ſhip, and at three the Admiral was wounded, his right leg being broke, but commanded the fight to be vigorouſly maintained; and at day-light the enemy's ſhip appeared like a wreck, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, her main yard in three or four pieces, her foretopſail-yard the ſame, her ſtays and rigging all ſhot to pieces. Soon after day the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſhips, being to windward of the ſaid diſabled ſhips, he the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſeparate ſquadron, fired about twelve guns at the ſaid ſhip, and fearing a ſmart return from her, he lowering his mizen-yard, his topſails on the caps, ſet his ſprit-ſail top-ſail, and foretop-ſail ſtay-ſail, and having waired his ſhip, ſet his ſail, and ran away before the wind from the poor diſabled ſhip, the reſt following his ſaid example, tho' they had but eight men killed on board them all (except the Admiral). The other three French men of war were at this time of action about four miles diſtant from their maimed ſhip; whereupon the enemy ſeeing the cowardice of the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, and the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, in a ſquall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay cloſe by the diſabled ſhip, and having got in their ſprit-ſail-yard, gave him all their fire, and running between him and the diſabled ſhip, remanned her, and took her in tow. The Admiral's rigging being very much ſhattered, was obliged to lie and refit 'till ten o'clock, and then continued the purſuit, and the reſt of the Fleet following in the greateſt diſorder imaginable. The Admiral commanded Captain Fogg to ſtand a-breaſt of the enemy's van, and then to attack him; and having then a fine ſteady gale, the like not happening during the whole engagement, and further ordered that he ſhould ſend to all the reſt of the Captains to keep the Line of battle, and behave themſelves like Engliſhmen: And this meſſage was ſent by Captain Wade, then on board the Breda. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby on the receipt of this meſſage, and ſeeing the Admiral's reſolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a cradle, and without common reſpect of enquiring after his health, he the ſaid Kirkby expreſſed theſe words following, *viz.* That he wondered the Admiral ſhould offer to engage the French again, it being not neceſſary, ſafe, nor convenient, having had ſix days trial of their ſtrength, and then magnified that of the French, and leſſened that of the Engliſh. But the Admiral, being ſurprized at his ſpeech, ſaid, It was but one man's opinion, and that he would have the reſt of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the ſignal to be made for all the Captains to come on board, and at this time the Admiral and the reſt of the ſhips were to windward, and within ſhot of the enemy, and had the faireſt opportunity that in ſix days preſented to chaſe, engage, and deſtroy the enemy. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby had endeavoured to poiſon the reſt of the Captains, forming a writing under his own hand, which was cowardly and erroneous; the ſubſtance of which was, not to engage the enemy any more. He the ſaid Colonel Kirkby brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, ſaying, It would be the ruin of them all; upon which he the ſaid Colonel Kirkby went away and writ another in the following words.

'It is the opinion of us whoſe names are underwritten,

'I. Of the great want of men in number, quality, and the weakneſs of thoſe they have.

'II. The general want of ammunition of moſt ſorts.

'III. Each ſhip, maſts, ſails, and rigging, being all in a great meaſure diſabled.

'IV. The winds are ſo ſmall and variable, that the ſhips cannot be governed by any.

'V. Having experienced the ſtrength of the enemy, in ſix days battle, following the ſquadron, conſiſting of five men of war, and a fireſhip under the command of M. Du Caſſe, their equipage conſiſting in guns from ſixty to eighty, and having a great number of ſeamen and ſoldiers on board for the ſervice of Spain.

'For which reaſons above-mentioned we think it not fit to engage the enemy at this time, but to keep them company this night and obſerve their motion, and if a fair opportunity ſhall happen of wind and weather, once more to try our ſtrength with them.

Richard Kirkby, Samuel Vincent, John Conſtable, | Chriſtopher Fogg, Cooper Wade, and Thomas Hudſon.

'That during the ſix days engagement he never encouraged his men, but by his own example of dodging behind the mizen-maſt, and falling down on the deck on the noiſe of ſhot, and denying them the proviſions of the ſhip, the ſaid men were under great diſcouragement. That he amended the maſter of the ſhip's journal of the tranſactions of the fight according to his own inclination.

'All which being proved as aforeſaid,

'The ſaid Col. Richard Kirkby denying the whole, excepting the pretended written conſultation, which being ſhewed to him, he owned his own hand and name thereto. He brought ſeveral of his men to give an account of his behaviour during the fight, but their teſtimonies were inſignificant, and his behaviour to the Court and witneſſes moſt unbecoming a gentleman; and being particularly aſked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, which lay point-blank with him the 21ſt of Auguſt? He replied, Becauſe they did not fire at him, for they had a reſpect for him; which words, upon ſeveral occaſions during the trial, he repeated three ſeveral times.

'Whereupon due conſideration of the premiſſes, of the great advantages the Engliſh had in number, being ſeven to four, of guns two hundred and twenty-two more than the other, with his acts and behaviour as aforeſaid, and more particularly his ill-timed paper or conſultation as afore-recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the preſervation of her Majeſty's fleet, to give over the chace and fight, to the irreparable diſhonour of the Queen, her crown and dignity, and come to Port-Royal, in Jamaica. For which reaſons the Court was of opinion, that he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth articles of war, and adjudged accordingly, That he ſhould be ſhot to death; but further decreed, that the execution of Col. Kirkby be deferred till her Majeſty's pleaſure be known therein; but he to be continued a cloſe priſoner 'till that time (22).' Captain Conſtable, who commanded the Windſor, was next tried; and it fully appeared that he followed the example of Col. Kirkby in every reſpect, except perſonal cowardice, for he remained upon the quarter-deck, encouraged the men, gave them rum, and took ſo much of it himſelf, that he was drunk moſt part of the action. He acknowleged his hand to the paper, but ſaid he ſigned it at the requeſt of Colonel Kirkby. The ſentence paſſed upon him was, That he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable, and ſent home a priſoner. Captain Cooper Wade, Commander of the Greenwich, came next to his trial, and againſt him it was proved, by ſixteen witneſſes, that he never kept the Line of battle, fired all his ſhot away, as never being within reach of the enemy. That being told ſo by his Lieutenants, he ſaid, *It muſt be ſo, that if they did not fire, the Admiral would not believe they fought.* It alſo appeared, that he cenſured the Admiral's conduct during the engagement, and that beſt part of the time he was in drink. He behaved very well upon his trial, ſaid he had been miſunderſtood with reſpect to the Admiral's conduct, for that he did not believe any

(22) Taken from the Minutes of the Court-Martial, printed at London, fol. 1703.

and have endeavoured to make the world believe, that the bravery of his men, and the conduct of Commodore Du Caſſe, enabled him to beat an Engliſh ſquadron of ſuperior force, and that if he had been appriſed of the ſhattered condition to which he had reduced them, he might have purſued and taken ſeveral, if not all the ſhips of which it conſiſted (*x*). But Du Caſſe himſelf, who was both a brave officer and an able ſea-man, was far enough from treating things in this way, and candidly acknowledged, that he had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape [*H*]. As for Vice-Admiral Benbow, though he ſo far recovered from the fever induced by his broken leg, as to be able to attend the trials of the Captains who deſerted him, and thereby vindicated his own honour, and that of the nation: Yet he ſtill continued in a declining way, occaſioned partly by the heat of the climate, but chiefly from that grief which this miſcarriage occaſioned, as appeared by his letters to his lady, in which he expreſſed much more concern for the condition in which he was like to leave the publick affairs in the Weſt-Indies, than for his own (*z*). During all the time of his illneſs, he behaved with great calmneſs and preſence of mind, having never flattered himſelf, from the time his leg was cut off, with any hopes of recovery, but ſhewed an earneſt deſire, to be as uſeful as he could while he was yet living, giving the neceſſary directions for ſtationing the ſhips of his ſquadron, for protecting the commerce and incommoding the enemy. He continued thus diſcharging his duty to the laſt moment, for dying of a ſort of conſumption, his ſpirits did not fail him till very near his end, and his ſenſes were very ſound to the day he expired, which was the fourth of November, 1702. His royal Miſtreſs ſpoke of his loſs, when ſhe heard of it, with great tenderneſs and concern; and it may be truly ſaid, that no man of his rank was more ſincerely regretted by the bulk of the nation; ſo that one cannot help wondering at the ſingular method taken by a certain hiſtorian, to ſink the names of thoſe offenders, who ſo juſtly ſuffered for betraying ſo brave a man; and at the ſame time, treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect (*f*) [*I*]. The Vice-Admiral's ſiſter

(*x*) Hiſtoire de S. Doming. Vol. IV. p. 203.

(*y*) From the information of the late Mr Calton, who ſaw thoſe Letters.

(*f*) Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

man living could act better, or more for the honour of his Queen and nation, than Admiral Benbow did, and therefore he put himſelf upon the mercy of the Court, who adjudged him, as well as Colonel Kirkby, to be ſhot. Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg were tried for ſigning the paper, which the reader has ſeen. They ſaid, that ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the Captains Kirkby, Conſtable, Wade, and Hudſon, they were afraid of being made priſoners; as alſo that thoſe Captains would have gone over to the enemy, and that by ſigning the paper they hoped to hinder them from becoming deſperate. Vice-Admiral Benbow coming into Court, ſaid, That during the ſix days fight, Captain Fogg behaved like a true Engliſhman: That Captain Vincent alſo came in to his aſſiſtance when deſerted by all the other ſhips; and that, if it had not been for his coming to his relief, he had fallen into the hands of M. Du Caſſe. The Court thought, however, that by ſigning this paper theſe Gentlemen fell under the twentieth article of war, and therefore directed they ſhould be ſuſpended, but that the ſuſpenſion ſhould not take place 'till the Lord High-Admiral's pleaſure was known; and immediately after their coming home the ſuſpenſion was taken off. As for Captain Thomas Hudſon, he died on board his ſhip in Port-Royal harbour before he could be brought to a trial (23). The true deſign of Colonel Kirkby, who was the ring-leader of this buſineſs, was to have let the Admiral fall into the hands of the French, and then have thrown the blame of all that happened upon his raſhneſs and ill conduct; and the reaſon of his bearing this ill-will to that gentleman, and meeting with ſuch concurrence in other officers, was the ſtrictneſs of the Admiral's diſcipline, who thought that men would never behave well, if not encouraged to it by the example of their officers. There was great interceſſion made to the Queen, in favour both of Kirkby and Wade, but to no effect, for warrants for their execution were lodged in all the ports, and they were ſhot the ſame day they came into Plymouth; both of them, behaving in their laſt moments with much decency and courage (24).

(23) See the Minutes above-mentioned; and Appendix to the Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702.

(24) This the author received from eye-witneſſes.

[*H*] *He had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape.*] The French never had a braver officer or better ſeaman in their ſervice than this M. Du Caſſe, who was too much a man of honour to leſſen another officer's merit. Admiral Benbow boarded his ſhip thrice, in which he received a ſhot in the arm, and a wound in the face; and, if he had been well ſeconded, would infallibly have carried that ſhip. This M. Du Caſſe was ſo ſenſible of, that ſoon after his arrival at Carthagena, he wrote the Admiral a letter, the original of which is ſtill in the hands of the family, and the tranſlation follows (25).

(25) Communicated by Paul Calton, Eſq;

'SIR,

'I Had little hopes on Monday *laſt* but to have ſupped in your Cabbin, it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe; I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly Captains who deſerted you, hang them up, for by —— they deſerve it.

'Your's,

DU CASSE.'

It is very remarkable, that the day mentioned in this letter was Monday, Auguſt 24, the very day that the pretended conſultation was ſigned, in which the ſtrength of the enemy was ſo much magnified, and therefore we need not wonder, that all impartial writers have treated this affair with reſpect to Colonel Kirkby, and of his aſſociates, as one of the baſeſt and moſt diſhonourable that ever happened in our Navy. The author of the Hiſtory of our Colonies, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays (26), 'This ſentence 'was certainly very juſt, for during the whole courſe 'of the wars between England and France, never did 'two Engliſhman bring ſuch diſhonour upon their 'country as Kirkby and Wade, through their cowardice and treachery; beſides the great profit that 'they hindered the nation from receiving by the deſtruction of M. Du Caſſe and his ſquadron, which 'perhaps would have prevented the French in all their 'deſigns on the Weſt-Indies, and forwarded the reduction of the Spaniſh dominions there: But this fair 'opportunity was loſt, and, without the gift of Prophecy, we can foreſee, we ſhall not ſoon have ſuch 'another.'

(26) The Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 339.

[*I*] *Treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect.*] In order to ſtate this matter fairly, it will be neceſſary firſt of all to give the paſſage from Mr Burchet's Hiſtory at large, that the reader may be the better able to judge of our remarks (27). 'The twentieth of September the York 'and Norwich arrived at Jamaica, bringing a neceſſary 'ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; and as ſoon as the 'Vice-Admiral could have matters got in readineſs for 'trying at a Court-Martial the Captains who had ſo 'ſcandalouſly failed in the performance of their duty, 'he ordered Rear-Admiral Whetſtone to examine 'thoroughly thereinto, chuſing rather ſo to do (though 'the Admiral had not authority to delegate his power 'to another), than to ſit as Preſident of the Court 'himſelf; and after ſeveral days were ſpent in examining witneſſes, and hearing what the priſoners could 'alledge in their own juſtification, the Captains of 'the

(27) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

ſiſter made a preſent of his picture to the corporation of Shrewſbury, who cauſed it to be hung up in their town-hall, where it remains as a teſtimony of the regard his countrymen have, for the memory of ſo worthy a man, ſo gallant an officer, and ſo true a patriot, who manifeſted his love to his country, not by fair profeſſions and fine ſpeeches, but by ſpending his whole life in her ſervice. The Vice-Admiral left behind him a widow and ſeveral children of both ſexes, but his ſons dying without iſſue, his two ſurviving daughters became coheireſſes, of whom the eldeſt married Paul Calton, Eſq; of Milton near Abingdon in Berks, the gentleman ſo often mentioned in the courſe of this article, and who deceaſed very lately at his ſeat beforementioned. He was a perſon of great reading and general knowledge, very communicative, and had a great deſire that the memory of his worthy father-in-law, ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with due honour, and with a juſt regard to truth. It is certain, that but for his attention in this reſpect, the Publick had been deprived of the moſt curious circumſtances relative to the actions of this great man, and known nothing more of him, than had been preſerved in the traditional recitals of ſailors, who are remarkably fond of claiming Benbow as their own, and are ſure to mention him upon every diſpute, where the virtue of the Tars is called into queſtion. Benbow and Shovell are their favourites, they were ſailors, roſe by being ſailors, and were proud of being ſailors much more than of their Flags. Men, who by a long courſe of obedience learned how to command, and who directed ſuch as ſerved under them, as much by example as orders. In fine, men diſtinguiſhed in and by their profeſſion, and who, after many years employment, left behind them, ſmall fortunes and great reputations.

' the Defiance and Greenwich received ſentence of ' death, which was not put in execution until they ar- ' rived in the Briſtol at Plymouth, aboard which ſhip ' they were ſhot, for the orders ſent from hence did ' not come time enough to Jamaica. The Captain of ' the Windſor was caſhiered, and ſentenced to be im- ' priſoned during her Majeſty's pleaſure. He who ' commanded the Pendennis died before the trial, other- ' wiſe he would in all probability have received the ' ſame ſentence as thoſe of the Defiance and Green- ' wich; and the Vice-Admiral's own Captain, with ' the Commander of the Falmouth, were ſuſpended ' for ſigning to the paper drawn up and delivered by ' the others; wherein they gave their reaſons for not ' renewing the engagement: but he having repreſented ' that thoſe two gentlemen had behaved themſelves ' very well in the action, the Lord High-Admiral ' was pleaſed to ſend orders for their being employed ' again. As I have forborn mentioning the names of ' thoſe two unhappy gentlemen, who ſuffered (one of whom on other occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf) ' more for the ſake of their relations than any other ' conſideration; ſo thus much may be obſerved as to ' Vice-Admiral Benbow's conduct, that although he ' was a good ſeaman and a gallant man, and that he ' was qualified in moſt reſpects to command a ſquadron, ' eſpecially in the Weſt-Indies, in which parts of the ' world he had had long experience; yet when he ' found his Captains ſo very remiſs in their performance ' of their duty, I think he ought, in point of diſcre- ' tion, to have ſummoned them (and even that at firſt) ' on board his own ſhip, and there confined them, and ' placed their firſt Lieutenants in their rooms, who ' would have fought well, were it for no other rea- ' ſon than the hopes of being continued in their com- ' mands had they ſurvived.' It has been ſhewn in the former note, on what motives Vice-Admiral Benbow acted in granting a Commiſſion for trying theſe officers, and how little reaſon there was for inſinuating the illegality of a proceeding juſtified by the whole nation, and which could only ſerve to help other bad men to a means of taking ſhelter under the *Law* againſt *Juſtice*. But it is ſtill more extraordinary, that the author of ſuch a Hiſtory ſhould think himſelf under any obligation to ſuppreſs the names of criminals out of regard to their families. Were they better men than the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Sir John Fenwick, or any other, whoſe names are mentioned by all writers? Is there any inſtance of tenderneſs of this kind? or is it reaſonable there ſhould be any? Was there any doubt of their being guilty, or that their puniſhments were greater than they deſerved? Why then ſhould this gentleman deſire that their names ſhould be concealed, at the ſame time that he bears ſo hard upon the memory of the brave Admiral Benbow? Let us ſee next what ground there is for the reflection he makes, which at the bottom amounts to this, that if the Anmiral had underſtood his duty, and performed it, the engagement had ended otherwiſe than it did. But what probability is there of this? the reader has ſeen that Colonel Kirkby had ſuch an influence over all the reſt of the Captains, as to prevail upon them to ſign his paper, which was as ſtupid and fooliſh, as it was baſe and cowardly. It was natural therefore for him to provide for his own ſafety, and the ſafety of the Queen's ſhips, ſince after ſuch behaviour he might very well apprehend, as he really did, they would retire, and leave the Breda diſabled, as ſhe was to fall into the hands of the French, which if they had done, there was no doubt thoſe officers would have eſcaped the hands of juſtice; as it was, there were great endeavours uſed to ſave them, as appears by the following account taken from an author who wrote at this very time, and ſet down things juſt as they occurred, and who had not, it ſeems, any ſcruples about inſerting the names of men, who, by ſhewing ſo little concern for, were ſo indifferently intitled to the pity of their country.

' On the 14th of April, *ſays he* (29), came in the ' Briſtol man of war from Jamaica, which brought ' priſoners from thence, Captain Kirkby, Captain ' Wade, and Captain Conſtable, of whom the two ' former were ſhot to death on the 16th on board the ' ſaid ſhip, in purſuance of the ſentence given againſt ' them by the Court Martial held at Jamaica in October, ' 1702, for their cowardice, breach of orders, and ' neglect of duty, in the fight between the brave Admi- ' ral Benbow and M. Du Caſſe. We were for ſome ' months ſtrangely amuſed, as if after all the guilt ' of theſe Commanders, they would at laſt be par- ' doned; but the event made it plainly appear to the ' contrary, much to the reputation of the Govern- ' ment.' E

(29) Hiſtory of Europe, for 1703, p. 183.

BENBOW (JOHN) ſon to the Vice-Admiral beforementioned. He was intended by his father for a ſea-man, and educated accordingly. His misfortunes began very early, *viz.* in the ſame year his father died in the Weſt-Indies; by being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, where, after many diſmal and dangerous adventures, he was reduced to live with, and in the manner of, the natives, for many years, and at laſt, when he leaſt expected it, he was taken on board by a Dutch Captain, out of reſpect to the memory of his father, and brought ſafe to England, when his relations thought him long ſince dead (*a*). He was a young gentleman naturally of a very briſk and lively temper, but

(*a*) This from the information of Mr Calton and others acquainted with Mr Benbow, junior.

but by a long ſeries of untoward events, came to alter his diſpoſition entirely, ſo as to appear, after his return, very ſerious, or rather melancholy, and did not much affect ſpeaking, except amongſt a few intimate friends. But the noiſe of his remaining ſo long, and in ſuch a condition, upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, induced many to viſit him, and to enquire into the circumſtances of the life he led there, whom he civilly received, and readily ſatisfied their curioſity, though otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed (as has been ſaid) by his taciturnity, but he always looked upon his preſervation there, and his eſcape from thence, as ſuch ſignal inſtances of the favour of providence, that he did not judge himſelf at liberty to conceal them. But notwithſtanding his freedom in communicating this part of his hiſtory, very few particulars relating to it can now be recovered [*A*]. It is very probable, the world might receive full ſatisfaction in this, as well as many other reſpects, if a large work he compoſed on the ſubject, intituled, *A complete Deſcription of the ſouth Part of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *in reference to the Soil, Climate, Produce, Animals, and Inhabitants, with Remarks on the Coaſts, Harbours, and Commerce of that Iſland, and the Improvements of which they are capable*, could be met with. This was a large and very comprehenſive book, containing a multitude of very curious circumſtances, which occaſioned it's being often borrowed by ſome or other of his acquaintance, in whoſe cuſtody (if yet remaining) it is to be found; for notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt ſearch made immediately after his deceaſe, and the cloſeſt enquiries by the family ſince, they have been able to obtain no account of it whatever. But if, upon this notice, any gentleman ſhould be able to diſcover it, there is no queſtion than even now the publication of it would be very acceptable to the world, for though the facts are of an old date, they are ſtill ſo extraordinary as to deſerve memory, and the deſcription of the country, and it's natural and civil hiſtory, would not only afford much entertainment, but be highly uſeful, as the learned world has not at preſent any accurate account of this iſland, or that can be depended on. Our author lived ſeveral years after his return to England, but paſſed his days in privacy, and died without iſſue.

[*A*] *Very few particulars are to be recovered*] All we know with any certainty, as to his affairs, amounts only to this. He ſailed in quality of fourth mate on board the Degrave Eaſt-Indiaman, which lay in the Downs when his father proceeded on his laſt expedition. She paſſed through February 19, 1701, bound for Fort St George, and thence to Bengal. She was a very fine veſſel of 700 tons and 52 guns, and performed this voyage happily; but at Bengal the Captain died, the firſt mate ſoon followed him, by which the command devolved on the Captain's ſon, who was ſecond mate, and Mr Benbow ſucceeded in his place. From Bengal they ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but in going out of the river the ſhip run a-ground and ſtuck faſt; ſhe floated again the next high tide, and put to ſea with little or no damage as they then imagined, but they ſoon after found her ſo leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they ſailed two months before they reached the iſland of St Maurice, inhabited by the Dutch, who received them very kindly, gave them all the aſſiſtance in their power, permitting them to ſet up a tent on ſhore, into which they brought moſt part of their cargo, having unladen the ſhip in order to ſearch for the leak, which however they could not find. After about a month's ſtay at the iſland of St Maurice, and taking about 50 Laſcars or Mooriſh ſeamen, they ſailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about 170 hands on board, and though the Laſcars could not do much in point of navigation, yet they were of great uſe, as they eaſed the Engliſh ſeamen of the labour of pumping; yet after all, it was fatal for them that this raſh reſolution was taken of putting to ſea before they had ſtopped, or even diſcovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained ſo much upon them, that notwithſtanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do to keep the veſſel above water, tho' they were ſtill 600 leagues from their intended port. The crew thereupon acquainted Captain Young, that for the common ſafety it would be beſt to run the ſhip aſhore on the neareſt land, which was that of Madagaſcar, which he accordingly did; but, in ſpite of all the care he could take, the ſhip was wrecked and broke to pieces, and he, who was the laſt man in her, obliged to throw himſelf into the ſea, in order to ſwim on ſhore as well as he could, which with difficulty he performed. They were quickly made priſoners by the King of that part of the iſland, who carried them 50 miles up into the country, where they found one Captain Drummond and one Captain Stewart, with a few of their ſhip's crew, and who ſoon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by aſſuring them that the King intended to make them ſerve in his wars, and never permit them to return to Europe, which ſtruck them with the utmoſt conſternation. In this diſtreſs the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a conſultation, in conjunction with Mr Prat and Mr Benbow; in which Captain Drummond propoſed as the only expedient by which they could only recover their liberty, to ſeize the Black King, and march off with him priſoner into ſome other province of the iſland where ſhips frequently came. Mr Benbow warmly eſpouſed this propoſal, and aſſiſted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more eaſe than was expected; and the King, his ſon, and the Queen, were made priſoners, but the Queen was releaſed by Capt. Young out of mere pity. It is not very eaſy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, where between 50 and 60 white people, and not above half of theſe armed, carried off a Black Prince out of the midſt of his capital, and in the ſight of ſome hundreds, nay ſome thouſands of his ſubjects better armed than themſelves, who were notwithſtanding reſtrained from firing by Captain Young's threating to kill their King if they did. Afterwards, however, they managed the thing ſtrangely, for, upon a propoſal by the Negroes to give ſix guns for their King, it was agreed to upon a ſuppoſition that they would then follow them no further, and this notwithſtanding Mr Benbow oppoſed it, and ſhewed them the conſequences with which it muſt be attended. The King ſet free, they ſtill continued to follow them; at laſt it was agreed to give up the Prince too, in hopes that would put an end to the purſuit, taking three people, whom the Blacks told them were their principal men, as hoſtages, two of whom made their eſcape, and then the Blacks not only purſued, but began to fire, which hitherto they had not done. The weakneſs of their own conduct, and the wiſdom of Mr Benbow's advice, was now viſible; and as it appeared that they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to diſpoſe their little army in order of battle, their 36 armed men were formed into four bodies under the three Captains and Mr Benbow; but after an engagement, laſting from noon 'till evening, it was agreed to treat. The Negroes demanded their arms, promiſing to let them go. This propoſition was vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr Benbow; and when it came to be put in execution, the Captains Drummond and Stewart, and ſome of their crew, refuſed to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the dark, accompanied by Mr Benbow, and got ſafe to Port Dauphine, while all the reſt were cruelly murdered, except one boy, whom they preſerved and made a ſlave.

BENDLOWES (EDWARD), author of ſome poetical pieces [*A*], was ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; [*B*], and born in the year 1613 (*a*). This gentleman was carefully educated in grammar-learning, and, at ſixteen years of age, admitted a Fellow-Commoner of St John's-college in Cambridge, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. From thence he went with a tutor to travel, and having gone through ſeveral countries, and viſited ſeven Courts of Princes, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman both in behaviour and converſation, but a little tinctured with the principles of Popery. Being very imprudent in the management of his worldly concerns, he made a ſhift, (tho' he was never married) to ſquander away his eſtate (which amounted to ſeven hundred, or a thouſand pounds a year) on poets, muſicians, buffoons, and flatterers, and in buying curioſities. He gave a handſome fortune with a niece named Philippa, who was married to ——— Blount, of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; [*C*], and having beſides engaged himſelf for the payment of other mens debts, which he was not able to diſcharge, he was put into priſon at Oxford: but, being ſoon after releaſed, he ſpent the remainder of his life, which was eight years, in that city. He was eſteemed in his younger days a great patron of the poets, eſpecially Quarles, Davenant, Payne, Fiſher, *&c.* who either dedicated books to him, or wrote epigrams and poems on him. His flatterers uſed to ſtyle him *Benevolus*, by way of anagram on his name, in return for his generoſity towards them. Towards the latter end of his life, he was drawn off from his inclination to Popery, and would often take occaſion to diſpute againſt the Papiſts and their opinions, and particularly diſliked the favourers of Arminius and Socinus. This gentleman, reduced, through his own indiſcretion, to great want, died at Oxford, the eighteenth of December 1686, aged ſeventy-three years. He was buried in the north iſle of St Mary's church; and the expences of his funeral were defrayed by a contribution of ſeveral ſcholars, to whom he had been particularly known. His picture hangs in the gallery belonging to the publick library of Oxford.

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

[*A*] *He was author of ſome poetical pieces.*] Anthony Wood mentions the following (1). I. *Sphinx Theologica, ſeu Muſica Templi, ubi diſcordia concors.* Camb. 1626, in *octavo*. II. *Honorifica armorum ceſſatio, ſive Pacis et Fidei Aſſociatio.* Febr. 11, *ann.* 1643, in *octavo*. III. *Theophila; or, Love-Sacrifice*; a divine poem. Lond. 1652, in *folio*, with the author's picture before it. Several parts of this poem were ſet to Muſic by Mr John Jenkyns, an eminent Muſician, whom Mr Bendlowes patronized; and a whole canto of it, conſiſting of above 300 verſes, was turned into elegant Latin verſe, in the ſpace of one day, by the ingenious Mr John Hall of Durham. IV. *A Summary of Divine Wiſdom.* Lond. 1657, in *quarto*. V. *A Glance at the Glories of ſacred friendſhip.* Lond. 1657, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. VI. *De Sacra Amicitia*; printed with the former in Latin verſe and proſe. VII. *Threnothriambeuticon; or, Latin Poems on King Charles the Second's Reſtoration.* Lond. 1660; printed on a ſide of a large ſheet of paper. A few were printed on white ſattin; one copy of which, in a frame ſuitable to it, he gave to the Public Library at Oxford. VIII. *Oxonii Encomium.* Oxon. 1672, in four ſheets in *folio*. It is moſtly in Latin verſe. IX. *Oxonii Elogia.* Oxon. 1673; printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It conſiſts of twelve ſtanza's, and is followed by 1. *Oxonii Elegia.* 2. *Academicis Sereñitas.* 3. *Academicis Temperantia.* 4. *Studioſis Cautela*, and ſome other pieces. X. *Magia Cæleſtis.* Oxon. 1673. It is a Latin poem, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. The three laſt-mentioned pieces were compoſed at Oxford. XI. *Echo veridica joco-ſeria.* Oxon. 1673, printed one one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It is a Latin poem, chiefly againſt the Pope, the Papiſts, Jeſuits, &c. XII. *Truth's Touch-ſtone*, conſiſting of an hundred diſtichs, printed on one ſide of a long ſheet of paper, and dedicated to his niece Mrs Philippa Blount. XIII. *Annotations for the better confirming the ſeveral truths in the ſaid poem*; uncertain, when printed. XIV. Mr Bendlowes wrote a *Mantiſſa* to Richard Fenn's *Panegyricon Inaugurale*, intitled, *De celeberrima et florentiſſ. Trinobantiados Auguſtæ Civ. Prætori, reg. ſenatui populoque.* Lond. 1673, in *quarto*; in the title of which piece he ſtiles himſelf, *Turmæ Equeſtris in Com. Eſſex. Præfectus.* Theſe writings (our Antiquarian informs us) acquired Mr Bendlowes the name of a *Divine Author*.

(1) *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 204, 205.

[*B*] *Son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq;*] Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; was ſon of William Bendlowes, Eſq; ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Serjeant at law, &c. all Lords of the manor of Brent-hall, and other lands in Eſſex; but deſcended from the family of the Bendlowes in Yorkſhire (2).

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He gave a handſome fortune with his niece Philippa, who was married to —— Blount of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq;*] Mr Wood ſeems to charge this gentleman and his wife with ingratitude towards Mr Bendlowes, in not aſſiſting him in his neceſſities: For he tells us, this gentleman portioned his niece out of his eſtate of Brent-hall, *ſuppoſing thereby that ſo long as they lived he ſhould not want; but the caſe being otherwiſe, he lived afterwards in a mean condition* (3). Unleſs we are to conclude from theſe words, that one or both of them were dead, or that they were themſelves ſo reduced in their circumſtances, that they were not able to relieve the wants of their uncle. T

(3) Ibid.

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* ejuſdem Hiſt. Eccleſ. *Cantab.* 1722, p. 293, *&c.*

BENEDICT BISCOP (*a*) or EPISCOPUS (*b*), a famous Abbot in the VIIth century, was born of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, and flouriſhed under Oſwi and Egfrid Kings of Northumberland. In the twenty-fifth year of his age, he abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion [*A*]. To

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

[*A*] *He abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion.*] Let us hear Venerable Bede: 'Cum eſſet miniſter *Oſuiu* regis et poſ-'ſeſſionem terræ ſuo gradui competentem illo donante 'perciperet, annos natus circiter viginti et quinque, 'faſtidivit poſſeſſionem caducam, ut adquirere poſſet 'æternam; deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili dona-'tivo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret, regnum in ſu-'perna civitate mereretur habere perpetuum; reliquit 'domum, cognatos, et patriam propter Chriſtum et 'propter Evangelium, ut centuplum acciperet et vitam 'æternam poſſideret; reſpuit nuptiis ſervire carnalibus, 'ut ſequi valeret agnum virginitatis gloria candidum in 'regnis cæleſtibus; abnuit liberos carne procreare mor-'tales, prædeſtinatus a Chriſto ad educandos ei ſpiri-'tuali doctrina filios cæleſti in vita perennes (1). —— *'About the twenty fifth year of his age, being then in 'the ſervice of King Oſwy, who had given him lands 'ſufficient to maintain him according to his rank, he 'deſpiſed the fleeting poſſeſſion, that he might obtain an 'eternal one: he ſet light by a terreſtrial warfare, 'with it's corruptible recompence, that he might ſerve 'under the true King, and merit an everlaſting kingdom 'in the heavenly city: he left his family, relations, and*

(1) Vit. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 293.

To this purpoſe he travelled to Rome in the year 653, where he acquired an exact knowledge of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which, upon his return home, he laboured to eſtabliſh in Britain. In 665, he took a ſecond journey to Rome [B]; and after ſome months ſtay in that city, he received the tonſure in the monaſtery of Lerins, where he continued about two years in a ſtrict obſervance of the monaſtick diſcipline. He was ſent back by Pope Vitalian, in company with Theodore of Tarſus, lately conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury [C], and an Abbot called Adrian. Upon his return, he took upon himſelf the government of the monaſtery of Canterbury, to which he had been elected in his abſence. Two years after, he reſigned the abbey to Adrian, and went a third time to Rome, and returned with a very large collection of the moſt valuable books. Then he went to the court of Egfrid King of Northumberland, who had ſucceeded Oſwy. That Prince, with whom he was highly in favour, gave him a tract of land on the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the river *Were*; where he built a large monaſtery, called, from it's ſituation, *Weremouth* (c); in which, it is ſaid, he placed three hundred Benedictine Monks (d). The church of this convent was built of ſtone after the Roman architecture, and the windows glazed, by artificers fetched from France, in the year of Chriſt 674, and the fourth of King Egfrid; and both the monaſtery and the church were dedicated to St Peter. In 678, Benedict took a fourth journey to Rome, and was kindly received by Pope Agatho. From this expedition he returned loaden with books, relics of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, images, and pictures [D]; and, with the Pope's conſent, he brought over with him John, Arch-Chanter of St Peter's, and Abbot of St Martin's, who introduced the Roman manner of ſinging maſs. In 682, King Egfrid gave him another piece of ground (e), on the banks of the Tyne, four miles from Newcaſtle (f); where he built another monaſtery called *Girwy* or *Jarrow* [E], dedicated to St Paul, and placed therein ſeventeen Monks

(c) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(d) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(e) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(f) Leland, ubi ſupra.

'and country, for the ſake of Chriſt and his Goſpel, 'that he might receive an hundred fold, and enjoy eter- 'nal life: he refuſed to marry, that he might follow 'the ſpotleſs and virgin lamb in the kingdom of heaven; 'neither would he beget mortal children after the fleſh, 'being predeſtinated by Chriſt to bring up everlaſting 'ſons, through the doctrine of the Spirit, who ſhould 'inherit the cœleſtial life.' Bede acquaints us here, that Benedict, at the time when he renounced the world, was in the ſervice of King Oſwy; *cum eſſet miniſter Oſuiu regis:* but he does not expreſsly tell us what that ſervice was. Leland pretends he ſerved that Prince in his army, and gave extraordinary proofs of his valour, often returning home loaden with the ſpoils of the enemy. *Juvenis audaciſſimi animi ſub Oſuuio Tranſabrinæ provinciæ rege militavit; unde non raro ab inimicis gloriam et ſpolia opima reportavit* (2). It is remarkable, that Bale, Pits, and other authors, make no mention of this circumſtance, for which there ſeems to be no better foundation than theſe words of Bede juſt now cited; *deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret.* But whoever conſiders the whole paſſage, will have reaſon to think that it is no other than a figurative expreſſion, the more ſtrongly to paint his great ſelf-denial, in renouncing all worldly advantages for the mortified ſtate of religion. So that we may venture to ſay, our judicious antiquary is miſtaken in ſuppoſing Benedict to have been a ſoldier in his youth.

(2) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

[B] *He took a ſecond journey to Rome.*] Bede informs us, that Alcfrid, one of the ſons of King Oſwy, deſigning to take a journey to Rome out of devotion, had made choice of Benedict to accompany him; but though the King thought fit to forbid the young Prince's journey, and obliged him to continue at home, Benedict would not be diſappointed, and therefore proſecuted the intended voyage with the utmoſt expedition (3).

(3) Bede, ibid.

[C] *Theodore of Tarſus, lately created Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*] Ecbert, King of Kent, had ſent Uighard, a perſon ſufficiently inſtructed in eccleſiaſtical matters by the diſciples of St Gregory, to Rome, to be ordained a Biſhop; rightly judging, that himſelf and his ſubjects would be more perfectly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith and myſteries, by a Prelate of their own nation and language, than by a foreigner with the help of an interpreter. Uighard being come to Rome, before he could receive the epiſcopal character, was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, of which he died. Hereupon Pope Vitalian made choice of Theodore of Tarſus, an Eccleſiaſtic of great learning and abilities, whom he conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſent into Britain, together with an Abbot named Adrian, as his colleague and adviſer. At the ſame time he prevailed with Benedict, who was then at Rome, to accompany the new Prelate in his journey, both as his conductor and his interpreter (4).

(4) Bede, ubi ſupra, 294.

[D] —— *and pictures*] He brought over thoſe of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Apoſtles; pictures of ſeveral events in the Goſpel Hiſtory, and of the viſions of St John in the Apocalypſe; all which he hung up in his new church dedicated to St Peter. He had a farther and a better view, than that of mere ornament, in this; intending hereby to affect the minds of the ſpectators with an awful ſenſe of religion, by preſenting to their eyes lively repreſentations of the amiable aſpect of our Saviour and his Saints, the glories of his Incarnation, and the terrors of the laſt judgment. *Quatenus intrantes eccleſiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaquaverſum intenderent, vel ſemper amabilem Chriſti Sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aſpectum; vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gloriam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi diſcrimen examinis quaſi coram oculis habentes, diſtrictius ſe ipſi examinare meminiſſent* (5). If the Church of Rome had always reſtrained the uſe of pictures and images, in places of divine worſhip, to the ſame pious ends, there would not have been ſuch reaſon to object the idolatrous abuſe of them to that Church.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 295.

[E] *He built another monaſtery, called* Girwy, *or* Jarrow.] Camden tells us (6), there is ſtill to be ſeen the following inſcription, which is fairly legible on the church-wall of the town of Jarrow.

(6) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. II. col. 956.

DEDICATIO BASILICÆ
SCI PAULI VIIII KL: MAI
ANNO XVI ECFRIDI REG.

CEOLFRIDI ÆB: EJUSDEM
Q' ECCLES: DO: AUCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.

i. e. *The dedication of the church of St Paul, the ninth of the Calends of May, in the ſixteenth year of King Ecfrid, and the fourth year of Ceolfrid Abbot, and (with the divine aſſiſtance) founder of the ſaid church.* 'In this inſcription (the right reverend editor tells us) 'the XVI ſhould be XV. For King Egfrid reigned 'no more than fifteen years; and ſo Sir James Ware 'has given it in his notes upon Bede's Hiſtory of the 'Abbots of Weremuth. But it ought not to be in- 'ferred from the inſcription, that Ceolfrid was the 'founder of this monaſtery, ſince it appears from 'Bede's account, that he was only conſtituted firſt Ab- 'bot of the place by *Benedictus Biſcopius*, who ſent 'him thither, with a colony of about ſeventeen 'Monks, from Weremouth (7).' William of Malmeſbury miſtook the ſituation of this ſecond monaſtery, when he wrote thus concerning Benedict. *Hic Wiræ amnis utraſque ripas (qui apud Northumbros non incelebris famæ habetur) monaſteriis prætexuit, ſub apoſtolorum Petri et Pauli nomine charitatis et regulæ unione non diſcrepantibus* (8); i. e. 'This Abbot covered both 'the

(7) Ibid.

(8) *Apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. edit. Francof. 1601, p. 294.

Monks under an Abbot named Ceolfrid. About the ſame time, he appointed a Preſbyter named *Eaſterwinus* to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtary of Weremouth [*F*]: ſoon after which, he took his fifth and laſt journey to Rome, and, as before, came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments [*G*]. He had not been long at home before he was ſeized with a dead palſy, which put an end to his life on the twelfth of January 690. His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly Chriſtian and exemplary [*H*]. He was buried in his own monaſtery of Weremouth (*g*). Leland will tell us the fate of Benedict's two monaſteries [*I*]. He wrote ſome pieces mentioned below [*K*]. The famous hiſtorian Bede, who wrote the *Lives* of *four* of the *Abbots* of *Weremouth* and *Jarrow* (*b*), was one of the Monks in thoſe convents, and pronounced an homily on the death of Benedict, which is ſtill extant among that author's Homilies (*i*). This hiſtorian gives us a character of our Abbot in the words of St Gregory [*L*]. His body was purchaſed

(*g*) Bede, ibid.

(*b*) *Namely*, Benedict, Ceolfrid, Eaſterwinus, *and* Huætberetus.

(*i*) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. an. 703.

'the banks of the famous river Wire in Northumber-
'land with monaſteries, dedicated to St Peter and
'St Paul, united by the ties of brotherly love, and
'profeſſion of the ſame rule.' This Hiſtorian ſuppoſes both Benedict's monaſteries to have been built on the oppoſite banks of the ſame river; whereas that of Girwy or Jarrow was at the mouth of the Tyne, ſome miles diſtant from that of Weremouth. The harmony and union which, William of Malmeſbury tells us, ſubſiſted between the two convents, was what the pious founder had chiefly in view, as we learn from Bede. 'Monaſterium Beati Pauli Apoſtoli con-
'ſtruxit, ea duntaxat ratione, ut una utriuſque loci pax
'et concordia, eadem perpetua familiaritas conſerva-
'retur et gratia; ut ſicut, verbi gratia, corpus a ca-
'pite per quod ſpirat non poteſt avelli, caput corporis
'ſine quo non vivit nequit obliviſci, ita nullus hæc mo-
'naſteria primorum apoſtolorum fraterna ſocietate con-
'juncta aliquo ab invicem temptaret diſturbare conatu
'(9). —— *He built the monaſtery of St Paul with*
'this view only, that union and agreement, and the
'ſame friendly intercourſe, might perpetually ſubſiſt be-
'tween the two ſocieties; that, in like manner as the
'body cannot be torn away from the head by which it
'breathes, nor the head forget the body by which it
'lives; ſo no one might endeavour to ſeparate from
'each other, or diſturb the union which ſubſiſted be-
'tween theſe monaſteries dedicated to the two chief
'Apoſtles, and joined together in brotherly ſociety.'

(9) Bede, ubi ſupra, p. 296.

[*F*] *He appointed Eaſterwinus to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtery of Weremouth.*] His frequent journies into foreign countries, and the uncertainty of the time of his return, made it neceſſary that he ſhould have an aſſociate in the government of his monaſtery. And in this, Bede aſſures us (10), he followed the example of St Peter himſelf, who (as hiſtories inform us) appointed two ſubordinate *Popes* at Rome, for the better government of the Church. *Nam et beatiſſimum Petrum Apoſtolum Romæ Pontifices ſub ſe diu per ordinem ad regendam eccleſiam conſtituiſſe cauſa inſtante neceſſaria tradunt hiſtoriæ.* He inſtances likewiſe in the famous St Benedict, who, as St Gregory writes concerning him, ſet twelve Abbots at one time over his diſciples.

(10) Ibid.

[*G*] *He came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments.*] Theſe chiefly conſiſted of books and pictures. Among the latter were ſome which repreſented the connexion between the Old and New Teſtament; ſuch as, Iſaac bearing the wood with which himſelf was to be ſacrificed, and Jeſus Chriſt bearing the croſs on which himſelf was to ſuffer; alſo the ſerpent erected by Moſes in the wilderneſs, and the Son of Man hanging on the croſs. He brought over likewiſe two ſilken palls of exquiſite workmanſhip, with which he afterwards purchaſed of King Alfrid, who ſucceeded Ecfrid, a piece of land on the ſouth-ſide of the mouth of the Were (11).

(11) Bede, ibid. p. 297.

[*H*] *His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly chriſtian and exemplary.*] Bede is very copious in deſcribing the circumſtances of Benedict's ſickneſs and death; but we ſhall abridge his narrative. Though his diſtemper laſted full three years, he bore it with a moſt wonderful patience and reſignation. Thoſe nights, in which he could not ſleep through the violence of his diſeaſe, he ſpent in hearing the book of Job, or ſome other parts of Scripture, read to him, and in ſinging of pſalms with two of the Monks. He was particularly careful to provide for the future welfare of his monaſteries. And to this purpoſe he exhorted the Monks to a ſtrict obſervance of the rule he had taught them; which was not, he ſaid, the offspring of his own thought and judgment, but compoſed of the beſt inſtitutions he had met with in ſeventeen monaſteries that he had viſited in his frequent travels. '*Neque enim putare habetis, inquit, quod ex meo*
'hæc quæ vobis ſtatui decreta indoctus corde protulerim.
'Ex decem quippe et ſeptem monaſteriis, quæ inter lon-
'gos meæ crebræ peregrinationis diſcurſus optima com-
'peri, hæc univerſa didici, et vobis ſalubriter obſer-
'vanda contradidi.' He adviſed them carefully to preſerve the library he had collected for the inſtruction of of the Church, and not ſuffer it to be diſſipated. But what he moſt earneſtly recommended to them was, that, in the choice of his ſucceſſor, they would regard the moral character and abilities of the candidate, and not his birth and family; wiſhing that the place whereon the monaſtery ſtood might rather become a deſert, than be governed by an unworthy perſon. '*Et vere,*
'inquit, dico vobis, quia in comparatione duorum malo-
'rum tolerabilius mihi multo eſt totum hunc locum in quo
'monaſterium feci, ſi ſic judicaverit Deus, in ſolitudi-
'nem ſempiternam redigi, quam ut frater meus car-
'nalis, quem novimus viam veritatis non ingredi, in
'eo regendo poſt me abbatis nomine ſuccedat.' On the night, in which the good Abbot died, the Monks aſſembled in the church of the monaſtery, and continued praying and ſinging of pſalms 'till he expired. 'And
'thus (ſays his Hiſtorian) this holy ſoul, long tried
'and purified in the fire of a happy affliction, eſcaped
'from the earthly priſon of the body, and took it's
'flight to the glories of everlaſting felicity.' *Et ſic*
anima illa ſancta longis flagellorum felicium excocta
atque examinata flammis, luteam carnis fornacem de-
ſerit, et ſupernæ beatitudinis libera pervolat ad glo-
riam (12).

(12) Id. ibid. p. 297, 298, 299.

[*I*] *Leland will tell us the fate of his two monaſteries.*] They were plundered and ſet on fire by the Danes, about the time of Egbert or Oſwulph King of Northumberland; and what theſe barbarous invaders left of them was afterwards deſtroyed by the Normans, who came in with William the Conqueror. But not long after, three Monks of Eveſham, the chief of whom was Aldwinus, going into Northumberland, in order to reſtore there the monaſtic life, among others repaired the convents of Weremouth and Jarrow, though in a very ſlight manner. And but lately (ſays Leland, who lived about the latter end of Henry VII) they were inhabited by three or four Monks from the monaſtery of Durham. The greatneſs and magnificence of theſe buildings may be inferred from the vaſt heaps of ruins, which our Antiquary himſelf ſaw, not without admiration, and a melancholy reflection on the tranſitory condition of the greateſt things on earth. *Ingentes tamen utrinque ruinæ maximorum olim ædificiorum manifeſta indicia etiam nunc extant, quas ego nuper non ſine admiratione aſpexi, rerum viciſſitudines tantarum deplorans* (13).

(13) Leland, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Leland aſcribes to him only a treatiſe, intitled, *De Conſonantia Regulæ Monaſticæ Vitæ*; i. e. 'Of the Agreement of the rule of
'the Monaſtic Life.' Bale and Pits give this book the title of *Concordia Regularum*; i. e. 'The Harmony
'of the Rules.' And the laſt-mentioned author informs us, that the deſign of this book was to prove, that the Rules of all the Holy Fathers tallied exactly with that of St Benedict, Founder of the Benedictines. He wrote likewiſe *Exhortationes ad Monachos*; i. e. 'Advice to the Monks.' *De ſuo Privilegio*; i. e. 'Concerning his own Privilege.' And *De celebratione Feſtorum totius anni*; i. e. 'Of the celebration of the
'Feſtivals throughout the year.'

[*L*] *Bede commends him in the words of St Gregory.*] 'Qui, ut beati Papæ Gregorii verbis, quibus cogno-
'minis

purchaſed at a great price by Adelwold (*k*) or Ethelwold, Biſhop of Norwich, about the time of King Edgar, and depoſited in the monaſtery of Thorney in Cambridgeſhire (*l*).

(*k*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Anglor. p. 94. *ap.* Scriptor. poſt. Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*l*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

'minis ejus abbatis vitam glorificat, utar; fuit vir vitæ 'venerabilis, Gratia *Benedictus* et nomine, ab ipſo 'pueritiæ ſuæ tempore cor gerens ſenile, ætatem quippe 'moribus tranſiens, nulli animum voluptati dedit (14). '—— *To uſe the words of the holy Pope Gregory, in* 'which he celebrates an Abbot of the ſame name; he 'was a man venerable for his conduct, a Saint both in 'name and life; from his very infancy as wiſe as the 'aged, and addicted to no ſort of worldly pleaſure.' This character, to be ſure, did not appear a juſt one to the Biſhop of Oſſory, who cenſures him ſeverely for being the firſt who imported Glaziers, Painters, Architects, and other Artificers, ſubſervient to the pleaſures of mankind; 'from whence one may ſee *(ſays he)*, 'how delicate and luxurious theſe Holy Fathers were 'from the very beginning.' *Vitriarios, Pictores, Architectos, et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices, in Angliam omnium primus ex tranſmarinis provinciis advexit. Quibus videre licet, quam curioſi, molles ac petulantes fuerint hi ſancti Patres, a prima ſtatim origine* (15). Fuller is not behind in the ſeverity of his judgment on our Abbot. 'He left religion in Eng- 'land (ſays that author) *braver*, but not *better* than he 'found it. Indeed, what Tully ſaid of the Roman 'Lady, that *ſhe danced better than became a modeſt wo-* 'man, was true of God's ſervice, as by him adorned, 'the *gaudineſs* prejudicing the *gravity* thereof. He 'made all thing according (not to the *pattern in the* 'Mount with Moſes, but) the *Precedent of Rome*; and 'his convent, being but the *Romiſh Tranſcript*, became 'the *Engliſh Original*, to which all the monaſteries in 'the land were ſuddenly conformed (16).' T

(14) Bede, ubi ſupra, p. 293.

(15) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. I. c. lxxxii.

(16) Fuller's Worthies of England. *Yorkſhire*, p. 192.

BENEDICT, Abbot of Peterborough in the XIIth century, was originally a Benedictine Monk in the monaſtery of Canterbury, afterwards Prior of that houſe (*a*), and from thence, in the year 1177, advanced by King Henry II to the abbacy of Peterborough, in the room of William Watervill, who had been depoſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Benedict had ſtudied at Oxford, and taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and became intimately acquainted with the famous Archbiſhop Becket. After that Prelate's death, he wrote an *Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Miracles* [*A*]. He has the general character of a very learned man (*c*); though the Biſhop of Oſſory beſtows very hard words upon him, and can afford him no better an appellation than that of a *vile impoſtor*, for no other reaſon, as appears, but becauſe he wrote the Life of Becket (*d*). Biſhop Nicholſon tells us (*e*), he died in the year 1200.

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(*b*) Chronic. Jo. Bromton. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1120.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix. & Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1200.

(*d*) *See the remark* [*A*].

(*e*) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

[*A*] *He wrote an* Hiſtory *of the* Life *and* Miracles *of* Archbiſhop Becket.] Bale and Pits ſpeak of two pieces, which probably are but one and the ſame; the firſt, intitled, *Vita Thomæ Cantuarienſis*; i. e. 'The 'Life of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury;' the other, *Miracula Thomæ Martyris*; i. e. 'The Miracles 'of Thomas the Martyr.' Leland, who mentions only *The Life of Becket* as written by our author, gives it the character of an elegant performance (1). But Bale treats it as a mere heap of lies and forgeries, in order to palm Becket on the multitude for a firſt-rate Saint, and interceſſor with God. *Ut pro magno eccleſiæ Martyre Becketus coleretur, et ut ſanctiſſimus ad Deum patronus vulgo haberetur, acceſſit hic quintus vel ſextus, ſed non ultimus, fucatæ ejus ſanctimoniæ teſtis, confictis mille mendaciorum ſignis, miraculorum loco* (2). Nor is this author's ſpleen confined to Benedict, but extends itſelf to the Monks of thoſe times in general, whom he repreſents as a ſet of meer debauchees and impoſtors, concealing their vices under a maſk of piety, and cheating the people with the moſt diabolical illuſions. *His diebus peſſimis, ventri indulgentes monachi et hypocritæ, præſtigiis pluſquam diabolicis mundum illudebant* (3). Dr Cave tells us (4), that the author of the *Quadrilogus* tranſcribed a great part of Benedict's Life of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work. This *Quadrilogus*, or *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate eccleſiaſtica* (Biſhop Nicholſon tells us), is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, in his height of glory, and loweſt depreſſion; namely, *Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *William of Canterbury*, and *Alan of Teukſbury*; who are brought in as ſo many ſeveral relaters of matters of fact, interchangeably (5). Here is no mention of our Benedict in this liſt; ſo that either the Doctor is miſtaken in his aſſertion, or the Biſhop is not exact in his account of the authors, from whence the *Quadrilogus* was compiled. The reader will find a long catalogue of authors, who have recorded the Life and Actions of that Arch-Saint in the article BECKET (THOMAS). T

(1) Leland, de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix.

(2) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Hiſtoria Literaria, Sæc. Waldenſe, an. 1177.

(5) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

BENEFIELD (SEBASTIAN), an eminent Divine of the XVIIth century, was born, Auguſt the 12th, 1559, at Preſtonbury in Glouceſterſhire. He was educated at Oxford, being admitted, at ſeventeen years of age, a Scholar of *Corpus Chriſti* college, Auguſt the 50th, 1586; and Probationer-Fellow of the ſame houſe, April the 16th, 1590. After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into holy orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher. In 1599, he was appointed Rhetorick-Reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the Sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and five years after was choſen Margaret-Profeſſor in that univerſity. He filled the Divinity-Chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years reſigned it. He had been preſented, ſeveral years before, to the rectory of Meyſey-Hampton near Fairford in Glouceſterſhire, upon the ejection of his predeceſſor for Simony; and now he retired to that benefice, and ſpent there the ſhort remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world. Dr Benefield was ſo eminent a Scholar, Diſputant, and Divine, and particularly ſo well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the univerſity. He was ſtrongly attached to the opinions of Calvin, eſpecially that of Predeſtination; inſomuch that Humphry Leach (*a*) calls him *a downright and doctrinal Calviniſt*. He has been branded likewiſe with the character of a Schiſmatic: but Dr Ravis, Biſhop of London, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from Schiſm and much abounding in Science*. He was remarkable for ſtrictneſs of life and ſincerity; of a retired and ſedentary diſpoſition, and conſequently leſs eaſy and affable in converſation. We ſhall mention his Works in the remark [*A*]. This worthy Divine died in the parſonage houſe of Meyſey-Hampton,

(*a*) In his *Triumph of Truth*, Part ii. chap. iii. p. 2.

[*A*] *His works.*] They are, I. *Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ ſex Capita totidem Prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxonienſi pro forma habitis diſcuſſa et diſceptata*; i. e. 'Six Points of Chriſtian Doctrine diſcuſſed and 'examined

(b) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 547, 548; and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 239.

Hampton, Auguſt the 24th, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of his pariſh-church, the 29th of the ſame month (*b*).

' examined in as many Lectures read in the Divinity-' School of Oxford.' *Oxon.* 1610, 4to. II. *Appendix ad Caput ſecundum de Conſiliis Evangelicis*, &c. *adverſus Humphredum Leach*; i. e. ' An Appendix to the ' ſecond Point concerning the Counſels of the Goſpel, ' &c. in anſwer to Humphrey Leach.' This is printed with the foregoing treatiſe. III. *Eight Sermons publickly preached in the Univerſity of Oxford, the ſecond at St Peter's in the Eaſt, the reſt at St Mary's church. Began Dec.* 14, 1595. *Oxford*, 1614, 4to. IV. *The Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt diſcovered, and other Chriſtian Doctrines delivered, in twelve Sermons upon part of the tenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, Oxford, 1615, 4to. V. *A Commentary or Expoſition upon the firſt chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton in the dioceſe of Gloceſter.* Oxford, 1613, 4to. This work was tranſlated into Latin by Henry Jackſon of Corpus-Chriſti-College, and printed at Oppenheim in 1615, 8vo. VI. Several Sermons, as *The Chriſtian Liberty*, &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Oxford, 1613, 8vo. This ſermon was preached at Wooton Underedge before the Clergy at an Epiſcopal Viſitation, and was printed with his Commentary on Amos. *A Sermon at St Mary's in Oxford*, on Pſal. xxi. 6. preached March the 24th, 1610, being King James's Inauguration-day. Oxford, 1611, 4to. *The Haven of the Afflicted*, preached at the Cathedral Church of Gloceſter, Auguſt the 10th, 1613, on Amos iii. 6. London, 1620, 4to. VII. *A Commentary, or Expoſition upon the ſecond chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton*, &c. London, 1620, 4to. VIII. *Prælectiones de Perſeverantia Sanctorum*; i. e. ' Lectures on the Perſeverance of the ' Saints.' *Francfort*, 1618, 8vo. IX. *A Commentary, or Expoſition, on the third chapter of Amos*, &c. London, 1629, 4to. X. There is extant likewiſe a Latin Sermon of Dr Benefield's on *Revelations* v. 10. Printed in 1616, 4to (1). T

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 547, 548.

BENIGNUS (St) Archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, was the immediate ſucceſſor of St Patrick in that See, *Anno* 455; though it muſt be confeſſed, this is a point that has afforded ſome controverſy [*A*]. Writers differ as to his name, ſome call him Stephen (*a*), ſome Beneneus (*b*), others Beona (*c*), and by an Iriſh termination of the word Benin, in Latin Benignus. It is probable St Patrick baptized him by the name of Stephen, and that he obtained the nick-name of Benin from his incomparable ſweet diſpoſition, and his great affection to St Patrick, the word *Bin*, in the Iriſh language, ſignifying *ſweet*; and that from thence the other names flowed. He was the ſon of Seſgnen, a man of wealth and power in Meath, who in the war in 433, hoſpitably entertained St Patrick in his journey from the port of Colp [*B*], where he landed, to the Court of King Leogair at Tarah, and, with his whole family, embraced Chriſtianity and received baptiſm. The youth grew ſo fond of his father's gueſt, that he could not be ſeparated from his company; St Patrick took him away with him at his departure, and taught him his firſt rudiments of learning and religion: Benin profited greatly under ſuch a maſter, and became afterwards a man eminent for piety and virtue, whom St Patrick thought worthy to fill the See of Armagh, which he reſigned to him in 455. Benin died in 468, on the ninth of November, having alſo reſigned his See three years before his death. The writers of the dark ages, however different they are to one another in other particulars, yet in the main agree as to the ſucceſſion of St Benin in the government of the See of Armagh [*C*]. However there

(a) Probus Vita Patricii, cap. i. lib. ii.

(b) Ibid. lib. i. chap. xlv.

(c) William of Malmſbury. Uſher, Primord. p. 877.

[*A*] *A point that has afforded ſome controverſy.*] The greateſt ſucceſſor (1) of St Patrick that ever ſat in the See of Armagh, has taken ſome pains to ſtate this controverſy in it's full extent, and with ſuch learning and judgment, that his arguments can admit of no reply. He ſhews, that what has miſled Campian (2) and other writers (3), in placing St Senan in the ſucceſſion to the See of Armagh immediately after St Patrick, was a miſconſtruction of a prophecy of St Patrick in a Poetical life of St Senan, publiſhed by John Colgan (4) out of an antient MS. of the Franciſcan Fryers of Kilkenny. The Prophecy runs thus:

(1) Archbiſhop Uſher, Primord. 4to edit. p. 873, *& ſeq.*

(2) Hiſtor. Hib. l. i. c. xiv.

(3) Colgan. Act. Sanct. p. 542.

(4) Ibid. ad 8 Martii.

Naſcetur vobis parvulus,
Futurus Dei famulus,
Qui et Senanus nomine;
In meo ſtabit ordine,
Mihi, Deo propitio,
Succedens Epiſcopio.

To you an infant ſhall be born,
A future miniſter of God;
Who call'd Senanus ſhall adorn
This place of my abode;
And by the grace of God ſhall be
Succeeding Biſhop after me.

Uſher ſhews from ſeveral authorities, but more particularly from a MS. Life of St Brigid, that St Senan governed the See of Inis-Catty in the river Shannon, and not that of Armagh; and that the Prophecy related to his ſucceſſion in the former of theſe Sees, and not in the other: For St Patrick made it his conſtant practice where he eſtabliſhed an epiſcopal See, to govern it himſelf for ſome time, and then to appoint a ſucceſſor, who from his example might know the nature of the government he was deſirous ſhould be exerciſed; and this was what he did at Inis-Catty, and the ſame he purſued at Armagh, which he reſigned to Benignus thirty-eight years before his death. By comparing the Ulſter Annals with thoſe of Munſter, which Uſher has done with great exactneſs, it is impoſſible that Senan ſhould have been Archbiſhop of Armagh immediately after St Patrick; but to enter into Uſher's Chronology and reaſons upon this occaſion, would ſwell this note to too great length, which would fatigue the reader, whom therefore I ſhall refer to him for full ſatisfaction, and only obſerve, that the moſt correct writers (6) of the Life of St Patrick have made Benignus the immediate ſucceſſor of St Patrick in the See of Armagh. The ſame reaſons ſerve to clear the point, not only as to St Senan, but as to Secundin or Sechnal (who was Biſhop of Dunſhaghlin in Meath), and to Sen-Patrick, who are by the Pſalter of Caſhel both placed in the See of Armagh before St Benignus, the firſt of whom died in 448, when, paſt queſtion, St Patrick himſelf governed that See, and the other in 458, three years after the advancement of Benignus.

(5) Ibid. p. 87[illegible]

(6) Probus, l. ii. c. i. Jocelin, c. xxxix. Tirechan. MS.

[*B*] *From the port of Colp.*] Colp, antiently called Portus-Colbdi, is a little port at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, which, according to the Iriſh Hiſtorians (7), took it's name from Colptha, the brother of Heremon, King of Ireland, who was drowned here about the year of the world 3500. At the hill of Tarah was the palace of the ſupreme Monarchs of Ireland.

(7) Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 182.

[*C*] *The writers of the dark ages agree in the ſucceſſion of Benin to the See of Armagh.*] So ſay Probus, Tirechan, and Jocelin, as quoted above in the text; the latter of which writers is very expreſs and full in that particular: Having firſt given an account of the father, he proceeds, ' Habebat vir ille filium ' quem

there is ſome diſcordance among them as to the place of his death and burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks [*D*]. William of Malmeſbury has given us this barbarous epitaph, which he ſays was inſcribed on his monument at Ferlingmore, near Glaſtonbury, in England.

Hoc Patris in lapide Beonæ St oſſa locata;
Qui Pater extiterat Monachorum hic tempore priſco.
Hunc fore Patricii dudum fortaſſe miniſtrum
Fantur Hiberniginæ, & Beonam de nomine dicunt.

Father Beonna's bones in this tomb lie;
Of old the Father of the Monks hereby;
Diſciple to St Patrick ſo much fam'd,
The Iriſh ſay he was a Beon nam'd.

But Uſher is of opinion (*d*), that Beonna mentioned in this epitaph was a different perſon from our Benignus; eſpecially if what the Tripartite writer of the Life of St Patrick ſays be true, *viz.* that his remains were depoſited with great honour at Armagh; which paſſage, I muſt obſerve, is not to be found in the printed Tripartite Life, ſaid to be written by St Evin. Some writings are aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes [*E*].

(*d*) Primord. p. 877.

'quem ſanctus undâ ſalutari abluens ac nomen ei ex 're adaptans nominavit Benignum; et verè ſicut voca- 'bulo, ſic et vitâ et moribus erat Benignus, dilectus 'Deo et hominibus in terrâ et cœlo gloria et honore 'dignus. Hic S. Præſulis lateri firmiter adhæſit, nec 'ab illo avelli ullatenus potuit. Cum enim Sanctus 'quieti membra daturus, lecto ſe recipiſſet, ille puriſ- 'ſimus puer a patre et matre fugiens, ad pedes Sancti 'ſe projecit, ipſoſque ad pectus ſuum ſuis manibus 'conſtringens, crebròque deoſculans ibidem pauſavit. 'In craſtinum cum Sanctus procinctus ad iter uno 'pede in ſandalibus, altero in terrâ poſito, vehicu- 'lum aſcenderet, puer pedem illius ſtrictis manibus 'apprehendit, obſecrans et adjurans ne ſe relinqueret. 'Et cum illum amovere a ſancti veſtigiis, et ſecum 'retinere vellet uterque parens, puer cum magno 'fletu et ejulatu clamavit, dicens, recedite, quæſo, 'recedite, dimitte me ut pergam cum meo ſpirituali 'patre. Sanctus vero in tenello corde et corpore de- 'votionem tantam intuens in nomine Domini illum be- 'nedixit, ſecum illum levari in vehiculum jubens; *ip- 'ſum ſucceſſorem miniſterii ſui, ſicut et fuit, fore præ- 'dixit. Idem namque Benignus in Regimine Pontificatus 'primatuſque totius Hiberniæ ſucceſſit S. Patricio, vir- 'tutibus et miraculis clarus quievit in Domino.* — Seſg- 'nen had a ſon, whom St Patrick baptized, and, 'adapting his name to his diſpoſition, called him *Be- 'nignus*; and, in truth, his life and temper made 'good the name; for he was gentle and good na- 'tured, beloved by God and men, and worthy of 'glory and honour both in this world and the next. 'This youth ſtuck cloſe to the ſide of the Prelate, 'and could by no means be kept aſunder from him: 'For when the holy man was going to take his reſt, 'this moſt pure child running from his father and 'mother, caſt himſelf at his feet, and preſſing them 'with his hands to his breaſt, and imprinting many 'kiſſes thereon, reſted with him. On the morrow, 'when St Patrick was prepared for his journey, and 'ready to get into his chariot, the boy laid hold of 'his foot, beſeeching and adjuring him not to leave 'him behind; and when both his parents would have 'ſeparated him from their gueſt, and retained him 'with them, the lad, with tears and lamentations, 'begged them to let him go with his ſpiritual father. 'The Saint, ſeeing ſuch great devotion in ſo tender 'a heart and body, bleſſed him in the name of the 'Lord; and, taking him up in his chariot, propheſied, '*That he ſhould be the ſucceſſor of his miniſtry, as 'indeed he was: For this ſame Benignus ſucceeded St 'Patrick in the Government of his Biſhoprick and 'Primacy of all Ireland; and, at length, being cele- 'brated for his great virtues and miracles, he reſted in 'the Lord.*'

[*D*] *Some diſcordance among them as to his burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks.*] The Annals of Inisfall ſay he died at Rome in 467 or 468, November the 9th. Others ſay at Ferlingmore near Glaſtonbury; concerning which may be ſeen this paſſage in a catalogue of the reliques of the Abbey of Glaſtonbury in the Cotton library (8). 'In the coffin of St Benig- 'nus, an Iriſh Biſhop and Diſciple of St Patrick, are 'contained his reliques entire, except his head and 'teeth, which are wanting. He took a journey to 'this place for the love he bore to St Patrick. The 'Lord hath often manifeſted, by the many diſcoveries 'of the virtues of St Benignus, in what a high degree 'of favour he ſtood with God; his miracles wrought 'at Ferlingmore bear witneſs to this truth. His 'prayers produced a large river, and from his ſapleſs 'ſtaff ſprung an huge three, green and bearing leaves. 'He led an eremitical life in an iſland near Glaſton- 'bury, called Ferlingmore, and there made a good 'end; and after a revolution of many years was ho- 'nourably tranſlated to Glaſtonbury.' (viz.) in the year 1091, as appears in John of Tinmouth (9); but Uſher (10) obſerves, that if what the author of the Tripartite Life of St Patrick expreſsly affirms, that he was buried at Armagh, be true, that then the Benignus of Glaſtonbury, and the Benignus of Armagh, muſt be two different perſons, as is obſerved in the text.

(8) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. 5.

(9) Sanctilogium.

(10) Primord. p. 877.

[*E*] *Some writings aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes.*] Theſe are,

I. *A Book partly in Latin, and partly in Iriſh, on the virtues and miracles of St Patrick*; to which Jocelin (11) confeſſes he was indebted.

II. *An Iriſh Poem, wrote on the Converſion of the people of Dublin to the Chriſtian Faith.*

III. *The Munſter Book of Reigns*, called by ſome *Leabhar Bening*, or *Bening's Book*, and by others *Leabhar na Geart*, qu. d. the book of Genealogy, which is aſcribed to him by Dr Nicholſon (12), Biſhop of Derry.

(11) Vit. Patr. cap. clxxxvi.

(12) Iriſh Hiſt. Libr. p. 51.

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The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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Government of Maharashtra

on 26 July, 2016